

A QUESTION OF STAYING OR LEAVING:
RURAL DECLINE IN GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,

1881-1931

by

©

Timothy Fisher Archibald

Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Atlantic Canada Studies

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Halifax, N.S.

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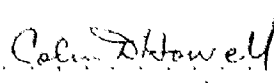
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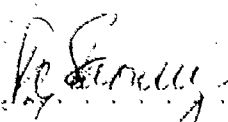

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T.E.A.

August, 1987.

I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good therefore that I can do or any kindness that I can show for any fellow creature, let me do it now. Let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

ABSTRACT

A QUESTION OF STAYING OR LEAVING: RURAL DECLINE IN GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY, 1881-1931

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As the age of industrialization dawned in the Maritime Provinces in the late nineteenth century many rural districts of the region found themselves facing new challenges. Particularly hard hit were areas where industrial centres and rail transportation did not develop and the economy remained contingent on primary resources such as fishing, farming and forestry. Abandoned houses, idle farmlands, closing schools and declining population became part of life for many rural Maritimers. Because of the diversity of the region - geographic, ethnic, religious, and economic - not all parts of the Maritimes were affected in the same way. The result was the lack of a completely united response in attempting to reverse the trend of rural decline. In Guysborough County, Nova Scotia, where decline was especially dramatic, diversity played an important role in rural decline. In the late nineteenth century hundreds of individuals from the county's inland farm districts chose to emigrate to growing local Maritime industrial towns and developing centres outside the region. Unlike many other farming districts of Nova Scotia, agriculture in Guysborough County by the 1890s had begun to contract. Poor rail links to the county meant that farm produce could not be transported efficiently to markets. In contrast, for fishing communities on the shore the late nineteenth century was generally a time of greater economic stability as the lobster and fresh fish

industries expanded. It was not until after the first decade of the twentieth century that outmigration on the shore began to reach serious levels. Worsened economic conditions by the 1920s combined with greater outmigration to spark an organized response in Guysborough County to stem the tide of decline. The movement, however, lacked unity and most leadership came from the coastal areas. The farm districts could not adequately respond because, unlike the fishing communities, they had suffered almost five decades of continuous outmigration. Many of the potential leaders of the inland districts were drawn away, leaving the area unprepared to lead an organized response against decline. This lack of a united voice in opposing decline resulted in a failure to implement successful alternatives in Guysborough County.

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INTRODUCTION

By the mid-nineteenth century most parts of the Atlantic Provinces were experiencing economic growth and expansion. As W.S. MacNutt remarks: "...the economies of the four Atlantic Provinces were riding on a level of prosperity, a career of comparative opulence to which no limits or obstacles appeared to present themselves."¹ By some it was referred to as the "Golden Age," a time of wood, wind and sail. The shipping industry of the Maritimes reached its height in the 1860s, the Maritime merchant marine ranking fourth largest in the world.² As the region took advantage of its natural resources, goods were exported to both British Imperial and American markets.

Along with a greater economic stability came a growing population. During the first half of the nineteenth century thousands of immigrants arrived on the shores of the Maritime region. Anxious to establish themselves on their own plots of land, these settlers, along with an increasing number of native born Maritimers, contributed to the population expansion. Between 1817 and 1861, Nova Scotia's population climbed by over 400 percent, from 82,000 to 338,857.

Such economic success and population growth did not, however, continue universally throughout the Maritimes. Despite the growing industrialization of the second half of the nineteenth century, serious problems soon became evident in the Maritime economy. The advent of a new age meant that railways united inland communities, steam challenged the power of sail, and iron ships increasingly replaced wooden vessels.³ Confederation and the later termination of reciprocal trade with the United States, brought further

challenges to the Maritime economy as the region's allegiance shifted from Great Britain and the ocean to central Canada. With the removal of colonial preference, diminishing returns in timber, and the reduced significance of the wooden ship the decline of the Maritime traditional economy was insured.⁴

The new age of industrialization ushered in by the completion of the Intercolonial Railway and the Macdonald Government's National Policy brought growth to developing industrial centres such as Sydney, New Glasgow, Amherst, Moncton, and Saint John. Regardless of such expansion, however, outmigration was a serious problem in other parts of the region, as thousands of people left in search of better opportunities. Yolande Lavoie estimates that, between 1871 and 1901, 269,000 persons - 30 percent of the Maritimes' population - were lost.⁵

The impact of outmigration at this time, however, was not felt universally throughout the Maritimes. The pronounced decline of shipping and the export of agricultural, forestry and fishery products affected rural and non-industrial communities to the greatest extent. Thousands of the region's rural inhabitants became part of the movement to growing Maritime centres of industry and to developing centres outside the region. By the turn of the twentieth century many rural districts were experiencing abandonment of farmland, closure of schools, contraction of church membership, and population decline.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine rural decline as it occurred in Guysborough County, Nova Scotia from 1881 to 1931. Guysborough County has been chosen chiefly because the extent of population decline and rural decay was so dramatic. Between 1881 and 1921 in Guysborough County alone there was an absolute loss of 6,240 people or 36 percent of the population.

According to calculations by Patricia Thornton, in the decade 1911 to 1921 Guysborough County displayed the greatest net migration ratio (-198) of any county in the Atlantic Region; this figure was exceeded by no other county in the region in the 1871 to 1921 period studied by Thornton.⁶ The diversity of Guysborough County - geographic, ethnic, religious, and economic - provides a unique opportunity to observe differing trends and varying responses to rural decline. Finally, as a sixth generation Guysborough County native, the author believes it imperative that research should be carried out in this particular part of Nova Scotia which has been too long neglected academically as well as economically.

On choosing Guysborough County as a focal point of research, the researcher is immediately faced with a number of difficulties. Few published works are available which deal specifically with the county. The limited number of available writings are largely localized in specific districts and do not examine the whole of the county in a balanced fashion. Guysborough County's diversity meant that no single newspaper served the whole county. With such varying interests, small localized short-term newspapers were most common, the collections of which are very limited. Given these restrictions, a greater concentration has been placed on using census data, Sessional Papers, agricultural reports, educational reports, royal commissions, diaries, and oral interviews to piece together an accurate account of Guysborough County's past.

Only a limited amount of research has been carried out by scholars in the field of rural decline. Alan Brookes, in his study of outmigration in the Maritime Region, 1860 to 1900, alludes to the subject only briefly. Brookes attributes outmigration and decline in the region to economic failure locally, which in effect drove local people elsewhere. Contrastingly, Patricia Thornton

suggests that it was the lure of the outside world which jeopardized the potential of the Maritimes to complete its industrial transformation during the crucial decade of the 1880s. As she states: "...the root of the problem may have been the pull of the neighboring 'Boston States' which acted as a drain on the 'bone and sinew' of the Maritime population..."⁷ Both Thornton and Brookes have examined rural decline only as it related to outmigration, concentrating more on the outmigrants themselves. This work focuses specifically on rural decline: on those who were left behind in rural communities, and their response to decline. Rural history in the Maritime Region, particularly in this period 1881 to 1931, remains largely unexamined by academics. In the British Isles, a recent study by Catherine Anne Wilson has documented well the effects of rural decline in the Irish Islands between 1891 and 1946. In her work, Wilson concentrates mainly on those who remained behind in island communities confronted by decline and depopulation.

This thesis is written on the premise that outmigration occurred in the Maritime Region as a result of a combination of forces. The Maritimes had been founded on diversity. People originally came to the region from various ethnic, religious, and economic backgrounds, and during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century they left for different reasons. Some left out of economic necessity, while others sought adventure and the possibilities of greater monetary success abroad. The effects of rural decline were not experienced in exactly the same way all over the Maritime Provinces. Examination of rural decline in Guysborough County has shown that decline varied quite significantly according to economic basis. Inland agricultural communities lost their population in greater numbers by the 1880s, while fishing communities experienced a greater stability at this time largely as a result of

the expansion of the fresh fish trade and the lobster fishery. Guysborough agriculture experienced significant deterioration from 1891 to 1901, more so than others parts of Nova Scotia, because the farm districts were without rail service. By the 1920s, when outmigration and rural decline affected the Maritime Provinces more widely, the inland farm communities had suffered such extreme population drain that they were unprepared to attempt an organized response to decline. The coastal districts of the county, however, had not experienced sustained loss to the same extent and during the 1920s they became active in seeking new solutions. Differing trends in outmigration brought varying responses to decline and in Guysborough promoted greater disunity in a county which had been founded on diversity. The lack of a united voice in opposing decline resulted in a failure to implement successful alternatives in Guysborough County.

NOTES

1. W.S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces 1712-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 266.

2. T.W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and 'Empire Canada'," Canada and the Burden of Unity, ed. D.J. Bercuson (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1977), p.90.

3. Alan Brookes, "Out-Migration From the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some preliminary Considerations," The Acadiensis Reader vol. 2, ed. P.A. Buckner and David Frank (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), p.36.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. p.37.

6. Patricia Thornton, "Some Preliminary Comments on the Extent and Consequences of Out-Migration From the Atlantic Region, 1870-1920," Merchant Shipping and Economic Development in Atlantic Canada, ed. Lewis R. Fischer and Eric Sager (St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), p.213.

7. Thornton, p.30.

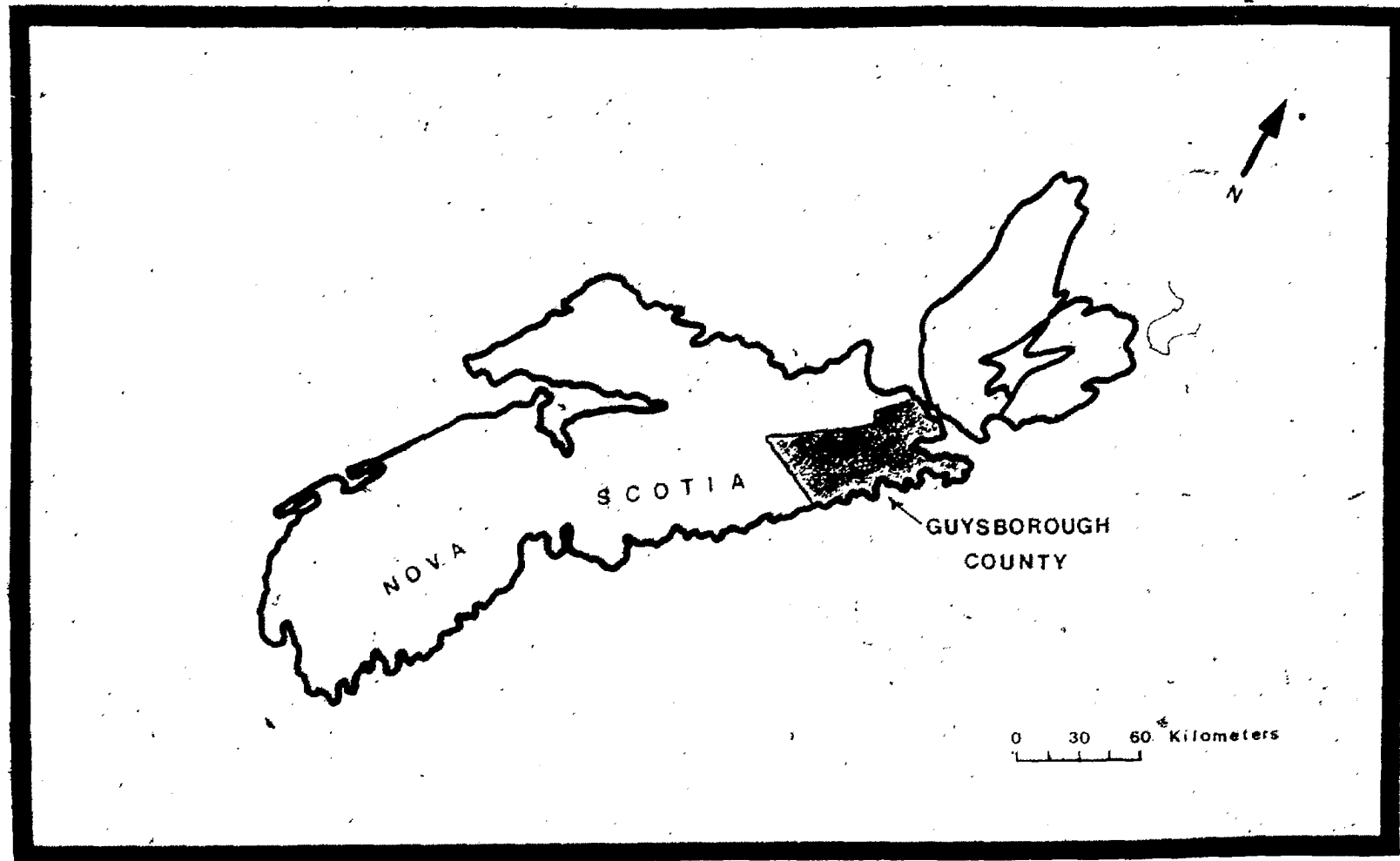
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A FOUNDATION OF VARIATION: THE COUNTY'S DEVELOPMENT TO 1870

For the Maritime Provinces, the late eighteen and early nineteenth centuries represented, a time of establishment. Although permanent settlers had entered the region earlier, it was during these decades that the ethnic mosaic of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island was cast by the hundreds of migrants who took up lands in this part of colonial British North America. While the prospects of land drew many, others were compelled to come because of political loyalties. For whatever reasons they came, the result was an expanding population and the creation of a staples-based economy dependent on farming, forestry and the sea. The purpose of this chapter is to explore this early period of growth and establishment in Guysborough County: the geographic framework, the early settlement patterns of a variety of ethnic and religious groups, civic fragmentation and the different economic bases established within the county.

Guysborough County is located in the south-eastern corner of the Nova Scotia mainland (SEE FIGURE 1). The second largest county in the province of Nova Scotia, it encompasses some 4,255 square kilometres. Guysborough County averages 48 kilometres in width from its most northerly boundary to the Atlantic Coast and averages 145 kilometres in length from the westerly border to the Canso Strait. The county is bordered to the north by Pictou and Antigonish Counties, to the west by Halifax County, to the south by the Atlantic Ocean and to the east by the Strait of Canso and Chedabucto Bay.

FIGURE 1
THE LOCATION OF GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY



Described as the "pier head,"¹ Guysborough County protrudes as the most easterly section of the North American mainland south of Labrador.

Geographically, Guysborough County is very diverse, and this characteristic has influenced the county's cultural and economic variations. The historian A.C. Jost has divided the county into two distinct geographical regions: a coastal region and an inland region.² The coastal region consists of that area extending the full length of the Atlantic Coast of the county and approximately 16 kilometres inland from the sea. Rugged, rocky, barren land characterizes this ocean shore. Within this narrow 16-kilometre belt are found numerous lakes and bogs, scattered among the stunted spruce and fir vegetation. The numerous coves, inlets, long narrow channels and deeply cut harbours give evidence of the glacial action and other tectonic forces that molded this coastal landscape in past geological ages. T.C. Haliburton in 1829 described Guysborough County's coastline:

No part of Nova Scotia, and perhaps few countries in the world afford so many excellent harbours in the same extent of coastline...it possesses much greater facilities for commerce and navigation and its fisheries are the best in the Province.³

The inland region is that area extending the remaining 32 kilometres inland to the northern boundary of the county. In contrast to the coastal belt, it is clad in better developed mixed forest stands, interrupted by a number of more fertile, deeply cut river valleys. The largest and most productive of these river valleys are those of the St. Mary's River, Country Harbour River, Salmon River, and Guysborough River (SEE FIGURE 2). Centuries of deposition have left loamy soil on the floors of these river valleys, the depth and quality of which varies from valley to valley. The Reverend George Patterson, in writing his history of the county of Pictou in the 1870s, has given a vivid description of one of these valleys, the St. Mary's, from a northern perspective:

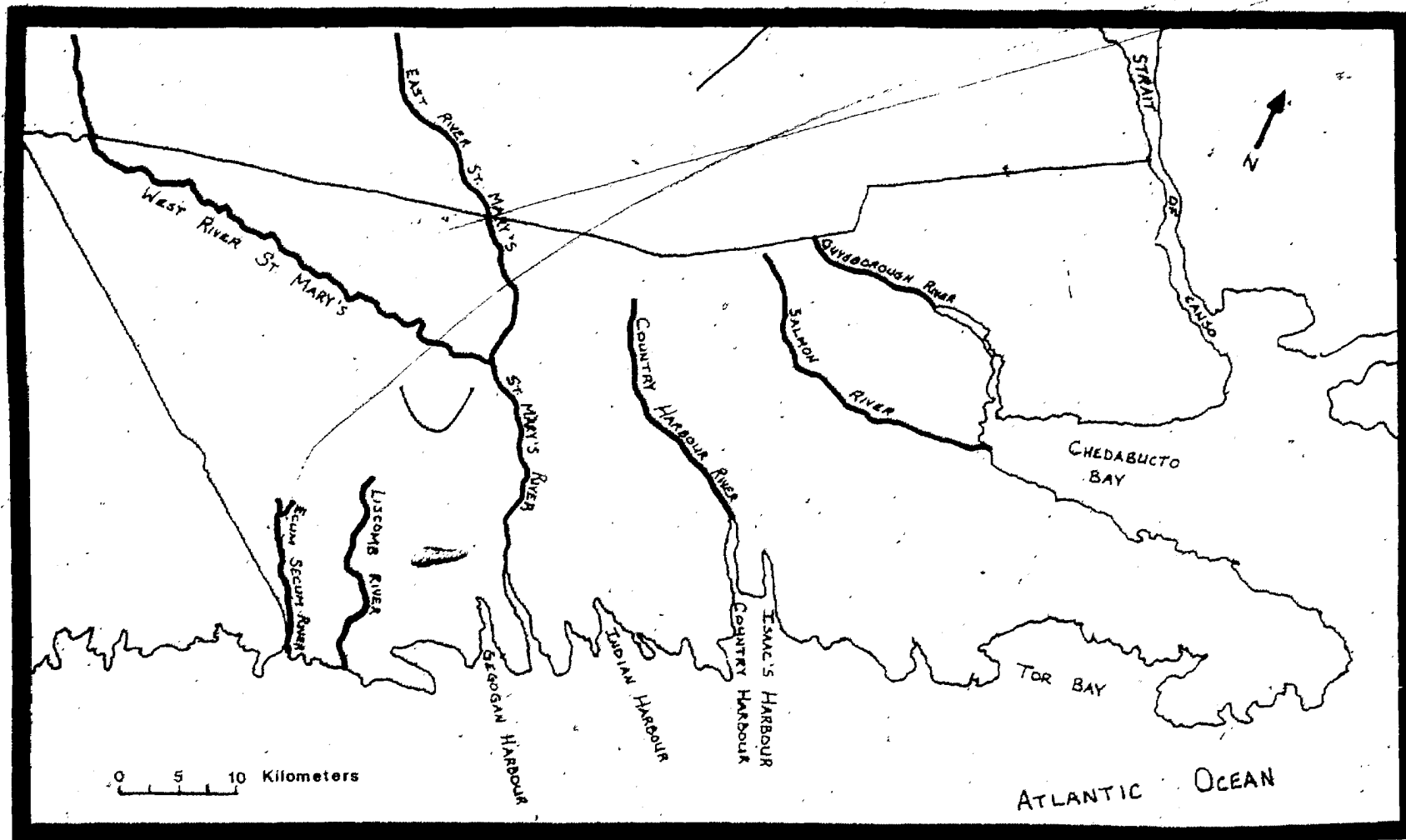
But a grander sight met the gaze of the early pioneers, from the brow of the mountain they had to cross in reaching it [the St. Mary's Valley]. On the west of the river down to the margin of the valley was a pine forest, which stretched away without a break to the Musquodoboit River, while to the north and east a sea of rolling hills extended in the direction of Barney's River and Lochaber.... The timber of the valley is said to have been very large. Elm trees three and four feet through ran up without a knot or limb, for fifty or sixty feet, and maple, oak and birch of equal or greater size, with here and there a great pine....

The portioning of Guysborough County into two regions although useful, does hide further ~~dissimilarities~~ that exist geographically within the county. Inland, river valleys and their closest tributaries contain the largest part of the most fertile soil. The tracts of land back from the main valleys are less productive and maintain a lower class of soil. The separation of these more fertile valleys by acres of substandard soils was an important factor in the subsequent subdividing of the inland region. Conversely, the more easterly section of the county has an area northwest of the Chedabucto Bay, in Manchester, where the Guysborough River gives way to rolling hills which possess a reasonable quality of soil not confined to a narrow ribbon along a river bed. Although it is difficult to generalize in speaking of Guysborough County geographically, vastness and sectionalism collectively characterize the county.

The geographic features outlined above give an indication of some of the natural resources offered by Guysborough County which may have looked attractive to potential settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The resource base, and the geographic features, determined in part the people who were attracted to the county and where exactly they settled.

It was the lure of the sea and the rich fishery that brought Europeans

FIGURE 2
WATER BODIES OF GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY

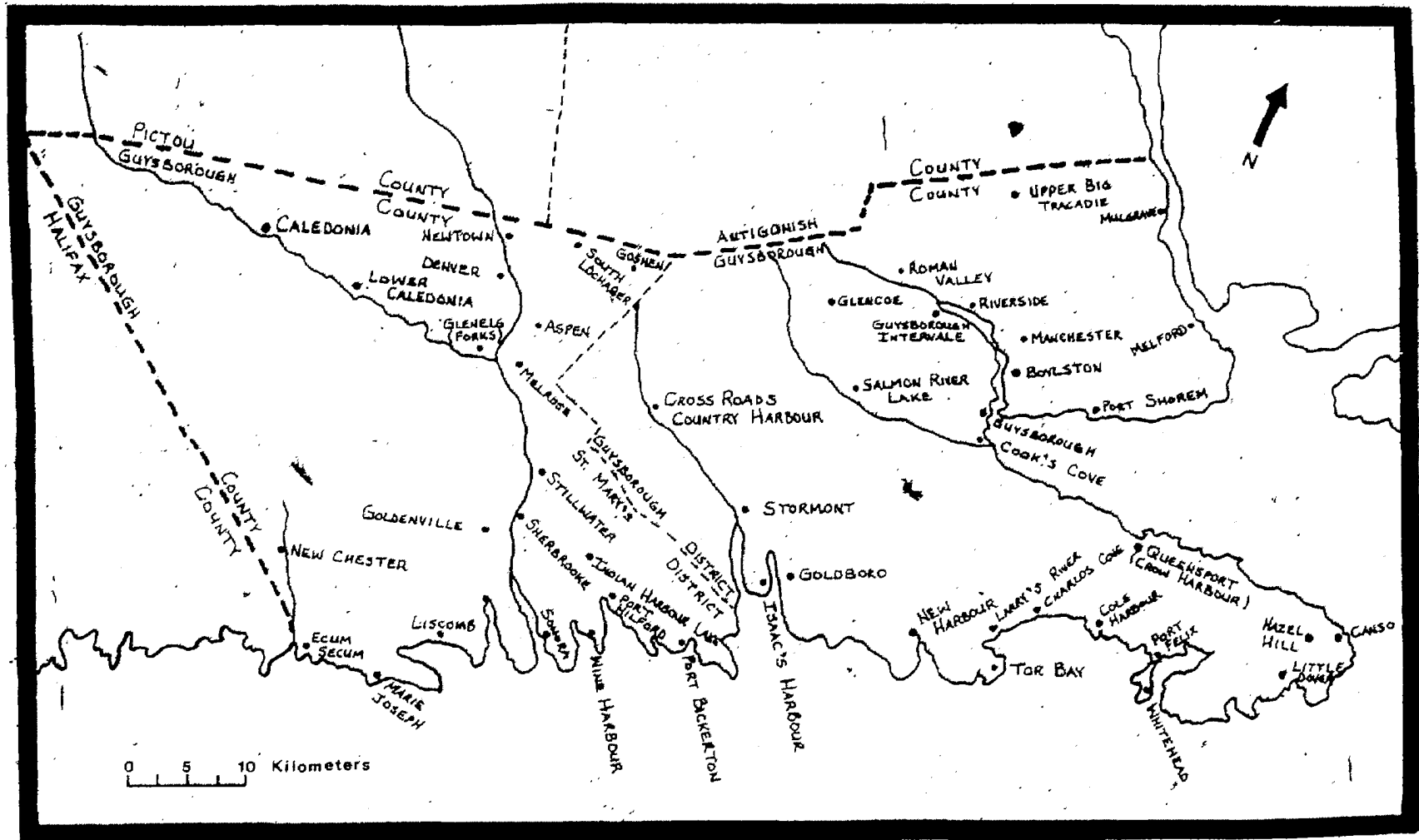


to North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As early as 1500 the "pier head" of Canso on Guysborough County's southeastern tip was known as a good location for fishing.⁵ Prior to this, the only inhabitants of the region were roving Micmacs who moved about in a seasonal manner. The population drawn to Canso by the fishery was predominantly male and for some time remained seasonal in nature. In these early years, Canso was a fishing post which during the cold winter months was almost completely abandoned. Although Canso's population experienced numerous fluctuations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Jost suggests that by 1812 there were still only five inhabitants.

The fur trade with the Indians also helped to attract the French to this eastern portion of Acadia. In the late 1630s Niclolas Denys established a trading post in a sheltered part of Chedabucto Bay, near the present site of the village of Guysborough (SEE FIGURE 3). Also by the mid-seventeenth century, a trading post was established by LaGiraudiere at the head of navigation on the St. Mary's River, near present day Sherbrooke. Neither of these small, fortified trading posts, however, resulted in permanent settlement. When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763 this eastern segment of Nova Scotia, later to be called Guysborough County, remained for the most part unsettled, except for the migrating bands of Micmacs and some Acadians who had taken temporary refuge on the shores of Chedabucto Bay.

Following the expulsion of the Acadians, the governor of Nova Scotia took steps to entice permanent British settlers to the colony. His desire was to reoccupy the former Acadian lands and also open up new areas for permanent settlement. In 1764 the Township of Wilmont was laid out near present day Canso Town. As Jost explains however, "the town of Wilmont... died at its

FIGURE 3
PLACE NAMES OF GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY



birth and was almost if not quite, a town without a resident."⁶ In the following year sections of land throughout the county, including tracts on the St. Mary's River, the Milford Haven and the Chedabucto Bay, were granted by the governor of Nova Scotia. These stretches of unbroken wilderness were awarded largely to New Englanders and Halifax government officials who for the most part did not undertake improvement or settlement in the districts. The first attempts to settle this eastern section of the colony did not meet with immediate success. When permanent settlement did begin to take place, the inhabitants were from very diverse backgrounds.

Ten families of pre-loyalists were the first known permanent settlers in the county. By 1780 they maintained continuous residence at the head of Chedabucto Bay, relying mainly on the rich fishing stocks of the bay for their livelihood and to a lesser extent on the land, for hunting and some agriculture.

With the close of the War of Independence in 1783, thousands of colonists, labeled as loyalists, made their way north to the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia. The loyalists, although often classified by historians as a single group, were far from being a homogeneous unit. Among the loyalists who came to Guysborough a variety of origins and social standing was evident: New Yorkers, Carolinians, Blacks, Floridians, Scots, Hessians and English, as well as high ranking army officials, soldiers, civilians and servants. As Neil MacKinnon states:

In status, occupation, origin, motivation and war time experience, they [the loyalists] were a markedly varied, and divergent group of people having little in common with each other but their fragile bond of "loyalism".⁷

The wave of loyalist immigrants continued in 1784 and 1785. According to Jost, nearly 500 grants were distributed to loyalists in the eastern half of Guysborough County at this time. The largest number of these people were

disbanded soldiers of quite different experiences. Among the units represented were: the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment (Carolinians), the Associated Departments of the Army and Navy [made up of the Commissary Departments from New York, the British Legion (recruited in New York), and the Seventy-First Regiment (Scots)], the Sixtieth Regiment (Hessians or Germans) and the Kings (Carolina) Rangers. Making up a small minority of the loyalists were a group of civilians from St. Augustine, Florida:

The first loyalists to arrive were from the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, a band of Carolinians largely composed of young men between ages eighteen and 41. This regiment received grants in three blocks: on the north side of Milford Haven, on the north shore of Chedabucto Bay and along the more northerly section of the Canso Strait. Few of these disbanded soldiers remained in the county, because as Jost remarks they were "...womenless, forlorn, [and] condemned to the solitude of their isolated farm lots..."⁸

Members of the Associated Departments of the Army and Navy arrived soon after the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment. These pioneers furnished the village of Guysborough with its name in honour of Sir Guy Carleton, and contributed the largest portion of the township's founding population. In this group there were a total of 675 individuals, consisting of 425 whites and 250 blacks. The Associated Department was not a homogeneous body but embodied three component parts: the Commissary Department, the British Legion, and the Seventy-First Regiment. The largest of these three was the Commissary Department which had been recruited in New York for employment at headquarters during the War of Independence. The British Legion, and the Seventy-First Regiment were smaller groups. The former was composed of New York and Southern stock, while the latter consisted of Scottish Highlanders. Free

blacks, following their former masters, came in substantial numbers to Guysborough. These blacks were destined for much hardship and initially received only a small quarter of land on the outskirts of the newly surveyed town lots. The undersized grants given to the blacks was in sharp contrast to the usual town lot and 100 to 200 acre farm lot awarded to white loyalists.

The Sixtieth Regiment, a mainly German group, received grants of land south of the Salmon River estuary on the south shore of the Chedabucto Bay. The land received by these inhabitants contained only small pockets of good soil and was unsuitable for development into farms. As an alternative these loyalists looked to the sea for their livelihood.⁹ To a greater extent than other regiments, the Sixtieth was willing to remain more permanently settled on the south Chedabucto shore because more were married and few were dependent on agriculture; to start farms meant the initial task of land clearing, a job that disheartened many grantees and drove them from their lots.

The King's (Carolina) Rangers and the St. Augustine Loyalists received grants farther removed from the town lot at Guysborough. The first of these two, the Rangers, were from North and South Carolina. They arrived at Stormont, on the Country Harbour River, to take up their grants amid the cold of December 1784. The exact number of individuals arriving that winter is uncertain. According to Roy Chisholm, 200 of these new settlers died of scurvy and exposure over the course of the first winter.¹⁰ During the summer of 1785 many of those who survived the cold winter months at Stormont left the area for Halifax and the village of Guysborough.

The St. Augustine Loyalists were the only group of civilian loyalists to arrive at this time. Of these white and black pioneers, some 48 heads of families received land grants on the Canso Strait. Small in number, late to

17
arrive, and lacking proper leadership, however, this group failed to secure good-quality land.¹¹ As a result they were forced to turn from the land based economy they had been accustomed to in Florida and looked instead to the sea and to the fishery.⁹

Thus the loyalists of Guysborough County were no exception to the "myriad variety" which Neil MacKinnon has identified as a general characteristic of the loyalist migration. Occupationally, prior to their arrival in the county, the Guysborough colonists had little in common; some came with experience as higher ranking army officials, while others were soldiers, servants and civilians. After taking up residence in their new land some became farmers or fishermen, while others sustained their existence from a combination of farming and fishing. No single ethnic group predominated among Guysborough County Loyalists; there were New Yorkers, Carolinians, blacks, Floridians, Scots, English, and Germans. Religious differences were evident with Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists all maintaining their distinctness and taking steps to establish churches of their own. Jost further reinforces this point in his remarks of Guysborough County Loyalists:

They were a heterogeneous mixture of sailors and soldiers of members and servants, of persons from the most varied walks of life [and] of the greatest diversity of standing.¹²

The result of this conglomeration has been the lack of a well-defined "Loyalist Culture". Any distinct ethnic characteristics brought to Guysborough were soon lost. For example, the Germans of the south Chedabucto shore very soon lost contact with their homeland, so that little existed to distinguish them as German. MacKinnon chronicles this type of decline:

By the end of the War of 1812, the generation of loyalists was dying and much of their identity was dying with them. Unlike immigrants of a common ethnic background they left so little of the loyalist tradition to their descendants and to Nova Scotia...

In a sense there was little that they as loyalists could pass to their children. There was no shared language to be handed on; no particular culture and customs, religion or common roots. There was little but the remembrance of their role in a long ago war.¹³

Possibly the only exception to this were the Black Loyalists who remained distinct for reasons more related to racial segregation.

In 1765 Benjamin Hallowell, at that time an official in the Boston Custom House, had been granted a tract of land on the east side of the lower Milford Haven. Hallowell's land was to be subdivided and sold for settlement and cultivation. The terms of the grant were not immediately met. Hallowell did prevent escheatment of his land however, and in 1786 steps were taken to settle the grant. That summer eighteen heads of families, drawn especially from Connecticut, took up grants in the district of Manchester around the town plot which was given the name Boylston. The pioneers of the area turned their attention to farming. With such a scattered pattern of settlement the town lots at Boylston fell into disuse.¹⁴ Jost characterizes these people as being a much more "adaptable and capable" group than their loyalist predecessors.¹⁵ Their relatively small numbers and their close interaction with loyalist settlers make it difficult to regard these New Englanders as a separate group. Their only obvious trait was their Congregational Church.

By the close of the eighteenth century the largest areas of permanent settlement in Guysborough County were concentrated in the north-eastern portion of the county on the shores of Chedabucto Bay, Milford Haven, and along the Canso Strait. The more inland districts, on the St. Mary's, Salmon, and Guysborough Rivers, and the Atlantic Coast of the county still supported only a scattering of inhabitants and were yet to receive their largest proportions of permanent settlers. In these areas of later settlement, it can be argued

that geographical, economic and cultural differences worked to a greater extent to maintain distinctions between districts and peoples.

The Atlantic shore of Guysborough County, by 1800, contained a very sparse population. The largest concentration of settlement may have been at Molasses Harbour on Tor Bay, where a number of Acadian families had established themselves at the turn of the nineteenth century. The first known written reference to these Acadians comes from the writings of the Roman Catholic Bishop Plessis, who visited Molasses Harbour in 1815. Plessis found in the area nineteen Acadian families who had left Chezzetcook when loyalists had arrived with a title to possess some 5000 acres. A portion of this 5000 acre grant had been cleared by the Acadians who had failed to secure its official title. Seeking a new and unclaimed location away from English scrutiny, these Acadians came to the Tor Bay where, according to Plessis, they "found only rocks and land that could not be cultivated. But Providence helped them with an abundance of fish, sufficient to provide a fairly good living".¹⁶ The bishop in his report expressed concern for the spiritual well-being of these families and urged them to:

leave the place since it was far removed from spiritual assistance...and since...there was no hope of their being able to support a priest and even if it were possible, he could not procure one for them. Their distance from missions already established was such that they could not hope for help from them.¹⁷

Being very determined however, and finding in this location the isolation they desired, these Acadians would not leave and resolved to obtain a livelihood from the fishery and the sparse rocky soil around the Tor Bay.

The Acadians were not alone in finding Guysborough's sparsely populated Atlantic Coast appealing. About the same time, at the turn of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of people began to arrive from

Lunenburg County, making common such names as Baker, Barkhouse, Bezanson, Hawbolt, Hartling, and Romkey. Philip Hartling chronicles this migration as it occurred on the Eastern Shore of Halifax County. The movement also extended into the western coastline of Guysborough County, particularly in Ecum Secum, Marie Joseph and Liscomb. Many of those who removed from Lunenburg were second and third generation Nova Scotians. Most left their native county because of a lack of good vacant land along the shore. The Eastern Shore was quite attractive to these people because of its sparse human population and its proximity to the fishery.¹⁸ These Lunenburgers, mainly of German-Dutch extraction, continued to trickle into the Eastern Shore in the early nineteenth century. In 1817 one such settlement was established on the Tor Bay at Cole Harbour. The Lunenburgers were chiefly dependent on the fishery, as well as subsistence farming. A writer for the Nova Scotian in 1837 described the way of life on the Eastern Shore:

The natives live chiefly by carrying cord wood, by fishing and farming and some live by their wits end. The materials of a subsistence may be acquired without much difficulty: He who plants potatoes in the spring and catches fish in the fall may exist; but he cannot support a family decently without constant attention to his calling. Industrious people generally thrive but the shore is not a Paradise for Idlers.¹⁹

It is uncertain whether these pioneers brought the Anglican Church with them or whether they associated themselves with it after their arrival. By 1845 however, a Church of England catechist stationed near Sherbrooke at St. Mary's River was serving the spiritual needs of these settlers on this shore. New Harbour was founded about 1806, mainly by transplanted loyalists who made their decision to leave Manchester for the Atlantic Shore. Like many other inhabitants by the sea they were dependent on the fishery and some farming for their livelihood. In New Harbour these trans-migrants established a

Methodist Church presence. Seafaring people were also attracted to the Eastern Shore from Queens and Shelburne Counties. In 1818 English speaking settlers took up residence at Whitehaven on the Tor Bay, with others following from Shelburne and Tusket.

In 1831 two young fishermen from Louis Head, Shelburne County, came with their families to Isaac's Harbour. A year earlier the two had been forced to take refuge in the harbour from a storm, and had been duly impressed with the port and its location. Before the arrival of these Shelburne County transplants, the sole inhabitants of the area had been a family of Black Loyalists who had come to the harbour in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The two Shelburne County fishermen entered a joint partnership in a fishing and sawmill venture which proved quite successful. They encouraged relatives and friends also to come to Isaac's Harbour and a settlement of reasonable size grew up on the harbour's banks. These newcomers joined with the original Black Loyalists to form a Baptist Church.

This constant flow of migrants meant that Guysborough's Atlantic Coast was for the most part a sprinkling of different peoples with occasional larger concentrations of inhabitants of common origins. The port of Canso illustrates this to an even greater extent. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century Canso still remained almost deserted. John Grant remarks:

The events of the French wars and the American Revolution had almost destroyed Canso. The sea remained however, to lure back those who sought the wealth it offered. The old port slowly recovered, its safe harbour and broad drying grounds again sheltering the small fishing boats of the North Atlantic.²⁰

After 1815, Canso developed as a more permanent fishing village and by mid-nineteenth century had become an important centre of the fishery on Guysborough's Atlantic Coast. As a fishing post it drew together people of

very diverse backgrounds who held in common only their interest in the fishery, whether as fishermen, from any part of the globe, or as merchants from Halifax or New England. Along Guysborough's south-eastern shore, with so many different peoples, often settled in isolated inlets, sectionalism was strong. Contact between inland and shore communities was almost non-existent in some parts.

In the more inland areas of the county, changes were also occurring. By 1800 settlement was expanding up the major river valleys, as peoples of varied ethnic and religious backgrounds were welcomed to Guysborough County. The first of these lands to be permanently settled was a 3000 acre section on the Tracadie River, a tributary of the Guysborough River. This grant was taken up by approximately 172 blacks from Guysborough Town in 1788. Since their arrival in the predominantly white loyalist village of Guysborough in 1784, these blacks had been plagued with hardship. Trying to sustain a livelihood on a small plot of land on the fringe of the village was hard. In the initial years, lost supply ships and a lack of guns for hunting brought blacks at times to the brink of starvation. With a hope that self-sufficiency could be gained, one of the blacks prepared a petition which was forwarded to Governor Parr, requesting a grant of land outside of Guysborough Town in a farm district. Whites of Guysborough were encouraging, some out of genuine concern, while others were motivated by a desire to: "drive the negroes into the interior, where they could be forgotten".²¹ The grant was officially awarded in 1788. Not all of the blacks left Guysborough, but most of those who remained in the village worked as "servants and labourers for the white inhabitants".²² With an average of only 40 acres allotted per family, life in the "backlands" of Tracadie was not easy.²³ These pioneers had been granted only poor farmland and were separat-

ed from the nearest white settlers by acres of forest. The blacks at Tracadie were not accepted by local white churches. Finding themselves "rebuffed by the Roman Catholics,[and] largely forgotten by the Church of England," by 1821 they had turned to the Baptist Church.²⁴

About 1815 a substantial number of Irish Roman Catholics arrived in Guysborough Town seeking land suitable for farming. These people had formerly been employed in the Newfoundland fishery but because of its depressed state they had left that colony seeking a fresh start in Nova Scotia. The largest proportion of these Irish were given lands in the Roman Valley on the upper Guysborough River and in the Upper Salmon River Valley. As Harriet Hart states, "the land in these localities is fertile, and ere long they had flourishing farms and were in comfortable circumstances."²⁵ In addition to these Irish migrants, at about the same time the northern parts of the county also received an influx of Scottish Roman Catholics who made their way into the area from neighbouring Antigonish County to the north.

At the close of the eighteenth century a number of Ulster Scots from the Truro area made inquiries about obtaining land in the St. Mary's River Valley. By 1800 these families had begun to arrive. Some of their number were particularly interested in the pursuit of the timber industry and settled at the head of navigation, later called Sherbrooke, where a sawmill was constructed. The river was a natural highway and served as a means for removing timber, which before long was being exported in substantial quantities. Others of the Truro group chose their grants from the fertile intervale land farther up-river at the Forks, where the east and west branches of the St. Mary's converge. These Ulster-Scots brought with them their Presbyterianism and in the early years they were served by missionaries out of Pictou.

As the best lands in Pictou County were gradually taken and as the prime stands of timber were cut, the nearby upper St. Mary's District offered good quality untouched land. The result was the influx of a great number of Presbyterian Scots from Pictou. These families filled the Caledonias on the West River, St. Mary's and supplemented the Ulster-Scot population at the Forks and on the East Branch. Added to this were Presbyterian Irish and Scottish who by 1817 had settled in the "backlands" of Goshen.

Unlike its neighbouring counties of Pictou and Antigonish, Guysborough's establishment involved the influx of a great variety of peoples who possessed different ethnic and religious characteristics and who turned to different primary resources or combinations of resources to sustain a livelihood. The result was that by the turn of the nineteenth century an extreme diversity of peoples had settled Guysborough County. As yet the county did not exist as a political entity, but was a fragmented and subdivided tract of land.

The County of Sydney had come into existence in 1784, named in honour of Lord Sydney, the British Secretary of State for the colonies. Sydney County included within its boundaries mainly present day Antigonish County as well as eastern Guysborough County to the line of the St. Mary's River. In the early nineteenth century, settlements grew along the St. Mary's River which at that time represented the border between Sydney and Halifax County. As John Grant notes it was "...settled by people who were accustomed to managing their own affairs..."²⁶ On their request in 1818 the Township of St. Mary's was established. The new township was etched out of lands adjacent to the St. Mary's River, half of which lay in the county of Halifax and half of which lay

in the county of Sydney. The Township of St. Mary's extended roughly from the Country Harbour River in the east to the Ecum Secum River in the west. It was not until 1822 that that part of the St. Mary's Township which lay outside of Sydney County was finally formally annexed, extending the Sydney County boundary from the Strait of Canso in the east to the Ecum Secum River in the west.

Because of the vastness of Sydney County, the difficulty of travel, and the population growth that was experienced in the early 1800s the decision was made in 1836 to officially divide the county into two districts: the Upper District and the Lower District. The Upper District eventually became Antigonish County while the Lower District became Guysborough County. Even with this division of Sydney into two districts, the Lower District still remained large and travel from one end to the other was difficult. With the county business transacted at Guysborough, some 45 miles over poor roads, the growing village of Sherbrooke and the township of St. Mary's felt themselves placed at somewhat of a disadvantage. With pressure from St. Mary's, in 1841 the County of Guysborough was divided into two districts: the District of Guysborough in the east and the District of St. Mary's in the west. Each district was given its own Court of Probate, Registry of Deeds, Collector of Customs and local civil government.

The feelings of alienation, displayed by St. Mary's toward Guysborough did not cease in 1841; sixteen years later, in 1857 a petition was forwarded to the Legislative Assembly in Halifax which called for the splitting of Guysborough County and the creation of a separate County of St. Mary's. Residents of St. Mary's District felt that their representation to the Legislature was out of touch with their views and their needs. As they stated in their petition of

1857, representation "...is far from us and knows little about us. But it cannot be doubted that our interests have been overlooked."²⁷ As an alternative, they believed that a separate county would give "...a powerful impulse... to this large section of country. It can easily be seen that it cannot prosper in its present condition."²⁸ Action was never taken by the Legislative Assembly on the St. Mary's recommendation.

This was not the first evidence of fragmentation in the county. Sectionalism existed even within districts. In 1845 a petition was forwarded to the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly from communities on the coast of St. Mary's west of Sherbrooke: Ecum Secum, Marie Joseph, Liscomb, and Gegogan. The petitioners from this area wanted to be created into a district of their own, obviously feeling remote from the rest of St. Mary's. They stated their desire to:

be set off as a District separate and distinct from the rest of St. Mary's with a view only to supporting their own poor and save the said inhabitants the trouble and expense of attending at Sherbrooke the town meeting...²⁹

These moves toward smaller political divisions in Guysborough County give further evidence of the diversity and the separation that existed between sections of the county.

Economic bases and circumstances tended to be quite variable throughout Guysborough County in the early years of settlement. Although the period of Guysborough's establishment corresponded with a time of general economic reliance on primary resources, these resources, or the combinations of resources used to attain a livelihood, differed greatly throughout the county.

In the inland districts of Guysborough County, along the St. Mary's River, the Salmon River, and the Guysborough River as well as in Manchester and around Guysborough Town, farming was an important part of the local

economy. As lands were granted throughout the county and cleared for agriculture, population expanded. The economies of these districts, although having farming in common, were also supplemented quite differently by other resources. The cutting of trees to clear the land ensured a good supply of logs. The export of timber served as an important addition to a farmer's income and was of particular significance in the township of St. Mary's, where forests had for the most part remained untouched until after the turn of the nineteenth century. In the earlier-inhabited Guysborough District, according to T.C. Haliburton, most of its best timber reserves had already been exhausted by the late 1820s:

Formerly sawed lumber was exported, but for many years the demand for this article, for the fisheries and domestic consumption, has exhausted the timber on all the lands contiguous to the [Chedabucto] bay and harbours adjacent to it.³⁰

On the St. Mary's River the exporting of timber from the virgin forest stands of the district began early in the nineteenth century. Haliburton noted that in the years 1824, 1825 and 1826, fourteen cargoes of timber were shipped from Sherbrooke to the British market consisting of 4,155 tons of timber, 63,460 feet of three inch pine plank, 76 cords of lathwood, plus spars, oars, handspikes, and other wood products.³¹ Many farmers devoted the winter months to cutting timber which in the spring was floated down-river in booms for sale in the United States or Great Britain. Some farmers maintained small sawmills of their own, providing lumber for local use and for export. John Grant describes the movement of logs on the St. Mary's in the early nineteenth century:

Timber was cut on the banks of the St. Mary's River and its smallest tributaries and driven down the river to Stillwater where it was held until needed by the Sherbrooke Mills.³²

By contrast, the Guysborough District relied more on fishing as a

supplement to agriculture, particularly in Manchester, along the Milford Haven, and around Guysborough Town. In the late 1820s, T.C. Haliburton expressed concern that this interest in the fishery was maintained at the expense of agricultural progress.

The lands on both sides of the [Guysborough] harbour for nearly its whole extent, which are of superior quality, have long since been cleared of wood, and now afford extensive meadows or grazing grounds. But the proximity of the fisheries, and the general disposition of the inhabitants to be employed about them, in preference to the cultivation of their lands, has greatly retarded their improvement. There are yet on the very borders of this beautiful harbour and river, large fields which, although cleared of timber forty years ago, still retain their primeval undulatory form and have never been subdued by the plough.³³

Those farmers of the area who did not turn directly to fishing as a supplement to their earnings were able instead to gain additional income by coopering. The proximity of the fishery meant that barrels were usually always in demand. Despite this interest in the fishery and timber however, by the 1820s a small surplus of agricultural produce was being shipped out of the farming districts of Guysborough County through the ports of Guysborough and Sherbrooke. Haliburton recognized this in commenting further on the district surrounding Guysborough Town:

This spontaneous fertility of the soil, has enabled the inhabitants, notwithstanding their aversion to agriculture, to rear black cattle, horses and sheep, in considerable numbers, several cargoes of which are annually exported to Newfoundland, together with great quantities of butter. These, with a few potatoes and oats, are the only surplus of agricultural produce of Guysborough.³⁴

Villages such as Sherbrooke and Guysborough acted as centers of service for the agricultural districts and surrounding fishing communities. The two villages, located respectively at the head of navigation on the St. Mary's and at the head of the Chedabucto Bay, offered port facilities for exporting of produce from the inland districts. It is not to be inferred however, that Guys-

borough and Sherbrooke were communities based on similar economies, functioning merely as service centres for the surrounding settlements. In Guysborough, the fishery remained very predominant. Being the shire town of the county, Guysborough was also the seat of local civil government and its associated courts. Meanwhile, Sherbrooke, on the lower St. Mary's, was in the early days, as Howe described it, "a creation of the timber trade".³⁵ In the early nineteenth century, merchants and sawmill operators in the village, along with other local craftsmen, took advantage of the timber trade. John Grant explains:

The trade in wood, deal, planks, boards, lathes, shingles and even firewood, was the single most important industry of the community. Although continually affected by the rate...of British preference, the export figures show that while there was considerable fluctuation in the value of trade, it remained quite healthy and retained its importance.³⁶

Central to this timber trade was the river, along which the wood was transported to the head of navigation. In the case of St. Mary's Township the river acted as a unifying factor and very soon Sherbrooke became the business centre of St. Mary's. An excerpt from a petition sent to the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia by citizens of the District of St. Mary's in 1821 demonstrates well the isolation of the settlements and the unifying effect of the river:

...different settlements on the [St. Mary's] river are very remote from the capital [at Guysborough] and from other settlements [i.e. in neighbouring river valleys] around them they are separated by tracts of wilderness of unsettled country which will in all probability for a number of years prevent much intercourse from being carried by land; but the facilities [sic] offered by the River and the roads of communication to the tide, to send lumber and other articles to market by sea and receive returns in the same way naturally tend to unite the interest of the inhabitants and to lead them to one principle [sic] place of resort at Sherbrooke Village, near the head of navigation...where all the mercantile business of the settlement is transacted.³⁷

In 1817 Sherbrooke consisted of about twenty houses and possessed two sawmills and a grist mill.³⁸ Additional growth was experienced as the century progressed and shipbuilding steadily grew. By the 1840s and 1850s this latter industry had reached considerable momentum at Sherbrooke, as well as at Wine Harbour, Guysborough, Isaac's Harbour and Liscomb. The shipbuilding industry brought with it important economic spin-offs for the local economy, as John Grant notes:

Shipbuilding provided a considerable stimulus to the local economy. Men spent the winter in the woods cutting timber, sawmills were kept busy, and the ship wrights and builders had full time employment. Local blacksmiths worked long hours to provide the necessary iron goods, while at the sailmaker's needles flew over the hundreds of yards of canvas required to make the full set of sails. Local merchants also prospered from shipbuilding by supplying the crews of the lumber camps, the mills and the shipyards. Directly or indirectly the financial position of practically everyone in the community was improved...³⁹

In the shore settlements of the Atlantic Coast and on the south Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait, the sea proved to be a most significant influence. Inhabitants of Melford and South Manchester areas carried on a mixture of farming and fishing. The early nineteenth century was very successful for fishermen on Chedabucto Bay. As Haliburton recorded in the 1820s: "The fisheries of the Chedabucto Bay are perhaps as productive as any known in the world."⁴⁰ Quantities of cod, pollack or scale fish, herring and mackerel were taken throughout the fishing season. The catch was sold fresh by fishermen to traders in exchange for fishing supplies, or was cured and sold to merchants. Some of the fish was also shipped to Halifax and to the West Indies.⁴¹ By the late 1830s, however, there was a noticeable decline in the fishery. According to Jost:

...the harvest of the sea became more grudgingly available. There was a market for fish of certain varieties and quality ...To such

an extent had the catch fallen off that in some of the fishing settlements there was well marked distress...⁴²

Characteristic of the fishing industry was the variation of its success from year to year. Fishermen along the Atlantic Coast, during the early nineteenth century were often at the mercy of the fishery and the potato crop. Failure of both meant the possibility of starvation. In 1845 a Church of England catechist who ministered to the spiritual needs of Guysborough's Atlantic Coast commented on conditions which existed during that winter:

On account of fishing being scarce last season together with the loss of the potato crop, it is entirely out of their [inhabitants of the shore] power to assist or even make acknowledgement by subscription to the society this year.... Very many families I fear will be in deplorable condition before the ensuing spring, having neither bread nor potatoes more than will serve with economy...a few weeks.⁴³

Certain areas of the coast did experience better conditions than others. In Isaac's Harbour for example, which did not receive the greatest part of its inhabitants until the 1830s, a more diversified economy was established; interests were maintained in the fishery, timber industry, shipbuilding and the merchant marine. The result was a more economically stable community.

In the summer of 1860 gold was discovered at Mooseland on the Tangier River. This find subsequently sparked an interest in the precious metal farther down the coast in Guysborough County as well, where that same summer the first discovery was made at Wine Harbour. By the fall of 1861 there were about 200 people at work on the first leads in Wine Harbour.⁴⁴ In September of 1861 gold was discovered at Isaac's Harbour. This was followed shortly by finds at Sherbrooke and County Harbour. In Sherbrooke the initial prospects proved quite promising as Jost remarks: "Two hundred of them [miners] gathered and the result of their first day of work is said to have netted them about \$400.00."⁴⁵ The results were profound, having a particularly

beneficial economic impact on the western district.

Almost overnight population grew in the areas supporting gold finds. At the diggings outside Sherbrooke, houses and stores were built as well as a road, a bridge and two wharves. Soon a town appeared on the site and was given the name Goldenville. In 1862, 130 miners were employed on the site and by the end of the year 166 dwellings, stores and other buildings had been constructed and four crushers were erected at a total cost of \$16,000.00.⁴⁶ In 1869 nineteen companies were operating at Goldenville. This influx of people and money to the county meant an increased demand for other primary products, such as lumber and food, and brought prosperity particularly to the inland hinterland of the western part of Guysborough County. The social conditions of the area were also greatly affected. In Sherbrooke, for example, money was found to complete a number of new public buildings. With the increase in population around Sherbrooke, the area was able to support its own Presbyterian minister for the first time; prior to this a minister had been shared with the upper portions of the St. Mary's River.

Not all of the changes, however, were regarded as beneficial by local residents. A petition forwarded from the more "established" residents of Sherbrooke to the Legislative Assembly in 1862, sought easier conviction and punishment for those involved in illegal trafficking of alcoholic beverages. An excerpt from the petition reads:

That owing to the early progress of temperance principles, and the refusal of the Court of Sessions to license the sale of alcoholic beverages, this District has for a long period been saved from many and great evils.

That recently owing to the numbers who visit this place in search of gold attempts have been made to establish the traffic in intoxicating drinks and enough has occurred within a few weeks to alarm those who have the best interests of the community at heart.⁴⁷

In the late 1860s additional smaller gold leads were found at Lower Seal Harbour and Cochran Hill. Later discoveries were made at Crow's Nest (near Cochran Hill), Upper Seal Harbour, and Forest Hill. Each of these finds had more limited local effects.

The gold reserves of Guysborough County proved to be the richest in the province. Jost estimates that in the 50 years following the first discovery of the metal in 1860, Guysborough County's mines accounted for almost 35 percent of all extractions made in the province. Particularly fruitful were the deposits at Goldenville, which by the 1950s accounted for about one fifth of Nova Scotia's total gold production.⁴⁸ In Goldenville's 80 years of operation, a total of 209,952 ounces were extracted. Yet, the gold mining industry did not provide the Guysborough County economy with a sustained stimulus. Although the 1860s were generally prosperous for gold interests, between 1870 and 1890 success was irregular; there were some good years of production, but many more poor years. An increased interest in gold was experienced in the 1890s as a result of new technology which brought scientific knowledge of geology into the gold mine. It was at this time that there was a growing interest in gold deposits at Lower and Upper Seal Harbour and Forest Hill. This later boom however, proved short-lived and was on a much smaller scale than the growth experienced in the 1860s. Although some mines remained open until the 1930s, production after the turn of the 20th century saw an initial rapid decline and then a more gradual tapering off.

The 1860's were productive for Guysborough County; not only were gold extractions increasing, but also other primary resource based industries experienced much activity as population grew. In the 22 years since the 1838 census, Guysborough County's population increased by nearly 140 percent. In

1871 Guysborough's population reached 16,555. Growth varied enormously from district to district. The 1860-1 and 1871 census returns provide a valuable, detailed description of Guysborough County. A more detailed examination of these records is valuable in assessing the county's economic basis and its progress in each census district.

By the 1860s farming remained the chief pursuit of most inhabitants of the districts surrounding the Upper St. Mary's River, Goshen, Salmon River, Intervale, Manchester and Guysborough. In the census districts of Forks, Manchester, and Intervale for 1860-1 over 70 percent of those who listed occupations claimed a farm related livelihood. (SEE TABLE 1.1). In the Guysborough District, just over 50 percent claimed farm related occupations. Significant also in the Guysborough economy was fishing, which was claimed by approximately 20 percent as their chief livelihood.⁴⁹ Distinct about farming in Guysborough Intervale District was that it included a larger proportion of farm labourers than the other farming districts mentioned above. This may be partially attributed to the presence of a significant black population at Tracadie. These blacks had received smaller land grants per family, a factor which may have forced some to work as farm labourers. In the Forks District a larger proportion of the population than in the other farm districts claimed to be craftsmen and other more specialized workers.

Varying topography throughout the county meant that physically, farms looked very different from district to district. In the western section of the county, in St. Mary's, the intervale lands were most important agriculturally and contained the most fertile soil. In the eastern part of the county, in Intervale, Manchester and Guysborough, only a small area of intervale land was

available and farming was carried out on the uplands. Differences in topography may also have had an effect on the total acreages of cultivated land and its respective value [SEE TABLE 1:2]. The Forks contained the greatest number of acres cultivated (3560 acres), and the highest total dollar value (\$59,452). This was followed by Guysborough with 2994 acres cultivated at a total value of \$46,191.

By comparing the number of cultivated acres and total value to population a number of differences can be observed. The Forks had the highest number of cultivated acres per person (3.06 acres/person), followed by Intervale (2.12 acres/person). Similarly, the highest dollar value of cultivated land per person was found in the Forks District, which had a total land value on average of \$51.16 per person. This was followed by Intervale which had \$44.13 in cultivated land value per person. The acres of cultivated land per person and the dollar value of cultivated land per person were lower in Manchester and Intervale.

Land use also varied between agricultural districts in Guysborough County. In the districts where grants were made along river valley formations a higher proportion of the land tracts, on average, were left unimproved; these grants included many acres of land back from the main river valley which were often left uncultivated. A calculation of the percentage of total occupied land which was improved demonstrates this in Table 1:3. Along river valleys, in Caledonia, Intervale and the Forks, a lower percentage of the total occupied land was improved (from 12 to 19 percent). The highest proportion of total occupied land being improved was on the rolling hills of Manchester, where 42.1 percent of the total was improved, a level over twice the percentage of the river valleys. Differences can also be seen between districts in the

percentage of improved acres which were planted in crops. The most crop intensive area was Caledonia on the St. Mary's River, where 55 percent of improved land was growing crops. This is in contrast to Guysborough and Salmon River where respectively 44 percent and 36 percent of improved land was in crops. In these latter areas more land was left in pasture and hay growing.

The most productive crop growing district of the county was on the upper St. Mary's River. A greater intensity of cultivation was obvious in St. Mary's in 1860-1, as well as a higher level of hay and grain production. This was in contrast to Guysborough, for example where a greater emphasis was placed on root crops, a trait which seems to be more characteristic of economies more closely related to the sea. Dairy production was also quite important to Guysborough; in numbers of milch cows, Guysborough and St. Mary's were about equal. In Guysborough a greater part of the milk produced went into butter production. In 1860-1, 39,158 pounds of butter was produced in the Guysborough District, as compared with 26,737 pounds in Manchester, and, 26,692 in the Forks. In Intervale there was a smaller milking herd and lower butter production. In the Forks more of the milk produced went into cheese making. In 1860-1, 2092 pounds of cheese were produced in the Forks, almost twice as much as was produced in Guysborough [SEE TABLE 1:4].

It is clear that by 1871 farming was making progress in the county, even in only a ten year span; this was particularly true in the Forks. Although changes in census boundaries from 1860-1 to 1871 make it difficult to carry out direct comparisons within districts over time, general trends are visible. Despite the inclusion of less geographic area in the Forks, St. Mary's by 1871, advancement can be seen in almost all areas of farming: livestock, animal

products, crops grown, and farming implements used [SEE FIGURE 4]. The Forks remained the largest producer of most grains, including wheat.

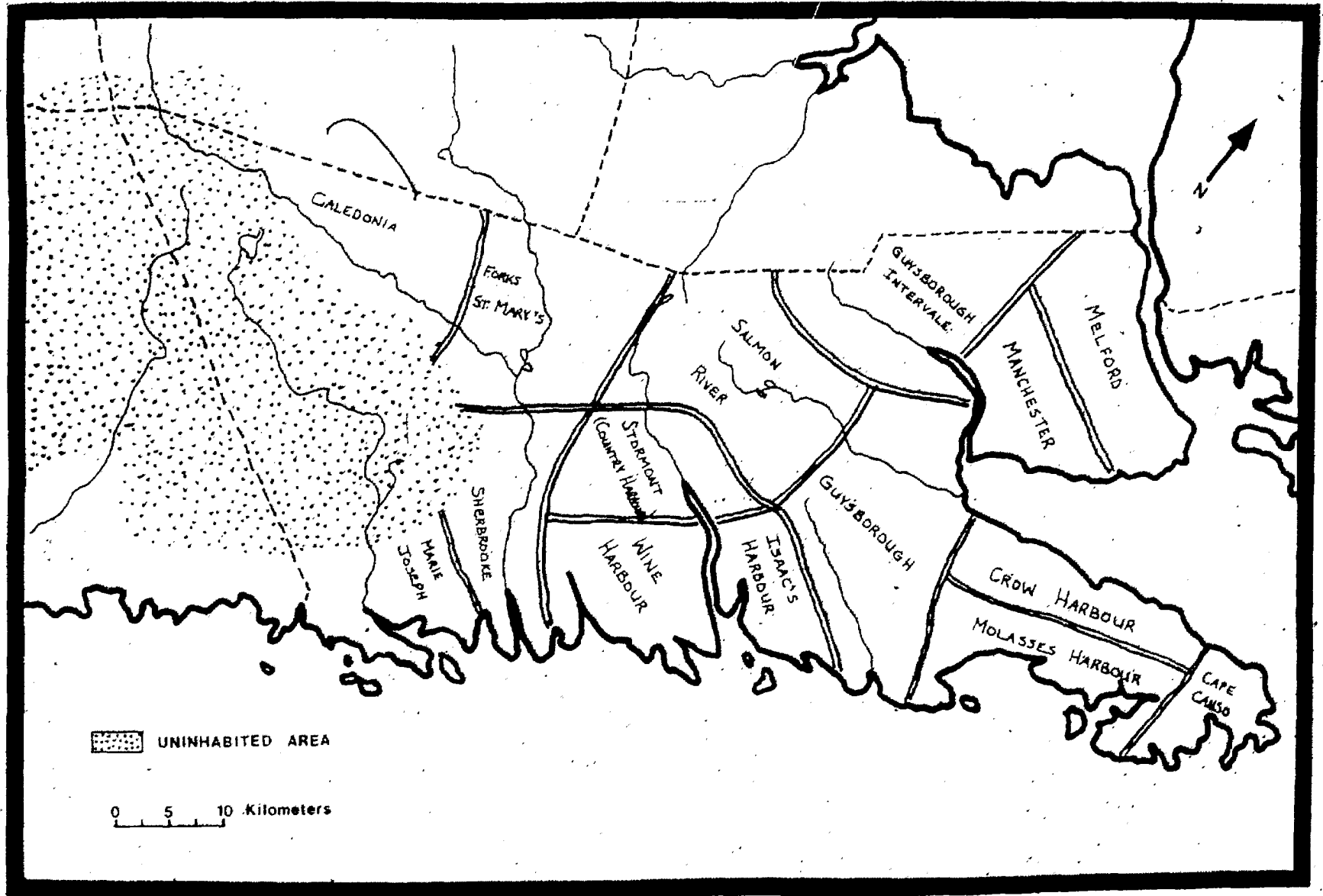
Breakdowns of bushels of potatoes harvested per acre allow a basic comparison of rates of productivity between districts [SEE TABLE 1:5]. Taking into consideration the generally fluctuating trend of agriculture, substantial differences in productivity can still be observed between districts. The Forks produced almost 20 bushels more per acre on average than its next highest counterpart, recording an average of 108 bushels per acre in 1871. The Salmon River and Guysborough Districts were much lower in their rates of production, lagging on average almost 40 bushels per acre behind the Forks. The cattle herd maintained in the Forks by 1871 far outstripped any of the other agricultural areas, and being almost double that of the next highest herds in the Intervale and Manchester. The 1976 cows in the Forks, were well over double in number the 806 maintained in Guysborough.

Part of the reason for Guysborough's slower rate of increase was that by 1871 the Salmon River District had been separated from it; also to be considered however, is that Forks, St. Mary's had also lost from its jurisdiction both Upper and Lower Caledonia. In 1871 the Forks, St. Mary's was the largest producer of butter, having made in that year a total of 51,900 pounds, almost 15,000 more pounds than Guysborough which had been the leading producer in 1861. Manchester had also surpassed Guysborough in butter production. The Forks also produced the highest quantities of cheese, wool, fabrics, and linen.

Farming implements were found in greater numbers in the Forks. There were more ploughs and cultivators, reapers and mowers, and fanning mills in this district than in other parts of the county. Taking fanning mills as an

FIGURE 4

CENSUS DISTRICTS OF GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY, 1871



example, in the Forks, St. Mary's in 1871 there were 32 in operation as compared with nine in Guysborough, eight in Manchester and Salmon River, and seven in the Intervale. In the western part of the county, on the St. Mary's River, horses were found in greater numbers and presumably were used most often as the beasts of burden. In the eastern portions, by contrast—Manchester, Intervale and Guysborough—oxen were found in larger numbers. These horses in the western half were also used for pulling carriages and sleighs which were comparatively much more abundant there. In 1871 there were 298 carriages and sleighs recorded in the Forks, as compared to 151 in Guysborough and 122 in Manchester; the populations for each of the districts in 1871 were respectively 1356 in the Forks, 1887 in Guysborough, and 1644 in Manchester. Considering the high rate of agricultural production by 1871 in the Forks and its population of only 1356 individuals, it seems obvious that an excess of food was being produced. The 1861 discovery of gold in the western half of the county meant an increased population and an increased market for produce on the lower St. Mary's. The Forks especially took advantage of this market, as the marked increases in production from 1860-1 to 1871 would reveal. This growth did however occur within the context of a more limited growth and expansion of agriculture county-wide.

Not only did the Forks, St. Mary's take advantage of its fertile soils to increase its agricultural production. In addition, mills were more abundant here than in any other district of the county [SEE TABLE 1:6]. In the Forks in 1871 there were 25 mills, 17 of which were saw mills; many of these mills were small seasonal operations, in some cases operated by farmers. The Forks also possessed four of the county's seven grist mills, and three of the six shingle mills. Second to the Forks was Intervale, where there were seven mills,

four sawmills, two shingle mills and the county's only fulling and dressing mill. While milling was an important supplement to income in the Forks and fishing was important to Guysborough, coopering was important in the Intervale and Manchester. Coopering required a lower capital investment than milling, but added extra income to many farmers' incomes in the Intervale and in Manchester, where the fishery was close at hand to provide a ready market for the barrels produced. Another industry requiring a low capital investment was shingle making, carried out by hand. This also was an important supplement for farmers in the Intervale and added to the myriad variety of ways farmers throughout the county supplemented their livelihoods.

Along the coast by the 1860s the sea still remained the most important influence. Yet it did not affect every coastal district in exactly the same way. In the 1860-1 census returns in the districts of Molasses Harbour and Crow Harbour over 60 percent of those occupied were fishermen [SEE TABLE 1:1]. In the districts of Canso and Country Harbour, respectively 57 percent and 51 percent claimed fishing as their chief livelihood. In these areas a restricted amount of farming was carried on to supply the needs of the immediate area. About 20 percent in each of these areas claimed to be farmers, with the only exception being Canso which, being a larger fishing port, had a higher proportion of craftsmen and merchants than the other districts. In the coastal census districts of Marie Joseph and Melford a different balance existed. Similar to the other four districts, just over 20 percent claimed to be farmers and produced food for local consumption. Only about 40 percent claimed to be fishermen. In Marie Joseph particularly there was a greater involvement in the merchant marine, 14 percent claiming to be mariners. In Melford 8 percent were mariners, while there were also a greater number of craftsmen and

merchants.

The exception to both of these generalizations was the district of Sherbrooke. In this area there was a slightly higher percentage of farmers than in other port areas, largely a result of the good intervalle lands just above Sherbrooke at Stillwater. Only 20 percent were fishermen in Sherbrooke District in 1860-1. The larger part of the population was involved in the merchant marine as mariners or were craftsmen. Sherbrooke district had the highest proportion of craftsmen of any district in the county. Included in these craftsmen were those involved in the lumbering industry. Sherbrooke, as well as the areas farther up the St. Mary's River, were the largest producers of timber in the county in 1860-1 [SEE TABLE 1:7]. Although the timber trade had some importance to Guysborough, it was not on the same scale as in Sherbrooke. In 1860-1, in Sherbrooke alone, 800,000 feet of pine, spruce, and hemlock boards were produced, along with 700,000 feet of deals supf. and 467 tons of square timber.

The port of Canso had the largest vessel fishery in the county in 1860. At Canso there were 19 fishing vessels which employed 118 people. This is in contrast to Molasses Harbour and Melford which were much more dependent on fishing boats [SEE TABLE 1:8]. Also varying from district to district was the type of fish that made up the most significant part of the catch. Although at this time the sale of dried fish was important all along the coast, the largest dry fishery took place at Canso (6190 quintals) and in Molasses Harbour (5671 quintals). Dry fish production was also of importance to Guysborough where in 1860-1, 5285 quintals were produced. Mackerel catches of the Bay fishery were most significant in Guysborough, while the herring catch was most important to Melford and Canso. Finally, alewives were caught in substantial amounts in

the county in 1860 only in Marie Joseph.

By 1871 the greatest numbers of men employed on vessels and boats were in the districts of Canso (372 men) and Molasses Harbour (322 men). Substantial numbers were also found at Melford (257 men) and Guysborough (221 men) [SEE TABLE 1:9]. As was true in 1860-1 Canso had the largest vessel fishery in the county, while in contrast the neighbouring district of Molasses Harbour had the largest boat fishery in the county. The number of factories and milling operations varied on the coast from district to district, as it did inland. Canso was an important centre of industry along the coast possessing four of five oil cloth factories found in the county, the only recorded lobster processing establishment, and three of five county boat building shops. Canso's industry was very much geared toward the fishery. In contrast, farther west in Isaac's Harbour, there were two saw mills and a single shingle mill. The lumber produced here was used to supply the merchant marine. In Marie Joseph a sawmill of substantial size processed timber from the upper Liscomb River for the export trade. In Wine Harbour District the activities of industry were concentrated in shipbuilding and gold mining. In 1871 within the district there were two boat building shops and the only recorded shipyard in the county. Wine Harbour District interests, until gold was discovered in 1860, were very much concentrated in the merchant marine. Communities along the coast of Guysborough County at this time were mainly dependent on the sea, yet the types of industries and the degree of dependence on the fishery varied greatly from village to village.

By the late nineteenth century, Guysborough County was more than what may have seemed like an endless collection of analogous fishing villages and scattered farm communities. The county, with its vast and varied topography, had developed a very complex society and economy, made up of a great variety of ethnic and religious groups. Inland and shore districts relied on very different resources or combinations of resources to gain a livelihood. Some agricultural districts supplemented their incomes with timber, while others relied on fishing. On the coast some districts were almost totally dependent on the fishery, while other areas were also reliant on timber, shipbuilding, gold mining and the merchant marine. The county, more than anything else at this time, was a collection of different peoples with varying interests held together only by a political boundary, something which in itself was openly challenged. As economic activity and expansion of the 1860s, gave way to changing circumstances in the late nineteenth century, it was not surprising that the situations and the responses of natives of Guysborough County would remain very different throughout the county.

NOTES

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6. Jost, Guysborough, p.52.
7. Neil MacKinnon, "The Loyalists: A Different People," Banked Fires: The Ethnics of Nova Scotia, ed. Douglas F. Campbell (Port Credit, Ontario: The Scribblers' Press, 1978), p.77.
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22. Ibid.
23. MacKinnon, Loyalists, p. 50.
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25. Hart, Guysborough County, p.72.
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27. P.A.N.S. "Petitions to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly," vol. 16, 17 February 1857.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., vol. 9, 18 February 1845.
30. Haliburton, Nova Scotia, p.90.
31. Ibid., p.95.
32. Grant, Development Sherbrooke, p.4.
33. Haliburton, Nova Scotia, p.90.
34. Ibid.
35. Halifax Nova Scotian, 28 July 1831.
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39. John N. Grant, "A Shipbuilding Document From Sherbrooke Village", Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, 6 (March 1976) :161.
40. Haliburton, Nova Scotia, p.90.
41. Ibid., p.91.

42. Jost, Guysborough, p.198.

43. Joseph Alexander Diary, 24 December 1845, Sherbrooke Village Restoration Project, Sherbrooke, Nova Scotia.

44. Jost, Guysborough, p.214.

45. Ibid.

46. Grant, "Development Sherbrooke," p.9.

47. P.A.N.S., "Petitions," vol. 18, 1 April 1862.

48. Jost, Guysborough, p.215.

49. Included in the Guysborough District were New Harbour, an Atlantic Coast community, and Salmon River, in the interior, each of which were respectively more dependant on fishing and farming. Although the inclusion of these areas distorts the picture one can portray of the immediate area around Guysborough, the different livelihoods should almost cancel each other, so that in actuality the picture we see is more accurately of Guysborough Town.

II

THE FARM DISTRICTS, 1870-1911:

A CHRONICLE OF EXODUS

The late nineteenth century was a time of remarkable change for the Maritime region of Canada. The prospering staples-based resource economy, reaching maturity in the 1860s, was soon faced with a number of challenges. A revolution in transportation made wooden, wind driven ships obsolete; they were gradually replaced by steel steam vessels, and by railways which opened inland areas. The end of reciprocal trade with the United States, Confederation, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876, and the Macdonald government's National Policy of 1879: all added to the impetus to reorient the Maritime Provinces away from Great Britain and from the ocean, towards Central Canada. With these changes came growing industrialization, accompanied by growth in Maritime industrial centres such as Sydney, New Glasgow, Amherst, Moncton and Saint John. Conversely there was a decline in traditional exports of fish and timber, and rural areas lost many of their inhabitants to Maritime industrial towns. In Nova Scotia alone, from 1881 to 1911, the proportion of the province's population living in rural areas dropped by nearly 25 percent.¹ In the same period the urban population of the province more than doubled.² Despite such expansion in local urban centres, however, thousands of people by the 1880s, left the region in search of better opportunities. Yoland LaVoie estimates that between 1871 and 1901 some 269,000 people, or 30 percent of the Maritimes' population left the region.³ Hardest hit by these population migrations were rural primary-based areas which exported their people to developing industrial areas of the Maritimes and to growth centres outside the region.

The late nineteenth century did not bring industrialization and urbanization to Guysborough County. Except for a five mile section of track along the Canso Strait, which led to the Cape Breton ferry link at Mulgrave, Guysborough County was completely without railway service. Most of the county remained isolated and was served by poor roads. No urban industrial centres emerged in the county. Fluctuating fortunes of gold seekers meant instability in the only industry which had brought significant numbers of immigrants to Guysborough County in the late nineteenth century. By the 1880s mining activity in the county had been drastically reduced, and Guysborough failed to advance beyond its dependence on primary resources. Many local residents who found their livelihood in farming, fishing, or timber, saw few alternatives to outmigration, and withdrew to Maritime centres of industry or to the United States in search of better opportunities. This migration initiated what became a persistent trend of population decline in Guysborough County.

In Guysborough County, the responses to economic change were diverse. Census returns for the county in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries give clear evidence of quite differing trends to be found in farming as opposed to fishing districts. On the coast the 1870s and 1880s brought greater stability to the fishery and sustained population growth. Farther inland for the farming districts the same period was characterized by outmigration and population decline. Census documents reveal that from 1881 to 1890 the number of fishermen in Guysborough County increased by over 60 percent, whereas the county's farm population sustained almost continuous losses; in one farming district alone, an absolute loss of 43 percent was experienced in the ten years from 1881 to 1891.⁴ The 1880s and 1890s brought new challenges to Maritime agriculture. As more farmers' sons and daughters emigrated, there

were fewer descendants to carry on the family farm. Competition from central Canada and the west increased. As some farmers grew disheartened with marginal soil and surrendered to the pull of Maritime industrial centres or the United States, farmlands were abandoned or sold. Farm-based communities were forced to adapt to contracting population.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine such changes in rural farm communities as they occurred in the agricultural districts of Guysborough County during the late nineteenth century. Particular attention is given to the state of Guysborough County agriculture in the 1870s and 1880s, the phenomenon of outmigration and its effects on farm structures, farming, and the community life as recorded in newspapers, educational reports and agricultural society reports.

Guysborough County in the twentieth century is not well known for its agriculture. Yet, in 1871, 31 percent of all individuals with occupational listings for the county were classified as farmers. In that year a total of 43,797 acres of land were improved in Guysborough County, approximately half of which was in pasture and half in cropland [SEE TABLE 2:1]. At its agricultural peak about ten years later, in 1881, the county supported 55,522 acres of improved land, of which 31,995 acres were in crops and 23,361 acres were in pasture.

Mixed farming was most common in Guysborough County in the 1870s and 1880s. Rather than specializing, farmers usually maintained a variety of livestock and crops. Throughout Guysborough County in 1881 there were 16,552 sheep, 8408 cattle, 2171 swine, and 1520 horses. Major crops grown included

potatoes, hay, buckwheat, oats, barley and wheat, all quite typical of the average mixed farm in Nova Scotia in 1881. Available yields per acre for the 1881 census show that on average in Guysborough County potato and wheat production per acre was below the provincial average, while hay production was higher per acre [SEE TABLE 2:2]. As was demonstrated in Chapter 1, however, within Guysborough County there was a great deal of diversity. Average county figures for agricultural production, in the late nineteenth century represented a mingling together of everything from subsistence farming on the Atlantic Coast to the best agricultural areas farther inland. A further subdividing of the county into census districts reveals great differences throughout Guysborough County in crop yields, numbers of livestock, types of farm implements, farm size, land usage, and livelihood supplements on the farm outside agriculture. Most of this variation resulted from Guysborough County's great geographic, economic, ethnic, and religious complexity.

According to the 1871 census returns, six of the fifteen subdistricts of the county were primarily agricultural: Forks (St. Mary's), Caledonia, Salmon River, Intervale, Manchester and to a lesser extent Guysborough [SEE Figure 4]. A detailed breakdown of occupation for these same areas in 1881 shows that from 63 to 85 percent of the occupied individuals in five of these six districts classified themselves as farmers (not including farm labourers). The only exception was Guysborough District which included Guysborough Town, the shire-town of the county. In this census division only 42 percent of those occupied were classified as farmers [SEE TABLE 2:3]⁵.

Growth and expansion had characterized life in the agricultural districts of Guysborough County to the 1880s. In the census report for that year, as Table 2:4 shows, populations for the Forks, Intervale, and Manchester were

between 1400 and 1500 persons. Guysborough, with its village population included, was the largest district having 1703 persons, while Salmon River and Caledonia were much smaller, having populations of 717 and 376 persons respectively.

The landform of these agricultural districts of the county was quite different. As mentioned earlier, in Manchester, Guysborough and parts of Intervale, most of the agricultural land (both crop and pasture land) was concentrated on rolling hillsides, there being a limited amount of valley interval available. In contrast, in the Forks, Caledonia, and Salmon River, most of the cropland was on the valley floor, while pasture land was on the hills rising out of the valley.

Farm size within Guysborough County also varied markedly between districts, as census information for 1871 demonstrates [SEE TABLE 2:5]. The greatest proportions of larger farms were in Salmon River and Caledonia, where almost all farms were more than fifty acres in size. In the Forks and Intervale respectively 86 percent and 78 percent of the farms were over 50 acres. A greater number of smaller farms were found in Guysborough where 61 percent were over 50 acres, however, it was in Manchester that a larger proportion of smaller farms of the county were found. In this latter district, mainly as a result of geography, a different granting scheme, and the influence of the fishery, 54 percent of the farms were under 50 acres. Most of the added size in the larger farms of Salmon River, Caledonia, and the Forks was the result of larger woodlots, which were usually cut out of the less fertile backlands.


Overall, the Forks contained the largest and most productive concentrations of farmland in the county. Although in 1871 the Forks did not

have the greatest total population of the farm districts, it did have the greatest total acreage improved and the largest acreage in crops [SEE TABLE 2:6]. Generally the district produced the largest quantities of field crops and maintained the greatest numbers of livestock. In 1871 the two districts on the St. Mary's River (the Forks and Caledonia) had the highest yields per acre of potatoes and hay in the county [SEE TABLE 2:7].

Table 2:8 gives an indication of the dollar value and quantity of farm land in four of the six agricultural districts under study, as recorded in the 1861 census. The greatest value in agricultural land was on the St. Mary's River.

The Forks, St. Mary's had the greatest number of farm implements per district according to the 1871 census, even given its smaller population than Guysborough and Manchester. Although ploughs and cultivators were common in all the farm districts, the degree of mechanization in the county at this time was generally low. Fanning mills for separating chaff from grain were present in all districts, although reapers and mowers, horse rakes and thrashing machines were less common [SEE TABLE 2:9]. The Forks had eight of the nine reapers and mowers found in the farm districts of the county and 32 of the 67 fanning mills.

Lack of available data makes it difficult to determine the types of farming methods used in the county, or to ascertain whether these techniques differed from district to district - which might account in part for varying rates of yield per acre [SEE TABLE 2:7]. Differences in productivity from district to district seem to have resulted from a combination of factors. The quality of the soil varied throughout the county, as did the landform. The people who had settled the land came from different cultural backgrounds;



many Scots had been farmers in the homeland and were better prepared to work the land than some of the Irish who had come from a pursuit of the fishery in Newfoundland, or the blacks who were accustomed to acting as slaves and not running their own farms in rocky northern climes. Different sources of non-agricultural income also placed varying demands on the farmer, fishing required time at sea during the growing season, whereas logging could be carried out in the winter when crops did not have to be tended.

In each of the six farming districts in the late nineteenth century there were active agricultural societies. These organizations, sponsored by government and local initiative, were funded by governmental grants and local dues. The societies aimed at improving agricultural standards, largely through the introduction of purebred livestock, good quality seed and improved farming implements. The societies encouraged their members to adopt new agricultural techniques by providing books and magazines to local farmers.⁶ To promote local agriculture the societies often sponsored a fall exhibition in the county, where livestock, crops and animal and farm produce could be displayed.

During the 1870s in the Maritimes, agriculture was generally still expanding. Despite increases in the acreage of occupied land and in the number of occupiers, the farmer in Guysborough County faced a number of restrictions and limitations. Original grants of land usually had been large, but the amount of arable land contained in each had been limited and largely restricted to the river valleys. The backlands were usually rocky and infertile, offering poor opportunities for sons who desired to take up farming. Even within the six districts where agriculture was most prevalent in Guysborough County, many farmers maintained non-agricultural interests as a supplement to their livelihood. Such additional practices distracted the farmer's attention from the farm

and hindered the advance of agriculture. S.A.Saunders commented on this problem in his Economic History of the Maritime Provinces:

...the extensive practice of combining one or several other occupations with farming make difficult a high degree of efficiency in farm management and the adoption of new and improved agricultural practices.⁷

These outside interests maintained by farmers were not revealed in occupational classifications of census data. Detailed information given under local shops and industries in 1871 does however, give some indication of the types of non-agricultural interests maintained by farmers and how they differed from district to district. In Caledonia and the Forks the timber industry was an important supplement to the local economy. Although some young men were employed in the lumber camps during the winter months, many farmers cut logs on their woodlots during the winter and in the spring would float them downstream for processing. Other farmers had their own sawmills and would spend time during the summer months sawing lumber for local use or to float down the river for sale in Sherbrooke to local mills for export or to feed the local shipbuilding industry. The Forks had seventeen sawmills in operation in 1871, four of which operated for six months or longer. Although these were not the largest sawmills in the county they represented the greatest concentration of sawmills in a district.

In the districts of Manchester and Guysborough much of the best timber already had been cut by the late nineteenth century. Farm grants here tended to be smaller and generally had less wood land. The close proximity of Chedabucto Bay drew some farmers from these areas to fishing as a livelihood supplement. According to the 1871 census in Guysborough and Manchester there were respectively 114 and 90 boats found in each district, more than were found in any other farm districts of the county. Although not all farmers

fished, many depended indirectly on the fishery. In Manchester, some farmers made barrels: there were over 90 individuals who operated single man cooperages in 1871. These were operations which required a lower capital investment than a sawmill or a fishing boat.

Guysborough Intervale, being farther removed from the Chedabucto Bay, did not offer farmers the same option of fishing. Many individuals there turned to coopering, as in Manchester, selling their barrels for storage of fish. In 1871 there were over 40 single man cooperages in the Intervale. Shingle making (by hand) was another source of additional income which required a low level of capital investment and was common in the Intervale. About 30 individuals made shingles in 1871. There was some lumbering carried on in this district but it was on a more limited scale than in St. Mary's.

Of all the agricultural districts in Guysborough County, Salmon River appears to have been the most dependent on agriculture. As it was farther inland, the fishery option was not as readily available, nor were there any barrel makers or shingle makers listed in this district in 1871. Although there were two sawmills in Salmon River in 1871, they were single-man operations, with small outputs. General statistics showing output of raw timber for the district were also very low.

The five decades following 1881 saw tremendous change in agriculture throughout the Maritimes. Between 1891 and 1941 some 27,000 farms were abandoned in Nova Scotia alone.⁸ A variety of factors converged to bring decay to Maritime agriculture: industrialization, urbanization, rural depopulation, and changes in transportation. While some farmers turned to specialization

in particular crops or livestock, many more abandoned the farm for Maritime centres of industry or the United States. In Guysborough County, agricultural decay began earlier than elsewhere and was more extreme. Few farmers were able to find a viable solution in specialization, since most of the county remained rural and was cut off from rail service and urban centres.

Failing to evolve beyond its resource-based economy, Guysborough County did not develop an urban industrial centre. By the 1870s outmigration had begun to take its toll of the county's young people. Outmigration had always occurred throughout the Maritime Region.⁹ The extent of this movement in the first half of the nineteenth century however, was not enough to offset the colonies' expanding populations. Even after the midpoint of the nineteenth century, from 1851 to 1881, growth rates were high in the Maritimes and on a par with levels elsewhere in Canada.¹⁰ In Guysborough County, the discovery of gold attracted hundreds of migrants. To some extent this spread additional activity into agricultural districts of the county, which were required to produce food and timber to meet the extra demand. The western half of the county was most affected by this gold boom. Underneath this high growth rate however, outmigration was beginning to take place in the county, the heaviest toll initially being taken among Guysborough's young adults. Young single rural inhabitants began to leave, at first on a more seasonal bases.¹¹ In 1870 the school inspector for the county reported the problem of outmigration among the county's young men, and its relation to schools:

So many of the young men have left, that in many Sections there are not sufficient rate-payers to support a School - and even in some sections where a school is kept, the salaries are so low that the abilities of the teacher engaged are often found far short of what many of the pupils require.¹²

Although the inspector did not mention outmigration among females, it also

appears to have been a significant problem, perhaps even more so than for males. Male to female ratios for 1861 show 97 more males than females in the county, by 1881 however, there were 316 more males than females in Guysborough County.

This movement of single young rural adults in the 1870s was felt all over the Maritimes, and continued into the late nineteenth century, when in any given decade young active age groups lost between 20 and 50 percent of their numbers, three to four times the rate of loss for the population at large.¹³

In the agricultural districts of Guysborough County the situation did not always encourage young people to stay. In family units having numerous sons, all could not remain on the family farm and expect to support families of their own. The option of farm expansion or seeking to take up new land was restricted in Guysborough County because most of the best land had already been granted. To many young adults the prospects of hard laborious work on the farm was unappealing and uninviting. The most viable option seemed to be outmigration. Urban centres appeared to offer an array of advantages, and opportunities for success.

The results of this initial wave of outmigration had a varying statistical impact on the county's farm districts. Only Manchester experienced any absolute population decline at this early time, losing 13 percent of its population from 1871 to 1881. If one takes 14 percent as the minimum decadal growth necessary for a retention of natural increase,¹⁴ loss in population was also recorded in the Forks, Salmon River and Guysborough [SEE TABLE 2:10]. Only Intervale and Caledonia experienced real increases, respectively 22 percent and 59 percent.¹⁵ The effect of decline in farm population, on agricultural output,

and on farm size, however, was minimal at this early stage. Generally at this time agriculture continued to expand in Guysborough County. During this stage of the outmigration wave, younger people seemed to be most affected. Not many farmers up-rooted their families and left the county in the 1870s. Even if some farmers' sons and daughters left the farm, the larger families of the day ensured that there was still sufficient help remaining to continue the farming operations.¹⁶ The advent of increased farm mechanization also meant that fewer farm labourers were required. This drain of young sons and daughters had a more delayed effect on farms of the county. Only in Manchester, where the greatest population decline was experienced, did noticeable changes in farms appear in the census information by 1881.

Farms in Manchester on average had been smaller than in the other districts of Guysborough County prior to 1881, 54 percent in 1871 were less than 50 acres. By 1881 there was population decline as well as expansion of farmland in Manchester to make larger and more viable farms. By 1881 only 33 percent of the district's farms were less than 50 acres, while 67 percent were over 50 acres [Table 2:11]. Consolidation of farmland did not occur because the actual total number of occupiers of the land remained about the same from 1871 to 1881. Since other farm districts were not similarly affected it would appear that this phenomenon may have been related to changes in the fishery, an important supplement to the Manchester farm economy. A poor spell of fishing may have driven some full-time fishermen of Manchester out of the region, and forced those who were fishermen-farmers to become more dependent on agriculture. Only a failure of the fishery would have brought population decline and consequently an expansion of agriculture to replace the lost fishing income.

Agricultural Society reports support such a suggestion. In 1878 the Milford Haven Society, which included Manchester, reported a reduction in its membership and their subscriptions. The secretary stated: "There are many causes for this being the case, but the scarcity of money is, no doubt the chief one."¹⁷ One year later a further drop in society membership was recorded. The secretary reported: "We are sorry to have to report a large falling off in membership this year, owing to the failure of the fishery and the consequent scarcity of money."¹⁸ This demonstrates the close interrelationship of farming with fishing in Manchester and confirms the decline in the fishery. The Guysborough District, which again was somewhat dependent on fishing, also showed some changes in farm size and a decrease in total number of occupiers of the land. Full analysis of these changes however, is made impossible because of alterations in the census district boundaries and the influence of the village. Reports from the local agricultural society in the village show a declining interest in agriculture generally in the late 1870s. In 1875, the secretary remarked: "We very much regret that many of our farmers take so little interest in agricultural matters."¹⁹ Two years later the secretary stated: "Although we regret very much that a larger number of our farmers do not take a more lively interest in agricultural matters."²⁰

As the migration of young people from rural to urban areas continued into the 1880s throughout Guysborough County, it became apparent that the lure of the city was becoming a threat to rural farm life. In an attempt to convince farmers' sons of the value of farm life, as opposed to the false hopes offered by the city, locally read newspapers heralded the ills of city life. A writer for the Eastern Chronicle's weekly column "For the Farmer", challenged farmers' sons to consider the advantages of the farm over the temptations of

the city:

The great tendency for farmers' sons to seek a life of ease in the towns and cities, and to cultivate a dislike for the so-called drudgery of the farm or garden, calls forth earnest effort to try to convince the boys of the mistake they make in exchanging the free, happy healthy life of the country for the bondage and uncertainties of city life. The ambition to become great, and able to lead a life of ease and luxury, is often the snare that is laid to lure many a youth from the quiet steady life of the farm to embark in the feverish existence of a business career that, after it is frittered to the bitter end, closes with bankruptcy, and financial ruin.²¹

The writer continued in a three fold argument - financial, physical, and moral - to attempt to convince farmers' sons of the value of staying on the farm.

As the "exodus" continued so did the reports of departures for the United States. In January of 1884 a correspondent from St. Mary's reporting to the New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle lamented the removal of so many of the district's young people:

The St. Mary's district has had its share of the "Exodus" during the last few year [sic]. Many of our young people have gone to seek their fortune in the United States. It is hoped that some of them may return and not wholly deprive "their native land" of the fruits of their honest industry.²²

Regularly, by the late 1880s, young people departed from Guysborough's agricultural districts in the spring. A correspondent from Guysborough Town stated in March of 1889:

The Spring exodus of our young men has again begun. Almost every train carries numbers of them to Uncle Sam's territory to seek their fortunes. While we wish them success, yet we regret that they do not see their way clear to remain at home, and thus give their own country the benefit of their labor while in the prime of life.²³

Migration did not always stop with one generation of farmers' children. While spring brought exodus, summer meant the return of many migrants for summertime vacations with their relatives and friends in Guysborough County. The maintenance of these ties ensured that migration would be more easily

facilitated for following generations who would also be encouraged to emigrate, being told of the benefits of city life and promised assistance on arrival in the city. A reporter from the Forks in 1888 wrote of the ties maintained by former residents: "Quite a number of our young folk have of late arrived at their home from Yankee Town to spend the hot months of summer enjoying the gentle [sic] breezes and invigorating atmosphere to be found here."²⁴ From Caledonia a correspondent reported: "Quite a number of our friends from different parts of the country and the States, are home at present visiting their friends."²⁵ The ties of family and friends to outmigration and destination points are obvious in obituaries which appeared in the local paper. From Lower Caledonia in 1892:

We are sorry to record the death of James Nelson McQuarry, of this place who died last month in California. Only a few weeks previous we were startled by the news of the death of another young man, Alexander Cruickshanks, who also died in the same place. Both young men were surrounded by loving brothers and friends.²⁶

Another obituary from Cross Roads, St. Mary's (Aspen) gives testimony of the toll that outmigration had taken on the children of whole families:

He [Mr. McKeen] leaves a widow and seven children to mourn their loss - only one of whom was privileged to [return home from Providence to] attend [sic] his death bed; the rest all residing in the United States.²⁷

After 1881 and through to 1931, growth rates in the Maritimes slumped and remained very low as the affects of outmigration became more visible. During the 1880s, according to Patricia Thornton, outmigration was for the first time higher in the Maritimes than in the rest of Canada: "out-migration had reached epidemic proportions: the net loss represented some 112,000 people or 12.5 per cent of the population of the Maritimes alone."²⁸ From Guysborough County between 1881 and 1921, according to Thornton's calculations,

6240 people departed.²⁹ Although this movement had begun with the young single people, often on a seasonal basis, by the 1880s it had come to embrace the older, more stable elements of the population as whole families abandoned their farms. It was at this time, as Brookes says, that: "...the exodus took on a more permanent complexion, reaching its climax in the 1880s and 1890s."³⁰

Brookes explains how the nature of the migration was altered over time:

The changing nature of the migration during the period can be separated into three categories embracing both sexes, and all ages, religions, and ethnicities. The first group to leave consisted of young, single males and females whose departures were often on a seasonal or temporary basis. The intermediary category was of newly-weds and young couples with no or very few children who began married life by deciding to set up home in a locality with better prospects for advancement. The third group embraced older people, over thirty-five years of age, who migrated either as whole families or as elderly parents given to an offer to join successful offspring elsewhere.³¹

It was when the exodus encompassed this more stable element of the Maritime population that almost immediate effects could be seen in census statistics for farm districts, particularly in Guysborough County.

In the 1880s the "exodus" was a serious problem to the Maritime Provinces and as Brookes says: "...had taken on the characteristics of a mass migration, spreading into rural areas not previously affected, and even to industrializing urban centres of the region."³² Almost weekly the Eastern Chronicle included reports from the agricultural districts of Guysborough County which told of the departure of local inhabitants: from Cameron's Settlement: "Miss Carrie Cameron has left for Boston."³³ from Goshen: "Quite a number of our young folks left here this week for the States."³⁴ from Middle Caledonia: "The Misses Chisholm intend leaving for 'Uncle Sam's' domain this week."³⁵ from Aspen: "Miss Sarah Gunn, Miss Gussie McKeen and Miss Bell Polson left our neighbourhood this week to try Uncle Sam's country

-Still they go."³⁶ and from Smithfield:

John C. Archibald and wife have gone to Uncle Sam's domain...
Etta M. McIntosh has also gone. Miss Libbie McIntosh is home
from Boston but we are sorry to learn she intends going back
soon. "Still they go".³⁷

In Guysborough County all six of the agricultural districts experienced absolute population loss from 1881 to 1891. An average of 12 percent of the population was lost from these districts in only ten years. In Caledonia, where the loss was more extreme than in the other districts, a decline of 43 percent was recorded [SEE TABLE 2:10]. In Caledonia, Intervale, and Manchester there were declines in the number of occupiers of the land as well, while in Salmon River and the Forks slight increases were experienced [SEE TABLE 2:12]. Once again Caledonia's loss was most extreme: a decrease of 33 percent of the occupiers of the land from 1881 to 1891. The reason for the great exodus in Caledonia may have been its greater proximity to the growing industrial area of New Glasgow, and thus to the rail connection which led to the West and the United States. The slight increases in the number of occupiers of land in the Forks, St. Mary's may have been because it was the most viable farm district of the county. No visible reasons indicate why a smaller decline occurred in Salmon River. An increase in farming activity in Guysborough in the 1880s can only be explained by a failure in the fisheries which would have drove more fishermen to farm, as in Manchester a decade earlier. In a report from Guysborough Town in 1889 the correspondent bemoaned the plight of local fishermen:

I regret I cannot report matters so satisfactory for the fishermen, who represent such a large proportion of our population. The spring mackerel proved a complete failure, also the catch of fat herring in July was comparatively small in our bay, (consequently the cod fishermen report a poor harvest) as well as the net fish....This being the third consecutive season that has proved a failure for the hardy toilers of the sea, the prospects

for them, in view of the long winter fast approaching, is by no means a bright one.³⁸

Newspapers weekly reported the departure of more of the "faint-hearted" farmers who gave up on their often rocky and unfertile soil to find better opportunities elsewhere. A correspondent from St. Mary's reported in February of 1892:

Rumour has it that a number more of the so called 'faint hearted' ones are ere long to leave for the western states. We do trust in the near future to see such a change in government which will induce those true hearted sons and daughters which C.H. Tupper so ignominiously slandered, return again to the land which gave them birth.³⁹

Although the flood of young people continued unabated, the departure of farmers with their whole families meant changes in farm ownership and farm abandonment. A Middle Caledonia writer reported in 1892:

James Cameron has bought Mr. McQuarrie's Farm at Middle Caledonia. Mr. McQuarrie intends moving to the far west with his wife and family. Another of "the faint hearts".⁴⁰

Another Caledonia correspondent told readers: "Geo. A. McIntosh and family have removed to the far West. We wish them prosperity in their new home, but we will miss them here."⁴¹ The web of friends and relatives already in the United States or the Canadian West often encouraged those at home to join them. Parents were urged by their children to migrate and be with their offspring.

Mr. W.H. MacDonald is about to retire from business and will leave shortly to make his home in the United States. Mr. MacDonald will be greatly missed by the community at large.⁴²

The decision to move sometimes followed visits to their children's adopted home or winter visits to the United States. A correspondent from Greenfield, St. Mary's (Denver) demonstrates this network of connections in the United States reporting in 1894:

Mrs. Samuel McLean has gone to the States and is now at her daughter's in Cambridge. She will visit her son in Lowell and her brothers and sisters and friends besides; and is expected to return in October.⁴³

This mass migration of people very soon took its toll on the county's agriculture, changing farms and communities. Even in the 1880s farmers in Guysborough County were writing about how agriculture could be improved in the county and how young people could be kept at home to work the farms. A reporter from Glenelg (Forks) wrote in 1885:

True, this is an agricultural community and farmers are not as wide awake as they should be to their own interests. What is to prevent an agricultural society being formed...? ...The benefits of uniting in a society and meeting for the discussion of the best methods of improving the farm and farm stock and for the encouragement of each other in the practical application of these methods would be, if properly managed, of incalculable benefit to farmers, stimulate enterprise and keep our young people at home.⁴⁴

The farm faced serious challenges, as reflected in the local newspapers. A writer for The Eastern Chronicle, questioned his readers for possible solutions to the departure from the farm of many local people:

The question before us to-day is: are there any ways and means, are there any practical methods that can be adopted to stay, in some measure, the exodus from the farm to town or city, or to foreign parts; to improve and elevate agriculture, and make our farmers more contented and better off, and consequently, make agricultural life more attractive than formerly?⁴⁵

No effective solutions were immediately found however, and the movement continued. In 1892 a writer for The Eastern Chronicle demonstrated the seriousness of the threat which outmigration posed to local agriculture in Guysborough County:

In my travels through the county of Guysborough, I noticed evidence of good crops. Hay seems to be extra good and it looks as if farmers will have a plenteous harvest. Will there be enough of our young men left at home to reap the harvest?⁴⁶

As the prosperity of gold mining faded in Guysborough County and

people left, markets for agricultural produce began to dry up, forcing local farmers to search for possible alternatives. In 1884 a farmer from the Forks District offered his advice:

Should the mining district of Goldenville fail as a market for farm produce, as indications at present seem it may, farmers here will have to change their system of farming, as in fact, I think they ought to do under any circumstances. Better to raise more hay, and fatten more cattle, and improve the breeds, than to go on in the old plan of raising cereals and roots for market. It will improve the land and pay the better.⁴⁷

In addition to outmigration and declining local markets, competition from central Canada and the west placed increasing market pressure on Maritime farmers. The network of railway links allowed mass produced agricultural products to flood the Maritime marketplace. As Robert MacKinnon states:

...Central Canadian wholesalers gradually took over functions formerly performed by local grocers and merchants, and it became cheaper to purchase imported items (particularly flour and manufactured goods), the production of some farm and household commodities dropped off (especially wheat, barley, buckwheat, barley [sic], rye, corn, wool, cloth and cheese...).⁴⁸

Some farmers in the Maritimes were able to take advantage of the railway link which brought these foreign goods into the region. Growing local industrial centres offered new markets for farmers and rail provided a comparatively quick and easy means of transportation for perishable goods. This new opportunity allowed expansion particularly in the province's commercial dairying and poultry raising industries and brought increasing specialization in crops like potatoes and apples.⁴⁹

Guysborough County farmers did not have the advantages of a nearby industrial centre to market their goods, nor did they have easy access to the rail line. As a consequence, farmers of Guysborough County were not able efficiently to market their dairy and poultry products in Maritime growth

centres and they were not induced to extensive specialization. The result was that decline in Guysborough County's farms came earlier than in other parts of Nova Scotia, prior to 1891. Although there was some increased activity in dairying by 1891 in Guysborough County [SEE TABLE 2:13] - as the number of milking cows increased and as cheese making factories processed local milk - declining markets and a lack of rail transportation, however, prevented its continued success. By 1901 decreases in number of milking cows were shown.

The quality of the soil itself was also an important influence on the deterioration of agriculture. In the districts of the Intervale, Salmon River and Manchester, available figures of yield per acre were substantially below the provincial average in the 1880s for potatoes and less so for hay [SEE TABLE 2:14]. Although Caledonia and Guysborough came closer to the provincial average in potato production, they surpassed the average in hay production. The Forks, St. Mary's was the only district to surpass the provincial average in both potato and hay production per acre in 1880-81. Given these production levels, it is not surprising that in some of the less productive areas such as Intervale, and Manchester the number of occupiers of the land declined sooner as poor quality land was abandoned more quickly. As people found it more difficult to survive and compete they were either forced to leave or were drawn away by outside prospects.

The sum of these factors - outmigration of farmers and their sons and daughters, market changes, increasing competition, lack of rail transportation, and poor quality soil - brought noticeable decline to Guysborough County agriculture as early as the 1890s. Although the total land occupied in the county increased slightly, from 1881 to 1891 (2.5%), the total land improved declined by 16 percent, and cropland decreased by 32 percent [SEE TABLE

2:15]. More land was being left in pasture (an increase of 822 acres or 3.5%), but this in no way accounted for 10,000 acres of crop land that was lost after only ten years. Especially dramatic was the loss of acreage in grain from 1881 to 1891, largely the result of the influx of grain from Ontario and the west. Most noticeable was the decline in wheat acreage, a loss of 89 percent in only ten years; production went from 6529 bushels in 1881 throughout the county to 856 bushels in 1891 [See Table 2:16]. The same was true of other grain crops. Bushels of barley produced declined by 68 percent, while bushels of buckwheat and oats had respective losses of 46 percent and 35 percent. The staples of hay and potatoes also showed declines in both acreage planted and total bushels produced. Potato acreage showed a 31 percent decline, and bushels harvested were down 25 percent. Hay acreage was down fourteen percent and bushels produced were down nine percent. While such losses in cultivated crops occurred throughout the county, production per acre for all available crops (wheat, potatoes and hay) slightly increased [See Table 2:17]. Although this increase in production was partially the result of improved seed and farm methods, most of it was more likely owed to abandonment of poorer quality land which had kept production averages for the county lower.

This contraction of agriculture in Guysborough County was in contrast to comparative provincial trends for the 1890s. Land occupied in Nova Scotia from 1881 to 1891 had increased 13 percent, and improved acreage was up eight percent. While on average provincially there was a drop of 20 percent in crop acreage, in Guysborough County the decline was more extreme at 32 percent [SEE TABLE 2:18]. In other parts of Nova Scotia farms expanded because railroads and propeller driven steamships, opened new markets for agricultural produce, both at home and abroad.⁶⁰ Without adequate transport-

ation facilities, Guysborough County's farms faced serious restrictions.

Not all of the agricultural districts of Guysborough County responded in the same way to these forces which brought farm decline. Different districts were affected by distinct circumstances and differing trends resulted. Decline was most serious in the districts of Caledonia and Manchester. Only a decade earlier in Manchester, an expansion of farming had occurred because of a failure of the fisheries. This expansion, however, was short-lived. By the 1890s in this district some farmers seemed to be returning to fishing, leaving much of their farm land uncultivated. While the occupiers of the land only decreased by eight percent in Manchester, the acreage of improved land dropped 79 percent and the acreage of crop land decreased by 63 percent. Contrastingly, in Caledonia more of the decline in agriculture was the result of outmigration and farmers giving up their lands. From 1881 to 1891 in Caledonia there was a 27 percent drop in acres of land occupied and respectively 69 and 68 percent losses in improved acreage and cropland acreage [SEE TABLE 2:18]. In the same ten years the overall population of Caledonia dropped by 43 percent [See Table 2:10], as compared to a decline of only nine percent in Manchester. Marketing of agricultural produce was difficult for Caledonia, because of its poor transportation links and greater distance from county centres of population. The Intervale lost 17 percent of its population in the same time and lost 14 percent of its acreage of occupied land. This district was significantly affected by outmigration of farmers and by poor quality of agricultural land. In 1871 and 1881 the Intervale had the lowest yields per acre in the county. By 1891, because of the elimination of less productive farms, yield per acre had been greatly increased. In these three districts which experienced the greatest contraction in farmland (Caledonia, Manchester and Intervale) decreases were

also experienced in the number of occupiers of the land.

In the Forks, one of the most productive agricultural areas, a decline of nine percent in the total population was recorded, but only a three percent drop in acres of occupied land was shown. Outmigration was more of a problem among the young of the district, and did not so much imply the departure of farmers and their families, according to newspaper reports. The reason for this was that the farmland in the Forks was of a better quality and so marginality of farm production did not force as many farmers to leave; also, greater proximity to the village of Sherbrooke and its neighbouring gold mining town provided an important market for Forks produce.

In Salmon River District, population decline was minimal: only minus two percent in the ten years following 1881. Similarly, there was only a three percent loss in acres of occupied land. Limited information is available concerning this district, there being no newspaper information or school reports which specifically refer to Salmon River. The most plausible explanation for this small decline in Salmon River was the discovery of gold in Forest Hill in the 1890s. This industry helped somewhat to stabilize the district.

The only district which experienced any growth in agriculture was the Guysborough District, where a temporary revival of agriculture had occurred. This expansion of agriculture in Guysborough was possibly the result of problems in the fishery, as mentioned above. Changes in the Guysborough census boundaries make accurate analysis for the district very difficult.

The measurement of agrarian decline according to livestock is more difficult. With figures not being available for 1881, a 20 year gap is left. To a certain degree, as improved land declined in the county livestock gained a greater prominence on the farms of the county. Examination of the figures in

Table 2:20 shows that from 1871 to 1891 the greatest increases in livestock numbers were in cattle and sheep. These animals do not appear to have been so negatively affected by agrarian changes by 1891 as was crop production. Particularly for farmers in the eastern portion of the county, livestock sales were more of a possibility; animals could be herded to the rail station in Mulgrave or at Tracadie in Antigonish County. A report to the Eastern Chronicle in 1891 reported a large shipment of lambs out of Manchester District and an increase in sheep raising:

A drove of nearly six hundred sheep and lambs were started from here on Tuesday morning, 20th inst., for Tracadie station, to be shipped to the States. These sheep were purchased by S.H. Pyle for P.G. Mahony of St. John, N.B. Four hundred of them were purchased during the fore noon of the 10th and three hundred of them were weighed and marked during the consecutive hours. Farmers are giving more attention to sheep raising here than formerly, some farmers having as many as twenty-five lambs for sale on the 19th.⁵¹

There was an increase of from 33 to 67 percent in the number of other horned cattle from 1871 to 1891 in the eastern districts of the county (Guysborough, Salmon River, Intervale, and Manchester). In the western half, the Forks and Caledonia recorded increases of only 21 and 22 percent respectively [SEE TABLE 2:20].⁷ The greatest increases in numbers of milking cows was in Salmon River and Intervale, where the milking herd grew by 26 percent. In the Forks the milking herd grew 14 percent and in Guysborough by one percent. Both Caledonia and Manchester, which experienced the greatest overall decline, lost respectively seven and 21 percent of their milking herds. Proportionally it seems clear that, livestock, particularly cattle, received greater attention from local farmers by the 1890s. However, in districts such as Caledonia and Manchester, where outmigration took its greatest toll, dairying did not become an option and only beef cattle experienced any growth.

Throughout Nova Scotia by the 1890s many farmers were moving towards specialization in dairying. In Guysborough County it was in the districts of the Forks, Guysborough, Salmon River and Intervale that the greatest volumes of cheese and butter were produced. Small local creameries or cheese factories emerged to serve most of these areas. Sketchy information on the production rates of these creameries prevent the piecing together of an accurate picture of Guysborough's dairy industry, except according to herd numbers. In 1894 the Antigonish Casket reported the opening of a new cheese factory at Boylston in the Manchester district:

The cheese-factory at Boylston is about completed. This is, we believe, the first of the kind established in this county. It should receive the encouragement and patronage of the farmers here, as it is an industry which under a capable manager must tend to the advantage of all concerned. We understand that in connection with the factory, Mr. Kirk has chartered a small steam-boat to carry the milk from different places along the bay and river.⁵²

For the three decades immediately following 1891, no detailed agricultural information is available in the census reports according to districts, thus preventing detailed analysis. County agricultural totals and school reports, however, demonstrate clearly that the 1890s continued to bring change to farm districts of Guysborough County:

Outmigration continued to be a problem throughout Guysborough County, with most agriculturally-based districts experiencing decline. In the Forks, Salmon River, and Manchester the absolute decline was greater than it ever had been before. The only district showing an increase in population was Caledonia, where population increased 25 percent. The reason for this short term increase in population is not completely clear, but it may have been related to the forest industry which was an important supplement to farming in Caledonia. Reports from the late 1890s tell of the largest booms of lumber ever

being brought down the river to Sherbrooke.⁵³ The Miller Company with its mill at Sherbrooke awarded contracts to men from Caledonia.⁵⁴ By the late nineteenth century most of the best timber downriver had been cut, while in the less densely populated area of Caledonia good timber still remained. The Caledonia area supplied timber to the Sherbrooke mill. By 1897 a new gang saw mill had opened in Sherbrooke which was capable of sawing ten to twelve million feet of lumber per season. This new mill may have created an even greater demand for timber from the Caledonia area.

By the turn of the twentieth century the effects of three decades of outmigration of the county's young people were truly becoming visible. The school inspector in 1901 reported a shortage of young children:

The depletion that has been going on in the population of our agricultural districts in eastern Nova Scotia for several years past, has had a particularly baneful effect on our country schools. The old rural homes no longer rejoice in the mirth and frolic of healthy and happy children; new homes and families are, unhappily, but rarely to be met with.⁵⁵

This dearth of students and families led to school closures by the turn of the twentieth century. The inspector commented in 1902:

Schools, once strong and flourishing, are now no more; or are so weak in pupils that trustees do not feel justified in engaging any but the cheapest teachers. Nor are these sections, as a rule, territorially small, or weak in property valuation.⁵⁶

Communities were so seriously affected that even those which had previously maintained strong schools faced school closure. Later, the inspector reflected on this problem:

...two efficient causes brought about the gradual decay and practical extinction, in this division, of a large number of these schools which were once flourishing. One was the abandonment of farms on the more elevated and less productive areas in these counties [Guysborough and Antigonish], and the other an unfortunately general movement on the part of our young men and women to give up farm life for other industrial pursuits in the larger centres of population. These movements, now long

standing...have caused a great shrinkage in our school population, and also in the number of our schools.⁵⁷

From 1891 to 1901 the total number of occupiers of the land in the county declined by 30 percent and the acreage of total occupied land dropped by 14 percent. The amount of improved land in the county declined some 36 percent, while cropland acreage dropped off almost 30 percent [SEE TABLE 2:15]. More land than before was being left in pastureland, which increased some 28 percent in ten years. The change toward less intensive crop cultivation on Guysborough County farms continued. With the exception of wheat, from 1891 to 1901 acreage of all of the main crops grown in the county had decreased [SEE TABLE 2:16]. The acreage of barley was down 70 percent, potato acreage was down 21 percent, oat acreage was down 11 percent and hay acreage was down nine percent. Drastic changes in county yields took place between 1891 and 1901. As Table 2:17 shows, from 1891 to 1901 less acreage was required to grow the same yields of crops. Oat production increased from 16.1 bushels per acre in 1891 to 32.6 bushels per acre in 1901. Barley yield almost doubled, while wheat harvested increased from 11 bushels per acre in 1891 to 16 bushels per acre in 1901. There was also a slight increase in the tons of hay per acre.

A combination of factors had brought about these changes. Poor land continued to be abandoned and allowed county average yields to increase. Also, although census records do not reveal the exact time that fertilizers came into use in the county, it appears that commercial fertilizers and more effective use of manure was allowing for greater crop yields per acre by the turn of the twentieth century. Despite this ability to produce more on less land, farmers in Guysborough County grew only minimally more produce than they had ten years earlier [SEE TABLE 2:16]. This meant that agrarian deterioration was

somewhat concealed in production rates, but was more evident in reduced acreage. Even livestock, which had offered an alternative to extensive farm cultivation, had decreased in number by 1901 [SEE TABLE 2:13]. Swine numbers declined 31 percent, sheep numbers declined 19 percent and milking cows declined by 10 percent. Only other horned cows and horses experienced slight increases, respectively of 2 percent and 6 percent. Guysborough County farmers continued to leave and agricultural deterioration persisted into the twentieth century.

In the face of increasing outmigration and farm abandonment, some of Guysborough's agricultural population looked to the possibility of a rail line extension to the county. As population declined farmers were confronted with the reduction of already small markets. The lack of rail transportation and poor roads prevented farmers from moving their goods into nearby growing industrial centres in the 1890s. A presbytery delegation sent out from Pictou to Caledonia in 1901 expressed their surprise at the inferior state of the road:

The way to St. Mary's is by carriage road from Sunny Brae. It is a remarkable road. At the Pictou end it is so rough and utterly neglected, that we can never forget it. It is a pity that such a large district must depend on such a highway for all their intercourse with the trade of the country.⁵⁸

Advocates of the railway had begun their struggle to secure a rail service for the county in the early 1880s. By the turn of the twentieth century there was a good deal of optimism that their efforts would be rewarded. Local farmers saw it as their only hope. One farmer from St. Mary's wrote:

Just now, we feel that we are out in the cold; but with a railway to New Glasgow, according to the route I have proposed, we will be in touch with the busy world around us and life will be worth living then.⁵⁹

In May of 1901 the Eastern Chronicle assured its readers that the Guysborough Railway was practically guaranteed.⁶⁰ Although many different

routes were proposed the most favoured course was the one which extended from Sunny Brae, Pictou County into St. Mary's and then across Guysborough County near Cross Roads Country Harbour to Salmon River and on to the village of Guysborough. Since the proposed route passed through much of the best agricultural land of the county, which did not presently have rail line access, local farmers were excited about the prospects. A resident of Caledonia wrote:

A railway would be a great boon to the West River [St. Mary's], which, although a fine farming country is greatly isolated from market and consequently sadly handicapped in the struggle for prosperity. There are grist, shingle, and lumber mills; the business of which might be very largely increased if there were facilities for transportation such as a railroad would afford. Farmers would be encouraged and greatly stimulated by the possession of a convenient means of exporting produce and importing supplies...⁶¹

The expected line did not immediately materialize. In the spring of 1905 the Eastern Chronicle insisted that the line was eminent:

A contract has been signed...for the Eastern railway [to Guysborough]... This means that the coming summer will see active construction in progress and that soon the people in the regions through which this railway is projected will have the connection of which they have so long had to wait.⁶²

Construction was due to begin the first of July, 1905. By the end of the summer however, still no start had begun on the Guysborough Railway. A correspondent from the farming district of Caledonia wrote in October of the same year:

We expected to have seen work in full blast on the long promised Railway ere this, but now it appears the business is somewhat under a cloud. The people of Guysboro County are getting impatient.⁶³

The fate of the railway lay in the hands of politicians and outside business interests. Local inhabitants were often the last to be informed of the railways progress or regression. In a local newspaper the following ad appeared in

November of 1906:

Lost, strayed or stolen, a second hand Railroad Enterprise bearing the well and considerably tarnished initials N.S.E. Anybody acquainted with its whereabouts will do the public a favour by communicating some definite information to this office.⁶⁴

By 1908 still no concrete action was taken toward the construction of the railway to Guysborough. The county's agricultural districts were confronted with the dwindling local markets as population of the gold mining areas began to shrink after a short revival at the turn of the twentieth century. Out-migration continued and inland communities declined. Some areas were finding great difficulty in trying to even maintain their schools.⁶⁵ Unkept promises frustrated many local inhabitants. A writer from St. Mary's, disgusted with the poor roads and lack of action on the railway emphatically stated:

But I know its time for men in Guysborough County to get up and speak. Are you going to be dummies all your lives? But men are apt to say, 'Oh! I can stand it if the rest can.'⁶⁶

In the fall of 1906 a newspaper called the Searchlight was initiated in Guysborough Town. Its vocal editor, M.H. Davison, urged local people to seek new alternatives to the present situation. Davison, implored his readers:

This is a new age, presenting problems and demanding methods entirely at variance with those that best served the needs of the past. Investigate! Welcome the strongest possible light on any and every subject, then acquit yourselves as men. You are the masters of the situation if you will it.⁶⁷

In his newspaper Davison challenged his readers to push for better transportation and other improvements in the county. As editor, he presented to his readership, what he saw as the possibilities which Guysborough County could attain if its people could be awakened from their "hypnotic stupor":

Wouldn't it look odd to see some stalwart champion of something-or-other signing himself 'Guysborg First?' It has been Guysborough last for so many, many years; we have been so long officiating as the caudal appendage and botfly exterminator

of Pictou County that a warrior bold, whose motto was 'Guys-boro First' would - well, there is no such warrior, so what's the use of telling about him.⁶⁸

The call to other alternatives did not rally an immediate following in Guysborough County. In December, after only four months of publication the Searchlight came to an end. It appeared that many preferred to either say nothing or leave the county, rather seek new alternatives. The tide of emigration continued. The census returns of 1911 told the story. In the largest agricultural districts of the county, Manchester, the Forks and Intervale, from 18 to 21 percent of the population had been lost since 1901. The average population loss for the districts was 13 percent, as compared with an average loss of only 6 percent the previous decade. Although individual district returns of crop production are not available for this decade, county totals show that farm production did not decline in proportion with the population of these farm districts. The total acreage of occupied land increased from 247,752 acres in 1901 to 248,350 acres in 1911. The total acreage of improved land decreased only slightly in the same time period, from 29,800 acres to 28,015 acres. The amount of land in crops actually increased from 15,583 acres to 17,850 acres. The levels of crop production were variable from 1901 to 1911, some experiencing increases, and others decreases.

The dramatic drop in population of farm districts was the result of three decades of outmigration. Many of the county's young men and women had gone to seek their fortunes elsewhere, as had some farmers. The consequences were felt in the twentieth century as young people continued to leave and local population failed to be replenished. There were fewer younger families, and fewer children. Schools were closing. Decades of outmigration of these young adults hampered any organized response to decline. Farmers

attempted to carry on their operations for the present, but without sons and daughters to take over, and without adequate transportation to get their goods to market farms faced future crisis.

Agricultural decline in the nineteenth century was not unique to Guysborough County. The breakdown of agriculture did however, begin here sooner and was more extreme than on the provincial average, by the turn of the twentieth century. The forces of outmigration, changing local markets, the lack of a rail service, outside competition, and poor quality soil, converged to weaken Guysborough County's farming sector bringing general decline. Responses to these factors in each of the six agricultural districts of the county, was very different. In Caledonia and Manchester population decline was more extreme than in Salmon River. In the Forks, initial outmigration brought declines in yields per acre, whereas in the Intervale it meant increases in yields per acre. The eastern districts turned more to livestock than did the western districts as crop growing declined. A more unified response on the part of agricultural areas did not occur in Guysborough County. Four decades of outmigration had drained the county of much of its potential leaders in such a movement. Guysborough County's complexity and diversity worked against unity and no two districts reacted identically to decline. Although farmers were faced with a variety of hardships, they were not on the verge of starvation. The same sense of urgency to act did not exist inland as it did at a later time on the coast when rural decline intensified in fishing communities.

NOTES

1. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (hereafter D.B.S.), The Maritime Provinces in Their Relation to the National Economy of Canada, Canada, 1934, p.44.

2. According to D.B.S., The Maritime Provinces in Their Relation to the National Economy of Canada, Canada, 1934, p.44, urban population in Nova Scotia increased from 63,542 in 1881 to 129,383 in 1911.

3. Alan Brookes, "Outmigration from the Maritime Provinces 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," Acadiensis Reader vol.II, ed. P.A. Buckner and David Frank (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), p.37.

4. It was not until after the turn of the twentieth century that fishing dependant communities began to experience absolute population loss, according to Tim Archibald, "Rural Decline: The Transformation of Six Rural Districts of Guysborough County, 1861- 1931," (honours dissertation, Acadia University, Wolfville, 1986), p.119.

5. Guysborough is not as good an example of a farm district as the other agricultural areas listed because of the non-agricultural influences associated with the village of Guysborough, the shire-town of the county. Guysborough District had the lowest dependence on agriculture of any of the districts classified as agricultural. Only 42 percent of the occupied population of the district was classified as farmers. For this reason the amount of analysis of Guysborough as an agricultural district is limited.

6. Nova Scotia, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1855, Halifax, 1856, p.13.

7. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, ed. T.W. Acheson (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1984), p.66.

8. Robert MacKinnon, "A Century of Farming in Nova Scotia: The Geography of Agriculture, 1851-1951," unpublished paper presented to the Atlantic Workshop, Fredericton, N.B., 25 September 1986, p.2.

9. Brookes, Acadiensis Reader, p.37.

10. Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look," Acadiensis, (Spring 1986) :5.

11. Brookes, Acadiensis Reader, p.47.

12. Nova Scotia, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1870, Halifax, 1871, p.84.

13. Thornton, "Out-migration, 1871-1921," p.18.

14. Canada, D.B.S., Seventh Census (1931), I, p.109 and "The Maritime Provinces Since Confederation," p.21, cited by Brookes, Acadiensis Reader, p.39.

15. A reasonable degree of accuracy can be read into these figures, however very fine differences cannot be analyzed because slight changes in census district boundaries may have occurred from decade to decade which cannot be accounted for.

16. According to the 1871 D.B.S. census information, calculations show that in Salmon River there was on average 6.4 individuals per family, while in Guysborough Intervale there was an average of 6.2, and in the Forks an average of 5.8.

17. Nova Scotia, Department of Agriculture, Report, 1877, p. 53.

18. Ibid., 1878, p.60.

19. Ibid., 1875, p.46.

20. Ibid., 1877, p.55.

21. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 18 January 1894.

22. Ibid., 24 January 1884.

23. Ibid., 14 March 1889.

24. Ibid., 9 August 1888.

25. Ibid., 20 June 1889.

26. Ibid., 16 June 1892.

27. Ibid., 20 February 1890.

28. Thornton, "Out-migration, 1871-1921," p.16.

29. Patricia Thornton, "Some Preliminary Comments on the Extent and Consequences of Out-Migration from the Atlantic Region 1870-1920," Merchant Shipping and Economic Development in Atlantic Canada, ed. Lewis R. Fischer and Eric W. Sager (St. John's : Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), p. 213.

30. Brookes, Acadiensis Reader, p.44.

31. Ibid., p.45.

32. Ibid., p.39.
33. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 17 March 1892.
34. Ibid., 15 September 1892.
35. Ibid., 20 October 1892.
36. Ibid., 17 November 1892.
37. Ibid., 5 January 1893.
38. Ibid., 22 August 1889.
39. Ibid., 25 February 1892.
40. Ibid., 20 October 1892.
41. Ibid., 3 August 1893.
42. Ibid., 18 April 1895.
43. Ibid., 13 September 1894.
44. Ibid., 15 January 1885.
45. Ibid., 8 June 1883.
46. Ibid., 7 July 1892.
47. Ibid., 4 December 1884.
48. MacKinnon, "A Century of Farming," p.12.
49. Ibid., p.12.
50. Ibid.
51. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 29 October 1891.
52. Antigonish Casket, 21 June 1894.
53. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 24 May 1894.
54. Ibid., 14 December 1893.
55. Nova Scotia, Superintendent of Education, Report, 1901, p.122.
56. Ibid., 1902, p.117.
57. Ibid., 1910, p.87.

58. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 7 November 1901.
59. Ibid., 6 September 1900.
60. Ibid., 16 May 1901.
61. Ibid., 25 July 1901.
62. Ibid., 7 April 1905.
63. Ibid., 20 October 1905.
64. Guysborough Searchlight, 2 November 1906.
65. Nova Scotia, Superintendent of Education, Report, 1905, p.101.
66. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 22 May 1908.
67. Guysborough Searchlight, 5 October 1906.
68. Ibid., 9 November 1906.

III

THE FISHERY, 1870-1920:

A MORE DELAYED DECLINE

Fishing communities along Guysborough County's coast, although effected quite distinctly, were not exempt from the consequences of rural decline in the late nineteenth century. Faced with the results of industrialization and urbanization, Guysborough's farm communities experienced a steady stream of outmigration in the 1870s and 1880s. By the last decade of the nineteenth century serious absolute decline in agricultural population was obvious, as the effects of two decades of outmigration were felt. In contrast to these agricultural districts, the situation along the Guysborough coast in fishing-dependent communities was quite different. For fishermen, the period from 1881 to 1890 was one of greater stability and expansion. In this time the number of fishermen in Guysborough County increased over 60 percent. From 1871 to 1901 the population of Canso, Guysborough County's largest fishing centre, increased over 108 percent. These shore districts, however, were not ultimately spared from the impact of outmigration and rural decline. By the turn of the twentieth century, slow economic growth and population decline were felt along the shore in the smaller ports as a result of centralization and modernization in the fishing industry. It was somewhat later that this decay of population followed in the larger centres of the fishery, such as Canso, because of worsening economic conditions.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Guysborough County's coastal fishing communities in the context of the changing tides of the fishery and its more delayed reaction to the forces of outmigration and population decline. A

brief examination of the more general trend of growth from the 1870s to the turn of the twentieth century will be followed by an analysis of decline in these shore districts after 1900. Also demonstrated in this chapter will be the diversity and complexity of situations to be found within Guysborough County.

Very advantageously situated for the pursuit of the fisheries, Guysborough County's southeastern shore has been an attractive location for commercial fishermen since the sixteenth century. Jutting into the Atlantic, Canso was strategically located both for the Gulf fishery and for the offshore bank fishery. Canso became the closest principal port to Sable Island Bank and to Banquereau Bank, which together include an area of over 9,000 square miles of rich fishing waters.¹ Canso was also the closest centre to the Misaine, Canso, Middle and Artimon banks.² The Grand Banks off Newfoundland, with their 36,000 square mile area, were also accessible from Canso.³ The richness of these fishing waters was accurately evaluated by the Fisheries Royal Commission of 1928:

...embracing an area of nearly 70000 square miles, [these waters off the Maritime Coast of Canada] have yielded annually on the average for thirty years past, more than eleven hundred million pounds of cod alone, and here undoubtedly is to be found the greatest cod and haddock fishery in the world.⁴

The coastline, topography of Guysborough County was well suited for the fishery. Within its numerous coves, inlets, harbours, and bays, adequate shelter could be found for the largest of boats. Even so, by 1881 only about 24 percent of the population of the county considered themselves to be strictly fishermen. Many more were classified as farmers but lived on the shore securing their livelihood from a mixture of farming and fishing.⁵ This was particularly true along Chedabucto Bay, where the shore line was better suited

to agriculture than on the Atlantic Coast. The shores of Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait were settled in the late eighteenth century, chiefly by loyalists who were interested in good farmland. Many of these settlers soon after their arrival, became aware of the rich resource of fish which was also available to them. Some, such as the Hessians of the south Chedabucto shore and the St. Augustinians on the Canso Strait, kept minimal farms and turned almost full-time to the fishery. In other parts of the Bay, such as the north shore, Guysborough and Manchester, fishing served primarily as a part-time occupation and greater emphasis was placed on farming. In these areas individuals often labeled themselves as both fishermen and farmers. Evidence of this can be seen in the A.F. Church Map for Guysborough County published in 1876, with its accompanying business directory. In Cook's Cove, for example, of the twelve individuals listed, five were classified as farmers and fishermen; this compared with only two being listed as fishermen and one being listed as a farmer.⁶ Because the annual harvest of the sea was quite variable it was not uncommon for farmer-fishermen to alternate their emphasis of occupations according to success.

In contrast to this more systematically settled area around Chedabucto Bay, the rugged Atlantic Coast of Guysborough County received its inhabitants much more gradually over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. The lack of agricultural potential along Guysborough's southeastern shore made it less attractive, and its settlement was not as actively solicited by government. In contrast to the Bay area, those who came to the Eastern Shore of the county in the first half of the nineteenth century were mainly interested in the fishery. Although farms were often maintained on the side, some individuals even labeling themselves as farmers in census reports - for

the most part this rocky shore was poorly suited to cultivation and farming. This stretch of land which ran from Ecum Secum to Canso was largely claimed by transmigrating native Nova Scotians about the turn of the nineteenth century. These pioneers came particularly from the colony's south shore, including Lunenburg, Queens, and Shelburne counties, and were chiefly interested in the rich coastal fish stocks and in the area's proximity to the Labrador fishery.⁷ Many of these individuals found the South Shore of Nova Scotia becoming too crowded, and opportunities growing more limited. The unsettled state of Guysborough's Eastern Shore and its fishing opportunities were appealing to these migrating second and third generation Nova Scotians.⁸

Earning a livelihood, however modest, in this area was not easy for the early pioneers. As a writer to the Nova Scotian explained in 1837, even a subsistence living could be attained on the Eastern Shore only with work:

The natives live chiefly by carrying cord wood, by fishing and farming and some live by their wits end....He who plants potatoes in the spring and catches fish in the fall may exist; but he cannot support a family decently without constant attention to his calling. • Industrious people generally thrive but the shore is not a Paradise for idlers.⁹

Survival was chiefly dependant on the success of the potato crop and the fishery, both of which were uncertain from year to year. In his annual report for 1845 a Church of England catechist, stationed on Guysborough's Atlantic Coast, expressed his concern for the welfare of the local inhabitants after the failure of both of their staple resources:

On account of fish being very scarce last season together with the loss of the potatoe [sic] crop, it is entirely out of their power to assist or even make acknowledgement by subscription to the society this year.... Very many families I fear will be in a deplorable condition before the ensuing spring, having neither bread nor potatoes more than will serve with economy...a few weeks.¹⁰

The fishery provided a very uncertain livelihood for many on both the

Atlantic and Chedabucto Bay shores. Catches varied markedly from year to year, being determined by such changing elements as weather conditions and ocean currents which caused fish to alter their patterns of migration. Added to this was scarcity of bait and inclement weather as well as changing markets and uncertain prices, all of which could prevent the fisherman from realizing his goals.¹¹ Together these problems kept the shore inhabitants at the mercy of their environment.

In 1866 the Inspector of Education for Guysborough County, S.R. Russell commented on the state of the shore districts and the limited financial resources available to them:

The surface of this county [Guysborough] is very large in proportion to the number of people. The shore sections, naturally rough and broken, are mostly without roads, and inhabited generally by persons whose dependence is on the uncertain produce of the fishery for their support. The ordinary County and Poor [tax] rates are high when compared with the extremely limited resources of a large portion of the inhabitants located on the south shore of Chedabucto Bay and the Atlantic.¹²

The following year again the inspector alluded to the destitution of these coastal fishermen and their families:

I shall not, owing to the long continued depression generally, and the successive failures of the fishery on our coast, be able to give such an account of the progress made in educational matters as I anticipated; but at the same time it affords me much gratification in being able to shew [sic] that amidst these prevailing difficulties, and even while fearful destitution exists on the barren sea-beaten shores of the county, the Internal [inland] Sections have done all they could do to advance themselves and the cause of education.¹³

By the 1860s there seemed to be very little specialization in the fishery, and local fishing was confined to the inshore waters.¹⁴ Fishermen caught a variety of fish species, as their availability dictated. The main method of preservation was by drying. The major catches were cod and herring, as

well as substantial quantities of mackerel. Increasingly by the mid-1860s fishermen in the county were able to find a market for lobster. According to the A.F. Church Map of that period there were about ten lobster packing plants in Guysborough County. These establishments were located at Marie Joseph, Liscomb, Sondra, Port Bickerton, Isaac's Harbour, Coddles Harbour, Charles Cove, Canso and Crow Harbour [SEE FIGURE 3].¹⁵ The lobster plants were usually run by Americans, who had engaged in the industry along the northern shores of the United States, or by Canadians who had learned the methods from Americans.¹⁶ Canned meat produced in these plants was sold mainly to the United Kingdom.¹⁷

The inconstancy of the fishery hampered population growth and expansion. Even after the mid-nineteenth century when Guysborough's inland farming districts were well established, the Atlantic Coast was still sparsely populated. The 1860-1 census returns showed only 346 fishermen from Whitehead to Ecum Secum, a distance of over 100 kilometres. The greatest concentration of the fishermen was in the eastern portion of the county, from Tor Bay to Canso and around the southern shore of Chedabucto Bay to Guysborough. In the 1860-1 census returns of the men employed on vessels and boats in the county, almost 50 percent of the total 971 individuals were found within this latter section of coast line.

Incertitude characterized the fisheries of Guysborough County even by the 1870s. A general economic depression during that decade brought low fish prices.¹⁸ Together with unfavourable weather and a bait scarcity, this meant fluctuation in the Guysborough County fishery.¹⁹ Annual total values of fish during the decade fluctuated from a high of \$743,210 in 1871 to a low of \$358,702 in 1879.²⁰ In a one year span alone, from 1875 to 1876, there was a

26 percent drop in annual total value from \$630,561 to \$463,741. These changes inevitably affected fishermen and their families. In March of 1880 a report entitled "Distress in Guysborough County" appeared in the Eastern Chronicle:

A deputation from Beckerton [sic] and Fishermen's Harbor waited upon Mr. A.N. MacDonald, M.P.P. at Sherbrooke, on the 21st ult. and represented that some of the people of those places were in a destitute condition, and required food and other necessities.... Mr. MacDonald promised to see what he could do for the people.²¹

Following a decade of depression, the 1880s brought change to the fishery. Although fluctuations in value and catches remained evident from year to year, the general trend was upward, a tendency which was reflected in population totals along the shore. Increases in numbers of inhabitants were experienced in most Atlantic Coast districts as the census returns from 1871 and 1881 demonstrate [SEE TABLE 3:2]. The largest increases were in the districts of Molasses Harbour (Tor Bay area) and Canso, where the greatest proportion of Guysborough County's fishing industry was located [SEE FIGURE 4]. Substantial increases of 23 and 28 percent were recorded respectively in these two districts in only ten years. Increases farther west in the county were smaller, but nevertheless substantial. Marie Joseph and Stormont (consisting of Country Harbour and area) experienced increases of 18 percent in their population, while Isaac's Harbour area increased by nine percent.

In contrast to this growth in fishing was the depression in gold prices and the subsequent effect on gold mining. In Sherbrooke and Wine Harbour, where gold mining had attracted hundreds of fortune seekers in the 1860s, the slow decade of the 1870s brought a slight drop in population. By 1881 these communities experienced respective losses of one percent and one-half percent.

The experience of the fishing communities along Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait by 1881 was somewhat different from that of the Atlantic Coast

districts. The Bay fishery was largely dependent on the runs of herring and mackerel. If these species failed, the fishermen along the coast were deprived of a large portion of their income. Several consecutive years of failure of the Bay fishery in the late 1870s resulted in a shortage of money locally and some fishermen were forced to choose between farming or emigration. As explained in chapter II, the decline of the fishery brought an increase in agricultural activity by 1881 in Manchester, as inhabitants shifted their emphasis from the sea to the land. Evidence of this failure of the Bay fishery can be found in Agricultural Society reports for successive years in the late 1870s:

We are sorry to have to report a large falling off in membership [of the society] this year, owing to the failure of the fishery and the consequent scarcity of money.²²

This more localized failure of the fishery, in combination with other factors, brought outmigration and population decline to the shore areas of Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait by 1881. The Melford District lost four percent of its population, while the Crow Harbour District lost three percent. Opportunities for outmigration would generally have been more readily available in this portion of the county than on the Atlantic Coast where fishing villages were often independent units in isolated coves and harbours. The greater proximity of the Bay and Strait inhabitants to Guysborough Town and the surrounding agricultural areas, where outmigration had already begun, would also have exerted an important influence. The rail link at Mulgrave (included in the Melford District) completed in 1880 provided a "way out" during hard economic situations.

As was mentioned earlier the inhabitants of the Bay and Strait area did not, for the most part, settle in this section of Nova Scotia specifically to pursue the fishery. Dissimilarly, most of the inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast

had been attracted by the rich resources of the sea. This factor would have encouraged outmigration from the Bay and Strait communities when the harvests of fish declined.

The dramatic increases in population along the Atlantic Coast, particularly in the Canso and Tor Bay areas, were the result of the convergence of a number of factors which brought growth and greater stability to the fishing industry. Ruth Fulton Grant suggests that in some areas the general economic depression of the 1870s led some individuals back to the fisheries during that decade.²³ To a greater extent, however, it appears that the improvement in the larger context of the fisheries situation had a more significant effect on stimulating such growth.

In 1871 the Treaty of Washington was signed on behalf of the Dominion of Canada with the United States. Overall, this agreement was beneficial for the Maritime fishery. The treaty gave Canadian fishermen access to the American fisheries and the American market, while the Americans were given full use of the richer Canadian inshore fishery and access to British North American ports. As Innis describes the agreement:

It provided for the participation of Canadians in the inshore waters of American fisheries and of Americans in the inshore waters of the Canadian fisheries in return for freedom of entry into the United States for Canadian fish, and a sum to be determined by arbitration.²⁴

Although this agreement helped to stimulate the Maritime fishery by opening the American market to Canadian fishermen, other changing circumstances were also notable. Confederation had brought with it a gradual turning of the Maritime focus from the Atlantic Ocean to central Canada. This meant changing market possibilities for Maritime fish. According to Grant:

The National Policy and the construction of the Intercolonial Railway brought an increase in interprovincial trade, and new

markets were opened for fish and other commodities from Nova Scotia, westward to Montreal.²⁵

These added trade connections, along with an expanded steam ship service to Quebec and Montreal, contributed to the development of a large fresh-fish industry in Nova Scotia.²⁶

In 1880 with the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Mulgrave, the fishing industry of eastern Guysborough County was given a welcome impetus. This link allowed fish to be transported by boat from Canso and points along Chedabucto Bay to Mulgrave where it could be transported by rail to central Canadian markets. As time passed, more suitable connections were gradually developed between Mulgrave and Canso, facilitating the shipment of greater quantities of fish.

By 1881 the total value of the fish taken at Canso increased over 60 percent in a single year, from \$80,327.00 in 1880 to \$129,462.00.²⁷ The dried fish market remained important as well and experienced some growth in the 1880s. The largest markets for dried fish included the United States and the West Indies. This dried fish market was particularly important to fishing areas in the western part of the county where railway connections were far removed and transportation links were irregular and unreliable.

Adding further encouragement to the local fishing industry in Guysborough County was the initiation of fishing bounties in 1882. The compensation due to the Canadians for the difference in value of the American inshore fishery in the Washington Treaty had been determined in 1877 by an international commission sitting at Halifax. The figure of \$5,500,000.00 was set by the commission as a fair return; this was to cover the twelve years during which the fisheries clauses were in place.²⁸ After one million of the sum was granted to Newfoundland, and one half million was paid in administrative expenses,

four million remained to be distributed for the improvement of the Canadian Fishery.

The granting of fish bounties was one way of apportioning this money to local fishermen. This allotment of money for improvement of gear had, for a short time, a significant impact on the Maritime fishery. Larger vessels were constructed to take advantage of this system of bounties. In 1883, according to Grant, 143 schooners were added to the Nova Scotia fishery, employing 1524 additional men.²⁹ Individuals who formerly had been compelled to go to the United States to fish on board American schooners were able to stay home because of the increased activity in the fishery brought by the payment of the fish bounties.³⁰ From 1880 to 1885 the Guysborough County vessel fleet increased its number ~~from 23~~ to 40, and in the same time over doubled its previous total tonnage [SEE TABLE 3:3]. In the Canso Neck area³¹ by 1882 there were 13 vessels registered, with 527 men recorded as employed on vessels. On the north shore of Chedabucto Bay, and Canso Strait the number of vessels registered grew from six employing 44 men in 1880 to 16 employing 161 men in 1885. In the more western portion of the county fewer vessels were employed, there being a total of only six registered west of New Harbour in 1885.

Many of these Guysborough County vessels in the early 1880s were used in the pursuit of the offshore bank fishery. Canso was strategically located for this fishery, with its proximity to the fishing banks and its connection by water to the Intercolonial Railway at Mulgrave. In 1883 the value of fish landed in the Canso Neck area made up almost 60 percent of the total value of fish landed in the entire county. A substantial vessel fleet also grew on the north Chedabucto shore from Guysborough Town to the county line on the

Canso Strait. The number of vessels increased from six employing 46 men in 1881 to 16 employing 161 men in 1885 [SEE TABLE 3:4].

In addition to the expansion of Canso's fishing industry, the Atlantic port received the added benefits in 1881 of becoming the terminus for the Western Union's trans-Atlantic cable. The first cable was landed in May of that year. The influx of the company's operators had a significant impact on Canso. As John A. Morrison, a local historian, explains:

The cable office was established [at Canso]...and the arrival of the cable colony of seventeen operators, married and single, was a valuable addition to the social and business life of the community.³²

The company operated two cables from Land's End, Cornwall, England to Canso, and two lines from Canso to New York.

Later in the 1880s a second cable company chose Canso as the terminus for its trans-Atlantic cable. The (Mackay-Bennett) Commercial Cable Company was incorporated in 1883, and a contract was placed for the laying of two cables from Waterville, County Kerry, Ireland to Nova Scotia, with a section to Rockport, Massachusetts, and another section to New York City.³³ The terminus for this cable was at Canso, but the cable station itself was located in Hazel Hill just west of Canso. The presence of these operators and their families was an important addition to Canso, providing what Morrison calls: "...a very pleasant and highly intelligent community."³⁴ The leadership offered by these cable company employees in community affairs was significant, and was of particular importance to Canso after the turn of the twentieth when the town's position became increasingly threatened.

Not only did the vessel fishery of Guysborough County experience expansion in the early 1880s; a large increase in the number of boats in the county was also recorded and the intensity of the pursuit of the fishery

greatly increased. In his account for the year 1883, fisheries inspector Allan McQuarrie in the Western part of the county reported large increases in the catches of herring, mackerel, cod and salmon. The federal report stated:

He [McQuarrie] attributes the increase mainly to the bounty of the past year...they [fishermen] are satisfied that their rights have been faithfully and honestly conceded them, and this year they put forth renewed energy, and are preparing to persecute their arduous occupation in the future with yet more vigour and enterprise.³⁵

From 1882 to 1887 an increase of 41 percent in the number of boats and of 31 percent in the number of men employed on boats was experienced in Guysborough County. The number of boats involved in the fishery in the county grew from 1254 in 1882, employing 2127 persons, to 1774 in 1887, employing 2790 persons [SEE TABLE 3:3].

Another very important contributing factor to the expansion of the fishery was the growth of the lobster industry. As mentioned earlier, lobster processing plants were located in Guysborough County in the 1860s. By 1873, according to Dewolf, there were a total of 40 canneries operating throughout Nova Scotia.³⁶ From 1870 to 1886 the number of canneries continued to grow and lobster landings rapidly increased.³⁷ From 1880 to 1882 the total number of cans of lobster produced in Guysborough County grew from 676,060 to 933,240, an increase of almost 40 percent. Expansion characterized this period in the lobster fishery as the industry attracted greater numbers of fishermen. Dewolf explains:

Cash sales and relatively high returns attracted more and more people into the [lobster] fishery so that, between 1877 and 1886, [lobster] landings in the Maritime provinces rose steadily, reaching approximately 94 million lb in 1885 and 93 million lb in 1886. Market value increased during the decade by over 200 %.³⁸

In addition, access to the American markets and technological advances offered by the Treaty of Washington contributed to this increase in canning establish-

ments.

The cash basis system offered by the lobster industry attracted greater numbers of fishermen to pursue the lobster fishery more intensively. Sessional papers giving summaries of the reports of the fishery inspectors provide examples of anxious fishermen complaining that seasons for lobsters closed too early and prevented them from extracting as large a quantity of the valuable shellfish as they would have liked: "...but the fishermen complain greatly of what they consider an unnecessary length of the close season."³⁹ As the canning establishments grew, the opportunities to sell lobsters became greater and the demands on the lobster population grew heavier.

On July 1, 1885, Nova Scotia's free fish market in New England was ended and the fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty were terminated. Changed circumstances led the Americans to favour non-renewal of the agreement. As Innis notes:

...the increasing importance of the fresh-fish industry, the decline of the mackerel fishery, the growing part played by the purse seine in the seventies, and less dependence on inshore fishing were factors which limited the interest of the United States in any further extension of the treaty.⁴⁰

Although the termination of the Washington agreement clauses resulted in a decrease in pickled fish and lobster exports to the United States, the decline proved only temporary as the West Indies market held strong.⁴¹ As Waite explains, "...broadly the effect [on the Nova Scotia fishery] was to strengthen the prosperity of the northeast of the province against the southwest."⁴²

Between 1884 and 1885 the number of cans of lobster produced in Guysborough County increased by more than 30 percent, reaching 1,117,430 cans. Although the fresh lobster industry grew in the southwestern part of Nova Scotia in the 1880s it was somewhat slower to develop in Guysborough

County because of the greater distance to the Boston market and the poor transportation connections. It was not until the early 1890s that the first fresh lobsters were recorded as having been shipped out of Guysborough County.

Although the 1880s was generally a time of increasing stability for the fishery and for fishing communities, outmigration of labour still occurred; this exodus did not, however, become severe enough to cause serious population decline, as had been the case in the inland farming districts of the county. According to Innis it was: "the expansion of the American domestic market and restrictions upon imports of Canadian fish to the United States [which] had resulted in the migration of labor."⁴³ Innis estimates that in 1886 of the 13,938 men employed in the New England fisheries, 2,254 were from the Canadian Provinces. Striking differences in wages attracted Nova Scotians to the United States; in New England wages ran from \$125 to \$190 per month, whereas in Nova Scotia the same worker earned between \$75 and \$82 per month. The demands for labour in the coal mines, the iron and steel industry, the lumber industry, and the construction jobs in other provinces also lured men from the fisheries, although to a lesser extent.⁴⁴

Yet, despite the consistent growth of the fishery of Guysborough County in the first half of the 1880s, further changes were in process by the latter part of the decade. True to its historical changeability, once again the fishery experienced declining values and smaller catches. Methods of transportation were changing; sailing vessels were gradually being replaced by steamers. It became increasingly difficult to continue the practice of combining trade and deep sea fishing. As Grant comments, such a transition:

...made it increasingly difficult for the [sailing vessel]...to secure return cargoes. [this] discouraged direct shipping and finally brought the disappearance of the vessel fisheries in various counties.⁴⁵

This type of change in turn left many smaller centres without a marketing organization or transport services.

The use of ice and the development of artificial refrigeration allowed for the rapid expansion of the fresh fish industry. The growing demand for fresh fish meant that faster vessels were required to get the product to market in the shortest possible time; sail was not able to compete with steam.⁴⁶ As the qualities of iron as a shipbuilding material were better known, wood became obsolete. This replacement of wood by iron had far reaching effects. As Grant states: "The disappearance of the wooden ship for transport purposes was accompanied by a decline in the deep-sea fisheries."⁴⁷

After 1887 the offshore bank fishery of Guysborough County began to dwindle and the number of vessels was markedly reduced. Canso, which had been the centre of this fishery, was particularly hard hit. The number of vessels in the Canso area alone, from 1887 to 1888, dropped from five employing 66 men to one employing only ten men [SEE TABLE 3.5]. By 1890, of the 16 vessels employing 161 men in the north Chedabucto Bay ports in 1885, only 4 vessels remained, employing just 14 persons. This decline in the bank fishery also affected annual total fish values. The annual total value of the landed catch in Canso from 1887 to 1889 dropped approximately 88 percent. Similarly between 1885 and 1888 the annual total value of the fishery on the north shore of Chedabucto Bay dropped 81 percent [SEE TABLE 3.6].

Although such declines were more marked in sections of the county where the vessel fishery was larger, smaller ports further west were also affected. In the westernmost portion of the Guysborough County coast from Ecum Secum to Liscomb, where the dried fishery was of greater importance, the total landed value of fish had declined 34 percent from \$70,232.00 in 1885

to \$46,105.00 by 1890. Changes in the market contributed to this drop. An increase in shipments of fresh fish gradually cut into dried fish sales.⁴⁸ The market for Nova Scotia codfish in the West Indies experienced a slump by the late 1880s, despite the improved methods of shipment. As Europeans began to grow an increasing amount of sugar beets, they had less of a demand for sugar cane which had been largely supplied from the West Indies. The effect on the West Indian economy was quite serious and as Grant notes this restricted purchasing power was:

...reflected in decreased imports, including Canadian dried fish...The British West Indies was the largest market for Canadian codfish, and the loss of exports was a serious blow. Decline in production of cod in Nova Scotia after 1886 was a result of the partial loss of the West Indies markets.⁴⁹

The inspectors' reports for the year 1887 also noted a decrease in the overall catch of fish itself, particularly cod and herring, which were very important to the fishery in the western portion of the Guysborough Coast:

Herring and cod are the main dependence of fishermen in this (the western) division, and the catch of these fish was rather below the average. Late in the season large quantities of fall herring appeared in some places, and remained only a few days, but the quantity taken was confined to a few. Of late years both cod and herring appear to be receding from shore and small boats have been unsuccessful in securing large fares.⁵⁰

Added to this difficulty was a shortage of bait which fishermen felt was also receding to deeper waters. In 1888 once again a poor catch of groundfish was recorded. Inspector Tory from the eastern portion of the county reported:

...the fisheries for this district for the past season have been a fearful failure, and in some localities nearly a total one, which leaves many persons unprovided for the winter.⁵¹

The report from the western district of the county for the same year was similar:

...the fishermen, in the face of diligent and faithful efforts, did not strike the fish, and consequently, are ill prepared to meet

the hardships of a cold winter. It is very probable the Government may be called upon to help tide some over the winter months.⁵²

This period of failure had a detrimental effect on the pursuit of the cod and herring fishery. Poor prices were received for fish owing to the lack of a market. Because fishermen found it increasingly difficult to get rid of their catch they responded by landing fewer fish. Reactions to this change however, were variable along the coast. Although hardship resulted for many fishermen and their families on the Atlantic Coast by 1891, population decline as a result of massive outmigration, for the most part, was not evident. In the eastern portion of the county, particularly in the Canso Neck area, substantial population gains were recorded in the ten year span from 1881 to 1891. Corresponding to the increase in shipments of fresh fish, Canso's population alone grew 26 percent, while the neighbouring district of Molasses Harbour increased 24 percent in the same period [SEE TABLE 3:2]. Farther west along the shore, where the decline in cod and herring had been the worst, fishing communities, for the most part experienced growth, although in smaller percentages than in the Canso Neck area. In Isaac's Harbour the population increased 15 percent, while in Marie Joseph a 12 percent increase was recorded. This growth however, was quite different from the prevailing situation in gold mining villages of the Atlantic Coast and of fishing communities on Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait.

Along the Atlantic, in areas influenced by the fluctuating gold industry, smaller increases or absolute decline was experienced. Because of the dwindling activity of gold in Sherbrooke, in only 10 years the number of inhabitants in the area dropped 34 percent. Wine Harbour, another gold mining centre, also experienced decline having a 10 percent loss in population from 1881 to 1891.

The pages of the Eastern Chronicle bear witness to the growing exodus from these gold mining districts:

Sherbrooke - THE EXODUS - Two of our villagers, Henry MacDonald and Alex. MacDonald, have gone West. Mr. Donald Carthew and W.S. Smith will soon follow. Good men are they all and Sherbrook {sic} will be poorer without them.⁵³

In the following months the Sherbrooke correspondent continued to bemoan the loss of the village's "most worthy" citizens.

The situation in fish dependent districts along Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait remained in contrast to that of the fishing villages on the Atlantic Coast where population expansion was evident. From 1881 to 1891 in Melford District, a loss of 12 percent of the total population was felt, while on the south shore of Chedabucto Bay in the Crow Harbour District an increase of only two percent was experienced; a figure which does not even maintain the natural increase of the local area. In this former district along the Canso Strait the decline was particularly marked, following a similar trend of the farming areas of the county. Decline in vessel numbers also contributed to the deterioration of this rural district. The chief factor, however, in affecting this extreme decline in Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait, was the distinct nature of the fishery of the Bay and area, where the lobster industry was not a viable alternative.

Lobster fishing was the only section of the fishery that maintained its catches during the more general diminution of fish landings in the late 1880s; over one million cans of lobster were produced annually in Guysborough County from 1885 to 1891 [SEE TABLE 3:7]. The number of lobster canneries continued to increase on the Atlantic Coast of Guysborough County in the late 1880s, providing a market for the catch of local fishermen. For successive years fisheries inspectors noted the material increase of the lobster fishery.⁵⁴

The report summary of Inspector McQuarrie for the year 1887 stated:

The lobster fishery is on the increase; there being some 20,000 lbs put up in excess of 1886. This fishery appears to stand the pressure well, and does not yet show material signs of exhaustion....The southern coast of Guysboro' is rugged, rough and rocky, affording ample shelter and protection for soft-shell, female and small lobsters.⁵⁵

This availability of the valuable shellfish along with the cash basis of the industry and its healthy market served to encourage the growth of the lobster fishery. Much of the American supply of lobster had been heavily exploited earlier in the nineteenth century. The result had been a decline in American landings off the northeast coast of the United States and a movement north into the waters off the coast of British North America.⁵⁶ These American interests established themselves in various parts of the Maritime coastline, including Guysborough County. Canneries were set up, providing a ready market for local lobster sales.

Unlike the dried codfish market in Guysborough County, which had meant delayed cash returns for the fisherman and operating on a credit system, the lobster industry gave more immediate financial benefits. As, Grant states:

The prompt cash returns in the lobster fishery contrasted favourably with the long process of marketing in the dried fish industry. The shore fishermen had been handicapped by lack of credit facilities, and the immediate cash payments of the lobster industry were extremely attractive.⁵⁷

This opportunity to provide a reasonable income for their families, along with the availability of the resource drew more fishermen into the lobster fishery.

When problems began to occur in the groundfish fishery in the late 1880s, the move to lobster fishing hastened. The decline of the bank fishery, the decreasing market for dried Maritime fish in the United States and the West Indies, and the alternate growth in the fresh fish industry, made the

lobster fishery more attractive to fishermen on Guysborough's Atlantic Coast, particularly in the smaller ports. Industrialization and modernization brought an increasingly capital-intensive fishery. The large cash investment which was required if a fisherman was to transfer from the dry to the fresh fishery often prevented such a transition. Artificial refrigeration was expensive for a fisherman who was dependent on the fluctuating fortunes of the ground fishery for a living. Transportation links were poor and hindered such a transition. Connections with the Intercolonial Railway were awkward, especially in the western half of the county. Lobster canning on the other hand was more suited to the small community, requiring a more modest investment, without expensive cooling equipment.

The extreme demand for lobsters often led canneries to compete with each other. The outcome was the harvesting of more lobster and the violation of fishery regulations. In his 1888 report Inspector Tory expressed his concern for the effect of such a practice on the lobster resource itself:

There are now too many canneries in operation, and opposition to each other is so great that strong inducements are held out to fishermen to violate the regulations, besides most of them are owned by foreigners, and they should be compelled to contribute towards the protection of a fishery from which they derive such a source of income.⁵⁸

As a result of Guysborough County's distance from the United States, and more importantly because of the poor transportation links possessed by the county, the fresh lobster fishery was slower to develop. Whereas in the southwestern portion of Nova Scotia export of fresh lobsters began in the 1880s, it was not until 1894 that the first fresh lobster was recorded as having been shipped out of Guysborough County.

The transition to the lobster fishery brought many changes for local fishermen, including greater specialization. Lobster fishing was so intensely

followed that many fisherman in a short time failed to maintain gear for fishing other species. The outcome was a greater exploitation of the lobster and an increased dependency upon it by local fishermen. A report from Inspector McQuarrie for 1888 demonstrates well the flourishing state of the lobster fishery and also his concern for the effects of this specialization:

Fishermen have not the appliances they used to keep before the palmy days of lobster fishing, and are not in a position to prosecute other fisheries; consequently, the poaching of lobsters has been very general, and every trick of the trade put in practice to evade the law.⁵⁹

As the lobster provided a greater portion of the fisherman's income, farming became less important. The time spent at sea meant there was little time for agricultural pursuits on shore. In petitioning the government for more regulation in the lobster fishery and a longer closed season, Inspector McQuarrie commented on this alteration in sources of livelihood in his report for the year 1891:

Many fishermen favour a close season from the 10th September, to continue as long as the weather will permit in the fall. This would enable them to attend to their farms, which remain neglected since the beginning of this [lobster] fishery. Their fathers made more than half their living from the farms.⁶⁰

Later in the 1890s the Prince Royal Commission report remarked on this startling change in the fishery, and the increasing dependence of fishermen on the lobster fishery:

...the failure of the mackerel, cod and other fisheries, has had a great deal to do with compelling a large number of fishermen to take up lobster fishing with the result that the fishery has become practically the staple industry along large portions of the coast.⁶¹

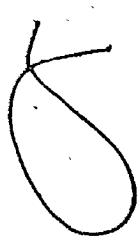
The lobster fishery on the Atlantic Coast offered an alternative to the failing groundfish. The lobster helped these coastal communities to maintain their population and experience growth. On Chedabucto Bay, particularly on the

north shore, where the lobster industry was less of an alternative, the late 1880s and early 1890s brought extreme decline and outmigration. The fisheries inspector in his report for 1891 reported:

Fish of all kinds were scarce in Chedabucto Bay until fall mackerel set in, of which there was a fair catch....This run of mackerel was a surprise; otherwise more would have been taken.⁶²

In this north shore district and on the Canso Strait sharp declines in annual total values of fish were experienced in the late 1880s [SEE TABLE 3:6]. From a high of \$199,101.00 in 1885, total value of fish taken in the area plummeted to \$37,374.00 by 1888, a drop of 81 percent. The lack of newspaper reports, detailed census records and other written sources for the area however, prevent further more detailed analysis of this decline on the north shore and Canso Strait.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was one of continued change for the fisheries in Guysborough County. Consolidation and centralization of the fishery took its toll as growth rates in smaller Atlantic ports dwindled sharply in comparison to their previous expansion. With the increasing capital investment in the fishery and the growth of the fresh fish industry, catches, capital, and fishermen moved to larger centres such as Canso, Halifax, Lunenburg and Digby. In the smaller ports along the Atlantic Coast of Guysborough County that were exclusively dependent on fishing, growth rates from 1891 to 1901 contracted to between five and eight percent [as compared with increases of eight to 24 percent during the previous decade] [SEE TABLE 3:2]. As the lobster fishery had become the mainstay of the fishing industry on the Atlantic Coast, the pursuit of other types of fishery became less intense. This increasing dependence had provided a solution to their immediate problems with the shortage of ground fish, but in the long term such a reliance on a



single species of fish was unhealthy.

Although lobster catches remained consistently high in the 1890s the industry was not without its problems. The Fisheries inspectors even in the 1880s had cautioned fishermen on the effects of what they perceived as overexploitation of lobsters. In the summary of Inspector Tory's report of 1887 the following statement appeared:

Mr. Tory urges the necessity of the appointment of an officer to take these [lobster] factories under his charge, and to see that the laws are strictly complied with, otherwise this fishery will be ruined.⁶³

Such warnings continued as the fishery increased in popularity. By the turn of the twentieth century a scarcity of lobster was reported in different parts of the county. A writer for the Goldboro Bugle in April of 1901 cautioned fishermen regarding lobster fishing:

All along the shore from Canso to Liscomb, the lobster fishermen are busy getting ready for their work....The lobsters seem to be growing scarcer each year and we hope the fishermen will study their own interests by catching only such lobsters as come within the requirements of the law.⁶⁴

Changes in the lobster industry occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The first shipments of fresh lobster were sent out of Canso in 1894, and until almost 1900 most such exports went from that area of Guysborough County alone. The smaller communities on the shore farther west found it quite difficult to move into this new market. As mentioned earlier, transportation links with the western portion of the coast were poor. Railway connections were distant and steamer service was irregular. To ship lobster from these areas involved a certain degree of risk that on arrival all the shellfish might be dead and have to be discarded at a substantial loss to the fisherman.

Corresponding to the rise of the fresh lobster industry was a decline in

the total poundage of canned lobster produced in Guysborough County. After reaching a peak of 1,246,685 pounds in 1895, by 1896 the poundage processed had declined by 33 percent. Although the poundage of canned lobster then remained steady until 1900, following that year the amount of lobster being canned declined consistently. By 1909 the poundage of canned lobster had dropped 76 percent since the peak of 1895 [See TABLE 3:9]. Canneries were retained the longest in the smaller areas where the fresh fish industry was not so viable. As the canneries closed one by one the transition for these small ports from canned lobster to fresh was a difficult one. Lack of the necessary capital left some individuals on the shore seeking other alternatives outside their small fishing villages.

The fishermen of these smaller villages who still secured a living from the dry fish market were also faced with changes. As the fresh fish industry grew in size the dried fishery experienced decline. As Innis states:

The spread of industrialism evident in urbanization, improved transport, and refrigeration had profound effects on an industry that had its life in a commodity which depended on salt as a preservative if its product was to be sold in distant and tropical countries.⁶⁵

This new industry required a greater investment of capital which was not available to many of these small port fishermen. Improvements in transportation in larger centres of the fishery made it harder for smaller more isolated coastal communities to compete. Innis comments:

The steamship and the railway continued to effect far-reaching changes in the fishing industry, particularly because of the decline of the wooden sailing vessel. Its gradual disappearance in the carrying trade involved its disappearance from the fishery and the decay of the small ports.⁶⁶

From Ecum Secum to Gegogan the annual total value of the fishery declined 46 percent from 1895 to 1903 [SEE TABLE 3:10]. For the same period in the

Country Harbour area the decline was more extreme, there being a loss of over 62 percent in the annual total value of the fishery. Although by 1901 there was a decrease in the fishery in Guysborough's smaller ports, the effects of outmigration on coastal communities was not as marked as farther inland and decline was only in its earliest stages. Reports of the inspector of schools for the county lead the reader to believe that shortage of students was not as great a problem on the shore as farther inland.⁶⁷ A report to the Eastern Chronicle in August of 1901 supports this supposition:

By looking over the census returns it will be seen that the great fishing counties, such as Lunenburg and Guysboro, have held their own in population made [sic] better than the purely agricultural counties. The reason of [sic] this is that the fishing industry has been attractive and remunerative enough to keep our young men at home.⁶⁸

Unlike these smaller coastal areas, where the 1890s had brought slowed growth and declining fish values, for Canso the same period was a time of unprecedented growth. With its advantageous position, Canso grew to become a centre for the fishery on the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia and attracted the necessary capital to make the transition to the capital intensive fishery of the twentieth century.

After experiencing a setback in the failure of the bank fishery in the late 1880s, Canso by the mid-1890s was on the rebound. The port had become the centre of a substantial fresh fish industry on the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia, and had the necessary facilities for storage and shipping of fresh fish. From \$79,130.00 in 1891 to \$365,077.00 by 1901, the annual total value of Canso's fishery in a span of only ten years increased 361 percent. This contrasts sharply to the smaller Ecum Secum to Gegogan section in the western half of Guysborough County, where in the same period a decrease of 55 percent in annual total value of fish was experienced. The number of boats

stationed in Canso more than doubled from 1891 to 1901, increasing from 109 to 272. The vessel fleet at Canso expanded, advancing from only one vessel employing four people in 1891, to 12 vessels employing 66 people by 1901. The two cable stations also contributed to the growth as their offices in Canso were gradually enlarged and the number of employees stationed in Canso was increased.

The experiment of shipping fresh fish out of Canso had begun in the early 1890s. Along with lobster, cod, mackerel, herring, and haddock were shipped fresh by steamer to Mulgrave in increasing amounts as the decade progressed. The Intercolonial Railway link opened the markets of central Canada, particularly Quebec and Montreal. As well, Canso became an important supplier of bait and other necessities to the offshore fishermen. As Morrison comments: "The American and Lunenburg fishermen were as well known in Canso as in their home ports."⁶⁹

The people of Canso experienced an atmosphere of expansion. Morrison notes the growth that was occurring in this coastal port:

The erection of these modern dwellings, sometime between 1890-94, and the improvement and ornamentation of the surrounding grounds was an indication of the growth and prosperity of the town of Canso, and known to the outside world as one of the most progressive little towns in eastern Nova Scotia.⁷⁰

With a harbour at times filled with from 80 to 100 vessels, the local inhabitants became well aware of their distinct position on a shore where other smaller ports were experiencing slowed growth and the initial stages of decline. A writer in the Canso Breeze in October of 1894, while encouraging the incorporation of Canso as a town, expressed his views on the distinctness of Canso's position:

We have the material right here in Canso to make a good [town] council. We are isolated from the rest of the county whose

interests are not identical with our own. Canso is a place by itself which has managed to forge ahead without the assistance of the county, and the idea of governing our own affairs by a properly constituted council is in our opinion, as well as the opinion of others, a move that certainly ought to commend itself to the people of our growing town.⁷¹

In 1897 the first steamer began fishing out of Canso, operated by A.N. Whitman and Son, the local merchant. The same company also purchased a steam tug that same year for employment in the lobster fishery. By 1900 a series of advances were made in this growing fishing village; a lobster factory was built and smoke houses were constructed by Whitman's in Canso. The following year on April 27 Canso was officially incorporated as a town. The inconvenience of not having a direct rail link to Canso hindered the shipment of fresh fish. The local steamer which operated in Chedoke Bay and area called at a number of ports which meant delays for fish shipments out of Canso. In January of 1904 a direct steam service was established between Canso and the railway terminal at Mulgrave, adding a further stimulus to the Canso economy. By avoiding the call at Arichat the trip to Mulgrave could be made in two hours. As Morrison comments:

The volume of express shipments of fresh and smoked fish from Canso had so increased that a prompt service was absolutely necessary. There were seven firms shipping fresh fish from Canso contributing more to the revenue of the Canadian Express Company than any point east of Halifax. The previous year express charges on fish amounted to ten thousand dollars. The fresh fish business was rapidly expanding and plans were now moving to make the trip under two hours between Canso and the refrigeration cars at Mulgrave.⁷²

In August of 1904, with the help of government, a cold storage plant was opened in Canso. The facility was to encourage the cold storage of bait for the bank fishermen, and was the first mechanical freezer in Eastern Canada.⁷³ The plant had a capacity of freezing 1000 barrels per day.

The substantial reduction in lobster landings after the turn of the

century also prompted the government to sponsor the construction of a number of lobster hatcheries. One such hatchery was opened in Canso in the spring of 1905. During the same year a Dogfish Reduction Works was built in Canso. This provided fishermen with a market for the previously useless catch of the bothersome dogfish. The dogfish was processed for use as fertilizer and oil.

In conjunction with this expansion in Canso improvements were made to the rail service which was offered to the Canso fishermen via Mulgrave. The initiation of a "speed train" meant a faster service for fresh fish. John Morrison reported the departure of the first such train:

For the first time in the history of Nova Scotia, a speed train loaded with fresh fish was dispatched early this month to the Boston Market. The train consisted of nine cars loaded with mackerel and lobsters from Canso and other parts of the province and went the Dominion Atlantic Railway to Yarmouth, to be transhipped thence by steamer to Boston.⁷⁴

With this great increase in revenue created by the growth of the fishery in Canso, according to the Fisheries Blue Book of 1906, Guysborough County in 1905 recorded the highest total annual value produced for the fishery of any county in the province, a figure of \$1,385,018.75.⁷⁵

The intensification of capitalization in the fishery soon brought the advent of the steam trawler. The trawler was able to operate almost continuously, was extremely mobile, required no bait and could move quickly from cod grounds to haddock grounds to port. These large vessels could take advantage of the offshore fish stocks, which smaller boat fishermen found receding from inshore waters. Trawlers caught more fish on a continuous basis and were less affected by weather conditions than the smaller vessels. Their speed allowed them to get fish back to port so that there was a continuous supply of fish. Grant argues strongly in favour of the greater stability which she felt the trawler offered:

The vessel and shore-boat fishermen claim that they can adequately supply the markets of Ontario and Quebec in all seasons, but this is doubtful. In many sections of the Atlantic coast, fishing in the winter is not carried on to any extent by shore fishermen. Moreover, unfavourable weather conditions frequently make vessel fishing impossible, since it becomes dangerous to fish from small dories. Consequently it is doubtful whether wholesalers in Montreal and Toronto can be assured of a regular supply of fresh fish if dependent upon other sources than the trawler.⁷⁶

The first trawler began fishing out of Canso about 1908, helping to increase the volume of the fresh fish available for market.

Facing increasing restrictions on fish imports from Canada to the United States and declining markets for dried fish, steps were taken in Canada after the turn of the twentieth century to promote the sale of local fresh fish in Canadian industrial centres. The introduction of trawlers allowed for the harvesting of a sufficient volume of fish to continuously supply these large markets. To help overcome Nova Scotia's distance from its central Canadian markets, a tariff of one cent a pound was imposed on imports of American fish and a federal policy of subsidized fast rail service was initiated.⁷⁷

The Canso trawler fishery was not unanimously welcomed. Boat fishermen soon voiced opposition to this method of mass fishing. Concern was expressed for the feeding grounds of the fish, which many fishermen felt would be destroyed by the trawlers. Large quantities of undeveloped and undersized fish were taken by the trawlers and smaller fishermen feared a serious reduction in stocks.⁷⁸ In the editorial of the Canso News in December of 1910 this opposition was made clear:

The introduction of Steam Trawling method of fishing is meeting with a great deal of antagonism and adverse criticism from boat fishermen who claim the Trawler should be strictly prohibited from fishing on this side of the Atlantic.⁷⁹

In 1908 a local paper in Canso, sponsored by a merchant of the town,

put forth in a boosterish manner the advantageous qualities possessed by the town:

Canso handles more fresh fish than any other town in Nova Scotia.

Canso has the finest fleet of fishing boats on the continent.

Canso's population is growing rapidly.

Canso is the only incorporated town in Guysboro County.

Canso has the finest Public School in the County...

Canso has 3 Canning Factories, 1 Dogfish Reduction Works, 1 Lobster hatchery.

Canso has 4 lines of Steamers calling at its port.⁸⁰

Whereas other parts of the county had lost large numbers of their young people to outmigration, Canso in 1908 was taking steps to encourage them to maintain the fishing tradition of their fathers. In 1908 the inspector of schools for Guysborough County commended Canso on its excellent school facilities and its success in securing a nautical school to train its young in proper methods of fishing. The inspector stated:

The progressive town of Canso, already occupying a foremost position in educational work, succeeded in getting a nautical school, under the patronage of the Dominion Government, added to its system, during the year under review. The Principal of the high School of the town, Mr. McLeod, is instructor. With an enrolment of about one hundred pupils, its success can no more be doubted than its usefulness...With admirable foresight, the Canso School Board, led by its chairman, W.E. Brown, Esq., began agitation for a school in which the hardy young seamen of Canso could receive the technical training and knowledge that would fit them for good and lucrative positions in the merchant-service of the country.⁸¹

Despite this type of optimism and progress, however, by 1909 there was a noticeable decrease in the annual total fish value for Canso, and for Guysborough County in general [SEE TABLE 3:11]. In Canso from 1905 to 1909 the total annual dollar value of the fishery declined 73 percent. For the whole of Guysborough County the difference for the same period was a loss of just over 50 percent. The lobster fishery was badly affected by over-exploitation. Whereas in 1903 there had been 509 individuals employed in the county in the

lobster fishery, by 1909 there were only 341 individuals still involved. The cost of living was increasing as well, adding an additional squeeze to the small fisherman. A writer for the Canso News in 1911 wrote:

The high cost of living is being felt somewhat among a class, for it must be noted that much of the poor man's food has almost, if not fully doubled in price over a few years ago. Such items as pork, lard, beef, sugar, molasses, winter produce and coal. The high prices ruling for fish has offset somewhat the poor man's disadvantage, but not wholly.⁸²

The large influx onto the local market of the bulk catches of the trawler fleet had a detrimental influence on the small boat fishermen. Even the local merchant admitted in 1912 that fishermen were not able to market their catch on as "favorable" terms as are granted to the steam trawlers. Fishermen could not guarantee the same constancy in catch or bulk that the trawlers were able to offer.

The effects of such declines however, were felt more noticeably in the smaller ports than in Canso. With its trawler fleet, Canso's shipments of fresh fish via Mulgrave, actually experienced some growth by 1910, according to figures published in the Canso News.⁸³ Added stability was given to Canso by the two cable company stations which by 1910 employed over 100 employees. As a correspondent to a local newspaper stated:

The two cable stations located in this town are a source of large revenue to the business interests. Their pay rolls, which are monthly, are large and are not affected by any variations in trade.⁸⁴

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, despite the previously low level of outmigration from Guysborough County's coastal areas, many shore inhabitants were now choosing to leave. An appeal was made in the Canso News in August of 1910 to potential migrants, particularly young men, of the Canso area;

Therefore, we say, especially to our young men, stay home and help to develop the resources of our own province and share in the prosperity which is undoubtedly coming our way.⁸⁵

The greatest victims of declining population were the smaller fishing-dependent ports along the coast [SEE TABLE 3.2]. The problem of isolation from larger distributing centres placed fishermen at a disadvantage in these places. Although most of the large firms in the Maritimes had buyers in these small ports, occasionally fishermen found it necessary to box and ice fish themselves and ship it to wholesalers or commission merchants.⁸⁶ In the communities which were strictly maintained by fishing, losses in number of inhabitants of between two and seven percent were experienced from 1901 to 1910.

In areas where gold mining had been prevalent losses were more extreme; Stormont had lost 19 percent of its population since 1901 and Sherbrooke lost 18 percent. The lumbering industry on the Liscomb River helped to stem the tide of decline in the Marie Joseph district and a three percent growth rate was experienced in that area. Continued interest in gold in Wine Harbour allowed for a three percent rate of growth there and the expansion of Mulgrave as a railway terminus resulted in a two percent growth in the Melford District. In the same ten-year period, Canso experienced a population increase of six percent. Although this figure was in contrast to the 30 percent growth experienced from 1891 to 1901, the growth of six percent was the highest of any district in the entire county.

Despite the tone of stubborn optimism held by the Canso News, in 1913 the priest of Canso, Father J. McKeough, was willing cautiously to admit that the economy was not as buoyant as it had been, and that circumstances were taking their toll on the "spirit" of the people:

Now, so far as we in Guysboro Co. are concerned, the run of fish has been away below the average, and we cannot deny that there is a spirit of depression and discouragement abroad in Canso....When we ask the cause of this depression, we are generally told that the two chief industries of Canso are tottering -the cables are going, the fish are as good as gone and as a consequence the young men are leaving.⁸⁷

Outmigration had begun to take effect in Canso, which had held as the last bastion of the county's population. McKeough expressed very clearly how, in his opinion, this drain of young men was having a detrimental effect on the fishery and on the mentality of the community on the whole:

It is unfortunately true that the fever that has been carrying off the population of Guysborough County to the boom centers-Halifax, New Glasgow, Sydney and elsewhere, has reached us and robbed us of many good citizens. Many of our young men have captured honourable and profitable positions abroad, and are making good. It is unfortunate that energetic and ambitious young men should be obliged to leave Canso, for they are just the men Canso needed at home.⁸⁸

He maintained, though, that poor conditions in the fishery had been exaggerated and that this had driven away these people needlessly, since the fishery had always been an industry of flux.

The greatest problem in the fishing industry was not that the market price of fish had fallen so drastically, but rather that the pursuit of the fishery had become so much more expensive for the fishermen and prices gained for fish had not advanced at the same rate. By the 1910s gasoline-powered boats were becoming the norm rather than the exception. Along with this came a move to larger boats and improved equipment, all of which required larger capital investment. As a correspondent in Canso in 1913 commented:

In the former days expenses were small and a day's work was

more easily and quickly realized. The larger boats of the present day make it necessary with the increased expense of gasoline Engines and larger crews to go farther out to sea to secure their fares.⁸⁹

These advances in fishing methods, as in farming communities would also have meant that fewer individuals would have been required in carrying out the fishing industry. In 1891 on average in Guysborough County there were 1.32 persons for every boat operated [SEE TABLE 3:12]. By 1909 this proportion had declined to about one individual for every boat. At the same time the number of boats in the county were gradually dropping. In 1897 in Guysborough County there were just over 2600 boats operated. By 1908 that number had dropped by 32 percent to 1780 boats. More attention was being given to the larger vessels which were fishing out of larger ports such as Canso. The number of men employed on vessels in the county grew from 98 in 1894 to a high of 373 in 1905. But between 1905 and 1909 the number of vessels and the number of men employed on them declined somewhat; there was a drop of about 30 percent in the number of men employed on vessels and only a 21 percent drop in the number of vessels.

As young men left, so also more money left the local area to pay for gasoline and engines as capital investment in equipment increased. Besides the additional money required of the fisherman for investment in his equipment, he also had to bear the brunt of increasing transportation costs. According to the year-end report in the Canso News in 1913 transportation costs had almost tripled since 1902, advancing in that time from \$4.87 per-ton of fish to \$11.37.

The need for an economic alternative was becoming evident. As the inland areas of the county had looked to the panacea of a railway when facing the effects of rural decline in the 1890s, so even by 1913 the people of Canso, the last of Guysborough's growing ports, were seeing the need for alternatives

to their economic situation. Father McKeough stated:

Canso has one great supreme want, and my hope is that every other writer will arouse our people to that great necessity. We want a railway and we want it in the worst way. For want of a railway connections Guysboro County is slowly but surely dying. Wishing all your readers a happier and better New Year,
J. McKeough.⁹⁰

Other writers felt that they could effect the economic well being of the town by encouraging the townspeople to think and act positively about Canso's future. John A. Morrison attempted to rally the people of Canso:

We should look at the future of the town optimistically, take pride in all its good works, speak a cheerful word for it at all times...Dispel the idea that we are on the ebb of the tide when some discouraging occurrence happens....Do not stand idly by and look on but take a hand in the fight....Let us all give a push and in so doing make this little town of ours a better and happier place in which to live.⁹¹

It was difficult for local fishermen to remain optimistic, however, as conditions seemed to grow steadily worse.

The First World War had a varied effect on the Guysborough County fishery. The market for fresh fish remained steady. The subsidized fast rail service which ran to Mulgrave from Canso continued to aid the movement of fresh fish. The number of men employed on boats in the county remained about the same at just over 1500 individuals through the war years to 1919 [SEE TABLE 3:13], while the number of men employed on vessels slightly increased. The market for fish was benefitted during the war by the food propaganda which accelerated the development of the home market for fresh fish.⁹² Yet still the war years did not receive the optimism of the first decade of the twentieth century.

For those involved in the dry fishery shortages of fish during the war

played havoc with production. A fisherman wrote in 1917:

Recently, on some sections of the coast where it has been difficult to get salt and where no cold storage facilities are to be found, fishermen have been obliged to remain idle for a time.⁹³

Fishermen continued to complain of young men leaving the fishery, and of small returns in comparison to costs. The expenses incurred in catching the fish were increased, while the price received for the product on the market remained about the same. A fisherman writing to the Canso News in 1917 outlined the problem from his point of view:

...the fishermen's lot is a hard one...The cost of all kinds of fishing gear has increased enormously, calling for increased outlay. A fishing boat which could be had for \$40.00 per ton a few years ago is today costing from \$80.00 to \$100.00 per ton—more than double the cost. Then the advent of the gasoline engine, which is also beneficial to the dealers as to the fisherman, also calls for increased outlay. In view of this, the prices being paid today are really no more than were paid by a former fish buyer who when in business was always a friend of the fishermen.⁹⁴

This same fisherman continued by explaining that prices in Eastern Nova Scotia were lower than in other localities, placing local fishermen at a disadvantage. Other places in the province, he insisted, received as much as 40 percent more for their catch than in Canso because of the low prices paid to fishermen by the fish buyers.

Fishermen and townspeople responded in very different ways to the squeeze of increasing costs and stagnant fish prices. Some continued to push for the construction of the Guysborough Railway, seeing it as the delivering force for the county:

The resources of the county [Guysborough] are being strangled by the lack of railway facilities, and realizing this handicap, as far as the fisheries of the district are concerned, we would advise every resident of Guysboro County to co-operate with each other, and through their parliamentary representatives demand that the Government railway be extended to the eastern

limit of the county. The whole future of the district depends upon the railroad, and those vitally interested should not rest until their request is granted.⁹⁵

Fishermen became increasingly frustrated with their disadvantaged position with the local fish buyers. In October of 1919 in Canso conditions between the two parties deteriorated to a situation which the Canso News asserted: "...practically amounted to strike conditions during the grater [sic] part of this month."⁹⁶ Some of the fishermen, in an attempt to strengthen their position, set out to organize a fishermen's union. The union was not only to help improve the relation of fishermen to the fish buyers and upgrade the general marketing of their fish, but also was to provide mutual relief and benefit for the needs of fellow fishermen. By the end of October 1919 the nucleus of a fishermen's union had been formed in Canso.⁹⁷

Very little information is available to document the conditions existing in the smaller fishing communities along the coast. The downturn of the dried fish markets, particularly following World War I, the decline in lobster catches, the increase in price for gear would all have damaged the smaller communities, where less available capital and poor transportation made the fresh fish industry difficult. In 1919 an additional blow to Guysborough County fishermen was the discontinuation of the subsidized rail service which had begun in 1908. The result was a further increase in transportation costs and greater hardship for local fishermen. The dawn of the 1920s, for smaller coastal ports and larger fishing centres alike, brought a tone of urgency and of increasing crisis.

The coastal communities of Guysborough County experienced greater stability and expansion during the 1880s than the inland farming districts. The growth of the bank fishery and the lobster industry were of particular benefit.

This growth was not universal however; on Chedabucto Bay and Canso Strait because of poor local fishing conditions and the non-availability of a lobster fishery population declined. Diversity continued to prevail. With the increasing capitalization and centralization of the 1890s, Canso experienced substantial growth. Quite differently, smaller ports, however, lacked the financial resources to move successfully into this new era, and experienced the beginnings of decline. Canso's record of growth did not continue unaffected. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century expansion had slowed and outmigration had begun to affect population.

By 1920 the coastal areas of the county were suffering a fate similar to that which their inland counterparts had experienced at the turn of the century. Outmigration and economic stagnation became universal throughout Guysborough County. The later development of this trend on the coast however, meant that shore inhabitants were better equipped to respond to decline. Since the beginning of large scale outmigration some four decades previous in inland districts, many of the potential leaders for a movement of response in the farming areas had been lost. Coastal areas in 1920 were better prepared to respond. As fishermen on the coast became increasingly squeezed by stationary prices for fish in the face of increasing production and transportation costs an organized response to decline became imminent.

NOTES

1. Ottawa, "Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands," Ottawa, 1928, p.8.

2. Harold Innis, The Cod Fishery: The History of an International Economy (Toronto: Ryerson, 1940), p.6.

3. Ottawa, Fisheries Royal Commission, 1928, p.8.

4. Ibid.

5. One of the reasons for the drastic increase in the number of fishermen in the 1880s was that lobster fishing in itself allowed many individuals to earn a reasonable living without pursuing other types of fishing. Because of this many more became classified as fishermen rather than farmers in the census returns.

6. A. F. Church, "Map of Guysborough County," 1864, (published 1876).

7. Findlay Cooke, History and Stories of Isaac's Harbour (Antigonish: Formac Limited, 1976), p.10.

8. Philip L. Hartling, Where Broad Atlantic Surges Roll (Antigonish: Formac Limited, 1979), p.15.

9. Halifax Nova Scotian, 4 January 1837, p.4, cited by Hartling, Atlantic Surges, p.23.

10. Joseph Alexander Diary, 24 December 1845, Sherbrooke Village Restoration Project, Sherbrooke, Nova Scotia.

11. Ruth Fulton Grant, The Canadian Atlantic Fishery (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934), p.18.

12. Nova Scotia, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1866, Halifax, 1867, p.43.

13. Ibid., 1867, p.30.

14. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.12.

15. Church, "Guysborough."

16. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.437.

17. A. Gordon DeWolf, "The Lobster Fishery of the Maritime Provinces: Economic Effects of Regulation," Bulletin of the Research Board of Canada (Ottawa: Departments of the Environment, and Fisheries and Marine Services), 1974, p.18.

18. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.328.

19. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.18.

20. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1871, 1879, "Fisheries Reports."

21. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 4 March 1880.

22. Nova Scotia, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1878, Halifax, 1879, p.60.

23. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.18.

24. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.369.

25. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.19.

26. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.371.

27. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1880, 1881.

28. P. B. Waite, Arduous Destiny (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 1971, p.203.

29. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.19.

30. Ibid.

31. Canso Neck includes the area from Tor Bay to Canso, on the Atlantic Coast, and from Canso to the Salmon River estuary on the South Chedabucto Bay.

32. John Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part Nineteen," no date available, Saint Francis Xavier University, Special Collections, Antigonish, N.S.

33. Ibid., "Historic Canso, Part 20".



34. Ibid.

35. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1884.

36. Dewolf, Lobster Fishery, p.15.

37. Ibid., p.17.

38. Ibid., p.18.

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39. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1881.
40. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.371.
41. Waite, Arduous Destiny, p.185.
42. Ibid.
43. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.425.
44. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.26.
45. Ibid., p.17.
46. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.331.
47. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.21.
48. Ibid., p.29.
49. Ibid., p.22.
50. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1888.
51. Ibid., 1889.
52. Ibid.
53. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 23 April 1891.
54. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1887, 1888.
55. Ibid., 1888.
56. Dewolf, Lobster Fishery, p.15.
57. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.28.
58. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1889.
59. Ibid., 1890.
60. Ibid., 1891.
61. Dewolf, Lobster Fishery, p.21.
62. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1892.
63. Ibid., 1888.
64. Goldboro Bugle, 1 April 1901.
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65. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.418.
66. Ibid., p.426.
67. Nova Scotia, Superintendent of Education, Report, 1902, p.117.
68. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 29 August 1901.
69. Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part 24."
70. Ibid.
71. Canso Breeze, 12 October 1894.
72. Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part 26."
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., "Historic Canso, Part 27."
75. Ibid.
76. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.94.
77. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.432.
78. Canso News, 29 December 1910.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., 20 July 1908.
81. Nova Scotia, Superintendent of Education, Report, 1908, p.157.
82. Canso News, 8 December 1911.
83. Ibid., 11 December 1911.
84. Ibid., 8 December 1911.
85. Canso News, 25 August 1910.
86. Grant, Atlantic Fishery, p.98.
87. Canso News, 30 December 1913.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., 31 July 1913.
90. Ibid., 30 December 1913.

91. Ibid.
92. Innis, The Cod Fishery, p.432.
93. Canso News, 29 November, 1917.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., 28 June 1919.
96. Ibid., 30 October 1919.
97. Ibid.

IV

DIFFERING RESPONSES TO

DECLINE: THE 1920s

The first two decades of the twentieth century had been a period of change and transition for rural communities of Guysborough County. Both shore and inland districts were increasingly affected by difficult economic circumstances and population decline. Modernization, industrialization, centralization, and urbanization all took their toll on the farm communities and small seaports of the county. During the 1920s, the situation became more serious. Throughout the Maritime region a general economic depression was felt. Continued decline, and gloomy future prospects, in Guysborough County prompted more organized action on the part of some local people.

Despite the influence of somewhat similar circumstances however, the situations in shore and inland districts of the county remained quite distinct. Outmigration occurred in both areas, but the greater losses were felt inland. Economic difficulties existed throughout Guysborough County, but it was the shore inhabitants who were more often brought to the point of starvation, requiring government assistance. Considering such specific differences and the diversity of Guysborough County in general, it is not surprising that the responses of shore and inland districts to economic hardship and population contraction were different and that their ideas for possible solutions varied. By 1931, increasingly vocal fishermen in desperation were willing to seek new alternatives to their crisis. Conversely as agriculture slowed to a subsistence level farmers seemed convinced that they had few options.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Guysborough County's plight

from the early 1920s until the advent of the Great Depression of the 1930s. It was during this time that local inhabitants faced a deepening crisis, as they found it more difficult to attain a livelihood in the county. The chapter will emphasize the differing circumstances experienced by different regions of the county, and their responses to the rising tide of decline and population decay.

Guysborough County in 1920 continued to face serious problems. Inland communities were losing their farm population, and smaller shore communities were increasingly pressed by the shrinking profit margin of the fishery. Although not altogether unique in Nova Scotia, the situation in Guysborough County was made worse by poor transportation links and the almost complete lack of railway service. As the coastal areas of the county felt increased uncertainty, they joined the inland districts in looking to the railway as a stabilizing factor or possible solution to their economic dilemma. The county was largely isolated from the modern world and its markets. Horatio C. Cromwell admonished the people of Guysborough County: "This railway development is absolutely essential before any great forward movements can be inaugurated successfully."¹ After more than twenty years of promises by the government that a Guysborough line would be constructed, it was not surprising that many of Guysborough's inhabitants remained skeptical that such a project would ever become reality.

The census returns of 1921 present a sad commentary on the state of the county. Population decline since the 1911 census had become almost universal, the only exception being the district of Melford, where the rail terminus was located. [SEE TABLE 4:1]. The extent of such decay however, was

markedly different throughout the county. All of the agricultural districts except Manchester experienced declines ranging from 10 to 21 percent. Manchester, which lost only four percent of its population, was the only farming area which had limited access to the rail line at Mulgrave, and this was a sustaining factor in its population.

The greatest decline in Guysborough County was experienced in the western areas which were furthest from railway connections. This isolation from markets, combined with outmigration from farming districts, the reduction in gold mining activity, and the problems in the fishery, had resulted in average declines of almost 20 percent per census district in the west. This was in contrast to the more eastern fishing districts, where the greater part of the county's fishing activity was concentrated. In the Canso Neck area an average of only 1.6 percent of the population had been lost since 1911. Decline in smaller fishing ports in the Canso Neck area, in some cases, had actually slowed since the 1911 census. This sustained population, however, was not the result of buoyant economic circumstances.

Fishermen in the western portion of Guysborough County had always been more dependent on the dried fish market than their eastern counterparts. The western portion of the county was farther removed from rail transport and the meager steamer service offered was not sufficient to allow fishermen there to move into a brisk trade in fresh fish. Since 1909, the number of lobster canneries in Guysborough County had decreased by almost two thirds. Shipments of fresh lobster only partially replaced these cannery losses. The dry fishery faced a steady decline as fresh fish gained in popularity, particularly following World War I. The eastern part of the county, by contrast, was closer to the rail link at Mulgrave and fishermen there were able to make large

shipments of fresh fish. In the east the fishermen could usually sell their fish, even if prices were low, whereas in the west fishermen had a problem even in getting rid of their catch. These additional hardships for fishermen in the western portion of the county hastened the outpouring of local inhabitants. The dependence of the western ports on timber and gold, both of which had experienced decline by the 1920s, also contributed to this outmigration.

By 1921 many fishermen, particularly in the eastern half of the county, were still trying to sustain their livelihood from the fishery. Fishing equipment totals for Guysborough County in 1921 show that the number of vessels was the same as had been reported in 1919, while the total number of boats in the county had experienced only a slight decrease of five percent in the same two years. Consolidation and centralization however, continued to take their toll. From 1919 to 1920 the total number of freezers and ice houses located in the county decreased from 58 to 26, while the number of smoke and fish houses dropped from 720 to 406. The total number of piers and wharfs used in the county declined by 16 percent [SEE TABLE 4-2].

In 1921 a number of additional difficulties were felt by local fishermen which added to their burden. In that year a further world depression of fish prices occurred. The dried fish market was particularly hard hit. Ruth Fulton Grant gives the example of the price of Lunenburg dried cod, which declined from \$12.65 a quintal in 1919 to \$6.40 a quintal in 1921.² Also in 1921, becoming increasingly protectionist in the face of post-war speculation, the United States imposed the Fordney Tariff on Canadian fish entering the United States. This placed Canadian fish at a disadvantage on the American market. That same year the modus vivendi which had allowed Canadian fishermen to market their fish directly at American ports was cancelled. As a result

Maritime fishermen were forced to take their fish to their home ports for trans-shipment.³ Added to this was the growing competition that fishermen faced from foreign countries. After the close of World War I, European fish producing countries went about reorganizing their industries. By 1922 the competition offered by Norway became severe, and was shortly followed by other countries such as Iceland and Great Britain. As these countries moved into traditional Nova Scotian markets outside Canada, in countries such as the West Indies and Brazil, the market for local dried fish dwindled. Fresh fish markets in turn, were glutted as fishermen who had formerly relied on the dry fish market attempted to sell their fish fresh. The result of these changes was that fishermen were placed in an increasing difficult position, as costs of catching the fish began to exceed the returns from their sale and as fish became more difficult to market. The school inspector for Guysborough and Antigonish counties stated in his report for 1921:

Dependent entirely on their catch of fish and on the Fall berries of the barrens, [for poorer coastal communities] the question of 'bread and butter' becomes, naturally the all absorbing one, whenever the results of their labor fall below a certain minimum in quantity or in value. This untoward situation existed in many places along the coast last year. It is within my own personal knowledge that many of these people found it difficult or impossible to dispose of their catch of fish at almost any price.⁴

The school inspector again drew attention in 1922 to the hardship of this annual struggle on the Atlantic shore:

In most of the sections along this coast, particularly where there are no good harbors, the people are entirely dependent on what they gain from the sea by shore-fishing, and on the product of the berry barrens, where such are to be found. Even when their toil is well rewarded, which has not been the case the last few years, the settlers are almost invariably on the verge of want, and the struggle for mere existence becomes, infrequently, very acute. And besides, the iron law of economics holds them in its merciless grasp. The market for fish is poor and bread and raiment are high, and hence the perennial

struggle.⁵

Feeling unable to endure these conditions, the fishermen who could, joined hundreds of other Maritimers, abandoning their homes and leaving to find work and a better livelihood in nearby industrial centres of the United States. Ernest Forbes estimates that between 1920 and 1925 more than half-a-million Canadian and Newfoundland citizens emigrated to the United States.⁶ Although this outmigration of Guysborough County fishermen was recognizable in census returns it was not as extreme as one might have expected given the poor economic situation on the shore. For older fishermen the constant ebb and flow of economic fortunes seemed to have become ingrained and was an expected part of the fishery. Other fishermen could not even afford to buy a ticket to leave the county, a situation that Ward Fisher, a federal fishery officer looked upon favourably:

It was good, he said, that many of the young fishermen could not afford to buy a ticket to leave home. The young men might think that they did not earn enough money at fishing but the fish markets were improving...⁷

Because of the system of credit which some fishermen found themselves locked into with the local merchant, it was impossible for them to consider outside alternatives. Another element contributing to the lower degree of outmigration on the shore was that, by contrast with the inland areas, a network of relatives and friends did not exist outside the region. Whereas during the 1880s outmigration had reached high levels in the agricultural districts, the coastal fishing communities at the same time had experienced greater stability.

In the inland areas of the county, outmigration had resulted in the virtual loss of an entire generation. By 1921 the Forks, St. Mary's had lost over 40 percent of its population since 1881, while during the same time the

Intervale had lost almost 50 percent. Although in the 1880s and 1890s it had been common for entire farm families to leave, after the turn of the century most population loss represented the outmigration of young adults. The lack of children in various agricultural districts of the county brought decline in school enrollment and eventual school closures for some areas. The inspector of schools for Guysborough and Antigonish counties in 1920 tried to explain the reasons for closing schools and dropping enrollment:

Poor markets for farm products, til [sic] within a few years, drove our young and strong men and women to other parts, where they believed that Labor was better rewarded.⁸

Census returns for 1921 show that in the preceding decade only minimal changes had occurred in agricultural land. For the most part, farms were able to be maintained [SEE TABLE 4.3]. The amount of improved land increased by 29 percent, while the acreage of land in crops decreased by six percent. Since 1911 some types of livestock such as sheep and non-milking cows had increased, while slight declines in numbers of horses, swine and milk cows were experienced. In a similar way certain types of crops were grown in larger quantities, such as wheat, barley, oats and potatoes; hay and buckwheat experienced slight decreases. The previous decade had not meant a rapid abandonment of farmland by local farmers, but many of the districts' young adults were lost. As time progressed, and as elderly farmers were forced to give up farming, the results of the "lost generation" would become more obvious. The industry in most areas was facing declining markets, and poor transportation facilities meant that there were few opportunities to take advantage of markets in growing centres of population.

The future of Guysborough's railway, the county's saving hope, was uncertain in 1921. Since the 1880s, outmigration had taken a heavy toll in the

farm districts and fishermen were finding it harder and harder to secure an adequate livelihood. Such circumstances, although different throughout the county, incited a response. Before the 1920s no county-wide movements had been organized to deal with what Father J. McKeough had called Guysborough County's slow death. In 1923 however, the Canso Board of Trade took up the cause of the entire county and began advancing the idea of holding a conference to discuss the possibilities for future development. This attitude of co-operation was in contrast to the isolationist views which had been held by some residents of Canso around the turn of the century when the town had been expanding. Nevertheless, by the early twenties Guysborough County's voice was added to the growing agitation which was being expressed all over the Maritimes in response to declining economic fortunes. The more universal experience of uncertainty throughout Guysborough County had now created a common bond.

It was not surprising that the initiation of such a movement came from Canso. Whereas many of the smaller ports on Guysborough's coast had experienced the ebb and flow of the fishery since their forefathers had settled on the shore at the turn of the nineteenth century, Canso was somewhat different. Canso had tasted prosperity and growth for the better part of 50 years. From 1871 to 1911 the population of the coastal port increased by 122 percent. In 1901 it had been incorporated as a town and numerous improvements were accomplished. By the 1920s all this was under threat. The fishery was facing difficulties. The cable company staff had been reduced. Canso's population was beginning to shrink. In this large community, it was easier for meetings to be organized and for individuals to get together. In 1919 the fishermen of Canso had organized themselves into a union and had staged a

strike against the local fish buyers. Canso's resources included a valuable store of leadership which was required to spark such a movement. The cable companies of Canso employed highly trained individuals who were interested in the plight of the sea-side town. John Morrison, an employee of the Commercial Cable Company, who had emigrated to Canso from Scotland, was the originator of the idea of the conference on development of Guysborough County's industries and resources.⁹ Late in 1922 the Bishop of Antigonish sent Father J.J. Tompkins, formerly vice-president of Saint Francis Xavier University, to Canso to serve as the parish priest. Tompkins later became an important figure in the Antigonish Movement, which promoted co-operation and education as the middle road to progress. His presence promoted the cause of education in Canso, where the graded school had grown to be one of the best in the county.

The thrust for a county wide meeting did not originate in the inland communities of Guysborough County because of a number of factors. The drain of outmigration in these districts had taken a much heavier toll of the population, and of the potential leaders, than on the shore. This was particularly true in farming communities of the District of St. Mary's which, prior to the 1920s, had contributed considerably to the county's political leadership. Provincially, the District of St. Mary's was represented by individuals from inland agricultural districts for 24 of the 38 years following Confederation. After 1905 however, leadership was largely drawn from Sherbrooke and no more representatives were drawn from farther inland. A similar trend can be seen federally. For 30 of the 54 years following Confederation, Guysborough County's representative to the Canadian Parliament came from a farming district of St. Mary's. After 1921, however, no representatives came from the

county's farm districts in St. Mary's. As school reports suggest, the most highly trained individuals more often sought fortunes in the west or in the United States, where opportunities were greater and pay was higher.

In the inland areas of the county there was not the same sense of economic urgency as prevailed on the shore. The farmers of the county generally were not on the verge of starvation, as many fishermen were by the early 1920s. The farming districts continued to grow their agricultural produce and raise livestock, although without the expanded market which might be offered by the railway; opportunities for expansion were limited as local markets dwindled.

The Canso Board of Trade, the originator of the development conference idea, had been formed in 1903 just following the incorporation of Canso as a town.¹⁰ By 1911, however, the body had formally gone out of existence. The town's fading fortunes by 1920 drew a large number of individuals in the Canso area to organize a new board of trade at a time when the Maritime Board of Trade was increasingly becoming a unifying vehicle for organizing and expressing regional protest.¹¹ As Morrison states, the greatest energies of this new board were turned to: "the work of advancing the interests of Canso in every phase of its development and well being."¹² An important contingent of the leadership in this new board of trade came from the cable company employees. Of the board's first new slate of officers, two of the three executive positions were filled by individuals from Hazel Hill, the cable terminus village near Canso. Others to be involved in the Board of Trade were the town's mayor and later M.L.A., H.A. Rice, and Father Tompkins.

By 1923 the members of the Canso Board of Trade had come to realize that the problems which Canso was experiencing extended beyond the im-

mediate area of the town. With the co-operation of a greater number of persons throughout the county it was believed that a larger force could be created, and greater attention could be drawn to the needs of Guysborough County. Many Maritimers had already come to realize that division and isolationist attitudes prevented resistance to worsening economic conditions. As Forbes states:

...the belief was rapidly gaining currency among people in all parts of the Maritimes that they shared common interests which were threatened and could only be defended by vigorous and united action.¹³

In the spring of 1923 the Canso Board of Trade began studying conditions as a whole in the county, which John Morrison described as being:

...in a state of apathy and retrogression, owing (primarily) to the want of railway facilities in the county to develop the rich, raw resources with which the shire is endowed.¹⁴

That same spring the suggestion was put forward that the best way to deal with such problems was to hold a conference which would include representatives from the entire county. A favourable resolution was passed by the Canso Board of Trade later that spring. Morrison, a key organizer defined the question to be explained:

...where we, ourselves, were slipping in the development of our natural resources; while fully recognizing the great problem handicapping our efforts was the want of railway facilities in Guysborough County, a basic and economic privilege Guysborough had been urging on the Government of the day for some 60 years, and consistently denied our people. Why?¹⁵

In a county as vast as Guysborough the task of organizing a conference which would be representative of the whole area was a difficult one. The geographic, economic, social, ethnic, and religious diversity of the county posed problems in forming a united voice. The experience on the shore remained very different from the situation inland, yet some members of the

Canso Board of Trade felt that underdevelopment of the county's natural resources was common to the whole of Guysborough and that the railway was a general solution. Preliminary publicity for the Advancement Conference appeared in the various newspapers which served the different sections of the county; the central themes were cooperation and self-help. An editorial appearing in the Canso Breeze and Guysborough County Advocate explained the purpose of Guysborough's "Forward Movement":

It is a movement of men who wish to see Guysborough County grow greater in industry and in strength. It must be a representative movement of all sections; not for the advancement of any one community alone, but all united for the advancement of the whole....The project we have before us is no easy one. Our way to success lies in first making up our minds, then applying ourselves with unabated energy to this great work, and all hold together until we win. In this, we must temper confidence with sound business caution.¹⁶

To promote an inclusive character, it was proposed that the county-wide conference should establish committees on transportation (the county's foremost problem), the fishery, agriculture, the forestry, mineral resources and tourism. With each sector of the county's economy represented it was hoped that individuals with the greatest knowledge in their respective fields might be attracted. The conference did not purport to be a radical movement to bring about instant change. Instead, its organizers saw it as a preliminary effort in finding a possible solution to the county's difficulties. An editorial in the Canso Breeze and Guysborough County Advocate read:

As the tree root, pushing its puny strength into the fissure of the rock is destined some day to split the rock, so this movement, we hope, is destined to split the rock of indifference and lethargy that too long has barred our progress. This is a movement for the people and by the people. We must be our own best helpers. FORWARD GUYSBOROUGH.¹⁷

The date of the conference was set as August 7-8, 1923, in Guysborough Town. In advance of this, realizing the importance of county wide

input, the secretary of the Canso Board of Trade sent notice to all sections of the county and called for suggestions and assistance from all who were interested in aiding the proceedings. The Board of Trade in Canso had already been successful in enlisting the support of the Guysborough Board of Trade. Together the representatives from both organizations travelled the rough roads of the county holding meetings in Sherbrooke, Boylston and Mulgrave to seek input and support.

The Guysborough County Advancement Conference, according to the Halifax Herald, was the first of its kind in the province, unique in both its planning and its program.¹⁸ The conference received province wide press coverage and put together an impressive list of speakers. The provincial premier, E.H. Armstrong, was in attendance, along with other top federal and provincial government officials from the Ministry of Highways, the Federal Fisheries Department, the Federal Forestry Department, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Nova Scotia Tourist Association, and the Canadian National Railway. Also there were the provincial hydro engineer, the president of the Imperial Publishing Company, the local inspector of schools (Professor A.G. MacDonald), as well as J.J. Tompkins and local government representatives.

The opening addresses of the conference expressed optimism over the county's past and its resources, but also raised urgent concerns. Outmigration was an important topic of discussion. As the Warden of Guysborough Municipality, D.P. Floyd declared:

Our youth seemed to have lost the pioneering spirit of their ancestors which triumphed over all difficulties and must be regained.¹⁹

Most speakers, though, singled out the lack of railway facilities as the main cause of Guysborough's stagnation.

The premier's address to the gathering was cautious. He seemed to realize the volatile nature of the situation in Guysborough County which came as a result of increased economic crisis. Although Armstrong felt that Guysborough had made progress in the last number of years he warned the people of Guysborough County against "impatience" and "expecting results too soon".²⁰ He reminded those gathered that:

If someone stopped to think it would be seen that the lot of our people at large compared favourably with that of other countries.²¹

This comment must have brought little comfort to the impoverished fishermen of the coast, who lived lives of uncertainty and hardship wondering from year to year whether they would be able to feed their families. The premier also stressed the importance of the fishery to Guysborough County. As politicians had done before, he made promises to the people of the county. Armstrong assured the conference delegates that improvement of transportation facilities was imminent:

The development of this industry (the fishery) requires better transportation facilities now too long deferred, and, in spite of opposition, these will be obtained at the first opportunity. It is necessary for us here to present a united front in the matter of obtaining adequate transportation facilities...²²

Premier Armstrong completed his address by offering the options of tourism and co-operation as the hope for Guysborough County's future.

W. Fisher, representing the Federal Department of Fisheries, summarized the problems of the fishery and suggested possible action for bringing improvement:

Our greatest needs are to increase home consumption. Better preparation by shippers to foreign markets, more careful handling and display by retailers at home, more adequate transportation facilities, lower freight rates and instruction on our fishery resources in public schools.²³

J.F. O'Connell, Chairman of the Nova Scotia Tourist Association, stressed the importance of publicity in opening up Guysborough to tourism and also for capital investment, while J.C. Tory, M.L.A. for the District of Guysborough, advocated the initiation of a steamer service which would serve the isolated fishing ports of the county's coast. Professor Melville Cummings of the Agricultural College encouraged farmers of the county to turn to the raising of dairy cattle, which in his words: "...have proved themselves the means of earning for farmers a good livelihood and making the country prosperous."²⁴ Discussion followed concerning the problems of market for milk produced by local farmers. The construction of a creamery or the establishing of a collection depot from the Hawkesbury Creamery in Cape Breton were mentioned as possible alternatives. Cummings also advocated the raising of sheep in the county. Other speakers addressed the possibilities of hydro development and better protection of the forests in the county.

The two day Guysborough County Advancement Conference ended with rallying speeches by J.C. Tory and by H.F. Robinson, secretary of the Canso Board of Trade. Both speakers urged all residents of Guysborough County actively to support the forward movement.

Guysborough's first development conference was deemed a success by its organizers and by the local press. Among the more immediate results were the formation of two new associations and the sending of a resolution to the Parliament of Canada concerning rail service to Guysborough County. At the end of the first day's proceedings, it had been decided that a subsection of the Nova Scotia Tourist Association should be formed in Guysborough to promote tourism in the county more effectively. On the second day, the formation of the Guysborough County Development Association was approved.

This organization was set up as a continuing body whose task it was to promote the general development of Guysborough County. The executive leadership for this association came mainly from Canso, but the larger executive council was composed of representatives from various parts of the county. The immediate task assigned to the Development Association was to assist the county exhibition managers to make the fall exhibition a success. Near the close of the Advancement Conference a resolution was unanimously passed and forwarded to the federal government concerning the hoped for construction of the Guysborough Railway. A portion of the resolution read as follows:

[At a recent conference on industrial development in Guysborough] it was deemed vital to the future of the County that the Guysborough Railway should be constructed with all possible speed; and whereas at the said Conference an examination of the resources of the county was found to warrant the construction of the said railway;²⁵

As well as these immediate fruits of the two day meeting, the less immediate consequences were numerous. The Advancement Conference had gained a great deal of publicity for the county in its unique move toward encouraging development. Government officials had met with the people in the county and were made more familiar with their needs. By raising the issue of the county's poor transportation links, a great deal of attention had been drawn for the cause of the Guysborough Railway. As the Morning Chronicle's editorial entitled "Advance Guysboro!" noted:

Guysboro almost alone among the communities of Eastern Canada has been cut off from railway communication throughout practically the whole of its territory, and the Conference will achieve a great gain indeed if it focuses public attention upon this lack and need, and is influential in organizing public opinion in support of the project to build a branch of the Canadian National Railways through the County.²⁶

Another important result of the conference was the drawing together of local residents for the common good of the county. With the slogan "We are

our own best helpers", the foundation was laid for future co-operation among Guysborough County's citizens. The Morning Chronicle optimistically predicted:

...we believe that the two day conference held in the shire town may well have been the beginning of a new era of progress and prosperity which will place the County of Guysboro in the very forefront of our industrial leadership.²⁷

The latter comment was, of course, grotesquely over-optimistic. Drastic changes did not occur overnight. The conference had had its shortcomings. The barrier of sectionalism had not fully been broken down. Not all sections of the county had been represented in this movement. From the list of participants it appears that there were few representatives present from St. Mary's District. The M.L.A. from St. Mary's was not included in the list of distinguished guests, nor did he address the gathering as did the M.L.A. from the Guysborough District. Only one representative from the District of St. Mary's was included in the Executive Council of the newly formed Guysborough Development Association. Although this representative gave Sherbrooke a voice in the association, neither the inland farming districts nor the coastal fishing portions of the District of St. Mary's was represented. The agricultural questions of the western half of the county appear to have been overlooked, since the proposed creamery in Guysborough Town would have been of no benefit to farmers in St. Mary's some fifty kilometres away. Similarly the development of gold mining, which was concentrated in the western portion of the county, received little attention at the conference.

The Advancement Conference had not promised to bring an immediate solution to all of Guysborough County's problems. Although many of the speakers had encouraged those in attendance to be optimistic, in many parts of the county there was little to be optimistic about. Two months after the conference, in Drum Head, near Isaac's Harbour, the closing of the local

cannery brought a strong reaction from local fishermen. When the Canadian Bank of Commerce arrived to take possession of the fish in stock at the cannery, a large portion of which was not paid for, local fishermen were waiting in a body to prevent its removal. As the Halifax Herald stated:

At the end of a poor season and winter coming on the fishermen felt that they had suffered a severe blow as they depended on the amount due them to carry them through the winter.²⁸

Despite his attempt to stay optimistic in his annual report, Mayor Rice of Canso admitted that the year had not been a good one for local fishermen and that there had been a growing tide of outmigration along the coast.

Perhaps the industry which languished most throughout the year has been the great fishing industry... Because of many discouraging features peculiar to the industry many fishermen have gone to other centres of industry where ready money is available and where there is not the outlay and risk required in fishing.²⁹

Nevertheless, the reform spirit remained strong however, in Eastern Nova Scotia. The Canso Board of Trade continued its campaign to bring increased growth to Guysborough County. In the third address of a lecture series organized for the Canso Board of Trade by Tompkins, Professor Moses Coady of Saint Francis Xavier University incited those in attendance to be forceful in looking for new alternatives:

Progress is due to the pusher who has vision of better things and thereby becomes a disrupting force of new ideas and thought.³⁰

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish was also considering seriously the problems of rural areas within its boundaries. In the third annual Conference on Rural Problems sponsored by the diocese, the Bishop of Antigonish, James Morrison, implored his priests to "lend every possible aid in improving agricultural conditions and methods... to prevent further emigration from the country-"³¹ The bishop continued by urging priests to form committees in their

respective parishes to help them deal with rural problems. In an address to the conference Rev. M.N. Tompkins gave figures of population loss for Guysborough, Antigonish, Victoria, Richmond, and Inverness counties in the previous twenty years. Comparatively, Guysborough had lost almost double the number of individuals lost by either Victoria or Antigonish, two other counties heavily hit by outmigration.

Province-wide publicity continued to be given to the Guysborough County Development Association in the spring of 1924, as it began to plan its fall conference. John Morrison, in an interview with the Halifax Herald, claimed that results of the first conference had already been felt and that there was a "more optimistic feeling" prevailing in the county.³² A week before Morrison's statement, on May 8, 1924, the Halifax Herald had announced that the Guysborough Railway had been approved by a parliamentary committee and that although construction on the 3.5 million dollar project would not begin until 1925, it should reach Guysborough Town by 1926. The hopes for a railway, however, were dashed once again, when in July of 1924 the project was defeated by a senate committee vote. Many Nova Scotians believed the plan had been inadequately defended. The Herald stated:

When the Guysboro bill was reached, the matter was over in a minute or two....It looks as if the word had been passed around 'to let it go'.³³

The second annual conference to discuss development in the county was held in October of 1924. Once again Premier Armstrong was on hand as speakers gave their views on the best ways to utilize and further develop the county's major resources. Speakers such as Ward Fisher, a federal fishery officer, told delegates that they must "put the hammer away and brag".³⁴ It was at this conference that Fisher declared that it was good that many young

fishermen could not afford to purchase tickets to leave the county because fishing was improving.

Boosterism alone, however, was not going to revive the county's economy. A number of significant resolutions did emerge out of the meeting. The delegates agreed to petition the Federal Department of Fisheries to consider the granting of credits to fishermen in a similar way that rural credit was granted in other counties. Such credits, they believed, would help fishermen to purchase the fishing gear and appliances which they required and could not readily afford. Also it was resolved that the Federal Government should be asked to consider seriously an investigation of the failing lobster fishery.³⁵

The year 1925 brought a provincial election to Nova Scotia and with it came the perennial promise of a railway for Guysborough County. In April of that year the project was again proposed by the federal government. The Canso Board of Trade was quick to act and made plans early in May to send a number of delegates to Ottawa to rally on their behalf for construction of the Guysborough Extension. On June 23, 1925 the Guysborough Railway project received second reading, although the Halifax Herald cautioned that the government leader had not appeared optimistic about the project.³⁶

The central issue raised against the 43 year old Liberal Government in Nova Scotia's election of 1925 was outmigration. The entire Maritime Region had suffered a substantial loss of its inhabitants in the five years previous. Hundreds of Maritimers had left for the United States where economic decline was less severe. The Tory party slogan was "Vote Him Home". Advertisements were sponsored in provincial newspapers with verses like: "Vote Him Back Home. Vote against the Government that Drove Him INTO EXILE."³⁷ Tories confronted voters with the chronicle of the thousands of native Nova Scotians

who had been forced to leave:

Drive anywhere in Nova Scotia and you will discover one abandoned farm-house after another. 5,000 have been counted in one survey. The tragedy is not in the decaying wood, the advancing wilderness. But in the lives of those who worked here, hoped here, but had to leave here because of neglect of the 43 Year Old Government, and because of the burden in taxes it has imposed. First the young men were forced to leave. Then the old folks found it impossible to carry on without their help. If you've lived in the country you know scores of such cases. You know what it means to Nova Scotia to lose the flower of its manhood and womanhood in this way. You know what it means to the young man forced to break all his associations to seek a living among strangers. You know what it means to the old folks breaking down under the strain of carrying on alone.... Think of this on election Day and Vote Him Back Home.³⁸

This type of advertisement was supplemented by full newspaper articles which told of specific incidents of outmigration. Although the advertising and the stories were romanticized and exaggerated to rally votes against the government, the core of the matter was true.

By the end 1925 a number of significant developments had occurred. The Guysborough Railway once again had failed to be passed by the Conservative-dominated senate; the 43-year-old liberal government of Nova Scotia was defeated; and Guysborough, a traditionally Liberal county, had returned two Tory members to the Provincial Legislature. It appeared as though the Tory election platform had struck a sensitive chord in Guysborough County. Residents of the county had grown tired of the unkept Liberal promises of a railway, hardship in the fishery, and the steady tide of outmigration that continued throughout the county. They turned to the Conservatives for an alternative.

One of the newly elected Conservative M.L.A.'s for Guysborough, was former Mayor H.S. Rice of Canso. In his year-end report for 1925, published in the Halifax Herald, Rice looked ahead with stubborn optimism: "Signs of a

Business Revival Are Already Apparent in Guysborough County". In reality, indications of a business revival were very difficult to see, particularly along the shore. Rice did, however, outline the problems of the fishing industry and the changes which he felt were necessary. He pointed to the poor transportation facilities which prevented the transition of many coastal communities from the slow methods of salting and drying to the fresh market. The outlay of a great deal of money for gear and the considerable risk of the fishery were driving young men into other more promising occupations. The failure of the lobster industry also contributed to the problems. To bring change Rice felt government intervention was necessary. He stated:

If the inshore fishing conditions of Guysboro county are to be improved so that the industry shall attract the young men of the population it may be that some system may have to be called into operation whereby the risk and hazard must in some way be shared by governmental or other bodies.³⁹

Agriculture was being encouraged in the county by the development of a system of creamery depots in the farm districts. Rice encouraged farmers to look to an improved future in dairying. The lack of detailed agricultural reports for this period however, prevents more thorough examination of how effective these creamery depots were in the county. Later in 1926 S.O. Giffin of Goldboro, Guysborough's second M.L.A. pushed for the revival and development of the county's gold industry. His efforts were without success.

The advancing years brought worsening conditions on Guysborough's coast. In the summer of 1926 Clifford Rose, a Temperance inspector, recorded his impressions of conditions along the south Chedabucto shore to Canso:

The poverty of the people in those little fishing villages along the coast was pitiful, not so much squalor as to be seen in the towns but the children seemed to be undernourished and tubercular.⁴⁰

The purpose of Rose's visit was to attend a parish picnic at Dover, a

community just beyond Canso on the Atlantic Coast. The recent hardship of the fishery had taken its toll on Dover and left it with what Rose called the "hung-dog" look. Rose describes his impressions as a Pictou County native:

The pleasant farmlands of Antigonish and Pictou seemed to be thousands of miles away. Here all was stark naked barren and terrible. Rocks the size of houses had been tossed about by some upheaval of Nature millions of years ago. A few weather-beaten houses, a fish house on a wharf with some boats, lobster traps, a store, these along with a little white chapel on the hill, -that was Dover.⁴¹

Some government officials, such as Rice tried to bring economic change to Guysborough County by simply substituting an attitude of pessimism and defeatism for optimism. People in communities like Dover had little reason to feel optimistic about their situation. A change was needed.

Concerned individuals were calling not only for economic change but also for educational change. Decades of outmigration, combined with the more recent economic difficulties, had had serious effects on Guysborough County schools. Many schools in smaller communities had been forced to close. The local inspector encouraged consolidation of school sections as a solution to this problem. Where there were no pupils to consolidate, parents sent their children to schools in neighbouring communities or to stay with relatives or friends in another district which maintained a school. The draw of outmigration had also affected the teaching staff. Many of the best trained teachers were enticed to move to the Canadian West or to the United States, where salaries were higher and opportunities for advance were greater. The result was increasing difficulty in acquiring qualified teachers and the hiring of more teachers who had only permissive licenses. In 1926 only 35 percent of the teachers in the county's rural schools had Normal College training.⁴² In some areas, particularly along the shore where severe economic depression was being experienc-

ed, school sections could afford to pay only the smallest salaries, which attracted only the least qualified teachers. The school inspector found himself in a quandary:

Yet, on account of the yearly exodus of regularly qualified teachers to other professions; on account of the increasing difficulty experienced in securing boarding houses for teachers not natives of the sections and on account of the very low salaries offered in many localities, it seems imperative from year to year to authorize the issuing of permissive licenses in order to supply teachers for sections which otherwise remain school-less.⁴³

Like many other rural educationists of the Maritimes in the 1920s, the inspector of schools for Guysborough and Antigonish expressed his concern to the provincial supervisor of schools that reforms were needed in the rural school system. In his 1926 report the inspector stated:

The need for a change in the present organization of rural schools is felt keenly by interested educationists in this Division. It is perhaps inevitable that a system established more than half a century ago and still existing in a practically unaltered state, should exhibit certain inadequacies, especially in view of the changing conditions in other fields. Moreover, it is doubtlessly true that the system was the best that could have been devised for the period when the province was in its infancy.... Now that these conditions have practically disappeared the question arises as to whether or not the present organization of rural schools lends itself to educational improvement work. Those who have given some thought to the subject consider that it does not and this opinion is common even to many of the rural ratepayers with whom I have discussed the matter.⁴⁴

Despite these conditions, H.A. Rice continued in his year-end report for 1926 to promote his optimistic outlook. He explained to readers of the Halifax Herald the general improvements in the county during the year and the new optimism with which its people were facing the new year. Rice told of the development of the fresh fish industry at Canso which had been aided by the operation of five steam trawlers out of the port. Conversely, fishermen had greatly opposed the trawlers claiming that they overexploited the fish stocks,

and glutted the market. Rice claimed:

Fortunately the landings of the steam trawlers do not interfere with those of the local boats, and a ready market is always found with local fish buying firms.⁴⁵

Rice did admit, that in coastal areas outmigration had continued to be a problem as "many of the younger men are looking towards other branches of industry which call for less hazard and more certain returns."⁴⁶ Outside of Canso, where individuals were dependent on the market of dried and salt fish the same activity was not present.

It was the forest industry which Rice had felt experienced the greatest growth during the year notwithstanding the unsatisfactory market conditions which existed. The prospects for farming in the county worsened and Rice showed little optimism with reference to the industry without the construction of a rail line through the county. Farmers were unable even to get perishable goods to markets within the county. Rice stated:

Perhaps there are few, if any other counties in the Province which import so much farm produce as does Guysboro County. Hay, Grain, Vegetables, Fruit, Beef, Poultry, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, etc., are all brought into the County at points remote from the agricultural sections and largely from points outside the province. [local] Farmers with few exceptions raise little more than is required, and consumed by their own families. Perhaps the great drawback to the development of farming, has been the difficulty of reaching a market with perishable produce.⁴⁷

Although a milk collecting route had been set up following the Development Conference in 1923, still by 1926 no creamery had been established within the county to process local milk. Rice concluded his report optimistically, looking toward the future developments of gold mining and tourism in the county.

By the summer of 1927 it was clear that fishermen were growing very tired of the government's lack of action to help overcome their difficulties. Local people of Guysborough County were ready to try to implement some of

the new ideas they had recently encountered. On July 7 local fishermen of Canso petitioned their own M.P. and the provincial Minister of Natural Resources to remedy a situation which was reducing them to "poverty" and "starvation."⁴⁸ At a meeting in Canso local fishermen claimed that:

...fishing can be carried on by the individual fisherman only at a loss the receipts being barely enough to cover expenses with nothing over for a decent living. Then those who are forced to seek employment at a local fish firm...are paid a deplorable wage.⁴⁹

Out of this incident arose a heated dispute between small boat fishermen and the fish company operators. Father Tompkins, taking the side of the fishermen, enlisted the aid of Dr. A.G. Huntsman, director of the Atlantic Fisheries Station in Canso. Huntsman prepared a number of recommendations which were presented to a meeting of fishermen on July 15, 1927. The meeting was called to "discuss the fishing industry to try and endeavour to find some solution for the difficulties confronting the shore fishermen, which have reached such a critical stage."⁵⁰ Huntsman suggested better training for fishermen, in purely fishing communities, in carrying out better curing methods.⁵¹ Fishermen enumerated the problems which they were experiencing. Some spoke of the steam trawlers which they felt were being allowed to flood the market with fish of an inferior quality; others expressed their dissatisfaction with the price they were receiving for their fish. Captain John Kennedy claimed that, at the current prices, the men employed on his boat would earn only \$135.12 each for the entire year.⁵²

The provincial Minister of Natural Resources, A.J. Walker, responded by encouraging fishermen to consider improving the quality and marketing of their product as farmers had done in the past. Walker emphasized the advantage of a co-operative system of marketing, a method which had had great success in

farm communities. The local M.P., William Duff promised to advocate the setting up of a commission to thoroughly examine the existing situation in the fishery. Others to address the fishermen's meeting were H.A. Rice, A.E. Nickerson of Yarmouth and a number of the local clergymen. Tompkins called for the use of scientific methods and co-operation in overcoming the difficulties at hand. Among the recommendations coming out of the meeting was a request to the federal government that a Royal Commission be carried out investigating the fishery and that improved inspection of fish should be instigated to ensure a better quality product.

The government was being pressed for action. In a meeting a few weeks before with the Department of Marine and Fisheries, a number of Roman Catholic priests from fishing centres in Eastern Nova Scotia and Capè Breton drew attention to the hardships being experienced. In addition these priests presented their suggestions for appropriate action. This meeting, in conjunction with the mass gathering at Canso, applied greater pressure on government to act.

After some consideration and a conference on the issue, the federal government determined that the fishermen were justified in their complaints and on August 6, 1927 the Halifax Herald announced to its readers that a Royal Commission would be appointed to investigate the Maritime fishery. The commission was to be entrusted with the task of:

...determining such action as may be possible to enlarge the market for fish and thus secure for the inshore fishermen prices that will adequately remunerate them for their daily service...[and also] fully investigate the extent to which assisting in the transportation of fish from different points along the shores to a point where some may be profitably marketed, is of general value to the industry.⁵³

Almost immediately, in Canso, a Fishermen's Federation was formed and

plans were begun for the preparation of a case to present to the Royal Commission. By the latter part of September the federation had upwards of 100 members. Fishermen stressed the importance of intelligent and progressive ideas in dealing with the problems in a co-operative way.⁵⁴

A front page article appeared in the 24 October 1927 edition of the Halifax Herald, entitled "Give Guysboro County A Chance: The Guysboro Railway Should Be Built As Projected". It was followed up by an editorial which called for the construction of Guysborough's railway to aid the fishery in particular and the whole county in general. As the author concluded:

The record of the past is one long tragic series of political promises. **PERFORMANCE** will speak for itself when it comes.⁵⁵

The Royal Commission hearings into the fishery began in the fall. Two meetings were held in Guysborough County, the first at Canso and the second at Isaac's Harbour. Canso and area fishermen were given two days to present their case to the commission. On the 29th October 1927 the opening remarks at the Canso meeting included statistics which clearly explained the decline which had occurred in the fishery. In 1910, 32 boats were registered in Canso, by 1927 there were only 6 boats registered. In the same time the number of large boats which were unregistered had decreased from 51 to 11. A move to smaller sized boats which were more economical to operate was also clear; in 1910 there were 10 small boats in Canso, by 1927 there were 40 small boats.⁵⁶ For two days the commission heard local fishermen tell their problems, solutions and stories of hardship. Mr. John Kennedy explained to the meeting the poor conditions which many families were forced to endure in Canso:

I can take you to homes in this very town...[where they] have not got clothes enough to sit in a public meeting...our children has as much right to have an education as any other man's child. We can't afford to keep them in school under the conditions, it is impossible. The simple fact is I have sent mine

there with half enough to eat in the morning and half enough clothing to clothe them and half books enough that they should have.⁵⁷

Fishermen saw the beam trawler and large corporations as their greatest enemies; both threatened to squeeze them out of the industry. Some recounted incidents of fish companies refusing to sell fishermen bait in favour of the trawlers. Since the end of the war it had become harder to maintain the gear which fishermen owned. Gradually they threw away worn-out nets which they could not afford to replace, and many had been forced to sell their boats. Disheartened by the situation, one man said:

If the markets are going to be all controlled by big corporations and beam trawlers there is no good to talk about anything... the only thing for the government to do is give us a free ticket out of the country and [we will] get out as quickly as we can. In fact, there is a good many, and I am one, that would not be in it today if we could get out. I have had to go the last two years and fish out of Boston to make a living for my family. I suppose I will have to do it this winter.⁵⁸

Other men who appeared before the commission told of the exodus which had already occurred from Canso to the United States and which continued as a result of poor economic prospects. Robert Meagher stated:

It is impossible to live, and the result is today we have 50 or 60 of our smartest young men from right here in Canso, to say nothing of Nova Scotia, fishing out of the United States, giving their lives in the service of a foreign country... A great many today are closing their homes and going to the United States.⁵⁹

Transportation continued to be a problem for fishermen. While some individuals were adamant about the completion of the Guysborough Railway, others wanted a steamer service to link the Eastern Shore to the Boston market so it could better compete with the lobster production of the South Shore.

Fishermen wanted solutions. They had been talking about their problems for nearly ten years, during which time things had steadily worsened. Fishermen needed action. Moses Nickerson commented:

There has been no progress and, in some places, the decline is very marked, especially I must say in the eastern counties of Nova Scotia and the time seems ripe now for radical changes for the better...⁶⁰

In the western half of the county, the situation seemed worse. In most fishing communities there was no fresh fish market because of inadequate transportation facilities. Although the sale of dried fish was important to this section of the coast, local fishermen were forced to transport their goods to Halifax, for sale where only low prices were paid. The unreliable steamer service sometimes took live lobsters to Halifax where they were in turn shipped by train to Yarmouth and finally to Boston. This long journey was at great risk and cost. Often the cargo would arrive dead, only to be dumped.

As the fishery hearings continued throughout the Maritime Provinces and Magdalen Islands the general public became more aware of the grievances of fishermen. The inshore fishery was in decline and, as H.A. Rice stated in his annual report for 1928, this meant significant problems for Guysborough since the fishery was its "premier" industry. One of the important factors effecting this decline, according to Rice, was that:

...the fishing industry has become unattractive to the younger men who recognize the hardships to be encountered, the losses to be sustained in the destruction of gear by wear and tear and by storms and accidents, and the uncertainty of adequate returns for the money and effort invested.⁶¹

Transportation was a significant barrier to development of the Guysborough County Coast, as it was farther inland. Although the agricultural districts of the county were not experiencing the same deprivation as coastal areas, the lack of railway facilities resulted in agricultural stagnation. Rice stated:

Agriculture has shown small progress in Guysboro County, not because it does not possess abundant justification for investment in that basic industry, but chiefly for the reason that it has been denied the means of reaching a market for its products.⁶²

In March, 1928 the annual Rural Conference of the Clergy of the Antigonish Diocese gathered in Antigonish. One of the important results of this conference was the decision to award twelve scholarships to aid fishermen in attending the School of Fisheries in Halifax. For two years the Diocese of Antigonish had granted scholarships for attendance at the Nova Scotia Agricultural College, now such aid was also extended to coastal areas of eastern Nova Scotia, regardless of religious affiliation. In 1928 four of the twelve scholarships were awarded to Guysborough County natives. J.J. Tompkins strongly supported the idea and made himself responsible for raising \$1000.00 toward the fisheries scholarships. In an interview at the conference Tompkins reiterated his belief that individuals must have the intelligence to watch out for their own interests. He urged:

Collective intelligence and united action have always been the economic salvation of the common people and always will be.⁶³

Generally, the years 1928 and 1929 were somewhat more optimistic for the people of Guysborough County, although it was more because of a hoped-for prosperity than a real one. The report of the Royal Commission investigating the fisheries of the Maritimes and Magdalen Islands was released in 1928. Fishermen felt that the report was fair and that their interests had been satisfactorily defended, for the most part. The commission had honestly described the decline which they had seen in coastal fishing communities:

We were given vivid word-pictures of fishing villages in which ageing [sic] men alone were left to man the fishing boats, with little hope of adequate livelihood in the future years of their physical incapacity, and no hope of pension...of fishing communities from which the young men had emigrated in large numbers to another land, or were hoping to emigrate when they could gather sufficient means; of neglected boats with hulls ripe and rotten on the beach; of discarded gear once valuable and useful, but now falling to decay; of abandoned fishing vessels, left hopefully equipped as they came in from the sea, to wait for a better season which never came; of once prosperous

localities slowly but surely becoming the graveyards of a dead industry; of fisherfolk despondent and disheartened, struggling on against economic disabilities, eager to labour in one of the most hazardous of pursuits but unable to sell their products for a reasonable reward, always hoping for better luck, and clinging grimly and patiently to their calling, -a tribute at once to their character and their courage; and of school-children psychologically distrustful of a future in their own country and planning to migrate to another land to make a living.⁶⁴

Among the recommendations made by the commission was a call for increased co-operation among shore fishermen to ensure a fair price for fish, and for steam trawlers be banned in Canadian ports. After visiting Guysborough County and seeing as well as hearing about conditions there, the commissioners recommended that the proposed Sunny Brae to Guysborough Railway should be constructed to open up expanded market possibilities for the county.

By the fall fishing season of 1928 Canso fishermen were seeing some changes. The number of steam trawlers operating out of the port was reduced from five to one. This allowed more small boat fishermen to take advantage of the fresh fish market. The question of a continuous supply of bait still remained a problem. On February 11, 1929 the Halifax Herald announced that the Canadian National Railways had announced a plan for railway construction, which included a proposed Sunny Brae to Guysborough Railway, to be constructed within three years. Shortly after this announcement on 22 February, the Canso Board of Trade applauded the scheme in principle, but expressed apprehension as to the proposed route, which they believed would "not be of any service to the fishing industry whatever."⁶⁵ An emphatically worded resolution was prepared:

Therefore Be It Resolved that the Canso Board of Trade, while heartily approving of the project to give attention to Guysboro county railway needs, emphatically declares that any project which does not tap the great fishing industry of the county in

its service will be altogether inadequate.⁶⁶

Despite such opposition, the proposed rail line for Guysborough County passed the former hurdle of the Senate and was given final approval on May 15, 1929. By the first of June surveyors had arrived in New Glasgow to begin surveying the 67 mile branch line to Guysborough. The Eastern Chronicle boosted:

It may be accepted as a surety that the long looked for, much talked of railway is now to become an established fact. Its construction will call for a large expenditure and will mean considerable activity in labor and supply circles in Pictou and Guysborough Counties [sic].⁶⁷

At the same time fishermen remained concerned that their interests were not being faithfully looked after by the government; the fight for change had only begun. Although they had agreed that the tenor of the Royal Commission Report on the fisheries had placed their best interests at heart, they were concerned that the government was not going to implement the recommendations of the report. In March 1929 Father Boudreau, of Petit-de-Grat was elected by the fishermen's federation of Canso and area to speak on the fishermen's behalf in Ottawa. On 16 August a large meeting was held in Canso with the federal Minister of Marine and Fisheries, P.J.A. Cardin in attendance. At the gathering local fishermen spoke forcefully, and presented four demands to the minister. The fishermen wanted encouragement and promotion of co-operation and organization, an adequate plan of education for fishing communities, the creation of a separate Department of Fisheries, and the staffing of such a department with people having practical experience in the fishing industry.⁶⁸ Conditions along the shore were still desperate. Miss Agnes McGuire of Halifax told the government representatives to go through the district themselves and see the poverty. She explained one case in

particular that she knew of:

The people in many cases had not enough to eat...a woman had told her [McGuire] that if she had not had a son killed overseas the family would starve to death.⁶⁹

By the fall it looked as though some progress had been made. Moses Coady of Saint Francis Xavier University had been appointed by the Department of Fisheries to work with fishermen to promote fishermen's organizations. Coady's idea was to change the mentality of the people so that with a positive attitude and looking to new ideas their full potential could be reached for the benefit of the whole country. Coady told fishermen on the Eastern Shore:

In the realm of the mind must begin [begin] the work of developing people whether we call it reason, thinking, training, education or call it what you please, it is there. We are constantly as individuals meeting problems in life which call for new thinking...new ways of doing things.⁷⁰

Local people were also encouraged by the arrival of the Dominion Construction Company's men in Sunny Brae by early November. On November 19 the Eastern Chronicle proclaimed:

Pointing guysboro-wards a quarter of a mile of new track had been laid. A large gang of men were laying sleepers, spiking down rails and preparing new sidings to house the construction cars. At last the Guysboro railway was really under construction.⁷¹

The construction of the railway continued into 1930. It was viewed with cautious optimism as the right of way was gradually cleared and the beds were constructed. The railway was especially encouraging to inland communities. For the fisheries, however, 1930 did not bring so much optimism. The inland route of the railway to Guysborough Town was of limited benefit to the fishermen on the Eastern Shore. Again, in January 1930, the Canso Board of Trade sought an extension of the railway to Canso.⁷² The suggestion did not meet with success. Less than a week later, the Halifax Herald announced the closure

of the fish establishments in Canso. It was the first time that such a shut down had occurred in 25 years and was viewed with "considerable alarm", placing many individuals out of work.

The effects of the "Great Depression" were becoming obvious all across Canada, following the stock market crash which had occurred late in 1929. Continued construction of the railway through Guysborough County however, provided an encouragement to local inhabitants. By the end of the summer of 1930 the rail bed had been completed, most of the concrete abutments and trestles had been built, and about 22 miles of track was laid.⁷³

In July 1930 Canadians went to the polls and defeated the Liberal Government of MacKenzie King. R.B. Bennett, leading his Conservatives to victory, formed the new government. Guysborough's traditional loyalty to the Liberal Party and the return of a Liberal representative in the 1930 federal election, did not work in the county's favour. Within one month of the election Bennett officially notified the Dominion Construction Company to stop all work on the almost-completed Guysborough Railway Project.⁷⁴ The railway would never be completed, despite local agitation for resumption of the project. The county's economic fortunes darkened as a result of the general world-wide depression. The census returns and sessional papers for 1931 give account of Guysborough's continued economic downturn as both fishing and farming based communities contracted.

In the agricultural areas there was a significant decline in production. Since the census of 1921, a decade before, the amount of land improved had declined by almost 55 percent, while the amount of land in crops dropped by 44 percent [SEE TABLE 4:3]. The acreage of improved pasturage dropped by 75 percent. The numbers of all types of livestock declined drastically [SEE TABLE

4:4]. Milking cows decreased by 31 percent and the number of all other types of cattle dropped by 40 percent. The number of sheep and swine maintained in the county declined respectively by 34 percent and 24 percent. There were dramatic changes in the acreage of crops grown [SEE TABLE 4:5]. In 1921, 165 acres of land had been planted in wheat; by 1931 there were only 12 acres. Similarly the acreage of buckwheat in the county dropped from 124 acres in 1921 to only 17 acres in 1931. The acreage of other major crops such as barley, oats, potatoes and hay declined by about 50 percent. As market prices dropped, it became uneconomical to market farm goods.

In most agricultural areas of the county the depression years temporarily halted the exodus of local population, unlike in the shore districts. Many of the young people who had left the county to seek their fortunes away temporarily returned to the security of their parents' farmsteads to wait out the depression. Four of the six farm districts experienced increases in their population of from 10 to 32 percent [SEE TABLE 4:1]. The only exceptions were Manchester and the Intervale which were in the northeastern section of the county nearer to the railway connections. A greater dependence on outside markets in these districts prior to the depression may have brought more severe economic decline, resulting in population declines instead of growth by 1931. Manchester since 1921 had lost 23 percent of its population and the Intervale had lost six percent.

Along the coast, fishermen experienced severe economic difficulties. Prices received for fish dropped drastically. Unlike in the inland areas outmigrants did not so readily return home. Instead the trend of outmigration continued. The only fishing dependent community to experience any increase in population at all from 1921 to 1931 was Crow Harbour, on the south Cheda-

bueto shore which grew by only two percent. In the same ten year period Molasses Harbour district on the Tor Bay lost fourteen percent of its population, a marked contrast to the 32 percent growth experienced during the same decade by the farm-based Forks, St. Mary's. On the shore, conditions worsened and the same sense of security offered by the county's farmsteads could not be extended to former residents who had left coastal villages. The total poundage of cod caught and landed in the county from 1929 to 1931, declined by 58 percent, while its total value dropped 72 percent. The value of the cod itself dropped from \$1.69 per cwt. to \$1.12 per cwt.⁷⁵ The more remote sections of the shore which were too isolated to take part in the fresh fish trade were particularly hard hit. From 1929 to 1931 the value of dried cod dropped from \$8.27 per cwt. to \$4.69 per cwt. The total poundage of smoked cod fillets marketed from the county declined 97 percent from 1929 to 1931. The value obtained from these sales went from \$232,694 in 1929 to only \$5,229 in 1931. The value of fresh cod marketed dropped 40 percent in Guysborough County from 1929 to 1931, while the total poundage of fresh cod fillets marketed dropped from 2,061 per cwt. in 1929 to 187 per cwt. in 1931. Fishermen found themselves in an increasingly desperate situation. The problem continued into the 1930s. From 1931 to 1936, the total listed landings of all types of fish declined from 12,840,000 lb to 10,680,000 lb.⁷⁶ Fishermen demanded changes and in the 1930s would turn to the co-operative ideas of the Antigonish Movement as an alternative to continued hardship and disadvantage.

Guysborough County's decline gathered momentum during the 1920s. The fishing industry faced a depression in prices and reduced market possibilities. Some fishermen in Guysborough County found it impossible to make a living by fishing and left the shore for the United States. Many of those who remained did so out of necessity and not out of choice. Farming in the county continued to decline because of the lack of markets. Outmigration remained a persistent problem, taking its toll on the farm 'districts' young adults. In response to these problems some people looked to the long promised railway as a possible solution. The more desperate situation on the shore and the leadership offered by Canso prompted an organized response. The Guysborough Advancement Conference and the subsequent formation of the Guysborough Development Association provided a forum for discussion. The Roman Catholic Church through its annual Rural Conference, also did so. Some of Guysborough County's population gradually became aware of the possibility that, as a group speaking together, they could argue effectively for change. Fishermen, in the face of economic difficulty, successfully demanded a Royal Commission to enquire into the fishery. The push for a railway finally brought action in 1929, and construction soon began.

Yet by 1930 all of Guysborough County's hopes had been dashed by the general economic depression and the cancellation of the railway. The inland districts welcomed home some of their exiled inhabitants who had returned to wait out the economic downturn. Fewer former shore residents returned. Fishermen were confronted with greater deprivation, and agricultural land in the county contracted. As Guysborough County "slowly died", fishermen in greater desperation would seek the middle road in the Antigonish Movement.

Inland farm-based communities, meanwhile, were reduced to subsistence level agriculture feeling the loss of almost a whole generation of young adults.

NOTES

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4. Nova Scotia, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1921, Halifax, 1922, p.72.
5. Ibid., 1922, p.71.
6. Forbes, Maritime Rights, p.55.
7. Halifax Herald, 7 October 1924.
8. Nova Scotia, Superintendent of Education, Report, 1920, p.72.
9. Bruce MacDonald, The Guysborough Railway, 1897 to 1939 (Antigonish: Formac Limited, 1973), p. 31.
10. John Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part 38," no date available, Saint Francis Xavier University, Special Collections, Antigonish, N.S.
11. Forbes, Maritime Rights, p.ix.
12. Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part 38."
13. Forbes, Maritime Rights, p.29.
14. Morrison, "Historic Canso, Part 40."
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16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Halifax Herald, 9 August 1923.
19. Halifax Morning Chronicle, 8 August 1923.
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23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 9 August 1923.
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27. Ibid.
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30. Ibid., 26 January 1924.
31. Ibid., 28 January 1924.
32. Ibid., 14 May 1924.
33. Ibid., 5 July 1924.
34. Ibid., 7 October 1924.
35. Ibid., 7 October 1924.
36. Ibid., 23 June 1925.
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41. Ibid.
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43. Ibid., 1927, p.66.
44. Ibid., 1926, p.72.
45. Halifax Herald, 1 January 1927.
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47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 9 July 1927.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 16 July 1927.
51. Ibid., 15 July 1927.
52. Ibid., 16 July 1927.
53. Ibid., 6 August 1927.
54. Ibid., 22 September 1927.
55. Ibid., 26 October 1927.
56. Ottawa, "Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and Magdalen Islands," (unpublished testimony), P.A.N.S., vol. 17, p.1102.
57. Ibid., p.1256.
58. Ibid., p.1138.
59. Ibid., p.1262.
60. Ibid., p.1283.
61. Halifax Herald, 2 January 1928.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., 7 March 1928.
64. Ottawa, "Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands," Ottawa, 1928, p.102.
65. Halifax Herald, 25 February 1929.
66. Ibid.
67. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 4 June 1929, cited by MacDonald, Guysborough Railway, p.38.
68. Halifax Herald, 17 August 1929.
69. Ibid., 17 August 1929.
70. Ibid., 2 December 1929.

71. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, 19 November 1929, p.4, cited by MacDonald, Guyborough Railway, p.40.

72. Halifax Herald, 30 January 1930.

73. MacDonald, Guyborough Railway, p.42.

74. *Ibid.*, p.43.

75. Grant, p.84.

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CONCLUSION

Guysborough County was established on a foundation of complexity and diversity. Geographically, the county was varied: from the fertile inland river valleys of the west and the rolling hills of the east, to the barren rocky coast of the south-eastern shore. Its manifold natural resources included valuable agricultural, forestry, fishing, and mineral resources. In pursuit of such wealth a variety of peoples came, of different ethnic and religious backgrounds and with diversified interests. Guysborough's vastness and its poor transportation connections only contributed farther to the development of isolationism and sectionalism. The results became evident in civic fragmentation and repeated demands for a sub-division of the county and its districts.

The late nineteenth century brought industrialization, centralization, and urbanization to the Maritime Provinces. The result was rural depopulation in many parts of the region. Guysborough County's failure to develop an industrial centre meant an outpouring of its inhabitants. Many hundreds of people, particularly from the farm districts, left the county beginning in the 1870s. In response to this decline many local residents sought the construction of a rail extension to the county, on the principle that isolation from markets in growing industrial centres prevented economic growth. As hopes grew, however, disputes arose and petitions circulated concerning the proposed railway route, bearing witness to the county's fragmented state. Each section of the county wanted the railway to pass through its community. Successive promises were made that a line would be constructed to Guysborough County,

but the bickering among local residents and more importantly the project's increasing association with a particular political party stood in the way of the railway's progress. Without a railway the result, by the turn of the twentieth century, was economic stagnation and outmigration.

Differing economic situations also contributed to the lack of a unified voice in response to decline in the county. While inland agricultural areas lost first their young adults, followed by entire families during the 1880s and 1890s, the coastal communities, were experiencing greater economic stability in the pursuit of the lobster trade and the fresh fish industry. Fishing communities did not experience the same population contraction as inland communities in the late nineteenth century and were not conscious of any need for drastic change. By the turn of the century, although small fishing ports were experiencing greater difficulty, they had not been plagued with outmigration to the same extent as farther inland. In the eastern section of the county the fresh fish industry continued to expand briskly, centred on the developing fishing centre of Canso. It was not until after 1910 that outmigration reached significant levels in coastal districts. The lack of a common experience between farm and fishing based communities, in conjunction with the county's foundation of diversity prevented a united front against decline.

By 1920 fishermen were being faced with greater economic difficulties and, as in other parts of the Maritimes, those who could do so chose the option of outmigration. Contraction of population combined with the desperate state of the fishery produced a clamour for action to be taken. Canso, the once growing focal point of the Guysborough County fishery, was the centre of this reaction. A larger concentration of fishermen, the ready supply of local leadership, and the town's fading prosperity prompted people in Canso to act.

For inland communities the push to turn the tide of decline three decades earlier had not gained enough momentum to bring change. The decline of Guysborough County agriculture at this time had contrasted with other parts of the province where rail service was available and had brought expansion for farmers who had access to markets in growing Maritime centres of industry. The small voice of Guysborough County farmers, alone fighting the tide of decline was not heard. Contracting agricultural communities did not have a large central meeting point in the county, such as the fishery had in Canso, nor were farmers inland facing the same kind of near starvation which prompted desperate action on the shore in the 1920s. The larger Maritime Rights Movement, a vehicle of regional protest for the Maritimes' fading fortunes and declining population, gave added momentum to the Canso initiative of the early 1920s. As decline became universal in both rural and industrial areas of the Maritimes in the 1920s, people pulled together to seek reform and new alternatives.

The agricultural communities of Guysborough County were unprepared for such a movement by 1920. Five decades of outmigration had resulted in heavy loss in population. Potential leaders had been drained away, a point demonstrated in county leadership both federally and provincially. The Guysborough County Advancement Conference in 1923 was sparked by the Canso Board of Trade. Although the continuing body of the conference, the Guysborough Development Association, claimed to be a county-wide movement, it was largely dominated by leadership from Canso and failed to have representatives from all areas of the county. For inland areas, it was too late; almost a complete generation had been lost.

Fishermen continued to push for help in their deteriorating situation,

which many felt they could not even escape by outmigration. With the help of local clergy, additional pressure was applied to government by Guysborough County fishermen in 1927. In the summer of that year the federal government announced the formation of the Royal Commission to investigate the fishing industry of the Maritime Provinces and Magdalen Islands.

By 1929 the people of Guysborough County had been led to believe that action was being taken to cure the county's economic ills. Construction of the long-promised railway was under way, and the Royal Commission Report of the previous year had reasonably represented the problems of local fishermen. Ultimately, though, the advent of the Great Depression, slow action on the part of government to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and the cancellation of the almost-completed Guysborough Railway in the summer of 1930 stifled all hope of immediate economic recovery for the people of Guysborough County. All sectors faced startling declines in production and sales.

Inland areas now welcomed home temporarily many of their exiled sons and daughters to wait out the depression. On the shore, fewer returned home. Drastically reduced prices and poor markets for fish brought continuing hardship, a prospect which did not appeal to former inhabitants. This worsened condition on the shore led fishermen to seek the middle road offered by the Antigonish Movement in the 1930s through cooperation and self-help. In the farm districts, subsistence agriculture prevailed. The 1940s saw the temporarily abated flow of outmigration begin again, and in many cases aging farmers were left with little hope for the continuance of their farms. Decline and departure had become a fact of life for the people of Guysborough County.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

OF TABLES

TABLE 1:1

OCCUPATION ACCORDING TO CENSUS DISTRICTS,
1860-61

District	Farm				
	Farmer	Labourer	Labourer	Fishermen	Other
Guysborough	47.%	7.%	2.%	20.%	24.%
Intervale	51.	29.	-	2.	18.
Manchester	61.	13.	3.	4.	19.
Melford	27.	2.	4.	38.	29.
Crow Hbr.	26.	1.	1.	67.	5.
Cape Canso	9.	1.	3.	57.	30.
Country Hbr.	26.	5.	-	51.	18.
Sherbrooke	28.	1.	-	20.	51.
Marie Joseph	27.	-	-	42.	31.
Fork's	61.	11.	-	-	28.
Molasses Hbr.	28.	-	-	62.	10.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Guysborough County, all districts.

TABLE 1:2
ACREAGE OF CULTIVATED UPLAND AND INTERVALE,
1861

District	Cultivated Upland and Intervale	\$ Value of Upland and Intervale	Total Population	Averages	
				Acres/ Person	\$/ Person
Guysborough	2994 acres	\$46,191.	2242	1.3	\$20.60
Intervale	2051	42,713.	968	2.1	44.13
Manchester	2749	32,209.	1548	1.8	20.80
Melford	1681	20,125.	1583	1.1	12.71
Crow Hbr.	182	3,152.	727	.3	4.35
Cape Canso	178	5,142.	826	.2	6.23
Country Hbr.	817	8,003.	893	.9	8.96
Sherbrooke	860	24,033.	1169	.7	20.56
Marie Joseph	266	7,321.	648	.4	11.30
Forks	3560	59,452.	1162	3.1	51.16
Molasses Hbr.	220	2,537.	947	.2	2.68

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Guysborough County, all districts.

TABLE 1:3
IMPROVED LAND STATISTICS,
1871

District	% of Occupied Land Improved	% of Improved Land in Pasture	% of Improved Land in Crops
Guysborough	24.%	56.%	44.%
Caledonia	12.	45.	55.
Forks	19.	50.	50.
Salmon River	22.	63.	36.
Intervale	17.	50.	50.
Manchester	42.	51.	48.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summary, 1871, Guysborough County. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 1:4
DAIRY PRODUCE AND LIVESTOCK,
1861

District	Milk Cows	Pounds of Butter	Pounds of Cheese
Guysborough	732	39,158	1105
Forks	722	26,692	2092
Intervale	470	20,730	700
Manchester	596	26,737	716

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Guysborough County, selected districts.

TABLE 1:5
POTATOE PRODUCTION PER ACRE,
1871

District	Bushels of Potatoes Harvested / Acre
Forks	108
Caledonia	87
Guysborough	90
Salmon River	61
Intervale	70
Manchester	81

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summary, 1871, Guysborough County. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 1:6
MILLING OPERATIONS,
1871

Districts	Carding Mills	Saw Mills	Shingle Mills	Grist Mills	Fulling and Dressing Mills
Guysborough	2	-	-	-	-
Isaac's Hbr:	-	2	1	-	-
Wine Harbour	1	-	-	-	-
Sherbrooke	-	2	-	-	-
Marie Joseph	-	1	-	-	-
Caledonia	-	3	-	1	-
Forks	1	17	3	4	-
Stormont	-	3	-	-	-
Salmon Rive	-	2	-	1	-
Intervale	-	4	2	-	1
Melford	-	-	-	1	-

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summary, 1871, Guysborough County. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 1:7
TIMBER EXPORTS,
1860-1

Districts	Feet Deals Supf.	Feet Pine Boards	Feet Spruce & Hemlock Boards	Tons Square Timber
Sherbrooke	700,000	200,000	600,000	467
Forks	100,000	176,300	285,200	982
Intervale	20,000	12,100	45,000	-
Guysborough	700	73,200	61,450	408
Country Hbr.	-	19,000	110,000	-
Marie Joseph	-	26,000	-	-
Melford	1,000	20,300	19,500	-
Manchester	-	14,800	11,850	-

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Guysborough County, selected districts.

TABLE 1:8

VESSELS, BOATS, AND THE NUMBER OF
MEN THEY EMPLOYED,
1860-61

Districts	Employed in the Fishery			
	Vessel #s	Men on Vessels	Boat #s	Men on Boats
Guysborough	12	49	110	131
Melford	11	38	142	137
Crow Hbr.	1	7	120	25
Cape Canso	19	118	126	70
Country Hbr.	10	37	122	16
Sherbrooke	11	53	100	93
Marie Joseph	9	35	102	45
Molasses Hbr.	11	3	167	64

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Guysborough County, selected districts.

TABLE 1:9

TOTAL NUMBER INVOLVED IN THE FISHERY,
1871

Districts	Total Number of Men Involved in the Fishery on both Vessels and Boats
Guysborough	221
Crow Hbr.	176
Canso	372
Molasses Hbr.	322
Isaac's Hbr.	157
Wine Hbr.	103
Sherbrooke	51
Marie Joseph	197
Stormont	2
Manchester	103
Melford	257

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summary, 1871, Guysborough County. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 2:1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LAND, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1871 AND 1881

Year	Total # Occupiers	Total Acres Occupied	Improved Acreage	Crops Acreage	Pasture Acreage
1871	2255	282,553	43,797	20,609	23,012
1881	2618	277,536	55,522	31,995	23,361

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries,
1871 and 1881. Canada, 1872 and 1882.

TABLE 2:2

YIELDS PER ACRE,
1880-81

District	Bushels per Acre		Tons / Acre
	Potatoes	Wheat	Hay
Guysborough County	95.8	9.6	1.29
Nova Scotia	123.0	11.8	1.15

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries,
1881. Canada, 1882.

TABLE 2:5
FARM SIZE IN GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1871

District	Percentage of Farms	
	Less Than 50 Acres	More Than 50 Acres
Forks	14. %	86. %
Caledonia	2.	98.
Guysborough	39.	61.
Salmon River	1.	99.
Intervale	22.	48.
Manchester	54.	46.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 2:6
LAND USE IN GUYSBOROUGH FARM DISTRICTS,
1871

District	Acres of Land				
	Occupied	Improved	Crops	Pasture	Gardens/Orchards
Forks	42,715	8096	4032	4016	48
Caledonia	11,450	1398	765	631	2
Guysborough	22,313	5311	2321	2968	22
Salmon River	20,376	4427	1593	2808	14
Intervale	38,657	6744	3390	3348	6
Manchester	16,744	7046	3601	3404	40

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 2:7
PRODUCTION PER ACRE,
1871

District	Potatoes Bushels/Acre	Hay Tons/acre
Forks	107.6	1.2
Caledonia	87.0	1.5
Guysborough	90.0	1.0
Salmon River	80.6	0.9
Intervale	69.6	0.7
Manchester	80.6	0.9

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 2:8
CULTIVATED LAND ACREAGES AND VALUES,
1861

District	Total Population	Acres of Cultivated Land	Assigned \$ Value
Forks	1162*	3560	\$59,452.00
Guysborough	2242**	2994	46,191.00
Intervale	968	2051	42,713.00
Manchester	1548	2749	32,209.00

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Manuscripts, 1860-61. Selected Districts.

* Forks also includes Caledonia District in 1861.

** Guysborough also includes Salmon River in 1861.

TABLE 2:9
FARM EQUIPMENT,
1871

Districts	Carriages/ Sleighs	Ploughs/ Cultivators	Reapers/ Mowers	Horse Rakes	Thrashing Machine	Fanning Mills
Forks	298	183	8	4	2	32
Caledonia	66	29	1	1	-	3
Guysborough	151	136	-	3	3	9
Salmon River	55	65	-	-	-	8
Intervale	83	133	-	1	-	7
Manchester	122	151	-	4	-	8

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871. Canada, 1872.

TABLE 2:10
PERCENTAGE POPULATION GAINS AND LOSSES,
1871-1901

District	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
Forks	+ 4.%	- 9.%	-13.%
Caledonia	+59.	-43.	+25.
Guysborough	+ 7.	- 9.	- 9.
Salmon River	+ 6.	- 2.	-15.
Intervale	+22.	-17.	- 7.
Manchester	-13.	- 9.	-14.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 2:11
CHARGES IN FARM SIZE,
1871-1881

District	Year	Percentage of Farms	
		Less Than 50 Acres	More Than 50 Acres
Forks	1871	14. %	86. %
	1881	12.	88.
Caledonia	1871	2.	98.
	1881	5.	95.
Guysborough	1871	39.	61.
	1881	72.	28.
Salmon River	1871	1.	99.
	1881	3.	97.
Intervale	1871	22.	78.
	1881	16.	84.
Manchester	1871	54.	46.
	1881	33.	67.

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Census Summaries, 1871, 1881. Canada 1872, 1882.

TABLE 2:12
OCCUPIERS OF THE LAND,
1871-1891

District	Year	Population	Occupiers of the Land		
			Total #	Owners	Tenants or Employees
Forks	1871	1356	217	186	28
	1881	1411	228	216	12
	1891	1284	245	239	6
Caledonia	1871	237	43	43	0
	1881	376	61	59	2
	1891	214	41	40	1
Guysborough	1871	1887	244	234	10
	1881*	1703	222	210	12
	1891	1546	315	299	16
Salmon River	1871	674	106	102	4
	1881	717	115	113	2
	1891	703	119	118	1
Intervale	1871	1265	214	214	0
	1881	1546	271	264	7
	1891	1282	247	243	4
Manchester	1871	1644	262	221	37
	1881	1438	260	260	0
	1891	1310	251	247	4

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-91. Canada, 1872-92.

*Because of a change in the census district boundaries data cannot be accurately compared from decade to decade.

Table 2:13

LIVESTOCK NUMBERS FOR GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1871-1901

Year	Horses	Milk Cows	Other Horn- ed Cows	Sheep	Swine
1871	1520	4538	3871	16,552	2171
1881	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1891	1666	5041	5536	16,101	1418
1901	1765	4513	5622	13,001	971

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries,
1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 2:14

PRODUCTION PER ACRE,
1871-91

District	Year	Potatoes Bushels/Acre	Hay Tons/acre
Forks	1871	107.6	1.2
	1881	130.7	1.2
	1891	124.5	1.3
Caledonia	1871	87.0	1.5
	1881	117.6	1.4
	1891	173.1	1.4
Guysborough	1871	90.0	1.0
	1881	122.3	1.5
	1891	127.9	1.9
Salmon River	1871	80.6	0.9
	1881	79.0	1.4
	1891	92.7	1.5
Intervale	1871	69.6	0.7
	1881	77.3	1.0
	1891	96.7	1.4
Manchester	1871	80.6	0.9
	1881	108.8	1.1
	1891	85.4	1.0
Nova Scotia	1871	?	?
	1881	123.0	1.2
	1891	116.2	1.2

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-91. Canada, 1872-92.

TABLE 2:15

LAND CHARACTERISTICS, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY
1871-1901

Year	Total Occupiers	Total Acreage				
		Occupied	Improved	Cropland	Pasture	Wild-land
1871	2255	282,553	43,797	20,609	23,012	n/a
1881	2618	277,536	55,522	31,995	23,361	n/a
1891	3041	284,666	46,403	21,836	24,183	238,263
1901	2135	247,752	29,800	15,583	30,907	181,845

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 2:16

GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY PRODUCE,
1871-1901

Year	Wheat		Barley		Oats	
	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels
1871	102	1240	-	3093	-	51467
1881	682	6529	-	4152	-	42988
1891	78	856	99	1316	1737	27983
1901	168	2691	30	618	1541	50240

Year	Buckwheat		Potatoes		Hay	
	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Tons
1871	-	11010	1756	146373	13161	13854
1881	-	11720	1996	191260	15891	20522
1891	-	6355	1369	144284	13708	18693
1901	219	5002	1075	106122	12498	19196

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 2:17

YIELD PER ACRE, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1871-1901

Year	Bushels/Acre					Tons/Acre
	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Buckwheat	Potatoes	Hay
1871	12.5	-	-	-	83.4	1.1
1881	9.6	-	-	-	95.8	1.3
1891	11.0	13.3	16.1	-	105.4	1.4
1901	16.0	20.6	32.6	22.8	98.7	1.5

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 2:18

LAND CHARACTERISTICS,
1881-1891

District	Percentage of Acres		
	Occupied	Improved	Crops
Forks	- 3.%	-16.%	-30.%
Caledonia	- 27.	-69.	-68.
Guysborough	+110.	+37.	+13.
Salmon River	- 2.	-34.	-22.
Intervale	- 14.	-32.	-40.
Manchester	- 8.	-79.	-63.
Nova Scotia	+ 13.	+ 8.	-20.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1881-91. Canada, 1882-92.

TABLE 2:19
POPULATION BY DISTRICT,
1871-1901

District	Population			
	1871	1881	1891	1901
Forks	1356	1411	1284	1116
Calédonia	237	376	214	268
Guysborough	1585	1703	1546	1411
Salmon River	674	717	703	598
Intervale	1265	1546	1282	1196
Manchester	1644	1438	1310	1133

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

Table 2:20
CHANGES IN LIVESTOCK,
1871 AND 1891

District	Working Animals		Farm Stock			
Year	All Horses	Working Oxen	Milk Cows	Other Horned Cows	Sheep	Swine
% Change						
<u>Forks</u>						
1871	320	91	805	1171	2959	454
1891	361	23	915	1421	2786	468
% Change	+12.%	-75.%	+14.%	+21.%	-6.%	+14.%
<u>Caledonia</u>						
1871	77	30	163	145	392	31
1891	65	10	151	177	379	14
% Change	-16.%	-67.%	-7.%	+22.%	-3.%	-55.%
<u>Guysborough</u>						
1871	163	155	484	322	1711	166
1891	177	193	490	537	1666	252
% Change	+9.%	+25.%	+1.%	+67.%	+3.%	+52.%
<u>Salmon River</u>						
1871	120	17	329	295	930	149
1891	129	17	413	391	958	82
% Change	+8.%	0.%	+26.%	+33.%	+3.%	-45.%
<u>Intervale</u>						
1871	154	190	530	556	1855	184
1891	202	172	668	774	1540	115
% Change	+31.%	-10.%	+26.%	+39.%	-20.%	-60.%
<u>Manchester</u>						
1871	215	194	588	491	2443	234
1891	181	158	485	657	1786	220
% Change	-19.%	-23.%	-21.%	+34.%	-37.%	-6.%

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871 and 1891. Canada, 1872 and 1892.

TABLE 3:1
POPULATION TRENDS IN FISHING DISTRICTS,
1871-1931

District	Population						
	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Melford	1765	1700	1497	1442	1478	1532	1482
Crow Hbr.	796	775	788	828	811	803	818
Canso	1136	1451	1824	2367	2520	2496	2445
Molasses Hbr.	1310	1605	1987	2099	1965	1893	1633
New Hbr.	-*	326	353	380	358	359	330
Isaac's Hbr.	928	1012	1161	1486	1387	964	919
Stormont	369	437	447	705	574	547	735
Wine Hbr.	789	785	707	838	858	657	642
Sherbrooke	1623	1607	1063	1343	1100	953	978
Marie Joseph	776	919	1029	1110	1148	979	948

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 3:2
PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGES IN COASTAL DISTRICTS,
1871-1901

Districts	Percentage Change in Population		
	1871-1881	1881-1891	1891-1901
Melford	- 4.%	- 12.%	- 4.%
Crow Hbr.	- 3.	+ 2.	+ 5.
Canso	+28.	+26.	+30.
Molasses Hbr.	+23.	+24.	+ 6.
New Hbr.	n/a	+ 8.	+ 8.
Isaac's Hbr.	+ 9.	+15.	+28.
Stormont	+18.	+ 3.	+58.
Wine Hbr.	- 0.5	-10.	+19.
Sherbrooke	- 1.	-34.	+26.
Marie Joseph	+18.	+12.	+ 8.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1901. Canada, 1872-1902.

TABLE 3:3
FISHING GEAR, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1880-85

Year	Vessels and Boats of the Fishery						
	Vessels				Boats		
	Number	Tons	\$ Value	Men	Number	\$ Value	Men
1880	23	767	24000.	171	1383	34256.	2255
1881	28	1098	30000.	215	1355	31755.	2314
1882	27	1038	28850.	224	1254	30330.	2127
1883	NOT AVAILABLE				NOT AVAILABLE		
1884	39	1808	77500.	328	1582	42149.	2695
1885	40	2017	91900.	336	1596	40800.	2697
1886	35	1769	72050.	301	1552	38806.	2558
1887	35	1589	62700.	297	1774	45407.	2790

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1881-1888. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1881-1888.

TABLE 3:4
VESSELS AND THE MEN THEY EMPLOYED,
1881-85

Year	Canso Neck		Canso		New Hbr./ Country Hbr.		Guysborough/ Canso Strait		Liscomb/ Marie Joseph Ecum Secum	
	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN
1880	8	69	4	43	3	22	6	44	2	20
1881	13	128	10	110	2	10	6	46	2	7
1882	13	527	8	96	3	19	8	62	1	6
1883	n/a		n/a		n/a		n/a		n/a	
1884	13	116	4	62	3	36	14	136	3	16
1885	9	80	3	51	3	36	16	161	3	16

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1881-1888. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1881-1888.

TABLE 3:5

VESSELS AND THE MEN THEY EMPLOYED,
1887-90

Year	Cape Canso Neck		Canso		New Hbr./ Country Hbr.		Guysborough/ Canso Strait		Liscomb/ Marie Joseph Ecum Secum	
	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN	VES	MEN
1887	12	113	5	66	4	64	9	68	1	4
1888	9	56	1	10	5	70	8	62	-	-
1889	9	57	1	8	4	51	6	40	-	-
1890	7	39	1	11	5	38	4	14	-	-

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1887-1890. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1887-1890.

TABLE 3:6

TOTAL ANNUAL FISH VALUES,
1885-90

Year	Cape Canso Neck		Canso		Country Harbour		Guysborough/ Canso Strait		Liscomb/ Marie Joseph Ecum Secum	
1885	\$377,129.	\$178,051.	\$77,682.		\$199,101.		\$70,232.			
1886	362,565.	224,531.	87,597.*		134,184.		66,640.			
1887	333,813.	157,881.*	107,853.*		95,407.		51,879.			
1888	103,625.	25,369.	30,129.		37,374.		47,171.			
1889	98,144.	18,664.	18,348.*		47,495.		48,942.			
1890	262,418.	79,387.	45,579.		74,683.		46,105.			

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1886-1891. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1886-1891.

* Indicates that a slight change in district boundaries occurred.

TABLE 3:7

LEVELS OF FISH PRODUCTION, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1880-91

Year	Number of Cans of Lobster Produced
1880	676080
1881	854926
1882	933240
1883	915400
1884	849160
1885	1117430
1886	1179744
1887	1181704
1888	1007607
1889	1096609
1890	1033242
1891	1081232

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1881-1892. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1881-1892.

TABLE 3:8

PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGES IN COASTAL DISTRICTS,
1891-1931

Districts	Percentage Population Change			
	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31
Melford	- 4.%	+ 2.%	+ 4.%	- 3.%
Crow Hbr.	+ 5.	- 2.	- 1.	+ 2.
Canso	+30.	+ 6.	- 1.	- 2.
Molasses Hbr.	+ 6.	- 6.	- 4.	-14.
New Hbr.	+ 8.	- 6.	- 0.3.	- 8.
Isaac's Hbr.	+28.	- 7.	-30.	- 5.
Stormont	+58.	-19.	- 5.	+34.
Wine Hbr.	+19.	+ 2.	-23.	- 2.
Sherbrooke	+26.	-18.	-13.	+ 3.
Marie Joseph	+ 8.	+ 3.	-15.	- 3.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries,
1891-1931. Canada, 1872-1932.

TABLE 3:9

Lobster Production, Guysborough County
1893-1909

Year	Pounds of Lobster Canned in Guysborough County
1893	1,136,476
1894	1,160,322
1895	1,246,685
1896	836,416
1897	933,572
1898	915,956
1899	825,936
1900	901,028
1901	672,240
1902	588,496
1903	543,196
1904	533,852
1905	494,500
1906	487,220
1907	401,848
1908	402,116
1909	298,436

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1894-1910. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1894-1910.

TABLE 3:10
TOTAL ANNUAL FISH VALUES, SELECTED DISTRICTS
1894-1903

Year	Total Annual Fish Values
	Liscomb/ Marie Joseph/ Ecum Secum/ Gegogan
1894	\$ 51470.00
1895	51634.00
1896	45819.00
1897	35445.00
1898	30220.00
1899	32410.00
1900	35379.00
1901	31922.00
1902	35960.00
1903	28007.00

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1895-1904. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1895-1904.

TABLE 3:11
TOTAL ANNUAL FISH VALUES, CANSO AND GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1905-09

Year	Total Annual Fish Values	
	Canso	Guysborough County
1905	\$ 77,3861.00	\$ 1,385,018.00
1906	56,2717.00	1,161,141.00
1907	32,8368.00	777,130.00
1908	24,0025.00	934,511.00
1909	21,1096.00	672,929.00

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1906-1910. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1906-1910.

TABLE 3:12

VESSELS, BOATS, AND MEN EMPLOYED IN THE FISHERY,
GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1891-1909

Year	Vessels and Boats of the Guysborough County Fishery					
	Vessels				BOATS	
	Number	Tons	Value	Men	Number	Value Men
1891	23	706	\$14850.	129	1630	\$36963. 2160
1892	16	489	10750.	79	1764	49707. 2218
1893	13	372	5500.	59	1987	50383. 2479
1894	21	551	10049.	98	2155	56876. 2372
1895	25	549	12445.	122	2421	60440. 2641
1896	27	601	15480.	159	2266	58754. 2620
1897	25	502	12172.	128	2235	58538. 2622
1898	NOT AVAILABLE				NOT AVAILABLE	
1899	28	661	17873.	164	2165	47760. 2400
1900	32	807	22290.	196	2213	55462. 2658
1901	41	890	22475.	224	1928	45862. 1912
1902	44	837	29550.	232	1888	44645. 1869
1903	49	947	50050.	265	1893	69645. 1956
1904	61	1126	61450.	360	1898	69675. 1933
1905	66	1153	61100.	373	2017	76032. 2132
1906	64	1054	58550.	319	1948	77345. 1952
1907	60	926	57450.	278	1204	76500. 1773
1908	62	949	54800.	275	1909	80580. 1890
1909	61	914	50625.	258	1753	82440. 1780

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1892-1911. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1892-1911.

TABLE 3:13

VESSELS, BOATS, AND MEN EMPLOYED IN GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1914-19

Year	Vessels and Boats of the Fishery					
	Vessels			Boats		
	Number	\$ Value	Men	Number	\$ Value	Men
1914	52	\$ 41400.	226	1549	\$ 134775.	1598
1915	57	46570.	243	1562	140863.	1588
1916	63	50550.	260	1570	149025.	1572
1917	Not Available			Not Available		
1918	Not Available			Not Available		
1919	63	51450.	279	1506	174615.	1545

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1915-1920. Fisheries Reports.
Canada, 1915-1920.

TABLE 4:1
 PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGES BY DISTRICT,
 1871-1931

Districts	Percentage Change in Population				
	1881-91	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31
Coastal Districts					
Melford	-12.2	- 4.2	+ 2.2	+ 4.2	- 3.2
Crow Hbr.	+ 2.	+ 5.	- 2.	- 1.	+ 2.
Canso	+26.	+30.	+ 6.	- 1.	- 2.
Molasses Hbr.	+24.	+ 6.	- 6.	- 4.	-14.
New Hbr.	+ 8.	+ 8.	- 6.	- 0.3	- 8.
Isaac's Hbr.	+15.	+28.	- 7.	-30.	- 5.
Stormont	+ 3.	+58.	-19.	- 5.	+34.
Wine Hbr.	-10.	+19.	+ 2.	-23.	- 2.
Sherbrooke	-34.	+26.	-18.	-13.	+ 3.
Marie Joseph	+12.	+ 8.	+ 3.	-15.	- 3.
Agricultural Districts					
Forks	- 9.	-13.	-20.	-10.	+20.
Caledonia	-43.	+25.	-11.	-21.	+32.
Guysborough	- 9.	- 9.	-14.	-10.	+10.
Salmon River	- 2.	-15.	+ 5.	-17.	+18.
Intervale	-17.	- 7.	-18.	-11.	+ 6.
Manchester	- 9.	-14.	-21.	- 4.	-23.

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1881-1931. Canada, 1882-1932.

TABLE 4:2
FISHING EQUIPMENT, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1914-1920

Year	Fixtures used in the Fishery			
	Freezers and Ice Houses		Smoke and Fish Houses	
	Number	\$ Value	Number	\$ Value
1914	57	\$ 147,800.00	758	\$ 111,125.00
1915	56	151,850.00	764	112,816.00
1916	62	155,550.00	787	117,200.00
1917	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1918	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1919	58	147,550.00	720	109,850.00
1920	26	7,700.00	406	26,600.00

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Papers, 1915-1921. Fisheries Reports. Canada, 1915-1921.

TABLE 4:3
LAND USE STATISTICS, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1891-1931

Year	Total Number of Occupiers	Acres of land		
		Occupied	Improved	In Crops
1871	2,255	282,553	43,797	20,609
1881	2,618	277,536	55,522	31,995
1891	3,041	284,666	46,403	21,836
1901	2,135	247,752	29,800	15,583
1911	2,453	248,350	28,015	17,850
1921	2,187	232,822	36,093	16,865
1931	1,725	175,506	16,433	9,439

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1871-1931. Canada, 1872-1932.

TABLE 4:4
LIVESTOCK NUMBERS, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1891-1931

Year	Livestock Numbers, Guysborough Couty				
	Horses	Milk Cows	Other Cows	Sheep	Swine
1891	1666	5041	5536	16,101	1418
1901	1765	4513	5622	13,001	971
1911	1715	4779	5415	11,380	1528
1921	1671	4022	5861	16,935	1221
1931	1443	2784	3503	11,176	922

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1891-1931. Canada, 1892-1932.

TABLE 4:5

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY,
1881-1931

	Wheat		Barley		Oats	
Year	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels
1881	682	6529	-	4152	-	42988
1891	78	856	99	1316	1737	27983
1901	168	2691	30	618	1541	50240
1911	118	2351	47	1268	1788	64855
1921	165	2083	95	1619	2272	64068
1931	12	221	43	1659	1197	44894

	Buckwheat		Potatoes		Hay	
Year	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Tons
1881	-	11720	1996	191260	15891	20522
1891	-	6355	1369	144284	13708	18693
1901	219	5002	1075	106122	12498	19196
1911	160	4193	846	85987	14801	22027
1921	124	1759	1110	115620	13434	19932
1931	17	444	566	72059	5956	8465

SOURCE: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census Summaries, 1881-1931. Canada, 1882-1932.

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