

**“A very go-ahead little town”:  
Business Interests, State Formation and Community  
in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1890-1894**

**by  
Margaret J. Dixon, B.A., B.S.W.**

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
and Research  
in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts**

**Department of History**

**Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
4 April 2000**

**© 2000, Margaret J. Dixon**



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

**0-612-52346-2**

**Canada**

## **ABSTRACT**

Lady Aberdeen described Yarmouth in her personal journal as “a very go-ahead little town.” This and other favourable impressions, offered by the Aberdeens and the press, reflected the booster spirit of the town. This thesis uses the two-day visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, 27-28 August 1894, to unravel the promotion and the reinvention of the community as a tourist destination in the 1890s. Two preconditions for this transition, the diversification of the local economy and the political transformation of the town, are traced from the 1870s and into the 1890s. Through these changes competing interests came together to form a consensus and in the process, Yarmouth was able to develop a cohesive community image. This thesis is about the people who shaped their community’s identity, and the relationship between business interests, the development of local government and the community’s ethos.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Dedicated to my mother, Josephine May Robbins Dixon (1915-1984) and for my sons Steven and Jeffrey Giacomelli.

I wish to thank everyone who gave me encouragement through their kind words and deeds. In particular, I thank the staff of all the institutions who assisted me in searching through their records. Special thanks go to Laura Bradley, Janice Stelma, Sharman, Florence Manning and Charles Armour. To my many friends in and from Yarmouth, thank you for sharing in my enthusiasm, especially Margaret Taylor, Norma D'Eon, Linda Campbell, Beth Brooks and Ruth Kirk.

I relied on the generosity of a lot of colleagues, friends and family from the beginning to the end of this project. In particular, thank you to John Weaver, Peter DeLottinville, John Bell and Danny Moore. I am grateful to my friends Judith Rygiel, Cathy Vye, Laurie O'Reilly and Martha Wurtele, for their many kindnesses. And most importantly, thank you to my family for giving me the determination to see this through.

The faculty, staff and fellow graduate students in Carleton University's Department of History deserve special thanks for their guidance and sense of community, but especially Joan White, and Professors Bickerton and Taylor.

The last thank you is to my supervisor who believed in me and my thesis right from the start. Through his patience, kindness, support, enthusiasm, humor, intellect and wisdom, he helped me past the ups and downs so that my thesis could be completed. I most sincerely say, thank you Del Muise.

As a final word, I accept the responsibility for any awkwardness of style, errors in interpretation and omissions of detail. This I managed to do myself.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

| <b>Chapter</b>  | <b>Page Number</b> |
|---|--------------------|
| Acceptance  | ii                 |
| Abstract  | iii                |
| Acknowledgments   | iv                 |
| Table of Contents   | v                  |
| List of Illustrations   | vi                 |
| List of Appendices  | vii                |
| Introduction  | 1                  |
| 1 "A very go-ahead little town": Yarmouth's<br>Enterprising Citizens    | 11                 |
| 2 Political Transformation: Yarmouth Becomes<br>A Real Town, 1890-1894  | 34                 |
| 3 From A "Gateway" To A Tourist Destination                             | 74                 |
| 4 The Visit of Lord And Lady Aberdeen To Yarmouth,<br>27-28 August 1894 | 102                |
| Conclusion  | 130                |
| Note on Sources and Method  | 137                |
| Bibliography  | 143                |
| Illustrations   | 149                |
| Appendices  | 159                |

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| <b>Illustration</b> |   | <b>Page Number</b> |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1                   | Map of the Nova Scotia  | 149                |
| 2                   | Photograph of Main Street, Yarmouth, N.S., looking north, 1890  | 150                |
| 3                   | Photograph commemorating the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth, 27 August 1894  | 151                |
| 4                   | “Bird’s eye view” of Yarmouth, Duncan D Currie, 1889  | 152                |
| 5                   | Street layout of Yarmouth’s core, Insurance plan map of the Town of Yarmouth, No. 71, surveyed 1891, revised August 1900  | 153                |
| 6                   | Section of Yarmouth’s core showing the location of the Grand Hotel, Burrell Johnson Iron Company, and the railway, Insurance plan map of the Town of Yarmouth, No. 71, surveyed 1891, revised August 1900 | 154                |
| 7                   | Yarmouth’s First Town Council   | 155                |
| 8                   | “The Grand Hotel” reprinted from J Murray Lawson, <i>Yarmouth Past and Present</i>  | 156                |
| 9                   | “Nova Scotia Hotels”, ca. 1894  | 157                |
| 10                  | “The Grand Hotel, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia” advertisement, ca. 1895  | 158                |

## **LIST OF APPENDICES**

| <b>Appendix</b>  | <b>Page Number</b> |
|--|--------------------|
| 1 <b>Event Participants</b>  | <b>159</b>         |
| 2 <b>Yarmouth Board of Trade corporators<br/>as per registration documents, May 1894</b>   | <b>161</b>         |
| 3 <b>Grand Hotel Company (Limited)<br/>subscribers/ shareholders and corporate members,<br/>1893-1894</b>  | <b>162</b>         |
| 4 <b>Profiles of the participation of selected individuals<br/>in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector</b>   | <b>163</b>         |
| 5 <b>Value of rateable property for the town districts in the<br/>Municipality of Yarmouth, for the years 1888-1890</b>  | <b>164</b>         |
| 6 <b>Population and Property for the Town of Yarmouth<br/>–by districts, 1890/91</b>   | <b>165</b>         |
| 7 <b>Comparison of the participation of event participants,<br/>by group, in the development of the Yarmouth economy,<br/>by sector</b>                                  | <b>166</b>         |
| 8 <b>Comparison of the participation of event participants to the<br/>Grand Hotel subscribers/shareholders in the development of<br/>the Yarmouth economy, by sector</b> | <b>167</b>         |

## **INTRODUCTION**

In a period of economic recession, the town of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia<sup>1</sup> pushed ahead with urban development and sought new ways to expand the local economic base. By the 1890s, the community's identity had been reshaped by entrepreneurs who retained a vested interest in the town's economy. This change was manifested in the material transformation of Main Street. The rapid rebuilding of the town's commercial centre is evident by contrasting two photographs of Main Street taken in 1890<sup>2</sup> and 1894<sup>3</sup> one looking northward and the other south. The contrasting impressions are quite stark. The quiet image of the town portrayed by government buildings and churches is contrasted with the hustle and bustle of a commercial centre. Horses and buggies, as well as the absence of people, add to tranquility of the 1890 scene. Although both photographs show the Court House/Town Hall and the First Baptist Church, in 1894 the Grand Hotel, as well as an assortment of smaller building, mostly businesses are also visible. Telephone poles, electric street lights, defined sidewalks and an electric street railway are visible signs of material progress. But the Grand Hotel dominates and symbolizes the town's modernity. The gathering of people, and the bunting and flags decorating the buildings

---

<sup>1</sup> Yarmouth, Nova Scotia is located on the Southwestern shore of Nova Scotia.  
See: Illustration 1 for a map of Nova Scotia.

<sup>2</sup> See: Illustration 2 for photograph of Main Street, Yarmouth, NS, looking north, 1890.

<sup>3</sup>

See: Illustration 3 for photograph commemorating the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth, 27 August 1894.



add to the impression of a lively town full of people.<sup>4</sup>

The 1894 photograph commemorated the historic visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth, 27-28 August 1894, an event which brought the community together to celebrate the town and the newly opened Grand Hotel. The question, how does a community reinvent itself, is addressed through this two-day visit. The thesis traces how Yarmouth's direction went from a world renowned port of registry in the 1870s to a tourist destination in the 1890s, by way of an industrial phase in the 1880s. The redirection of local capital created during Yarmouth's "Golden Age" of shipping, changed the town's economy from a seaward to a landward focus. As a result, Yarmouth experienced several transitions from the 1870s to the 1890s. For example Yarmouth industrialized, like other Maritime communities, during the 1880s. However, as in other Nova Scotia communities, growth through industrialization had its limits.<sup>5</sup> Local investors continued to adjust to a changing economy. During the 1880s and 1890s, Yarmouth was the "gateway" to Nova Scotia's tourist attractions because of its geographic advantage of being the closest point between Nova Scotia and the United States, improved steamer service between Boston and Yarmouth and rail connections

---

4

Ian McKay used a photograph as a way of introducing his subject, the promotion of tourism in Nova Scotia. See: Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk, Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill University Press, 1994), pp. xii-xvii.

5

Larry McCann, "The 1890s: Fragmentation and the New Social Order", in E R Forbes and D A Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, (Toronto and Fredericton: University of Toronto Press and Acadiensis Press, 1990), pp. 119-154.

from the town to other parts of the province. Local entrepreneurs, who saw the opportunity to develop a share of the tourist industry in Yarmouth, built a "Grand Hotel."

The needs of the community changed through the various economic transitions, notably industrialization. In response to issues of urban development, businessmen persuaded the electorate to vote for town incorporation. Through this political transformation, public monies were used to finance infrastructure improvements and services necessary to support manufacturers, a growing population and an expanding service sector. Through the processes of political change and economic diversification, business interests became community interests.

As the opportunity to develop Yarmouth as a tourist destination presented itself, political, social, and business leaders joined in promoting their town. This cooperation, which evolved throughout the 1890s, was publically displayed through the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Further, a community ethos was developed which was not simply a rationalization of economic interests, but a shared set of community values. This was the same "booster spirit" that Alan Artibise described in his study of Winnipeg. However, in Winnipeg, a business commitment to "bigger and better" and a failure of the local government to deal with issues of urban growth shaped the city's identity at the turn of the century.<sup>6</sup> Whereas in Yarmouth, acceptance of an image created for the promotion of

---

6

Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*, (Montreal and London [Kingston]: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), pp. 285-286.

Artibise used immigration as one example of the local government's failure to deal with the city's social problems. As a result of Winnipeg's promotion as a "Gateway to the West", tens of thousands of immigrants came to the city. Although, population growth added to local prosperity, immigrants with few financial resources became

tourism, which accommodated not only business interests but community values, shaped the community's identity in the 1890s. Yarmouth's booster spirit was based on cooperation. Competing interests had come together to form a consensus and in the process, Yarmouth was able to develop a cohesive community image.<sup>7</sup>

This case study of Yarmouth, 1890-1894, calls into question Elizabeth Bloomfield's dismissal of any coherent growth strategies on the part of Maritime cities. Although she acknowledged that much study was needed on the role of Maritime municipalities in promoting economic development, she concluded that in comparison to other regions of Canada, "Maritime cities seem to have been least confident in their growth strategies."<sup>8</sup> While her conclusions may have been affected by the limited number of studies on Maritime communities, they were also influenced by a metropolitan interpretation of city formation. Bloomfield overlooked the importance of smaller towns and cities throughout the Maritimes that developed independently of the metropolitan

---

economic and social liabilities. The local government's reluctance to provide municipal services to these residents divided the community and contributed to its identity as a city serving private interests. Artibise, pp. 177-194.

7

John Taylor in his study of Ottawa noted the fragmentation that characterized the dynamics of the community and as a result there lacked a cohesive community image. See: John Taylor, *Ottawa, An Illustrated History, The History of Canadian Cities*, (Toronto and Ottawa: James Lorimer & Company Publishers and Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986), p. 117.

8

Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Community, ethos and local initiative in urban economic growth: review of a theme in Canadian economic history", *Urban History Yearbook 1983*, (Leicester University Press, 1983), p. 66.

reach of the larger urban centres.<sup>9</sup> Yarmouth, with its own economic ambitions, bucked the control of Halifax and looked to Saint John as a preferred metropolitan centre.

Yarmouth provides an example of a Maritime town that implemented strategies for its economic development and asserted its own identity.

The planning and activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen were part of Yarmouth's strategy to attract favourable attention. This "event" represented a collective effort in promoting the economic well-being of the community, and in doing so illustrated a community ethos of "a very go-ahead little town." This study examines 58 individuals<sup>10</sup> who were identified by the press as official participants in the planning and activities surrounding this visit, as a way of illustrating the various interests that came

---

9

In her article, Bloomfield referred to Naylor's discussion of bonuses in Maritime iron, steel and textile enterprises, Larry McCann's study of the towns of Pictou, N.S. and Peter DeLottinville's study of Milltown, N.B. Yet, she seems to have based her conclusion on the failed metropolitan status of Halifax and Saint John, an interpretation of J. M. S. Careless. Bloomfield, pp. 55, 63 and J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada Before 1914, The Donald G Creighton Lectures, 1987*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 75-91.

<sup>10</sup> See: Note on Sources and Method, pp. 140-145

Eight of the 64 individuals, identified by the press as official participants in the planning and activities surrounding the visit, were excluded from this study. Four of the six excluded were either not residents of the town or their residency was unknown; two were minors.

Several appendices list the event participants, Board of Trade corporators, and the Grand Hotel shareholders. Tables and charts offer profiles of selected individuals, patterns of participation in the Yarmouth economy and comparison of interests for various groupings of individuals.

The lives and interests of the selected individuals were examined through probate records, obituaries, cemetery records, town directories, voters lists, town assessment roles, local newspapers, minutes of the town and municipal councils, lists of shareholders for various companies, acts of incorporation, vessel ownership records and other business records.

together to promote the town. These individuals were used as the starting point for examining the community's emerging identity. Even though these 58 participants did not necessarily have interests in common with all the others in the group, nonetheless they formed a group with a common purpose. These individuals were representative of Yarmouth's stakeholders. They had financial interests tied to the town's prosperity and their involvement in the community extended to local politics, the Board of Trade and temperance societies. Their roles and status as event participants mirrored their positions within the community. There were four main groups: the Citizens' and Managing committees' members, the Flags and Decorating Committee members, the women who participated in the meeting with Lady Aberdeen as the guest and the other participants not part of identified committees. In addition to these 58 individuals, the living spouses of the women participants were also examined, as their interests were economically linked to those of their husbands. Although emphasis was given to economic interests, the social issue of temperance was linked to the women participants.

This twofold approach to the study of the role of entrepreneurs in the process of city-building is modeled on the work of T. W. Acheson. In the first part of his study of Saint John, he identified and examined the community's leadership. While a range of economic, political and social leaders were included in his study, he found that the merchants who played the role of ". . . organizer and director of the principal means of production"<sup>11</sup> were of central importance in directing and managing change in their

---

<sup>11</sup>

T. W. Acheson, *Saint John, The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, (Toronto:

community. All business activity in the local economy was linked to these merchants. Other businessmen depended upon them for financial accommodation and/or as clients. Merchants, as members of an identifiable business elite, exerted an inordinate amount of influence on a community's urban development. Through the movement of capital, these merchants were responsible for industrialization. Through the reform of the local council and the political transformation of Saint John from town to city, they were able to legitimize their business interests as community interests. A consensus in the community depended on accommodating these merchants' interests.

Acheson's study of Saint John is directly relevant to this study of Yarmouth because both Saint John and Yarmouth were involved in the shipping industry. Through shipping, wealth was created and business associations were formed. As a result of this common connection, Saint John was an important regional centre for the town. Yarmouth's entrepreneurs looked to Saint John for business opportunities, investments, goods and services, as well as a means of promoting the business interests of their town. Acheson's study underscores the importance of examining the influence of those involved in shipping and poses the question of the influence of a business elite rooted in shipping on Yarmouth's economic and urban development.

Two studies have examined the origins of Yarmouth's shipping elite. Robert Aitken argued that Yarmouth's identity and its emergent economic status as a significant port of registry in the trans-Atlantic shipping industry were shaped by a dominant group

of merchants. He identified sixteen key ship owners who, through economic, political and social interconnections, could be considered an elite.<sup>12</sup> These individuals directed Yarmouth's rise as a regional centre in Southwestern Nova Scotia. Although Aitken's study ended at the height of Yarmouth's status in the trans-Atlantic shipping industry, some of the same individuals he had identified as important ship owners also appear in David Alexander's and Gerald Panting's studies for the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project.<sup>13</sup> Together they identified twelve elite ship owners whose investments had a significant impact on the rise and decline of Yarmouth's shipping industry. Although their studies went beyond the time period of Aitken, their analysis of the impact of these ship owners on Yarmouth's landward economy went only as far as 1889.

This study builds on Aitken, Alexander and Panting by following the activity of elite ship owners and others in the period 1890-1894. Although shipping declined over these years, the experience of having been involved in the shipping industry was a persistent experience among the identified event participants. Further, the "Golden Age" of shipping continued to be an important element in the community's identity. Alexander and Panting were able to attribute leadership to the twelve elite ship owners, based on

---

<sup>12</sup>

Robert M Aitken, "Localism and National Identity in Yarmouth, N S, 1830-1870", (MA thesis, Trent University, 1979), p. 56.

<sup>13</sup>

David Alexander and Gerald Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889", *Acadiensis*, Vol. II, No.2 (1978), pp. 3-28; Gerald Panting, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889", in *Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914*, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979), pp. 254-271.

shipping investments. Their analysis of the leadership of these individuals in developing Yarmouth's landward economy was based on business records and information concerning directorships and investments. During the course of researching this thesis, it was found that available business records did not always supply the kinds of information that would allow an analysis of community leadership. A variety of sources were accessed to offset the sometime scant availability of business records and to create a series of investment profiles for selected individuals. In examining the interests of the event participants, the dynamics of the community were reconstructed using patterns of economic and political participation.

This thesis begins with the issues of economic development and political transformation before embarking on the story that led to the two-day visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. In the first chapter, the role of the local entrepreneur in the diversification of the local economy is explored through individual investment profiles which show patterns of their economic participation. Shipping interests, business associations and investments in the various sectors of the local economy illustrate the formation of a new business community by the 1890s. In the second chapter, the political transformation of the town is examined through acts of the provincial legislature, and the initiatives of the local Town Council. The period 1890-1894 was seminal for Yarmouth's urban development. Public monies were used for the improvement of infrastructures and the provision of services. The urban environment was upgraded in order to support a growing population, existing businesses and to encourage development of new business activity. In the process the Town Council facilitated a community ethos that accepted



business interests as community interests. Through the issuing of bonds, the Council broadened a vested interest in the town's economic prosperity to all ratepayers. In the third chapter, the Grand Hotel is identified as the key to Yarmouth's transition from a "gateway" for Nova Scotia to a tourist destination. The Grand also became the rallying point around which the community began to realize, the town's potential for tourism. In the final chapter, the story of the planning and activities of the event is told through the roles of the event participants and the observations of Lady Aberdeen and the press. In the end, this event illustrated how the town's business, political and social leaders brought the community together in this celebration and used a favourable image to promote economic growth through tourism.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **"A very go-ahead little town": Yarmouth's Enterprising Citizens**

Lady Aberdeen wrote in her personal journal that Yarmouth was "a very go-ahead little town."<sup>1</sup> When she and Lord Aberdeen visited Yarmouth, 27-28 August 1894, they were enthusiastically welcomed by the town's political, business and social leaders, as well as its residents, who lined the streets and participated in activities planned for the visit. Yarmouthians not only celebrated the royal representatives' visit, they celebrated and promoted their "go-ahead little town." Yarmouth took pride in the accomplishments of its citizens and highlighted its finest features. Processions and activities centered on Main Street where buildings and businesses were decorated with flags, arches and buntings. Lord and Lady Aberdeen stayed as guests of the town in the newly opened Grand Hotel. It was a modern town with electric lights, a waterworks, telephones, an electric street railway, new brick commercial buildings and asphalt sidewalks.

Lord Aberdeen noted that Yarmouth's enterprising citizens were the town's greatest asset. He was sure that Yarmouth would

...grow by leaps and bounds, not by great inflation followed by depression, but from a steady progress built on natural resources and especially the firm determination and vigorous enterprise of the people. He hoped that Yarmouth would become more and more celebrated, not only as a commercial centre, but as a city where high public tone is maintained, where citizens show it shall be an

---

1

National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC) Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, p. 519.

easy thing to do right and as difficult as possible to do anything wrong.<sup>2</sup>

The Aberdeens' comments were not the only outside reference to Yarmouth's entrepreneurial spirit. In the Saint John, *Progress*<sup>3</sup>, the importance of Yarmouth's commercial centre was underscored by the analogy of a town moving upwards in both a moral and a geographic direction away from its waterfront.<sup>4</sup> As a result of diversification of Yarmouth's economy after 1878, the geographic orientation of the town shifted from Water Street to Main Street. During the 1850s and to the 1870s when Yarmouth became increasingly involved in the trans-Atlantic shipping industry, ship owners looked seaward from the wharves along Water Street. When the ship owners turned toward the land, it was because they perceived investment opportunities in the development of banks, railways, industries and utilities. Their wealth, which had been created through the shipping industry, provided the means to finance Yarmouth's landward development from the 1860s and on into the 1890s.

---

<sup>2</sup>Special from the *Halifax Herald* in the *Yarmouth Herald*, 4 September 1894, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>

A feature article on the Town of Yarmouth appeared in *Progress* (Saint John), 14 October 1893, pp. 9-16.

<sup>4</sup>

Illustration 4 shows an artist's rendition of Yarmouth in 1889. Note, this "bird's eye view" shows the town's activity from the waterfront area with ships in the harbour and industry belching the smoke of progress, to the upper sections of town with the banks, businesses, government buildings and churches. In the 1890s, Yarmouth's economic shift was visible in its geographic shift from Water Street to Main Street. Yarmouth's moral growth was associated with its churches, the steeples of which can be seen in this picture.

Illustration 5, a fire insurance map surveyed in 1891 and revised in 1900 shows the long skinny development corridor of the town with Water and Main streets running its length.

The first landward enterprises were related to the shipping industry itself and included banks and marine insurance companies. Yarmouth had two banks, the Bank of Yarmouth and the Exchange Bank, which gave local entrepreneurs an investment opportunity as well as a source for the financing of new businesses.<sup>5</sup> The first industries, which included iron works and foundries, were developed with a focus on servicing the shipping industry and were conveniently located on Water Street. By the end of 1870s, landward development took on a different focus. External circumstances such as the realities of Confederation, fluctuating trade cycles and the new National Policy may have influenced the decisions of Yarmouth's entrepreneurs. In the 1870s, Yarmouth built a railway, the Western Counties Railway, along Water Street which gave easy access to the industrial sector. By opening up landward transportation and facilitating the movement of locally made goods to a national market, the railway spurred on Yarmouth's industrial development. Industry changed from supplying the local shipping industry to producing for external markets.

In the 1880s, Yarmouth developed its factories which continued to sustain its economy even in the 1890s, a period of worldwide recession. Yarmouth's manufacturers included a cotton mill, a shoe factory, wood working shops, fish processing operations

---

5

The Bank of Yarmouth began business in January 1865 with a capital of \$400,000; the Exchange Bank of Yarmouth was established in 1869 also with a capital of \$400,000. Both these banks operated throughout the 1890s. The Exchange Bank became a part of the Bank of Montreal ca 1903 and the Bank of Yarmouth collapsed in 1905. See: Michael Francis Bernards, "Backing Industry and Breaking Backs: The Collapse of the Bank of Yarmouth, 1905", (Carleton University, MA Research Essay, 1991); J. Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902), pp. 586.

and iron works.<sup>6</sup> Utility companies were formed in the 1880s and 1890s to service the needs of these new industries and a growing population. As a result of industrialization, the town had experienced a population increase of 74.7% between 1881-1891.<sup>7</sup> Recruits to its labour force were drawn mostly from the surrounding hinterlands. "Yarmouth [in comparison to other communities, such as Amherst and Sydney Mines] remained the most uniformly Nova Scotian in terms of its residents' birthplaces, but like Amherst, it acquired a large Acadian minority, mostly from its surrounding rural communities."<sup>8</sup> This population growth provided the impetus for Yarmouth's businessmen to look upwards from Water Street, where the wharfs, the railway line and the industries were located, to Main Street. This commercial street was transformed by a building boom in which wooden structures were replaced with brick commercial buildings, businesses were renovated, and hotel accommodations improved, in order to service the needs of an

---

6

Yarmouth had experienced an increase in the number of manufacturing establishments from 15 to 151. Capital invested in manufacturing went from \$238,415 to \$782,875 and the number of hands increased from 172 to 925. Source: Canada. Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1891*, "Bulletin No. 12, Table No.1, Cities and Towns having more than 5,000 inhabitants" (Ottawa, 1892) p. 27.

The growth in its production output was significant enough that the report mentioned that "Yarmouth NS has made remarkable progress, having been in 1881 one of the smaller per head in manufacturing, and in 1891 having reached the figure of \$206 per head, the population having in the same time increased 75 per cent." Canada. Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1891*, "Bulletin No.12", p. 9.

7

Canada, *Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1*, "Table VII—Population of Cities and Towns having over 5,000 inhabitants compared", (Ottawa, 1893), p. 370.

8

D. A. Muise, "The Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force, 1871-1921", *Acadiensis*, XX, 2 (Spring 1991), p. 12.

expanding clientele.

In the 1890s private and public monies were invested in upgrading and developing utilities, roads, sidewalks, sewers and other infrastructure. Just as the railway facilitated the movement of goods to and from the town, a utility company was organized to build a street railway for the movement of people along Main Street. The street railway would link the north and south ends of town, providing easy access to the shops, businesses, entertainments, government buildings, and churches along this commercial strip. As well, it would bring people to the factories which were located just one block away along Water Street. Although, the street railway was planned during the 1880s, it would not be realized until 1892.

In the 1880s and 1890s, an improved ocean and land transportation system strengthened Yarmouth's position as a "gateway" to Nova Scotia. In the 1880s, the Yarmouth Steamship Company established a regular steamship service between Yarmouth and Boston. In comparison with the alternative of a long and expensive railroad trip, its service between the United States and Nova Scotia was fast and cheap.<sup>9</sup> At around the same time that the Yarmouth Steamship Company placed a second steamer into service, a railway line from Digby to Annapolis was nearing completion. Prior to

---

9

The Yarmouth Steamship Company Limited had two steamers in regular service in the 1890s. The *Yarmouth* was placed into service in 1888 and the *Boston* in [1890]. Each vessels had a capacity of three hundred and fifty passengers. Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., *Land of Evangeline Route, The Yarmouth Line, The Shortest and Most Pleasant Route Between Boston and Nova Scotia and Cape Breton*, ca. 1894.

the opening of this rail line known as the "missing link,"<sup>10</sup> Yarmouth's railway, the Western Counties Railway did not provide a direct connection to Annapolis, a major Nova Scotia tourist attraction. When the so called missing section of rail line was completed on 27 July 1891, a continuous and direct rail route ran from Yarmouth to Halifax via the Western Counties Railway and other railway companies. This rail line brought passengers from Yarmouth to Annapolis, Cape Breton and other tourist destinations throughout the province.

In the 1890s, Yarmouth businessmen had a choice: retain a share of Nova Scotia's tourists by transforming the town into a tourist destination or remain a "gateway" through which visitors passed by the town. One of the suggested ways in which the town could entice tourists to stay a while was by improving and expanding its tourist facilities. This perceived need was first brought to public attention in 1888 just after the Yarmouth Steamship Company improved its service between Boston and Yarmouth. The issue was brought into the public arena again in 1890, just before the completion of the "missing link." Gradually this potential opportunity for expanded economic growth and prosperity through tourism would bring Yarmouth's businessmen together on Main Street. In 1894, local businessmen with a vision of ever increasing prosperity would build a "Grand Hotel", would organize themselves into a Board of Trade, and would entertain Lord and

---

10

The "missing link" was the section of the Western Counties Railway and the Windsor & Annapolis Railway between Digby and Annapolis. This short but important section of rail created an integrated railway system throughout Nova Scotia. J. E. Kinney, *The Port of Yarmouth and its Development, A Brief Historical Sketch from the Early Days to the Present*, (Yarmouth, NS: Kiwanis Club of Yarmouth, 1930) p. 10.

Lady Aberdeen as guests of the town.

As the town's economy changed from the 1860s to the 1890s, so too did the roles of individuals who had invested in Yarmouth's economic development. By the 1890s, Yarmouth's enterprising citizens formed a new business community. Two characteristics remained constant as the economy shifted from a seaward to a landward focus. First, many of Yarmouth's entrepreneurs could trace their roots to shipping. Second, local entrepreneurs' interests were intermeshed within the local economy. They continued to have a vested interest in promoting the town's economic prosperity and growth. By examining these two characteristics, we can see how shared interests contributed to the cohesion of this new business community.

Of particular importance to Yarmouth's landward development was the persistence between those who had been involved in Yarmouth's shipping industry and those who developed other sectors of the local economy. Those individuals who participated in the landward economy represent the full range of investors found in the shipping industry, namely elite ship owners, prominent ship owners, and others who had held shipping interests during the period, 1860-1889. David Alexander and Gerald Panting, in their study of the Yarmouth shipping industry, identified twelve elite ship owners who had the greatest impact on the rise and decline of the local shipping industry.<sup>11</sup> Because they held 23% of the registered tonnage in Yarmouth's ocean-going fleet, when they began to withdraw their investments in ocean-going vessels, the industry

---

<sup>11</sup>

David Alexander and Gerald Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889", *Acadiensis*, VII, 2 (Spring 1978), p. 21.



went into decline. From the 1850s to 1889, these twelve ship owners took leadership roles in landward development through their investments and their positions on boards of directors. As a group, these elite ship owners ". . . held 46% of the directorships in local banks (1865-1886), 40% in textile firms, 21% in insurance (1858-1886) and similar shares in utility companies (1863-1886) and railway directorships (1870-1885)."<sup>12</sup>

These twelve elite ship owners were part of a larger group of investors whom Gerald Panting had identified. In all 74 ship owners held 74% of the tonnage placed on the registry by Yarmouth residents.<sup>13</sup> The twelve elite ship owners were part of this group. Although the remaining 62 ship owners were not elite, they were considered prominent. Panting pointed to intermarriages between members of elite ship owners' families and these prominent ship owners to show the interconnectedness of this shipping fraternity. As he noted, with the progress of time, a younger generation of prominent ship owners replaced an older retired generation of elite ship owners. Over time these prominent ship owners also played a more visible role in developing landward enterprises. According to Panting, Yarmouth's business community, based on shared interests in shipping and reinforced through family connections, was a homogeneous

---

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup>

Gerald Panting, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889" in Lewis Fischer and Eric Sager, editors, *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914*, (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University, 1978), p. 259.

group.<sup>14</sup> The time period for those studies, however, ended with 1889.

By the 1890s there was less of a distinction between elite shipowners and others who had interests in the Yarmouth economy. Part of this reason was age and longevity. Of Panting's twelve elite shipowners, seven were alive in 1893. Further, two were 70 years of age or older, and the remaining five, William D. Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, George H. Lovitt, William Law and John Lovitt averaged 61 years of age in 1893. As the elite numbers dwindled and the economy diversified, the business leadership became more inclusive, so that by 1890 it consisted of a broader range of entrepreneurs with more varied economic interests.

Other ship owners, merchants, businessmen and professionals took leadership roles along with elite ship owners. However, even within this new business leadership, there remained a continuity between those who had held shipping interests and investments in other sectors of Yarmouth's economy. Prominent ship owners who included, for example, Thomas Killam 2<sup>nd</sup>, Nathan B. Lewis, Jacob Bingay and A.W. Eakins, had shared their shipping interests with others, and had continued this business practice of sharing in the risk as they ventured into new economic enterprises. Shipping was the basis of not only the wealth used to finance these ventures but also the basis of business relationships. Even merchants, businessmen and professionals who included,

---

<sup>14</sup>

Further, these individuals had a common heritage. Their ancestors were New England Planters and United Empire Loyalists who had contributed to the early development of the town. Sharon Reilly discusses the influence of these New Englanders and British loyalists on the town's economic and architectural development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sharon Reilly, *Selected buildings in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, Manuscript Report No. 262, (Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1977), pp.1-21.

for example S. A. Crowell and Robert Caie, had owned shares in Yarmouth's vessels. Since the ownership of vessels was based on the British model of 64 shares, this meant that as many as 64 individuals could own shares in a single vessel. Although the number of investors varied from vessel to vessel, the more investors there were in a single vessel, the less risk there was for any one investor.

The concept of reducing shareholder liability in joint stock business ventures was not a new concept for Yarmouthians who had been involved in the shipping industry. The practice of taking shares financed the development of Yarmouth's banks, the Western Counties Railway, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, industries and utilities. The same business associations formed through shipping, however, were not necessarily carried over into these landward developments. Shipping had been a common business experience, but as Yarmouth's economy diversified, new business associations were also formed. These individuals knew each other. In some instances, family connections were still present among business associates. Despite the changes, Yarmouth's business community remained a homogeneous group.<sup>15</sup> Others who had not shared in shipping investments also participated in the development of specific sectors of the economy. For example, machinist and manufacturer George W. Johnson<sup>16</sup> and Main Street businessman

---

<sup>15</sup>

Yarmouth's new business community consisted of Protestants with British or American origins. Many of these individuals could trace their heritage to New England Planters and United Empire Loyalists who had settled in Yarmouth. Some newcomers were immigrants from Britain or the United States, while others were from families who had settled in other parts of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

<sup>16</sup>

George W. Johnson came to Yarmouth from the United States. In 1867, he and Joseph

Joseph R. Wyman had become part of the business community because they possessed technical skills or entrepreneurial talents which contributed to Yarmouth's economic growth. In the 1890s, however, a new business community was being formed with a focus on urban development and a reorientation of the community as a tourist destination.

To bring the work of Alexander and Panting into the 1890s, this chapter includes the different investment profiles of nine Yarmouth investors.<sup>17</sup> These individuals were selected to illustrate the second characteristic of Yarmouth's new business community, that is, to show how economic interests were intermeshed within the local economy. Eight were also official participants in the planning and activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Seven were investors in the Grand Hotel. All but one had participated in Yarmouth's shipping industry. The examination begins with five elite ship

---

Burrell founded the firm Burrell-Johnson & Co. which later became known as the Burrell-Johnson Iron Co. The firm operated until 1899, at which time the business went into liquidation. In 1900, the firm was purchased and revived under the name the New Burrell-Johnson Iron Co. Source: YCMA, YMS 4, Yarmouth Business Records, Burrell-Johnson Iron Co.

During the early 1890s, George W. Johnson was manager of the firm. The 1890 Yarmouth directory listed George W Johnson with the Burrell-Johnson Company, while the 1895 Yarmouth Directory listed him as proprietor of the City Corn Mills. Reference was also made to George W. Johnson as proprietor of the City Corn Mill in *Progress*, 14 October 1893.

<sup>17</sup>

These nine selected individuals include five elite ship owners, George H. Lovitt, William D. Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt and William Law; two prominent ship owners, A. W. Eakins and Nathan B. Lewis; one individual with some shipping interests but not enough to be considered either elite or prominent, S. A. Crowell; and one individual with no shipping interests, Joseph R. Wyman. Appendix 4 details the investment profiles for each of these individuals.

All of the selected individuals, except for George H. Lovitt, were identified as official participants in the planning and activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen.

owners, first as part of the larger group of surviving elite ship owners and then individually. Although all five retained investments in the local economy, some also invested in regional, national and American enterprises as well. The profiles of two prominent ship owners and one other ship owner, illustrate differences in their business associations from shipping to landward enterprises. Their business associations formed through shipping did not necessarily carry over as investments shifted from sea to land. New business associations were formed through the development of banks, a transportation system, various industries, utilities and the Grand Hotel. The one individual examined who did not have any shipping interests, Joseph Wyman, illustrates a more limited participation in Yarmouth's local economy. After resolution of a court case involving the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Company Limited and the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company Limited, his local investment focus was his Main Street business.

As a group, the eight elite ship owners alive in 1890 had participated in all sectors of Yarmouth's economy which included shipping, banking, transportation, industries and utilities. As a group, the six elite ship owners alive in 1894 also participated in the development of tourism, with the building of the Grand Hotel. Although an examination of the investments of the five elite ship owners who were active in business in 1893 revealed some variations in their economic interests, these individuals were still intermeshed in the local economy. For example, during the 1890s George H. Lovitt continued to invest in vessels and was listed in the Yarmouth directories as a ship owner

with an office on Jenkins Street.<sup>18</sup> While he had not invested in all of the sectors of Yarmouth's economy, he had shares in both of Yarmouth's banks and the Yarmouth Street Railway and the Lake George Water Company. He did not invest in the Western Counties Railway, the Yarmouth Steamship Company or in any of the industries examined in this study, nor did he participate in the building of the Grand Hotel. A closer examination of George H. Lovitt's personal property, as inventoried in his probate records filed in 1901, showed that the greatest part of his estate, 70%, was in cash and bank deposits followed by stocks and bonds. Bonds included municipal bonds for Yarmouth, Halifax, Quebec and the U.S. Together this information seems to suggest that George H. Lovitt had chosen rentier investments. Except for utility companies, he was not active in developing new economic enterprises during the 1890s. Yet, he still had a vested interest in the prosperity of Yarmouth's economy, for 14% of his personal value was tied up in Town of Yarmouth water bonds.<sup>19</sup>

William D. Lovitt, in contrast to his brother George, had been involved as an investor in all sectors of Yarmouth's economy, and was a director of the Grand Hotel. In addition to shipping interests (11%), stocks and bonds (31%), real estate, life insurance, cash and other property (29%), William lent monies to Yarmouth residents in the form of

---

<sup>18</sup>

*1890 Yarmouth Town Directory* ( Yarmouth: Yarmouth Times, 1890) pp. 73; *Yarmouth Town Directory and Guide*, John Miller, compiler, (Yarmouth, Yarmouth Light, 1895), p. 70.

<sup>19</sup>

Probate Record # 3210, Inventory for the Estate of George H. Lovitt filed 25 January 1901, original records located at the Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

mortgages and promissory notes (29%).<sup>20</sup> Among those who were listed in an estate ledger, June 1894, as indebted for a mortgage to William D. Lovitt was George W. Johnson, formerly associated with the Burrell-Johnson Iron Company, a company in which William D. Lovitt held shares. Not only was William D. Lovitt part of the new economy, but he was also part of an old mercantile economy in which merchants were the primary lenders to those who could not qualify or chose not to borrow from the banks. William D. Lovitt was also representative of the elite ship owner who through death or age passed his legacy onto the next generation. Early in 1894, his shares in the Grand Hotel were inherited by his son, William Leslie Lovitt who would fill his father's role as director on the boards of the Grand Hotel and the Yarmouth Duck and Yarn Company Limited. He was listed in 1894 as a Yarmouth Board of Trade corporator<sup>21</sup> and would continue to live in Yarmouth until his death in 1907. In addition to leadership roles, a pattern of diversification which had begun to emerge was also passed down from the elite ship owners to the next generation. For instance, although William D. Lovitt had invested largely in local enterprises, a part of his estate was also invested outside of Yarmouth. This later strategy was adopted by his son. By 1907, none of William Leslie's investments in stocks and bonds, which comprised 58% of his estate, were based

---

<sup>20</sup>

Probate Record # 3170, Inventory and Valuation of the Estate of William D. Lovitt, filed 19 May 1894, original records located at the Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

<sup>21</sup>

The original signors on the Yarmouth Board of Trade are referred as "corporators" in the registration documents. Throughout this thesis, this term is used in reference to these individuals. See Appendix 2 for a list of these corporators.

in Yarmouth. Instead his investments were largely in American enterprises.<sup>22</sup> So that while William Leslie continued to live in Yarmouth, his economic interests would become less and less intermeshed with the local economy.

The other three elite ship owners living and active in business in 1894, Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt and William Law, continued to participate in the local economy. In the 1890s, these three elite ship owners helped shape Yarmouth's direction as a tourist destination. Loran E. Baker focused his investments in the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the Grand Hotel. This move to concentrate in this direction began in the 1880s. In a letter, dated March 1883, Baker indicated that he was rethinking his investment strategy. He wrote to A. C. Robbins, another elite ship owner, thanking him for his kind invitation to take stock in the newly formed power knitting company.

I am not prepared whether I can take stock in the Co. I will decide when I get home if there is any to spare—We have just begun our Railway negotiations and I cannot say yet what the result will be . . . I am obliged for your kind offer of stock but [I] am getting into too many companies.<sup>23</sup>

Prominent ship owners, A. W. Eakins and Nathan B. Lewis, joined the elite ship owners in business ventures which were unrelated to the shipping industry. These two individuals represent some important variations in patterns of business associations. A. W. Eakins was born in Yarmouth but was not related by birth or marriage to the elite ship

---

<sup>22</sup>

Probate Record # 3192, Inventory of the Estate of William L. Lovitt, filed 12 September 1907, original records located at the Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

<sup>23</sup>

Loran E. Baker to A. C. Robbins, 13 March 1883, YCMA, Parker-Eakins Collection, P-E, A.C. Robbins file.



owners' families. He had been a partner in the firm Parker-Eakins, merchants, and had shared vessel ownership with A. C. Robbins, an elite ship owner, who was also associated with Parker-Eakins. He had not participated in any of Yarmouth's banks, nor in the industries and utilities, examined in this study. He had held shares in the Western Counties Railway but not in the Yarmouth Steamship Company. In 1893, however, he was a director of the manufacturing firm Kinney-Haley<sup>24</sup> which had a wood-working factory located on Water Street. Even though, he had not been previously involved in business dealings with elite ship owners William D. Lovitt, L. E. Baker, or John Lovitt, in 1893 he would join them to establish the Grand Hotel Company Limited. Further, in 1894 he was listed as a Board of Trade incorporator and would act as its President after its formation.<sup>25</sup> As illustrated by the inventory of his estate filed in 1937, throughout his life, A. W. Eakins' economic interests continued to be largely intermeshed with the local economy.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>

In 1884, the firm became incorporated under the name Kinney-Haley Manufacturing Company (Limited) with \$20,000 capital. The stock was held entirely by Yarmouth investors. In 1893, E K Spinney was president, John H. Haley was manger and A. W. Eakins was a member of the board of directors. From its factory located on Water Street, the company manufactured such wood products as furniture, doors, sashes, blinds, hand rails, posts, balusters, mouldings, brackets, and fittings of every description in woodwork. As well they furnished churches, offices, and summer cottages. In 1893 they employed 25 men but had the capacity to employ about 50. Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, 1891*, "Appendix No. 12-Joint Stock Companies", p. 7; *Progress*, 14 October 1893, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix 2 for a listing of the Board of Trade incorporators, May 1894.

<sup>26</sup>

Probate Record # 1833, Inventory of the Estate of A. W. Eakins filed 15 May 1937, original records located at Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

Although Nathan B. Lewis had not shared in vessel ownership with any of the elite ship owners, he had been associated with William D. Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt and William Law in various landward developments. Notably, he had shared interests in both of Yarmouth's banks, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, the Yarmouth Gas and Light Company, and the Yarmouth Street Railway. As well, his economic interests in Yarmouth went beyond these investments, as he continued as a partner in the firm of H & N B Lewis, merchants, which had locations on Water Street, as well as Main Street. Lewis continued to have economic interests in Yarmouth throughout his life. Further, these interests went beyond his partnership in H & N B Lewis, his stocks and bonds, to include mortgages and promissory notes.<sup>27</sup> Like William D. Lovitt, Nathan B. Lewis was also involved in lending monies to Yarmouth residents, a practice reminiscent of an old mercantile economy. Among those who owed him money through a promissory note was W.L. Rogers<sup>28</sup>, another Main Street merchant.

S. A. Crowell, neither an elite nor a prominent ship owner, had shared shipping and landward investments with elite and other ship owners. He had shared in vessel ownership with elite ship owner William Law, and he had shared in a number of landward investments including the Exchange Bank of Yarmouth, the Western Counties Railway, and the Yarmouth Steamship Company with elite ship owners William D.

---

<sup>27</sup>

Probate Record # 3156, Inventory of the Estate of N. B. Lewis filed 17 April 1899, original records located at Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

<sup>28</sup>

W. L. Rogers was a member of the Flags and Decorating Committee for the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, August 1894.

Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt and William Law. As well, he had invested in the Burrell-Johnson Iron Company and the Yarmouth Gas Company.<sup>29</sup> In 1893, S. A. Crowell would join elite ship owners William D. Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, and John Lovitt, as well as other ship owners A. W. Eakins, Nathan B. Lewis, Robert Caie and E. K. Spinney, as original corporate members of the Grand Hotel Company Limited.

Joseph R. Wyman had not shared in shipping investments and except for the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company Limited, he did not share in any of the elite ship owners' other investments. However, this association became confrontational, as another company in which Joseph R. Wyman was a director, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Company Limited, attempted a takeover of the gas company. The competition between these two companies, illustrated how the old established business leadership of the town as represented by the gas company directors and shareholders, was challenged by a less established group of businessmen which included other ship owners and lesser merchants.

The Yarmouth Gas & Light Company was formed in 1863 with the purpose of supplying gas for the lighting of homes in the Yarmouth area. Among the directors were elite ship owners Samuel Killam, President, and John W. Lovitt.<sup>30</sup> Main Street became illuminated by gas lighting in 1872. Although the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company had

---

<sup>29</sup>

Probate Record # 984, Inventory of Estate of S. A. Crowell filed 7 May 1908, original records located at Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

<sup>30</sup>

J. Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, NS, 1902) p. 586.

been in active business for some years, the company only became incorporated in 1888.<sup>31</sup> As gas lighting was replaced by electricity, the scope of the company's operations changed with the technology. The Act which incorporated the company stated that the purpose of the company was to sell ". . . to the town and municipality, light, heat and motive power, including electric light service, both arc and incandescent, and other improved systems of illuminating and fuel, gas and electric motors for supplying power to hotels, printing offices, street railways and factories."<sup>32</sup> The Yarmouth Gas & Light Company installed electric street lights on Main Street and service began in 1888. Also in 1888, a new joint stock company was incorporated under the name of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Company (Limited). Directors of this new company included Joseph R. Wyman, William C. Rowe, Stephen B. Murray and Dr. Albert M. Perrin.<sup>33</sup> In a 1892 R G Dunn Report, this company was described under the category of electric light and power.<sup>34</sup> During the 1890s these two companies became involved in a legal battle when the shareholders of the gas company accused some of the company's directors who were also connected with the Merchants' and Manufactures' Company, of illegal actions.

---

<sup>31</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1888*, Chapter 127, pp. 398-403.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p. 398.

<sup>33</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, 1891*, "Appendix No. 12-Joint Stock Companies", pp. 20-21.

<sup>34</sup>

*The Mercantile Agency Reference Book (and key) for the Dominion of Canada* © G Dun & Co., 1892), p. 614.

When irregularities were first suspected, elite ship owner John Lovitt filed litigation to open the company's books.<sup>35</sup> Further, the shareholders filed for and were granted an injunction which restrained the powers of the directors.<sup>36</sup> The plaintiffs in this case, Yarmouth Gas Light Company shareholders, Hugh D. Cann<sup>37</sup> and James J. Lovitt<sup>38</sup> claimed that the directors of the gas company<sup>39</sup> "... fraudulently procured a controlling interest in the gas company, and then purchased the electric light plant owned by themselves and their friends at an exorbitant price, the result was that the interest of the plaintiffs in the stock of the gas company was wholly lost."<sup>40</sup> The final decision in the case ruled in favour of the plaintiffs, Hugh D. Cann and others.<sup>41</sup> Following the decision, the matter was resolved through legislation which amended the Yarmouth Gas & Light

---

<sup>35</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, December 1891.

<sup>36</sup>

*The Nova Scotia Reports, Volume XXIII Containing Reports of cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia*, Benjamin Russell and John M Gilbert, reporters, (Toronto: The Carswell Company, Ltd., 1893), pp. 475-482

<sup>37</sup> Hugh D. Cann was a shareholder in the Grand Hotel.

<sup>38</sup> James J. Lovitt served as Mayor of Yarmouth from 1890-1892.

<sup>39</sup>

These were the defendants who also held interests in the Merchants' and Manufacturers Company Limited.

<sup>40</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 16 October 1894.

<sup>41</sup>

Among the defendants was Dr. Albert M. Perrin, an unsuccessful candidate in the 1892 town council election. Other defendants included Robert S. Eakins, E. Franklyn Clements, Edgar M. Clements all of Yarmouth and Linus Childs of Boston.

Company's incorporation and allowed for recapitalization.<sup>42</sup> Shares were redistributed to twelve shareholders and included John Lovitt, William Law, Thomas Killam, Nathan B. Lewis, Bowman B. Law, Joseph H. Cann, Hugh D. Cann and S. A. Crowell.<sup>43</sup> In this case the defendants were not able to outmaneuver the established order. In addition, when the Grand Hotel opened, the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company would supply its gas requirements.

Even though, Joseph R. Wyman, as a director of the Merchants' and Manufacturers Company Limited, had been part of the business community which had challenged the elite ship owners and their associates in the Yarmouth Gas Company, he would cooperate and do business with these same individuals when the Grand Hotel was built. His business furnished the hotel with bolsters,<sup>44</sup> as well it served the increasing number of visitors who were attracted to Yarmouth by the hotel. Wyman would also join with other Main Street merchants to form the Yarmouth Board of Trade in 1894. His Main Street business was his livelihood. It was in his interests to promote and encourage any economic development that would add to Yarmouth's economic prosperity.

Five characteristics of Yarmouth's business community are illustrated through

---

<sup>42</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, Chapter 134, 1895, pp. 607-613.

<sup>43</sup>

The other shareholders included Charles T. Grantham, Hugh E. Cann and Linus M. Childs.

<sup>44</sup>

Dalhousie University Archives (DUA), Grand Hotel fonds, MS-4-210, Corporate Minute Book, entry dated 27 June 1894, p. 54.

these selected individuals. First, investors who had been involved in the shipping industry invested in Yarmouth's local landward economy. This pattern persisted in the 1890s, even though there was evidence of a generational shift within the business community. Those without any previous shipping interests had a limited participation in the local economy during the 1890s. Second, there was a persistent economic involvement of the surviving elite ship owners in the local economy. The most visible of these elite ship owners, William D. Lovitt, Loran E. Baker, William Law and John Lovitt, invested in all sectors of the local economy. Third, while the same business associations formed through vessel ownership might not carry over into other landward investments, the practice of sharing in risk was carried over and provided the basis for financing Yarmouth's banks, railways, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, industries, utilities and the Grand Hotel. These local entrepreneurs knew each other and were prepared to further their business interests as a group. This was demonstrated through their participation in Yarmouth's economic development, in the formation of Yarmouth's Board of Trade and through their involvement in the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Fourth, Yarmouth's new business community included a broad range of entrepreneurs with varied interests. Newcomers and others with no shipping interests became part of the business community because they had special skills or expertise which contributed to development of the local economy. A younger generation of entrepreneurs were establishing themselves alongside an older group of well-established businessmen. And even those who had competing interests would cooperate to further their economic interests in the town. And lastly,

members of Yarmouth's new business community took on leadership roles which extended beyond their direct involvement in the local economy. Four of the individuals profiled in this chapter were involved in formation of the Yarmouth Board of Trade<sup>45</sup> and four would run as Town Council candidates.<sup>46</sup>

The selected individuals represent the kinds of investors who had participated in Yarmouth's landward economy and contributed to its image as "a very go-ahead little town."<sup>47</sup> Their involvement in shaping their town's identity was not limited by their involvement in the landward development of the local economy. Some of these same individuals were also involved in Yarmouth's political transformation, which is the subject of the next chapter.

---

<sup>45</sup>

The Yarmouth Board of Trade was registered in May 1894. The registration documents listed A. W. Eakins, William Law, George W. Johnson, and Joseph R. Wyman. For a complete listing of these incorporators see Appendix 2.

<sup>46</sup>

The following four individuals ran as town council candidates (1890-1894): George W. Johnson, Nathan B. Lewis, Joseph R. Wyman and A. W. Eakins.

<sup>47</sup>

Of these nine selected individuals, seven were associated with the Grand Hotel as shareholders or original corporate members. These individuals included: William D Lovitt, Loran E Baker, William Law (a subscriber who later withdrew but gave a donation to the company), John Lovitt, S. A. Crowell, Nathan B. Lewis, and A. W. Eakins. Although William Law had subscribed to Grand Hotel stock, when asked to pay up he refused and asked to have his name taken from the subscription list. As compensation for his subscription, he donated \$500 to the company. For the purposes of this study, William Law has been included as a Grand Hotel subscriber/shareholder. DUA, Grand Hotel Company fonds, MS-4-210, Corporate Minute Book, entry for 7 March 1894, p. 38.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Political Transformation: Yarmouth Becomes A Real Town, 1890-1894**

As local entrepreneurs shifted their investments from a seaward to a landward focus, their attitude toward the town changed. Increasingly, they saw the urban development of the town as a way of furthering their landward investments. Gradually, the ratepayers would also come to see the town as an investment in itself. Taxation was the pivotal issue in Yarmouth's urban development and political transformation. From 1855 and into the 1890s, Yarmouth's property owners were not always convinced that their wealth should be taxed for the provision of public services. Through various acts of the provincial legislature, the local areas' responsibilities for taxation increased but so too did their capacity to manage their own affairs. For Yarmouth, the electors' choice to incorporate the town in 1890 was an important step for its development, signalling a change of attitude which allowed the town to push ahead on civic improvements financed through public monies. In the process of upgrading infrastructure and providing services, the local government acted as a mediator between competing interests, supported the formation of a new business community and facilitated the cohesion of the community's identity. This chapter examines the political transformation of Yarmouth from the issue of taxation, the role of the local government in protecting the interests of the propertied residents, and the accommodation of business interests as community interests.

In 1856, Yarmouth Township was the only district in Nova Scotia which had chosen local self- government under the 1855 act of municipal incorporation. A local

historian, George S. Brown described Yarmouth's venture into local self-government as a short-lived experiment.<sup>1</sup> In 1858, Yarmouth's electorate reversed its decision for self-government through a vote and requested a repeal of the act in the provincial legislature. While the administration of Yarmouth reverted to provincially appointed officials, this experiment altered its administrative district. Prior to 1856, Yarmouth was connected to Argyle but the vote for municipal incorporation created two separate districts, one for Argyle and one for Yarmouth. The new municipal area of Yarmouth included a rural area and the town, each of which had different interests. The issue which led to the reversal of Yarmouth's self-governing status was the cost of administration. According to J. Murray Beck, a political historian who wrote about the administrative development of government in Nova Scotia, the purchase of a new fire engine through a tax levied on the ratepayers was the point of contention.<sup>2</sup> This expenditure was seen as a benefit for the town and not the rural area. At this time, Yarmouth investors were involved in the shipping industry. Their seaward focus would not begin to change until the late 1870s and early 1880s when Yarmouth's shipping industry declined and investors turned landward. In 1858 there was a reluctance to support this kind of landward investment through a direct tax on their wealth.

---

1

George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: A Sequel to Campbell's History* (Boston: Rand Avery, 1888, Reprinted Argyle Municipality Historical & Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 315.

2

J. Murray Beck, *The Evolution of Municipal Government in Nova Scotia, 1749-1973*, (A Study prepared for the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, 1973), p. 17.

In 1879, the issue of direct taxation and local self-government again resurfaced when the provincial government passed the County Incorporation Act. By dividing the whole province into municipal areas, the provincial government ". . . brought self-government to the doors of the people."<sup>3</sup> This County Incorporation Act set in motion a transformation in the administration of the province and was the first province-wide provision for local responsible government. Instead of being administered by provincially appointed officials, qualified electors, under the County Incorporation Act, would elect their own officials to form municipal councils. The only entities not affected by this legislation were areas which through acts of the legislature had secured city charters or acts for town incorporation. The Act created the Municipality of Yarmouth and placed the town and surrounding rural area within the same political and administrative structure.

In passing this legislation, ". . . the Holmes government had estranged public opinion by its 'conspiracy of silence'."<sup>4</sup> The County Incorporation Act had been drafted in secrecy and pushed through the legislature without consulting the electorate or their provincially elected representatives. The province, in a state of financial crisis, had in effect downloaded the costs of administration and the responsibility for direct taxation

---

<sup>3</sup>

In 1892, this was a comment made by Premier Fielding in his address to a group of municipal councillors representing the various municipalities throughout the province. See: Nova Scotia. House of Assembly, *Journal and Proceedings, 1892*, "Report on Conference of Municipal Affairs", p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>

J. Murray Beck, *The Evolution of Municipal Government in Nova Scotia, 1749-1973* p. 28.

onto the local governments, while avoiding the wrath of local ratepayers. Financial resources of the province had been severely altered with the division of fiscal responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments, and the grants, under the better terms agreement, from the federal government to offset the resulting provincial deficit were coming to an end in 1879. Further, the provincial government had a restricted tax base because local self-government was relatively underdeveloped within Nova Scotia. Introducing taxation at the local level was desirable yet a risky option. Past experience may have influenced the expedient passage of this act. When the provincial government introduced direct taxation for school support in 1865, it was met with a great deal of opposition. In time, however, there was an acceptance of this policy, partly because the local level had been given a measure of control over the collection of the tax. Through the County Incorporation Act, the provincial government expanded its ability to tax, borrow, regulate, fine and provide services indirectly through the local governments. By passing on these responsibilities to the local level, the province was able to maintain a degree of control, and to avoid the direct tax backlash. The height of the local governments' ability to manage its own affairs was achieved in the 1880s. After this time the provincial government would begin to place limits on the local levels' authority.

The newly formed Municipality of Yarmouth used its ability to borrow money through bonds and debentures to help finance various civic improvements, as well as, the Western Counties Railway<sup>5</sup>. In January 1890, the last Annual Report of the Municipality

---

<sup>5</sup>

A shareholders list, 1883, for the Western Counties Railway shows that Yarmouth

before the town declared its incorporation, the municipality's memo of indebtedness revealed a total value of \$121,054 for bonds issued for the financing of the Western Counties Railway, a steam fire engine, sewers and the court house. The majority of this debt was in railway bonds.<sup>6</sup> As revealed through a review of the minutes and reports for the Municipality of Yarmouth, 1884-1890, the municipality was concerned with protecting its railway investment. Reports from the municipality's representative indicated that the financial difficulties experienced by the company resulted in delaying the construction of the 'missing link' and devaluing the company's stock.<sup>7</sup> The instability

---

investors held 42% of the total shares, 2100 out of 5000 shares, in the company. British investors held the remaining 58%. The Municipality of Yarmouth held 47% of the Yarmouth shares while the remaining 53% were held by 95 individual investors. Among these 95 individual investors were seven elite ship owners, William D Lovitt with 20 shares, A C Robbins with 20 shares, L E Baker with 50 shares, Aaron Goudey with 20 shares, Samuel Killam with 25 shares, John K Ryerson with 50 shares and John Lovitt with 3 shares for a total of 188 shares; three individuals who would later become Grand Hotel shareholders, Hugh Cann with 20 shares, Samuel A Crowell with 5 shares, and Dane Sullivan with 2 shares; Jacob Bingay with [70 shares] would later run as a candidate in the 1892 town council election; and seven others who would participate in the celebrations for the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Thomas Barnard Flint with 3 shares, Thomas Killam 2<sup>nd</sup> with 20 shares, Town Councillor George Gilbert Sanderson with 10 shares, Town Councillor Augustus F Stoneman with 5 shares, A W Eakins with an unspecified number of shares, Thomas Jolly with 5 shares and Frank Killam with 80 shares.

6

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1890), p. 11.

7

In 1887, the Treasurer and Agent for the Municipality was instructed to receive a cash payment of \$40,000 and stock for \$60,000 for the municipality's \$100,000 investment in the WCR. "Report of J R Kinney, Township Director, Western Counties Railway," in Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, p. 9.

of this investment and the cost to the taxpayer may have contributed to the municipality's subsequent reluctance to support other private enterprises through public monies.

This reluctance was evident in 1888 when Councillor Arthur W. Eakins brought the need for upscale hotel accommodations before the Annual Meeting of the Municipal Council. Although Yarmouth had two hotels, the Queen which was located on Central Street between Main Street and the harbour, and the Lorne which was located on Main Street near the Post Office, their facilities could not meet the demand for quantity or quality. Eakins moved that the municipality should assist any individual(s) who would be willing to invest in a new hotel. In his resolution, he argued that the benefit to the community would outweigh the cost of taxation.

Whereas, the need of better hotel accommodations in the town of Yarmouth has long been admitted and the lack of it deplored, as well by our citizens as by the travelling public; and whereas, this need has now, through the recent great improvement in the means of summer travel between here and the United States, been particularly emphasized; And whereas, such an hotel as the place and the times demand would call for a greater outlay of capital than the average provincial landlord would want to risk, even if he had it; And whereas, the lack of superior hotel accommodation is a great drawback to the material prosperity of the town and a direct or indirect loss to every Citizen; And whereas, it is a common and usual proceeding on the part of the taxpayers of enterprising and progressive towns to subsidize, if necessary, enterprises, the establishment of which will confer benefits much greater in value than the amount of the tax. Therefore Resolved, that this Council publish the following offer, and if it is accepted that a committee be composed of the Town Council be authorized to carry out, the Act enabling the Town to borrow the money having first been attained.

The Town of Yarmouth Nova Scotia makes the following offer:

To any person or persons who will build in this town, and finish within a year from this date, a hotel, to cost with land, not less than \$20,000.00, the town will lend the sum of \$10,000.00 at 3% per cent interest for the period of twenty years; the offer being subject to the following conditions, namely, the location of the hotel and the plan of the same to be subject to the approval of a Committee of the Council; the loan to be made, only after the completion of the building, and their first mortgage security on the whole property taken for the same. The building to

be constructed by Yarmouth mechanics, and so far as practicable by material to be furnished by Yarmouth dealers.<sup>8</sup>

After some remarks by other councillors, it was ordered to lay over the matter until the Council's May meeting. The matter was not reported on in any subsequent minutes or reports of the council. The municipality clearly did not want to pursue this issue at this time.

The reluctance of the municipality to openly support private business ventures, other than the railway, with public funds was evident in other ways. For example, while bonusing may have been a practice in other Canadian communities in order to attract industry<sup>9</sup> or other economic development, there was no evidence of such a practice in the municipality's minutes and reports for 1884-1890. Relief from tax assessments may have

---

8

The handwritten minutes are also referred to in this chapter because there is information included in these minutes which was not included in the published version. See: Municipality of Yarmouth. Bound volume entitled "Yarmouth Sessions, Court Records E, Yarmouth, NS," volume contains the handwritten minutes for the Municipality of Yarmouth, NS, entry dated January 1888, pp. 499-500.

9

R.T. Naylor in his examination of bonusing in iron, steel and textile manufacturing identified five towns and cities in Nova Scotia: Sydney, Pictou, Truro, Halifax and Windsor. All of these communities had practiced bonusing during the 1880s and 1890s. R.T. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914, Volume II*, (Toronto, 1975), pp. 120, 135, 144.

Peter DeLottinville examined the impact of the St. Croix Cotton Mill on the local community. He noted that the community's support for the establishment of the cotton mill in Milltown, New Brunswick had included the practice of bonusing. The town council not only subscribed to stock in the St Croix Cotton Mill, it gave half of its stock valued at \$15,000 as a bonus to American investors. I could not find any evidence of such a practice in Yarmouth. Peter DeLottinville, "The St Croix Manufacturing Company and Its Influence on the St Croix Community, 1880-1892" (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1979), pp. 82-83.

been the only kind of incentive given to businesses in Yarmouth. However, a review of these minutes and reports of the Municipality, revealed that a majority of appeals for assessment relief were from widows, the elderly or other individuals with limited means of support. When business did request such appeals, they were not always granted relief. For example, in 1884, the majority of appeals were from individual property owners rather than from businesses.<sup>10</sup> After the requests were reviewed, decisions were rendered which granted appeals to roughly half the cases. In the cases of the two businesses, A. F. Stoneman & Co. (Iron Mine Trap) received relief on its assessment, whereas, the Bank of Yarmouth was denied its appeal.

Cost to the ratepayer through taxation was an issue that divided the Municipal Council and illustrated a difference in rural and urban needs. For example, in 1885, a resolution was passed concerning statute labour<sup>11</sup> in the Town of Yarmouth that favoured taxation as the means of building and maintaining roads. The surrounding rural area was not affected by this resolution and continued to rely on the manual labour of its residents rather than paying contractors to perform the work.<sup>12</sup> In drafting recommended changes

---

<sup>10</sup>

Only two businesses had requested reliefs, whereas over a dozen individual property owners had appealed their account.

<sup>11</sup>

Statute labor was a system through which the province built and maintained its roads. The local governments assessed each of the individuals in their jurisdiction for their contribution to road work. This meant that able-bodied individuals were required to report at a designated place and time to locally appointed supervisors with a pick and shovel so that they could perform their statute labor.

<sup>12</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, January 1885, pp. 47-48.



to the provincial statutes in 1886, committee members admitted that they had “. . . many difficulties in agreeing upon a law which would suit both town and country . . . .”<sup>13</sup>

Although the issue of improving the streets and sidewalks in relation to the needs of the town had been discussed throughout the 1880s, funding for such improvements by increasing taxation had been met with resistance. In the “Report of the Street Commissioners” presented at the January 1890 meeting they noted that,

It has long been self evident that the funds at the disposal of the Commission for the repair and maintenance of the streets is altogether inadequate to meet the pressing and increasing demands of the public for better streets and sidewalks, and we are glad to know from the notice of motion given to a council at last May [1889] meeting, that the Council intend considering this matter and we ask that you will give it serious consideration and if possible adopt some means by which a larger amount of money may be had.<sup>14</sup>

This resolution referred to by the commissioners had been presented by Councillor Wyman<sup>15</sup>, and appealed for a request to the authority of the provincial legislature to borrow monies for necessary street and sidewalk improvements in the town. In his resolution, he argued that,

...we believe the time has fully arrived in our history of the Town of Yarmouth when the present laws governing the collection and expenditure of the Statute labor funds and relating to the Management of the street department generally should be changed for other laws far better adopted to our growing present and

---

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 18 May 1886, p. 67.

<sup>14</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, January 1890, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup>

The resolution was seconded by Councillor Eakins. Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, NS*, p. 57.

future needs. And further believing that the public sentiment of our live and progressive Town not only demands such radical change but will humbly endorse and support all endeavours which may be made toward improvement in this as well as all other matters. Therefore resolved. That the Councillors of the Town of Yarmouth be and hereby constituted a committee with full powers to act in this matter, obtain the fullest possible information and prepare such an Act as will in their judgement be the means of best forwarding the objectives expressed in the above preamble and this resolution including all changes in the present laws relating to the subject as far as the Town of Yarmouth is concerned as may be necessary in the opinion of the said committee, and further giving authority for the borrowing of a sum of money not to exceed fifty thousand \$50,000 dollars on the credit of the Town of Yarmouth to be used in the improvement of the streets and sidewalks for the said Town, and all such other powers as said Committee shall deem necessary in the carrying out of this matter, and forwarding such an Act to the next session of the Local Legislature for enactment.<sup>16</sup>

Warden Burrill requested that the resolution be laid over to the next session in May, because two of the five town representatives were absent. The already rural majority on Council would have been increased since these town representatives were the only two councillors who were not present at the January session. The "Road Resolution" was taken up and passed at a special municipal meeting in March. Only eight of the thirteen council members attended this meeting, but significantly all five of the councillors from the town districts were present, giving a majority to the town representatives. When the original resolution was reintroduced, it was changed by the addition of the last line: "Notice was given that the matter of Charter of the Street Railway would be taken up at the May meeting."<sup>17</sup> However, there is no record in the published version of the minutes

---

<sup>16</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth. Bound volume entitled "Yarmouth Sessions, Court Records E, Yarmouth, N.S.," volume contains the handwritten minutes for the Municipality of Yarmouth, N.S., entry dated, 21 January 1890, pp. 652-653.

<sup>17</sup>

*Ibid*, pp. 686-687.

to indicate if the street railway had been discussed at the May meeting. By the September 1890 Session, the electorate had voted in favour of town incorporation, and the issues of street and sidewalk improvements and the street railway charter would be the concern of a newly elected town council. Later in 1892, when the Provincial Secretary invited representatives of the various municipalities of Nova Scotia to participate in “. . . a free discussion on the whole question of municipal government by those who are most directly engaged in working out the system.”<sup>18</sup>, the Warden of the Municipality of Yarmouth acknowledged the difference in opinion between the town and rural area of Yarmouth based on taxation versus statute labour. Warden Hatfield stated that the residents of the Town of Yarmouth were generally in favour of direct taxation, whereas in his opinion, the county as a whole was not ready for such an approach. Further, he stated that he thought the system of statute labour had been satisfactory. Warden Hatfield's observation of the rural residents' resistance to direct taxation for roads was echoed by other municipal representatives, but they predicted that at some point direct taxation would be necessary for the improvement of the province's roads.<sup>19</sup>

---

Note: this line was included in the handwritten minutes. The published version refers back to the original resolution as presented in January 1890, and no mention was made of this added line in the published version.

<sup>18</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, 1892*, "Report on Conference of Municipal Affairs", p. 1.

<sup>19</sup>

*Ibid*, pp. 19-25 The municipal representatives agreed that in some areas of the province the statute labour system of road building and maintenance was not meeting the needs of urban development and would probably not be able to meet the future needs of the whole province.

Not long after the passing of the Town's Incorporation Act, 16 April 1888 by the Nova Scotia legislature, Yarmouth held the first of three votes on the issue of town incorporation. Why did it take three votes to win acceptance of the idea? Two possible reasons related to representation and taxation. In 1888, the town was at a numerical disadvantage with five of the thirteen polling districts. If the rural residents did not want to support town incorporation they could easily do so by voting against the initiative and win by an eight to five majority. The surrounding rural area had a fiscal advantage if the town remained within the municipal system. As a local government, the municipality had limited means of securing revenues outside of its right to levy property and poll taxes.<sup>20</sup> According to a summary of property assessment values in the Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth for 1890, the town districts contained 67% of the total assessed property values in 1888. If the town became incorporated, the municipality would lose a considerable portion of its tax base. It was not surprising that on 13 December 1888, the electorate voted against the idea of incorporating the town. Nor was it surprising that residents continued to request a vote on incorporation, until it reached approval.<sup>21</sup> A summary of municipal assessment values indicates that the town's portion of this total increased from 1888 to 1890. They were

---

<sup>20</sup>

J. Murray Beck, *The Evolution of Municipal Government in Nova Scotia, 1749-1973*, (A Study prepared for the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, September 1973), p. 50.

<sup>21</sup>

A requisition for a vote containing 100 signatures delivered to the sheriff, was all that was required to call a vote on the issue of town incorporation.

69% in 1889 and 70% in 1890 of the total municipally assessed values.<sup>22</sup> Town representation on Council was not commensurate with its share of taxation. In 1890, two more votes were held on the subject. On 13 March 1890, the result went against incorporation; though the margin against had been reduced in comparison to the 1888 vote. In 1888, there were a majority of 158 votes against incorporation while in 1890 there were a majority of just 22 votes, with roughly the same voter turnout both times. The third vote took place on 15 July 1890, with a 17% increased voters' turnout from the previous vote held just a few months before.<sup>23</sup> By then, the needs of the town in respect to public services such as road improvements, a water supply, street lighting, policing and the enforcement of the temperance act had been increasingly filling the Council's agenda.

The administrative separation of the town from the municipality was necessary for the town to move ahead with civic improvements and serve the interests of business and economic development. Demographic change had also added to the complexity of Yarmouth's urban environment. The population of the town had increased by 74.7% between 1881 and 1891 while the surrounding rural area had experienced a population

---

<sup>22</sup>

See: Appendix 5 for value of rateable property for the town districts in the Municipality of Yarmouth, for the years 1888-1890.

<sup>23</sup>

This third vote which resulted in favor of town incorporation took place after a special meeting of the municipal council. It was at this meeting, held on 17 March, that the Road Resolution calling for increased spending had been passed. Were the rural residents willing to let the town go if it was clear that their taxes would be raised as a result of the town's push for road improvements through taxation? There is no evidence to support this argument but the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, since both town and rural residents voted on the issue of town incorporation.

loss of 18.8% during the same period.<sup>24</sup> The town could not respond to needs which were compounded by a population increase, in a municipal system where initiatives could be layed over, stalled or defeated because it held less than 40% of the representation on Council. The resistance to town incorporation was illustrated by the fact it took three votes before reaching approval. However, this tension between different interests was not limited to the rural and urban questions, it would resurface in the politics of the newly formed Town Council.

Town incorporation was a necessary step for Yarmouth's urban development. After the vote in favor of incorporation, 15 July 1890, the Yarmouth Street Railway refocused and began to pursue its objective of building a street railway. The company held its first annual meeting on 22 July 1890, submitted its bylaws to the Provincial Secretary, which were passed on 17 November 1890, and began the construction of the rail line in April 1891. Electric street cars began regular trips up and down Main Street on 26 August 1892. The directors explained the reason for the delay from 1887 to 1891, in the building a street railway, in terms of technology. Rather than have a horse-drawn line, they preferred to wait for developments which would allow for the implementation of an electric system. As well as the technology and expertise which were brought to Yarmouth through the Edison Electric Company, an electric street railway required roads

---

<sup>24</sup>

From 1881 to 1891 the population of the town increased from 3,485 to 6,089, whereas the municipality minus the town had experience a loss from 8,372 to 6,800. Canada. Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1891*, "Bulletin No. 1, Population by Districts and Sub-Districts", (Ottawa, 1891), p. 22; Canada. *Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1*, "Table VII—Population of Cities and Towns having over 5,000 inhabitants compared", (Ottawa, 1893), p. 370.

with suitable surfaces. Besides a continuity between those individuals who had pushed for road improvements on Municipal Council and those who had been elected to the Town Council, there was also a stronger representation of those with Yarmouth Street Railway interests on the newly formed Town Council.<sup>25</sup> This was a local government which could facilitate the building of an electric street railway through infrastructure improvements. As this venture neared completion, the local press noted:

Yarmouth is particularly favorably adapted for a street railway on account of [the] extreme length of its principal street and the fact that its industries, public halls and places of amusement are so widely apart. There are no physical difficulties or heavy grades in the way, and the whole line is comparatively level and easily worked. The citizens of Yarmouth are to be congratulated, this being the first town in the province to secure an electric street railway and all will feel an interest and pride in the undertaking.<sup>26</sup>

However, Yarmouth Street Railway investors were not the only individuals who would benefit from urban development. Main Street businessmen would also benefit from the completion of the electric street railway line and of other services that would improve the town's commercial centre. The town's new Council also represented these interests, 78% of its members, 1890-1894, had businesses or business properties on Main Street. Further, the business interests of Town Council members were not confined to the Yarmouth Street Railway or to Main Street businesses, as some members also held interests in the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company, a company which supplied electricity

---

<sup>25</sup>

Compared to the 2 out of 5 shareholders on Municipal Council, there were 4 out of 7 individuals with shares on Town Council. Of these 4 individuals, 2 would become directors of the Yarmouth Street Railway before its completion in 1892.

<sup>26</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 12 April 1892.

for the town's street lights.

Elizabeth Bloomfield identified the role of local entrepreneurs in the formative stages of urban development and the influence they had on the quality of life in their communities. Entrepreneurs with their close participation in the community through associations like local boards of trade and local government ". . . could persuade most citizens that support of entrepreneurial initiative would serve the community's best interests. Successful enterprise was also believed to depend on a favourable climate of community attitudes and acceptance."<sup>27</sup> Yarmouth did not have a board of trade in 1890, however, the Main Street interests of members of the Yarmouth Board of Trade, 1894, and members of the Town Council, 1890-1894, were almost identical.<sup>28</sup> During a period of worldwide recession, town incorporation was one strategy that the town could use to promote economic expansion. Initially, incorporation was a means of defining the town as a political entity separate from the administration of the surrounding municipality. Through town incorporation, the role of the local branch of the state increased through the provision of public services. Quality of life was enhanced by such civic improvements as the installation of sidewalks, hydrants and sewers. Protection of property and personal

---

<sup>27</sup>

Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Community, ethos and local initiative in urban economic growth: review of the theme in Canadian urban history", *Urban History Yearbook 1983* (Leicester University Press, 1983), p.53.

<sup>28</sup>

71% (30/42) of the Board of Trade corporators, 1894, and 78% (7/9) of the members of Town Council, 1890-1894, had Main Street business businesses.



safety issues were addressed through increased policing.<sup>29</sup> While these initiatives served community interests, they were pursued by town council candidates and others who saw the need to protect business interests and stimulate economic development.

Town incorporation was not just a vehicle to further urban development and business interests. Local entrepreneurs used the authority of the Town Council to mediate conflicts among those with various economic and social interests. T. W. Acheson illustrated how an established elite was able to maintain their economic and social positions during a period of change and transition. His central question was: How did elites manage change? Through his study of the transformation of Saint John from a town to a city, he identified the economic, social and political interests in the community in respect to how well-established ship owners and so called “great merchants” were able to maintain their dominant position, even though challenged by lesser merchants and more local businessmen. Demographic change added to the complexity of a developing urban environment and weakened the dominance of an exclusive native-born elite. Newcomers were accommodated only if they could strengthen the local economy and blend into the dominant culture. The local government became the mediator and the reconciler of differences between these conflicting interests. Resistance to the established

---

29

Part of the increased policing involved a ‘Scott Act’ inspector. Under the Canada Temperance Act, commonly known as the Scott Act, local governments throughout Canada could enforce the act if their electorate supported the initiative. Although the Municipality had supported the Scott Act in principle, prosecutions under the act were not often pursued. The Town took a more strict approach to enforcing the act. An inspector, appointed and supervised by the town council, had the authority to arrest individuals for violations and to seize contraband goods. Cases were regularly brought before the courts and resulted in fines or incarceration or both.

order was controlled through policing and other methods of regulation. His interpretation of change and accommodation brought in the notion of a new evolving economic and social order which had links and continuity with an established elite. Over time the direct involvement of elite ship owners and merchants on City Council became less necessary as their values and interests had become incorporated into the policies and administrative practices of the local government.<sup>30</sup>

Important comparisons can be made between the Saint John business community of the 1850s and Yarmouth's business community in the 1890s. Both were changing to accommodate new players in the local economy. Both business communities had deep roots in the shipping industry. Vessel ownership in the 1850s was a vital part of the Saint John economy while in the 1890s it played a less important role in Yarmouth's economy. Rather, in Yarmouth during the 1890s, it served as a common shared experience which had led to new business associations in developing the landward economy. Through a new business community and the town's new Council, both of which included ship owners, Main Street merchants and others with economic interests in the local economy, elite ship owners who had played an important leadership role in Yarmouth's economy, continued to exert their influence. As seen in Saint John, direct participation in local government was not necessary for the business elite to protect their interests. Although Yarmouth's elite ship owners were never elected to the new Town Council, as in Saint John their interests were represented by those who shared an interest in utility companies

---

<sup>30</sup>

T. W. Acheson, *Saint John, The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 48-66, 246-248.

and other local enterprises. In 1890, when Yarmouth began its urban development phase, public monies were used to upgrade roads and sidewalks and to provide services such as street lights. Although these improvements were to benefit all the town's residents, in particular they furthered the interests of both Main Street businessmen and shareholders in the utility companies. As a result of a perception of self-serving interests, the issue of taxation continued to be a divisive point within the community. By using property as a means of limiting the franchise and the candidacy for public office, the business community was able to elect representatives with similar propertied interests.

The issue of who could vote was defined by residency, property and age requirements. An article in the *Yarmouth Herald* provided the following description of the general electorate's qualifications:

A British subject of the full age of 21 years, who is by the last completed assessment roll assessed in respect of real estate \$150; or in respect to personal estate \$300; or personal and real estate together \$300; including widows and unmarried women who are British subjects, of the age of 21 years, and who in their own right are assessed in the last assessment in the like amount stated.<sup>31</sup>

By this formula, fewer than 18% of the residents of the Town of Yarmouth were eligible to vote.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1890 and 1894, there were five elections. Annual elections were held for the position of mayor; councillors stood for election on a biannual basis. In a given year,

---

<sup>31</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 12 March 1890.

<sup>32</sup>

The 1891 census sub-districts and the 1890 polling districts seem to coincide with each other. The total population of the town which was 6,089; the total number of qualified voters on the revisor's voters list which was 1081.

the mayor and half the councillors would face the electorate. The qualifications for Mayor and councillors were outlined in the *Yarmouth Herald*, just a few days before the third vote on the incorporation question.

The Mayor and Councillors must be British subjects of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, and the former must have resided and been a taxpayer in the Town for at least three years before being nominated. He must be assessed upon real estate of the value of at least \$500 or upon personal property of the value of at least \$1000. Each Councillor must be a ratepayer and have resided in the Town for one year before being nominated.<sup>33</sup>

Given the higher property and residency requirements along with the specification of gender for office holders, the entire electorate would not have been qualified to run for office. In reality, 18% of the town's population determined who would be elected to public office, and less than this 18% would have met the qualifications for candidacy. The propertied class was electing its own.

The town's first election was held 10 September 1890, the only time during the period 1890-1894 that there was a contest for the position of mayor. The importance of the right people on Town Council was stressed in the *Yarmouth Herald*. "The position on Mayor or Councillor of a wealthy and progressive town like Yarmouth is one of honor and responsibility. The duty devolves on the electors of choosing men properly qualified to conduct the complicated and important details of municipal government on purely business principles."<sup>34</sup> There were two candidates for the office of Mayor, James J. Lovitt and Edgar K. Spinney. Both had business interests in the community. J. J. Lovitt

---

<sup>33</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 9 July 1890, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 23 July 1890, p. 2.

belonged to the famous elite shipping family the Lovitts and had interests in utilities. E. K. Spinney was a prominent ship owner with no financial interests in utilities.

Although Spinney was born in Yarmouth County, in the Municipality of Argyle, he was not born into a shipping family. He started his business career as a clerk in the employment of W. H. Townsend, hardware and general merchant, and could be considered a self-made man. He had established different businesses with various partners from 1873 until 1886, including the firm of Spinney, Eakins & Co.<sup>35</sup> In 1886, as sole proprietor, he established the firm of E. K. Spinney. Under this firm, he operated as a hardware merchant and an insurance agent. Through his various business associations and under his own name, he held shares in the Yarmouth Iron Works Company Limited, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, and the Canadian Woodworking Co. Limited. He had held shares in both of Yarmouth's banks. As well, he had been involved in the establishment of new joint stock companies in Yarmouth from 1883 to 1894<sup>36</sup> which included the Kinney-Haley Manufacturing Company Limited established in 1884<sup>37</sup>, the Canadian Smelting and Refining Company established in 1891<sup>38</sup>, and the Mud Island

---

<sup>35</sup> His partner in the firm of Spinney-Eakins was R. S. Eakins, brother of A. W. Eakins.

<sup>36</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, Sessions 1891-1895, The Reports of the Provincial Secretary, Joint Stock Companies, for 1883-1895.*

<sup>37</sup>

See Chapter 1 for a description of the operations of the Kinney-Haley Manufacturing Company Limited.

<sup>38</sup>

The Canadian Smelting and Refining Company was not listed in the Yarmouth Directory for 1895. Shares were not listed in any of the estate inventories for any of those individuals in the sample. It is not known if this company was operating during the

Lobster Company (Limited) established in 1892<sup>39</sup>.

Throughout the period 1887 to 1895, he invested in shipping. The amount of his vessel ownership was significant enough to have him identified as a prominent ship owner by Panting.<sup>40</sup> Members of the elite ship owning Lovitt family were not among those with whom he had shared vessel ownership. Instead, William Law, an elite shipowner, three other prominent ship owners and approximately thirty other investors were among his ship owning associates.

His role as an entrepreneur went beyond participation in shipping and new business ventures. Although his estate inventory was filed in 1926, his probate records revealed that he continued to have an interest in his firm, E. K. Spinney Ltd.<sup>41</sup>, and provided loans through promissory notes and mortgages.<sup>42</sup> A look at the names of those who were indebted to him revealed that local residents were approaching him for monies that may not have been secured through Yarmouth's banks. He was part of a mercantile economy which depended on the prosperity of the local economy for the profitability of

---

period of this study.

<sup>39</sup>

Shares for the Mud Island Lobster Company Limited are listed in estate inventories filed in 1926. Shares for the Grand Hotel Company Limited are listed in estate inventories filed in 1937.

<sup>40</sup>

Gerald Panting, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth Nova Scotia, 1840-1889", p. 267, endnote #46.

<sup>41</sup>He reorganized and incorporated his firm in 1918.

<sup>42</sup>

Probate Record #5099, Inventory for the Estate of E.K. Spinney, filed 20 September 1926, original records located at the Yarmouth County Registry Office, Yarmouth, N.S.

his investments. As well as acting as a broker, he was a Main Street merchant whose business served the local consumer.<sup>43</sup> His appeal to the electorate in 1890, demonstrated his opposition to increased taxation for large capital projects. Through his unsuccessful bid for the position of mayor in the Town of Yarmouth's first election, E .K. Spinney challenged what was generally accepted, in other towns and cities, as a practice of borrowing monies to finance infrastructure improvements.<sup>44</sup>

James J. Lovitt was part of the famous Lovitt family which included elite ship owners, John Lovitt and W. D. Lovitt. Their pattern of holding and securing economic interests was exemplified through family ties. James J. Lovitt was the brother of John Lovitt and after the death of their father, they became business partners. Together they had invested in ships. But in his own right, James J. Lovitt was a prominent ship owner. As was the case with other ship owners, his investments became diversified as Yarmouth's economy developed through landward enterprises. He held shares in both of Yarmouth's banks, the Yarmouth Iron Works, the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company and the Yarmouth Street Railway. As well, he was a shareholder in the Yarmouth Steamship

---

<sup>43</sup>

Along with other Main Street merchants, in 1894 he would be listed as an original incorporator on the Yarmouth Board of Trade registration papers. In 1893, he was listed as a corporate member on the incorporation documents establishing the Grand Hotel Company Limited. And in 1894, he would be a participant in the planning and activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, as a member of the Citizen's Committee.

<sup>44</sup>

Throughout North America and Europe, local governments were financing civic improvements through the issuing of local bonds. See: D C Platt, "Financing the Expansion of Cities, 1860-1914", *Urban History Review* (February 1983), pp. 61-66.

Company. Through his family ties, James J. Lovitt's interests went beyond his own. His brother had invested in the Lake George Water Company and later would become a subscriber of Yarmouth's water bonds after the town had purchased the Lake George Water Company from its shareholders.

Their respective approaches to the electorate highlighted some differences between these two candidates. James J. Lovitt had served on the Municipal Council in the early 1880s.<sup>45</sup> In his declaration for candidacy, he thanked the two hundred and fifty ratepayers who had requisitioned him to run for the office of mayor, and assured them that if elected, he would serve the town to the best of his ability. While E. K. Spinney had not previously run for a position on the Municipal Council, he appealed to the electorate on the basis of issues related to taxation. In his response to a "Requisition" he received from one hundred ratepayers, he opposed an increase in taxes. He stated that,

. . . Our taxes are quite high enough already, and we should be careful about embarking in new expensive enterprises which would increase them; on the contrary should see if there are not places where retrenchment might be introduced without injury to the necessary services. Above all should have care that the town services get the full benefit of the taxes raised for them, and that the laws enforcing the peace and preserving the health of the town are rigidly enforced.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup>

James J. Lovitt was elected to the first Municipal Council formed in 1879 after the passing of County Incorporation Act. He was re-elected in 1880, but was defeated in 1882. The opposing candidate, Jacob Bingay refused to take office and a new election was ordered. In the new election, James J. Lovitt was again defeated, this time by A. W. Eakins. Not until town incorporation had James J. Lovitt again run for local government. J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth Past and Present*, pp. 132-136.

<sup>46</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 3 September 1890.



James J. Lovitt was elected with 53% of the vote. Whether or not the majority of the electors had chosen him because he had previous political experience on the municipal council, this small margin nonetheless reflected several factors. Certainly, 47% of the electorate was not willing to support James Lovitt's leadership as mayor. Whether this reluctance was due in part to his family ties, his interests in the Yarmouth Street Railway and the Yarmouth Gas & Light Company, or for some other reason, he would be acclaimed the following year. The established economic order of the town had succeeded in placing one of their own in a key position. The town would continue to pursue those civic improvements which it had presented to the Municipal Council; taxation would become an important element in the financing of such projects.

The first order of business of the new Town Council was essentially housekeeping.<sup>47</sup> Committees, police and fire wardens were appointed, and bylaws of the municipality were adopted. This early period of administrative transition was eased by the presence of former municipal town representatives on the newly formed Town Council. Of the five municipal councillors, four ran, three of whom, Warden James Burill, and councillors Joseph R. Wyman and Nathan B. Lewis were elected to the new Town Council. George W. Johnson did not run for Town Council in 1890 but would be elected in a later election held February 1894. A. W. Eakins was the only municipal councillor not to be elected in this first town election. He would not run in any other election during the period 1890-1894. He would, however, continue to be an active

---

<sup>47</sup>

See: Illustration 7 for a picture of Yarmouth's First Town Council.

member of the business community and would serve as the first President of the Yarmouth Board of Trade in 1894.

The first real issue to be debated concerned the “one” ward system within the town. This issue was first raised at a Town Council meeting on 14 October 1890. The “one” ward system meant that in any year, the entire electorate voted for three or more councillors<sup>48</sup>. The uniqueness of this system was the subject of an article which appeared in the *Telegram*, 23 January 1891.

The prevailing system of having incorporated towns divided into wards is causing considerable interest in Ontario, and strong reasons are set forth against it. Yarmouth has been the first incorporated town in this province to dispense with the ward system and no good reason can be assigned in favor of cutting up into wards.... An article in the *Toronto Week* of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. shows the direction of public sentiment on the question in that province after long experience it says:-  
It is noteworthy that in the discussions which have been rife of late touching civic affairs, the press and the people, of all shades of politics have been in unusual accord on one point. All unite in condemning the ward system.... The ward politician, the civic councillor who regards it as his special duty to his constituents to secure the largest possible appropriations of city funds within the special ward he represents is, it is agreed, the natural outcome of this system.<sup>49</sup>

This ‘one ward’ system, unique to Yarmouth in Nova Scotia, was meant to facilitate the best interests of the whole town by eliminating the competition of interests which was evident in the municipal system when the urban needs were placed at the mercy of the

---

<sup>48</sup>

The number of councillors required for a full council of six depended on the number of vacancies that needed to be filled. Each year three positions for council were placed before the electorate, this number could be more if for any reason a council position became vacant. In Yarmouth, death of a council member was the most common reason for these additional vacancies.

<sup>49</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 23 January 1891.

rural majority. As pointed out in the article, the intent of this system was to counteract the special treatment of one ward over another which was the result of a councillor's vested interest in his own ward.

The town did not easily adopt a 'one' ward system. The issue was discussed at a town council meeting held on 14 October 1890<sup>50</sup>. A resolution was "... [m]oved by Councillor Lewis and seconded by Councillor Law, that the Town remain in one ward, to be represented by six Councillors."<sup>51</sup> Councillors Wyman and Stoneman thought that the question of dividing the town into wards should be put before the electorate. Their motion was defeated by four to two votes. The opposition to the ward system can be understood by examining the consequences of adopting such a resolution. If the town was to be divided into wards there would have been a change either to the boundaries of the existing wards or to the number of representatives. This would mean that the boundaries of the existing five wards which had been used previously for municipal elections would have to be changed to accommodate six wards or the six representatives would be reduced to five.

The ward most affected by this change would be the north end district of Milton. Milton had two representatives on Council, B.B. Law and James Burrill. Both of these councillors favoured of keeping the "one" ward system. Milton would lose at least one

---

<sup>50</sup>

This was the fourth Town Council meeting recorded in the minutes since the first election.

<sup>51</sup>

Town of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Town Council of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, 14 October 1890, p. 7.

representative on Council in a "one" ward system. Further, Milton had the lowest proportion of the town's population, 13%, the lowest proportion of the total number of eligible voters, 16%, yet it had the second highest proportion of the town's total assessed property values, 22%.<sup>52</sup> A redrawing of ward boundaries would not have been necessarily favourable to Milton, an area which contained the residences of such elite families as the Lovitts and Killams<sup>53</sup>, as well as some wharf and shipyard properties.<sup>54</sup> Supporting the ward system were councillors Joseph R. Wyman and A.F. Stoneman who resided in areas which could potentially benefit. Although Councillor Wyman's area of Centre had only 4% more of the town's population than Milton, this area had the greatest proportion of assessed property, 34% in 1890, and the highest proportion of electors in the town, 24%. This area was mainly home to merchants and other businessmen who had business interests in the town, including Main Street businesses. But these individuals were hardly in the same propertied group as those living in Milton. Redrawing the ward boundaries might not have helped Centre directly, but the redrawing of boundaries affecting Milton might have helped Centre indirectly. Councillor A.F. Stoneman lived in the South End of

---

<sup>52</sup>

See: Appendix 6 for population and property for electoral districts--Town of Yarmouth, 1890/91. Note, this table contains information which is referred to again in this discussion of the one ward system.

<sup>53</sup>

The Killam family, like the Lovitt family, is mentioned as one of the elite commercial group who had majority shares in the Yarmouth trans-Atlantic shipping industry. See: David Alexander and Gerry Panting, p. 24.

<sup>54</sup>

YCMA, 1887 Town & Municipality of Yarmouth Assessment Rolls, YNS-7-3, pp. 35-41.

town, the area with the largest proportion of the town's population, 26%, and the largest French population.<sup>55</sup> This area with 19% of the eligible voters, had more voters than Milton and the Court House districts but less than Centre and the Exchange Building districts. As a growing area, it had the greatest need for services. There were more households per dwelling in this area than in any other part of the town.<sup>56</sup> Representation by ward could only help to bring attention to these needs and give the South End a stronger position on Council. By not adopting a ward system the propertied residents of Milton could maintain their control over the Council by putting forward as many candidates as they liked. As the composition of this first Town Council illustrated, they were able to obtain the most representation of any area of town with the smallest portion of the town's population and the smallest proportion of the total electorate. This objective, however, was not achieved without resistance from other councillors who represented other interests.

Resistance to expenditures for large capital projects through taxation was evident in the town's first election. Although the electorate rejected the anti-tax mayoralty candidate, it took time before the community was convinced that tax dollars would be invested in large projects, such as a public water supply. The purchase of a privately

---

55

In the South End 29% of the population was French while just 14% of the total town's population was French. See Appendix for population and property for electoral districts—Town of Yarmouth, 1890/91.

56

Canada. *Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1*, "Table II—Population, Families and Dwellings", pp.34-35.

owned water company through the issue of town water bonds represented a turning point whereby borrowed monies backed by taxation became the means through which private interests became public services. Eventually the community was able to agree on the benefit of a publically owned water supply, even though the ratepayers were reluctant to meet the shareholders' price and finance costly improvements to the water works. The town responded to this public need when private shareholders were either unable or unwilling to provide the level of service necessary for health and fire fighting purposes.

The need for a water supply for fire fighting purposes was raised in a "Report of Board of Fire Wardens" presented at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Municipal Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth, 23 January 1890. In particular, the Board noted:

We would especially call the attention of the Council to the water supply from the harbor. The facilities for using water from that source has been curtailed by the building of warehouses across the heads of nearly all the wharves from which water could be procured at low tide and has deprived us of one of the principal sources for supply.<sup>57</sup>

Since the harbour could not be a consistent source of water for fire fighting purposes, an alternate was needed to service the waterfront and adjacent area. As well as the major warehouses and wharfs being located in this area, the town's major industries were located on Water Street.<sup>58</sup> Between 1887 and 1889, fires in Yarmouth had caused

---

<sup>57</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality in the County of Yarmouth, N.S.*, p. 40.

<sup>58</sup>

Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), Insurance Plans of Yarmouth,

minimal damage to industrial and business properties.<sup>59</sup> On 26 April 1888, a fire broke out in the Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co. mill located in the Water Street area. The fire was quickly contained by an internal fire sprinkler system, which depended on a supply of water in order to be effective.<sup>60</sup> The business community's representatives on the Board of Fire Wardens expressed their concern as it directly affected the security of their business interests. The board included Samuel Killam, a Director of the Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co. and at least one of his relations, John Killam.<sup>61</sup> As well, Jacob Bingay, a relation through marriage to W.D. Lovitt, a director of the Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co., also sat on this board.<sup>62</sup> They brought this new problem of the harbour water supply to the Municipal Council's Annual Meeting, the last regular meeting to be held before the favourable vote on town incorporation on 15 July 1890.

The water supply was not raised as a first priority of the new Town Council. In fact, it wasn't until 11 May 1891 that the matter was first broached by Council. If this

---

N.S., surveyed August 1891, microfilm 968. See: Illustrations 5 and 6.

<sup>59</sup>

J Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902), pp. 350-358.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 352.

<sup>61</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, NS*, p. 40; YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co., YMS-1995: 72/1/2, Minute Book No.1, p.2; David Alexander and Gerald Panting noted the family relationship between Samuel Killam and John Killam, p.24.

<sup>62</sup>

Municipality of Yarmouth, *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality in the County of Yarmouth, NS*, p. 40; YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co., 1995: 72/1/2, Minute Book No.1, p.2.

was such an important matter, why did it take so long for the council to address it?

Several events happened in the meantime which eventually would allow business interests to profit from the resolution of this issue. First, on April 1890, the Lake George Water Co. was incorporated through an act of the provincial legislature which allowed the new company to take over the Yarmouth Water Co. The list of shareholders of this new company is significant as it included elite ship owners William D. Lovitt and his brother George H. Lovitt, as well as a relative through marriage and prominent ship owner, Jacob Bingay.<sup>63</sup> The day of the town's first election, an article appeared in the *Yarmouth Herald* announcing the improvements the company had made to increase the quality and quantity of the water supply.<sup>64</sup> It would appear that the new company was trying to meet the need previously identified by the Board of Fire Wardens.

Before the new Town Council could address the issue of a water supply, certain administrative steps were necessary in order for the town to be in a position to obtain its own supply. First, the issue of negotiating a settlement between the town and the municipality in relation to financial obligations was necessary, if the town was to act as a separate administrative body. An agreement was reached in early March 1891. The next step was for the town to apply to the provincial legislature for passage of an "Act Relating to the Town of Yarmouth." This act passed on 19 May 1891 declared the town and its operations under the Towns Incorporation Act of 1888 as valid and legal. It provided for

---

<sup>63</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1890*, "An Act to Incorporate the Lake George Water Company Limited", Chapter 131, p. 240.

<sup>64</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 10 September 1890.



the repeal of certain acts which had given the municipality authority over the town. But more important, it defined areas in which the town had the legal right to act. This legislation allowed the town to secure its own water supply, by negotiating with existing companies and/or by owning its own facilities for supplying water.<sup>65</sup> Once this legislation was passed, the Council set up a committee, consisting of the mayor and full council, to consider and report on the question of furnishing a better water supply to the town.

In June 1891, an expert engineer from Boston was brought in to evaluate the Lake George facility. His report confirmed that the ample quantity and the particular good quality of the Lake George water made it an ideal source. The facilities, however, required technical improvements to meet the town's requirements for fire fighting purposes.<sup>66</sup> Neutral reports by experts were used by the town and company as a means of negotiating improvements to the facilities, justifying the eventual purchase on 1 July 1893 of the Lake George Water Company by the town and later justifying costly improvements to the waterworks. In July 1891, the town committee presented two options to the water company, first selling the company to the town and second requesting that the company make improvements to its existing system. In September 1891, the company replied that it was not willing to sell its facilities to the town, but agreed to make some improvements

---

<sup>65</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1891*, "An Act Relating to the Town of Yarmouth", Chapter 124, pp. 383-387.

<sup>66</sup>

Town of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Town Council of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, NS*, July 30, 1891, p.18.

charging the town an annual rate of \$30 per hydrant. By 21 March 1892, the Town was still not satisfied with the existing water supply. This was heightened after a fire on 18 March 1892 which caused considerable damage to the Williams Block, a commercial building on Main Street. Councillors Wyman, Stoneman and Law were intent on approaching shareholders to sell the company to the town. By 25 April 1892, the water committee reported it had entered purchase negotiations with the company. This followed another serious fire, on 13 April 1892, which destroyed buildings, including the Moulton Building on Main Street. The negotiations were reported in the minutes and in the press as difficult. Jacob Bingay represented the company and used the expert's report which stated that Lake George was the best source of water that the town could obtain for its needs in the area. The Council also used this expert opinion to justify the enormous cost to the ratepayers. In order for the town to purchase the waterworks, it would need to borrow more than \$200,000.

What prevented the Town Council from reaching a satisfactory solution to this problem? The town seemed willing to purchase the waterworks but such an expenditure required public approval. At a public meeting, 17 May 1892, which was called by the mayor for the purposes of discussing the water issue, Councillor Lewis noted "the present Company, on account of having exclusive franchise in the lake, had the town at their mercy, and although he thought the price too high, still he saw no other way out of the difficulty than the purchase of their plant."<sup>67</sup> All the opinions expressed at the meeting were in agreement that the Lake George water was the best source for the town's needs.

---

<sup>67</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 17 May 1892, p.1.

While the water quality was recognized, it was the quantity of supply for fire fighting purposes that was emphasized. Even if the council agreed with the price of \$240,000 that the company had proposed in April 1892, public acceptance was required before money could be borrowed for this large expenditure. Councillors could at once favour the Lake George site and oppose the price but yet proceed to buy the facility if they had public approval. They could not lose politically if they had the public's approval to proceed. A vote at this meeting was taken which favoured the purchase of the water company.

In June 1892, the town offered the water company \$230,000, but the company was asking \$238,000. Whereas the town was willing to meet the company's new price, the company's shareholders were not willing to settle just yet. While the town and the company were negotiating a price, on 1 July 1892 Yarmouth experienced the worst fire in its history. The Kinney-Haley Manufacturing Co. was entirely destroyed by fire and many other buildings in the Water Street area were destroyed or damaged. At one point, the fire posed a threat to the entire community. The difficulty in containing this fire was compounded by an insufficient water supply. "As the tide was at low ebb no supply of water was available from the harbor, and the steamers were obliged to depend on wells, making a scarcity of water at the time it was most needed."<sup>68</sup> Even after this fire the water company and the town would not come to an agreement on price and conditions until September 1892 at which time the town water committee and the water company reached an agreement in principle for the purchase of the water works by the town. It was not until April 1893, after the town elections, held 7 February 1893, that the actual

---

<sup>68</sup> J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth Past and Present*, p. 365.

arrangements for the take-over would begin. The town received provincial authority to take over the water works through "An Act to provide for supplying the Town of Yarmouth with Water," passed 28 April 1893.<sup>69</sup> The actual purchase would take place on 1 July 1893. The final amount paid to the water company was \$238,234.55 which was financed by the sale of water bonds. Several of the water company's shareholders put forward tenders for issuing of the town's debentures. Three tenders were accepted by Council. These included one from a water company shareholder and one from Councillor N.B. Lewis. The town proceeded to seek expert opinion on the improvements which were required to upgrade the water works. These improvements, however, would not be completed until 1899.

The issue of a water supply was argued primarily within the context of fire fighting. Yarmouth's established business community had placed themselves in a position where they could control the best available source of water for that purpose through a private company. They had interests in the Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Company, an establishment which by 1891 had an extensive fire protection system and access to the Lake George water supply. They held no interests in establishments such as the Kinney-Haley Manufacturing Company Limited which had been destroyed by the 1892 fire. The original intention of the water company was not to sell its facilities but to manage them for a profit. When the engineer's report recommended major improvements and over time it was evident the company was either unwilling or unable to meet these standards,

---

69

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1893*, "An Act to provide for supplying the Town of Yarmouth with Water", Chapter 139, pp. 264-271.

then the shareholders were willing to sell. However, the water company had the advantage over the town through its exclusive right to the Lake George site and would hold firm to its price. Public approval was required for the town councillors to proceed. Even though there was resistance to the idea of paying the water company its price of \$240,000, the ratepayers voted in favour of a purchase. Once approval was acquired, Town Council members seemed quite willing to meet the company's price even though the opinion was that the price was high. The final settled price was less than \$2,000 from the original asking price. Further, the accepted tenders for the issuing of the town's debentures revealed that shareholders and Town Council members alike were willing to profit from the purchase of the water company. The sale of the water company not only relieved the water company of costly improvements, but passed the responsibility for an adequate water supply onto the town and the cost onto the ratepayers. As well, businesses and property holders in Yarmouth would gain security from an improved waterworks. The role of the local government had been defined by the business interests, a role accepted by the ratepayers.

Reform of local government was hardly unique to Yarmouth during the 1890s. Other urban areas, such as Toronto<sup>70</sup> and Winnipeg<sup>71</sup> were seeking ways to make their local governments more efficient and business like. The transfer of private to public

---

<sup>70</sup>

See: Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company, Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897*, (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977).

<sup>71</sup>

See: Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

services, such as water, was part of a broader trend in the expansion of municipal services throughout Nova Scotia and North America.<sup>72</sup> Delay and difficulty in securing a suitable water supply was also experienced in Winnipeg. Price in Winnipeg was a key factor in stalled negotiations, which is understandable when considering the company was asking almost \$300,000 more than the city was willing to offer.<sup>73</sup> What is puzzling about Yarmouth is that a price difference of less than \$2,000 could be the actual cause of delay in the eventual take-over of the company by the town. Rather the last delay, from September 1892 to April 1893, seems to indicate a number of factors. First, the acceptance of the company's price was dependent on the ratepayers' approval for the financing of such a large capital project through borrowing backed by taxation. Second, potential investors, some of who were also ratepayers had to be assured that the water bonds issued by the town were stable and guaranteed investment opportunities. This was dependent on the town's credit rating and approval for borrowing from the Nova Scotia Legislature. Third, the shareholders of the water company were able to hold out until their price was met. Finally, the eventual take-over depended on the success of the town council to mediate between the ratepayer and the shareholders. Town Council acted in

---

<sup>72</sup>

For example, a review of the *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1891*, revealed that at least seven other communities in 1891 alone, approached the Nova Scotia Legislature for acts to borrow money in order to supply their towns/cities with a water supply. These communities included, Dartmouth, Antigonish, Amherst, Middleton, Pictou, Stellarton and Wolfville. See: Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1891*, "Table of Statutes, Local Statutes, Titles", pp. vi-ix; See also: D.C. Platt, "Financing the Expansion of Cities, 1860-1914", *Urban History Review* (February 1983), pp. 61-66.

<sup>73</sup> Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg*, p. 210.

such a way that the business interests of the water company were protected, as well as ensuring that the community secured its own water supply.

As E.K. Spinney had cautioned in the first town election, September 1890, “. . . we should be careful about embarking in new expensive enterprises which would increase [taxes].”<sup>74</sup> E. K. Spinney had lost the election to James J. Lovitt by just over a 6% margin. Further, at the public meeting called by the mayor to discuss the water issue on 17 May 1892 public opinion indicated that the price asked by the water company was too high. The public was resigned to the purchase because of the rights the company held over the Lake George supply. These rights were not challenged by the Council. The Town Council would wait until after the town elections in February 1893 before proceeding with take-over arrangements. This was an election in which the mayor was acclaimed and the three sitting councillors were reelected. In the end, the electorate supported the Town Council’s decision to purchase the water works. The old business community, with its origins in shipping, had succeeded in creating a local government which acted to protect its interests and thereby legitimize its dominant position. In this process a new business community was also being formed which included others who also had invested in the waterworks. Although members of the Town Council did not have direct investments in the Lake George Water Company, on other occasions the Town Council acted in support of other utilities in which their members did have shares. By seeking the community’s consent before it proceeded to purchase the waterworks, the

---

<sup>74</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 3 September 1890.

Town Council facilitated the acceptance of business interests as community interests.<sup>75</sup>

---

75

It was already noted that through public meetings, the Town Council had solicited the community's opinion which was taken into consideration before decisions were made and that the electorate continued to show its support for council as evident through the re-election of council members from 1890-1894.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **From a "Gateway" to a Tourist Destination**

During the 1890s, new brick buildings replaced several blocks of wooden structures which had been destroyed by fire. Other buildings were renovated and improved, storefronts were expanded and services were updated. On Main Street, a whole new visage was created through this material transformation. Businessmen, looking for new ways to expand their interests beyond their investments in industries, utilities and servicing a local resident population, saw the improvement of the town of Yarmouth as a means of attracting new business opportunities. At the same time Main Street was being revitalized, the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the railway companies were developing a transportation system which facilitated travel from the United States and into Nova Scotia. Yarmouth became a 'gateway' through which American tourists traveled on their way to visit Nova Scotia's attractions. Some entrepreneurs saw the potential for developing Yarmouth as a tourist destination. The entrepreneurs who formed the Grand Hotel Company (Limited)<sup>1</sup> were leading this new direction. The Grand Hotel would become the keystone in Yarmouth's transformation from a 'gateway' to a tourist destination. When the hotel was near completion, the business community and the political leaders openly cooperated in the promotion of

---

<sup>1</sup>

See: Appendix 3 for a list of the original corporate members of the Grand Hotel Company (Limited).

Yarmouth and the new hotel. With the official opening of the hotel at a formal gala ball, its directors showed the community that the hotel could attract the kind of attention necessary to make Yarmouth into a tourist destination. Gradually all parts of the community recognized the potential of expanding the local economy through tourism.

A Halifax correspondent zeroed in on the importance of the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the Grand Hotel to developing tourism in Yarmouth.

Yarmouth, Nova Scotia's western metropolis, is a fitting testimony to the vim and enterprise of her citizens. Thoroughly modern in all its methods and with that particular snap probably imbibed from the Americans, with whom they are so closely in touch, it is fast becoming a centre of trade and transport. Doubtless, its recent advancement has been due to the individuals comprising the Yarmouth Steamship Company, who have by their system placed their lines of steamships at public disposal greatly to the advantage of all.

Yarmouth is famed for its beautiful residences, its inviting walks and drives. Its citizens vie with one another in decorating their homes and beautifying their surroundings by faultless lawns and neatest hedges. These conditions, together with the fact that a grand hotel is being built and which will rival any hotel in the provinces, must invite tourists from many quarters to this gate of the province.<sup>2</sup>

Yarmouth's enterprising citizens had been involved in the diversification of the local economy and as noted in the article, in the development of the Yarmouth Steamship Company. Although elite ship owners Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt, William D. Lovitt and William Law shared interests<sup>3</sup> and developed the transportation system which brought American tourists into Nova Scotia, it was Loran E. Baker who founded the

---

<sup>2</sup>

A correspondent from the *Halifax Chronicle* quoted in the *Yarmouth Herald*, 14 October 1893.

<sup>3</sup>

Shareholders lists for 1887 and 1888 revealed that company shareholders, other than Loran E. Baker, included William D. Lovitt, William Law and John Lovitt.

Yarmouth Steamship Company in 1885, and provided the leadership which led to the company's incorporation in 1886. Baker continued to exert his leadership and control of the company from the time of its incorporation in 1886 until his death in 1899, for he was the largest single shareholder in the company, with 31% of the shares, and served as the company's president throughout this period.

In 1887, the Yarmouth Steamship Company placed a new steamer, *Yarmouth*, into service which regularly brought tourists from the United States. In 1890, the service was expanded with the purchase of a second steamer, *Boston*.<sup>4</sup> In the early 1890s, Yarmouth's "gateway" position for the province's growing tourist industry was strengthened with railway improvements. The building of a short yet important stretch of railway between Digby and Annapolis created a continuous track between Yarmouth and Halifax. This enabled tourists to reach all of Nova Scotia's attractions through Yarmouth. Just before the completion of this "missing link" on 27 July 1891, the Yarmouth Steamship Company began to actively promote tourism in Nova Scotia.

In June 1891, the Yarmouth Steamship Company appointed Thomas Anderson of the *Boston Globe* as its press agent. The province was described as a "... mecca of summer tourists,"<sup>5</sup> especially American tourists and Mr. Anderson's approach was built on this demonstrated appeal. Shortly after his appointment, an aggressive campaign was

---

<sup>4</sup>

J. Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth, Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences* (Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1902), pp. 555-556.

<sup>5</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 5 June 1891.

begun which catered to the American press.<sup>6</sup> The strategy was centred on press tours to various points of interest in Southwestern Nova Scotia which were located along the existing rail lines and roadways linking Yarmouth to Digby and Annapolis.<sup>7</sup> Throughout this period, other steamship companies also employed this same publicity-seeking strategy. American reporters who were wined, dined and toured through specific tourist destinations, wrote reviews of their adventures in their home newspapers. For example, a Halifax excursion in 1892, compliments of the Halifax Steamship Company, was reviewed in the *Boston Evening Transcript*.<sup>8</sup> This same newspaper had also reviewed the 1891 Yarmouth Steamship and railway companies' first press tour<sup>9</sup>. In the American press, reviews of the publicity tour of 1891, Yarmouth was referred to as the point of entry for Nova Scotia's attractions. Attention was given to the ease of travel in the fast, luxurious steamers of the Yarmouth Steamship Company. This publicity was aimed at

---

6

Press representatives included individual's from the *Boston Globe*, *Boston Journal*, *Boston Traveler*, *Boston News*, *Boston Evening Transcript*, and the *New York Journal of Commerce*. This advertisement campaign which began in 1891 and promoted Nova Scotia for the purposes of tourism predates the tourist promotions of the period 1895-1925 which Susan Phinney examined in her study, "The 'Land of Evangeline': The Dominion Atlantic Railway and Tourist Promotion of Nova Scotia" (MA Research Paper, Carleton University, Canadian Studies), 1991.

7

The special train car which Lord and Lady Aberdeen travelled on from Halifax to Yarmouth took a route which was similar to these early press tours. According to Lady Aberdeen's journal their journey from Halifax to Yarmouth took a route via Annapolis with stops at Windsor, Kentville, Wolfville, Annapolis & Weymouth. NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, pp 64-65.

<sup>8</sup> "Halifax and its Beauties", *Boston Evening Transcript*, 16 July 1892.

<sup>9</sup> "Through Nova Scotia", *Boston Evening Transcript*, 24 August 1891, p. 5.

increasing the market share in tourism for the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the railway companies which collaborated in these tours. The promotion of Nova Scotia's attractions was a means to this end.

At the same time the American press was giving nominal attention to Yarmouth, the local press was placing Yarmouth at the centre of this developing tourism. In Yarmouth the 1891 press tour received coverage before and after. In the *Telegram*, the article, "An Excursion of American Journalists" described the purpose of the upcoming visit and provided an outline of the trip itinerary.

An excursion party of about 30 American newspaper men will leave Boston on the steamer *Yarmouth*, Tuesday, Aug. 4, to inspect the new railway connection between Digby and Annapolis, and incidentally to enjoy the scenery and characteristics of the Province. They come on the invitation of the Yarmouth Steamship Co. and the Western Counties, Windsor & Annapolis, Nova Scotia Central and Cornwallis Valley railways. As their visit will result in much good to the province, it is hoped that their brief stay will be made a pleasant one. The party will be in charge of Mr. Thomas F. Anderson, of the *Boston Globe*, press agent of the Yarmouth Steamship Co., and the itinerary of the trip will be as follows:

Tuesday, Aug. 4—Leave Boston

Wednesday—Drive through Yarmouth, inspect industries, etc.; leave at 1pm by special train for Digby, drive through town; stop overnight.

Thursday—Special train to Annapolis, drive through town (dinner); leave Annapolis by regular train for Kentville (lunch at station); take Cornwallis Valley train for Kingsport, return by special to Kentville; stop overnight.

Friday—Drive through Kentville, special to Wolfville visit Colleges, etc. (dinner); proceed by special train to Grand Pre, the home of Evangeline; thence by special to Windsor, drive through town, visit King's College and Clifton, the late residence of Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick); take 4.55 to Halifax.

Saturday—At Halifax, drive in forenoon, visit public gardens, etc., in afternoon

Sunday—Rest and go to church.

Monday—Leave Halifax 6.60 a.m. for Middleton, thence to Bridgewater; stop over night.

Tuesday—Leave Bridgewater 7 a.m. homeward bound.<sup>10</sup>

The report of “The New England Press Excursion” highlighted the Yarmouth portion of the tour and noted that “The day was perfect and the intelligent visitors were enthusiastic in their expressions of the admiration upon the appearance of Yarmouth and its attractive surroundings.”<sup>11</sup> The private homes of several of the town’s prominent citizen’s were visited as vantage points for viewing the town and its suburbs.<sup>12</sup> At the residence of Loran E. Baker, the party toured the gardens and grounds before having lunch. An afternoon of entertainment was planned before the guests dined at the Queen and Lorne hotels.<sup>13</sup> This type of local press coverage was directing the attention of Yarmouth’s residents to the town’s position in the province’s growing tourist industry.

In the spring of 1892, another party of New England journalists was chaperoned by Anderson. This time they came from Boston by steamer, spent a day in Yarmouth and returned to Boston by steamer later the same day. They were driven around town by a number of prominent citizens and lunched at the residence of Loran E. Baker.<sup>14</sup> The tour was reviewed by the local press but did not receive attention in the *Boston Evening*

---

<sup>10</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 31 July 1891.

<sup>11</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 7 August 1891.

<sup>12</sup>

The driving around of guests to show the natural beauties and fine residences of the area was also part of the activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth. Lord Aberdeen and son Haddo were given the scenic tour while Lady Aberdeen was the guest speaker at the women’s meeting.

<sup>13</sup> These were the two main hotels located in Yarmouth at this time.

<sup>14</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 27 May 1892.

*Transcript.*

As well as the Yarmouth Steamship and railways companies' joint publicity tours, Yarmouth had been promoted within the genre of the business directory.<sup>15</sup> These publications of the 1890s, aimed at attracting and encouraging local business, typically gave a brief description of the town's attributes by including statistics and listings of churches, social organizations and government offices. The main part of the directories listed all the businesses and residents of the town, and provided advertising space for the sponsoring businesses. In 1893 however, the promotion of the town took on a different focus and tone.

The turning point in Yarmouth's promotion was exemplified by a feature article on Yarmouth which appeared in October 1893, in the Saint John, *Progress*. The Grand Hotel was under construction and political and business leaders joined in promoting the town to potential investors and visitors beyond the immediate surrounding area and to Saint John. No longer was business promotion limited to the local area as it had been with the business directory. Business associations with Saint John, which had been formed through the shipping industry, continued to give Yarmouth a regional connection. For example, Robert Caie, a shareholder in the Grand Hotel was a capitalist from Saint John who married Sophie Killam, daughter of elite ship owner Samuel Killam. With the

---

15

In addition to the business directory, towns also promoted themselves with the 'bird's eye view' illustrations which visually highlighted the positive features of the town. See Illustration 4, Yarmouth's "bird's eye view" of 1889. Note the steamships and sailing vessels in the harbour, the industries belching the smoke of progress and the churches represented in this view.

building<sup>16</sup> and the promotion of the Grand Hotel, the connection between the two communities was cemented and Saint John was used to promote the town to a wider audience. Besides enumerating Yarmouth's advantages as a location for successful businesses, the article illustrated why Yarmouth had a future in tourism. Although shipping and industry had been the basis for the town's economic prosperity, the Grand Hotel was identified as the key to Yarmouth's future success. This article pushed the promotion of Yarmouth as more than a "gateway".

The *Progress* article emphasized Yarmouth's suitability for tourism, and set out a promotional image which would appeal to tourists. The economic and political environment enhanced the natural attributes of geography, climate and beauty. It characterized and described Yarmouth as a town moving upwards not just from a geographic<sup>17</sup> standpoint but from a commercial, intellectual and moral point of view. Yarmouth was "a busy little city" with all the conveniences of a New England city.<sup>18</sup> It was a progressive community with the first electric street railway in the Maritimes, well-

---

<sup>16</sup>

The design of the hotel was an important element which reflected a regional versus a local trend with the engagement of the architectural firm of Mott, Myles and Chatwin of Saint John. See: D.A. Muise, "'The Great Transformation': Changing the Urban Face of Nova Scotia, 1871-1921", *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 11 (1991), p. 23.

<sup>17</sup>

The geographic standpoint referred to the move in the location of prominent businesses from the waterfront area, where they had been during the days of shipping, to the centre of town with the establishment of a commercial sector with banks, stores and services. This geographic shift was a visible part of the economic shift from seaward to landward enterprises.

<sup>18</sup> *Progress* (Saint John), 14 October 1893, p.9.



stocked stores and thriving businesses. It was modern and prosperous, yet built on moral values of home life, temperance, sobriety, industry and integrity. Yarmouth was proud of the attributes and accomplishments of its citizens, its 'Golden Age' in the trans-Atlantic shipping industry, its manufactures, civic buildings, churches, modern conveniences, cultural and educational programs, homelike atmosphere, fine residences, leisurely walks, and healthy climate. Yarmouth was portrayed as a desirable place to live and do business, but more important, Yarmouth was the perfect place for the American tourist to visit, and to feel at ease.<sup>19</sup>

Yarmouth promotion as a tourist destination was tailored to appeal to the American tourist. For tourism in Yarmouth meant "the easy spending American."<sup>20</sup> The feature article in *Progress* noted that it was an attractive destination.

...American tourists are beginning to flock to Yarmouth to enjoy the coolness and the balmy breezes of its summer months, to drive among its picturesque surrounding beaches, to fish, to shoot among the islands and bath in the waters that have its sloping shores and to lounge in its pleasant hotels and saunter along its tree-shaded and hedge-lined streets.<sup>21</sup>

The establishment of a "Grand Hotel" in Yarmouth was an essential part of the town's appeal to the American tourist. The idea of a "grand hotel" was introduced in the

---

<sup>19</sup>

This promotional image of Yarmouth was based on incorporating the modernity of the present with the values of the community which had roots in the past. This image is in contrast to the anti-modernity image identified by Ian McKay in his study of the development of tourist promotion in Nova Scotia during a later period. See: Ian McKay, *Anti-Modernism and Cultural Selection in the Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> *Progress* (Saint John), 14 October 1893, p.9

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p.9

American northeast during the 1820s. It was, however, in 1829, that a number of innovations found in the Tremont House of Boston, transformed the notion of a grand hotel into a palace for people. This marked the beginning of incorporating the latest technological achievements and trends in scientific thought into the design and construction of a physical structure. The modernity of the society would be there for all to see as they passed through its doors. It was a reminder to the community that they were in the right place. There was no need for residents to go elsewhere to seek opportunity as it was in their own town/city. Travellers for pleasure or business were impressed with the vitality and progressiveness of the town/city that a grand hotel implied. Merchants and boosters used the “grand hotel” as a way of promoting their town/city.<sup>22</sup> It was not an accident that a “grand hotel” was built in Yarmouth during the 1890s. For Yarmouth, the Grand Hotel was more than an upscale tourist facility, it was an important part of a strategy to transform the town from a “gateway” to a tourist destination. With the building of a “grand hotel” in Yarmouth, tourists would be accommodated in a modern, comfortable, healthy, efficient facility which catered to the needs of its guests.

Yarmouth’s Grand Hotel was part of a trend in developing and improving tourist accommodation throughout Nova Scotia. For instance, in August 1893, “The Sydney Hotel Company (Limited)” was incorporated with the same amount of capital and shares,

---

<sup>22</sup>

This interpretation of the development and significance of the grand hotel draws on the work of Karl B. Raitz and John Paul Jones III, “The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol” in *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Volume 9, No.1, (Fall/Winter 1988), pp. 17-36.

and similar objectives as the Grand Hotel Company. The Sydney company was also undertaken as a joint stock company by local business interests from the area in which the hotel was to be established.<sup>23</sup> The Aberdeen Hotel, located at Kentville, was another example.<sup>24</sup> Fifty-three hotels were recommended to tourists in one of the Yarmouth Steamship Company's promotional booklets, ca. 1894. The recommendation emphasized that, "... [t]ourists will find the above hotels comfortable and home-like. Large, airy rooms; good attendance; pleasant grounds, and lots of room for the little ones to play out of doors."<sup>25</sup> The Grand Hotel was listed as one of three hotels in Yarmouth. The other two hotels were the Queen located on Central Street between Main Street and the harbour, and the Hotel Lorne located on Main Street near the Post Office. In March 1891, the Hotel Lorne underwent renovations which included "a light, airy and beautifully decorated dining room."<sup>26</sup> The Lorne and the Queen hotels were both mid to higher priced, whereas the Grand Hotel was among the most expensive and on par with the

---

<sup>23</sup>

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, 1894*, "Appendix No. 12, "Joint Stock Companies", pp.8-9.

<sup>24</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., advertisement entitled "Nova Scotian Hotels", in the promotional booklet, *Land of Evangeline Route, The Yarmouth Line, The Shortest, Cheapest and Most Pleasant Route Between Boston and Nova Scotia and Cape Breton*, ca. 1894. The daily rate at the Aberdeen was \$1.50, a low to mid-price range. See: Illustration 9, "Nova Scotia Hotels", for a copy of this list.

<sup>25</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., advertisement entitled "Nova Scotian Hotels", in the promotional booklet, *Land of Evangeline Route*, ca 1894. See: Illustration 9, "Nova Scotia Hotels", for a copy of this list.

<sup>26</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 1 April 1891, p. 2.

Halifax Hotel located in Halifax.<sup>27</sup> The Halifax Hotel was advertised, ca. 1895, noting:

The Parlors, Reading Room, and Chambers are all comfortably fitted up and supplied with all the modern improvements. Incandescent Lights throughout the whole building, in both corridors and rooms. An attractive Conservatory and magnificent outlook over the Harbor, which is admired very much by tourists, is approached from the ladies' Parlor.

The cuisine is of the finest; and the Proprietors are safe in saying, that those who may honor them with their patronage will feel well satisfied with their visit to Halifax.<sup>28</sup>

By incorporating the values of the past with the ideas of a modern age, the directors hoped to compete with other tourist facilities in the province. Quality of service, value for money and a friendly, homey environment of the hotel highlighted American values of the past. The new Grand Hotel's management was friendly and efficient. The manager, Mr. Charles T. Wilson had, after all, been the manager of the Tremont House in Boston for 20 years.<sup>29</sup> The hotel promoted the American plan which included a flat rate for room and board rather than the more modern European rate which

---

<sup>27</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., advertisement entitled "Nova Scotian Hotels", in the promotional booklet, *Land of Evangeline Route*, ca.1894.

The Lorne and Queen hotels were priced at \$1.50 to \$3, whereas the Grand and the Halifax were priced at \$2.50 to \$3 for the daily rates.

See: Illustration 9, "Nova Scotia Hotels", for a copy of this list.

<sup>28</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., *Beautiful Nova Scotia, The Tourist's Eden, The Brief Story of the Summer Outings in the Queen of Vacation Lands with a Short Description of Some of its Delightful Resorts, Quaint Old Historic Towns and Surpassing Scenery*, ca. 1895.

<sup>29</sup>

The Tremont House of Boston is significant to this discussion as it was referred to by Raitz and Jones as the prototype for 'The Grand Hotel'. Karl B. Raitz and John Paul Jones III, "The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol", p. 24.

was for accommodation only. The food and service were geared to the highest standard of quality. The hotel appealed to families with its large suites suitable for accommodating children. Within the hotel, men and women had their own spaces for social interaction. The men were provided with reading and smoking rooms, while women had separate writing rooms and parlours. The modern age and its technical wonders were also promoted. The hotel was heated by hot water from “two pairs of No. 8 Gurney Oxford Heaters”, the entire building was wired for electric lights and fitted for gas lamps, electric bells connected each room with the office, modern washrooms with hot water were situated on each floor and in the suites, and the guests’ safety and property were protected by burglar proof transoms with patent fastenings.<sup>30</sup> As well, the healthfulness of the place was promoted on principles derived from the medical knowledge of the day. Each room had a window and the design of the building lent itself to good ventilation. The air and climate of Yarmouth, in general, were regarded by experts as a remedy to hay fever, and the Grand Hotel, in particular, provided suitable accommodations for hay fever sufferers.<sup>31</sup> Scientific management was also evident in the layout and efficiency of the building. The service rooms were located in the basement and at the rear of the dining room. Staff was segregated from guests as their quarters were located in a separate area of the north wing in an intermediate storey above the kitchen area.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 12 June 1894.

<sup>31</sup>

Promotions for the Grand Hotel as a haven for hay fever sufferers appeared in the United States Hay Fever Association’s annual reports beginning ca. 1900. See: DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited) fonds, MS-4-210, Correspondence 1891-1982, file 2, Peacock, John, 1900.

Although the need for a hotel had been perceived in 1888, the Grand Hotel was not completed and opened for business until 1894. Several preconditions were necessary for the completion and for the long-term financial viability of such a hotel in Yarmouth. There had to be investors willing to take on this project. There had to be a cooperation between the local government and business to foster an environment conducive to success. The community had to believe their town could be a tourist destination. The hotel's directors had to show the community, they and the hotel could fulfill the promise of attracting tourists and contribute to the overall prosperity of the local economy. Further, the hotel needed community patronage in order to stay open all year round, not just in the tourist season. These preconditions were not immediately evident in 1888. Over time, the shareholders, the town and the community would come together to support the hotel.

When A. W. Eakins approached the Municipal Council in 1888, he did not receive any support for the idea of using public monies to help build a new hotel. In 1891, this lack of support was again evident for a similar resolution which was put before the town. The need for a hotel was the subject of a public meeting<sup>32</sup> held in Yarmouth,

---

<sup>32</sup>

The importance of the "public meeting" held in Yarmouth should not be overlooked in respect to community development. It is important to have some background on this concept as it relates to Nova Scotia and Yarmouth in particular. In 1761, after the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia, the Governor of Massachusetts and the Governor of Nova Scotia agreed on a settlement plan which provided land grants to New Englanders and populated Nova Scotia with a British presence. Yarmouth had been founded by a core group of these New England planters who brought with them the tradition of the town meeting. Even though the Government of Nova Scotia had banned the practice town meeting and replaced it with a Virginia style of government, the practice of meeting publicly continued in one form or another. The support of the poor

14 August 1891. The requisition calling for the meeting was signed by 61 ratepayers. It argued that since there was a need for additional and better tourist accommodation in the Town of Yarmouth and private enterprise had not taken the initiative to fill this need, the Town of Yarmouth should encourage the building of a new hotel which would cost no less than \$40,000 furnished by taking stock in such a venture. The hotel would make Yarmouth “. . . one of the most popular summer resorts on the continent, thereby directly benefiting every local interest.”<sup>33</sup> Two views were expressed in the discussion which followed the reading of the resolution. A.W. Eakins and Loran E. Baker spoke in favour of the resolution while John Lovitt opposed the scheme on principle. John Lovitt asserted that “. . . [i]f the town adopted this as a precedent it would be quite in order for any business enterprise to ask for the same privileges.”<sup>34</sup> The question was put to a vote and the resolution was defeated. The town’s people were not willing to openly support

---

through an act relating to poor relief legislation in 1763 and later school support through the Free School Act of 1864 required direct taxation and provided for a process of community consultation. In the case of the poor support "town meetings" were held to vote on the assessment and collection of taxation, as well as the administration of the poor support. In the case of school support, boards and public meetings were organized for the same purposes.

The County Incorporation Act of 1879 eliminated entirely the provision for town meetings as the newly formed municipal councils were to assume these functions and responsibilities. In the Maritime provinces at this time, Boards of Trade had been established in Halifax, N.S., and in Saint John, N.B. Yarmouth did not have a Board of Trade at this time; it was established in May 1894. However, the fact that a public meeting had been held at the request of 61 ratepayers through a requisition presented to the Mayor, indicated that residents of Yarmouth were willing to use the forum of a public meeting under the auspices of their newly formed town council government as a vehicle for community and economic development.

<sup>33</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 28 August 1891, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

the hotel at this early stage, even though business was looking for their support.

Following the adjournment of this public meeting another meeting was held, organized by E.K. Spinney. A report of this second meeting was not included in the article.

Although the need for a new hotel was recognized and some individuals in Yarmouth supported the idea, nothing seemed to have happened for at least a year. A letter to the Editor appeared in the *Yarmouth Telegram* on the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1892 signed 'Traveller'. This letter entitled, "Summer Hotel" pleaded for additional hotel accommodation in Yarmouth noting, "[t]here has been a good deal of talk and but little work about this hotel matter."<sup>35</sup> The next time the *Yarmouth Telegram* gave news about a hotel, was on 16 December 1892. The article announced that a committee had purchased a lot, situated north of the First Baptist Church, for a new hotel from Mr. Lloyd Porter.<sup>36</sup> The Grand Hotel Company would not be officially formed until 6 March 1893.<sup>37</sup>

The local investors who joined together to form the Grand Hotel Company had known each other socially and through business. They included elite ship owners, prominent ship owners, merchants, Main Street businessmen and professionals.<sup>38</sup> These

---

<sup>35</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 12 August 1892, p.1.

<sup>36</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 16 December 1892, p.1.

<sup>37</sup> This was the date of the first entry in the company's corporate minute book.

<sup>38</sup>

These first subscribers listed in the corporate minute book were, W.D. Lovitt, H.D. Cann, L.E. Baker, S.A. Crowell, A.W. Eakins, John Lovitt, Robert Caie, as well as G. Murray Dane and C.C. Roberts. These were the same individuals listed on the company's incorporation document, except for J. Murray Dane and C.C. Richards whose names do not appear on the incorporation document and for N.B. Lewis and Edgar K. Spinney whose names appear on the incorporation document but were not recorded as being



individuals had interests in shipping, the Western Counties Railway, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, and/or various other local enterprises which had included industries and utilities. One of these original corporate members, Nathan B. Lewis, was also a member of Town Council and several others would be Board of Trade corporators. These individuals were part of the same business community which had shared in Yarmouth's urban development and whose common interests were furthered by town incorporation.<sup>39</sup> They took advantage of Yarmouth's geographic position, natural beauty, and modern conveniences by building an upscale hotel which would cater to an increasing number of American tourists who were arriving in Yarmouth, the "gateway" to Nova Scotia.

The extent of the relationship of these local investors to each other and the community can be illustrated by using the death of one of the original shareholders in the Grand Hotel Company (Limited). When William D. Lovitt died, early in 1894, four out of six<sup>40</sup> of his pall bearers were also shareholders in the Grand Hotel. An examination of his estate and the investments of the other corporate members listed on the company's incorporation documents<sup>41</sup> revealed, in part, the economic relationship the Grand Hotel

---

present at the meeting. DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited), Minute Book, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup>

See Appendix 4 for profiles of some of these individuals.

<sup>40</sup>

The six pall bearers included the Loran E. Baker, Robert Caie, S.A. Crowell, Thomas Killam 2<sup>nd</sup>, J.W. Moody, and Councillor Nathan B. Lewis. *Yarmouth Telegram*, 5 January 1894, p.1.

<sup>41</sup> The incorporation documents were dated 17 April 1893.

shareholders had to each other and to the community. William D. Lovitt was involved in the Grand Hotel to the extent of 50 shares out of a total of 400 possible shares, and served as a Director and Vice-president, 1893-1894.<sup>42</sup> He also served as President of the Exchange Bank of Yarmouth, where he was the largest single shareholder holding 390 out of 413 shares in 1893.<sup>43</sup> He was also an original Director of the Yarmouth Duck and Yarn Co. and held 400 out of a total of 1500 shares in 1883.<sup>44</sup> He held 80 out of 3420 shares in the Yarmouth Steamship Company (Limited) in 1893.<sup>45</sup>

An examination of lists of shareholders for these same companies, which had been listed as part William D Lovitt's estate, revealed that there was an overlap of individuals who invested in these companies and the original corporate members of the Grand Hotel Company (Limited). For example, in addition to William D. Lovitt, the Exchange Bank of Yarmouth's list of shareholders dated 9 January 1894, included Loran E. Baker, 18 shares, Robert Caie, 171 shares, Hugh D. Cann, 93 shares, John Lovitt, 17 shares, N. B. Lewis, 72 shares, Samuel A. Crowell, 1 share and Edgar K. Spinney with 34 shares out of a total of approximately 5,500 shares. The Yarmouth Duck and Yarn Co.

---

<sup>42</sup> Information from DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited) Minute Book.

<sup>43</sup>

Exchange Bank of Yarmouth lists of shareholders qualified to at the Annual General Meeting for Dec. 1889, Dec.1890 and Dec. 1893, found in DUA, S.A. Crowell fonds, MS-4-66, Statements: Exchange Bank of Yarmouth, 1889-1903.

<sup>44</sup> YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co., 1995:72/1/2, Minute Book, No.1, p.1.

<sup>45</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Company lists of shareholders found in DUA, S.A. Crowell fonds, MS-4-66, J. Statements, file 19, Yarmouth Steamship Company, 1889-1903.

also included Hugh Cann and Robert Caie as original shareholders.<sup>46</sup> A 1898 list for the Yarmouth Duck and Yarn Co.'s shareholders, lists Robert Caie with 65 shares, Hugh D. Cann with 124 shares, Samuel A. Crowell with 46 shares, and the heirs of William D. Lovitt with combined shares of 400 out of a total of 1500 shares. The Yarmouth Steamship Company also listed among its shareholders in 1893, Loran E. Baker with 1076 shares, Hugh D. Cann with 30 shares, Robert Caie with 18 shares, and E.K. Spinney with 17 shares out of a total number of 3240 shares. These companies, with the exception of the Grand Hotel, were all established before December 1883.

Further, this examination and a look at the shareholders of the Marine Insurance Company of Saint John, New Brunswick, also indicated an investment interest in a regional Maritime economy during the 1890s. The Marine Insurance Company of Saint John was organized on 12 May 1890. On a list of contributors issued 10 July 1896, twelve Yarmouth shareholders are listed out of a total of sixty-five shareholders. Of these twelve, the following names appeared, Robert Caie, Hugh Cann, Samuel A. Crowell, H. & N.B. Lewis<sup>47</sup>, and the estate of William D. Lovitt.

The aim of the shareholders and directors in establishing the Grand Hotel was reiterated at the second annual meeting of the company held 28 May 1895. The following was read from the director's report:

---

<sup>46</sup>

YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co. Limited, Minute Book, No.1, p.2; their names also appear in a July 1, 1888 handwritten 'List of Shareholders', found in DUA, S.A. Crowell fonds, MS-4-66, J. Statements, file 16, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co. Ltd., 1887-1901.

<sup>47</sup>

N. B. Lewis was involved in this business partnership. Probate Record #3156, filed 17<sup>th</sup> April 1899 at Yarmouth, Yarmouth Co., N.S.

The House was built mainly with the idea of attracting to Yarmouth and keeping here for the summer season a share of the tourist business which hitherto had passed us by, owing to the lack of suitable Hotel accommodation. To accomplish that end, the building, the furnishing, the management and the quality of service needed to be as near as possible to the standard established by the Hotel Keepers of the many favorite summer resorts in the United States and Canada . . . .<sup>48</sup>

Once the Grand Hotel Company was incorporated in 1893, the push was on to open the hotel for the 1894 tourist season. More than 150,000 visitors were estimated for the 1894 season, an increase of 40,000 from 1893.<sup>49</sup> The Grand Hotel had to be completed in the shortest possible time without sacrificing design, craftsmanship or materials. This goal of a speedy completion was agreed upon at a directors' meeting held 4 July 1893 and became a prime consideration in the choosing of a contractor.<sup>50</sup> Tenders submitted by contractors who could not fulfill this requirement were not considered. It did not matter if they were local or outside businessmen or if they had the lowest estimated bid. Five tenders were received from Nova Scotian builders which included three bids from Yarmouth contractors, one from a Halifax contractor and one from an Amherst contractor. James E. [Heustes], a Yarmouth builder, had submitted the lowest bid but he withdrew it after discussing the completion requirement with the hotel's directors. "He said it would be impossible he thought, to get the building covered in this year before the frost & it would ruin brick work to be exposed to our winter."<sup>51</sup> A clause

---

<sup>48</sup> DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited) Minute Book, p.66.

<sup>49</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 21 August 1894.

<sup>50</sup> DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited) Minute Book, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18.

providing for an optional penalty of \$75 for each day after the promised date of completion was added to the contract.<sup>52</sup> The successful contractor, Rhodes Curry & Co. of Amherst, had a mid-ranged estimate of \$37, 590.00. Construction began on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1893. The hotel was to be completed by the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1894, and ready for guests by 1<sup>st</sup> June.<sup>53</sup> The pace of the hotel's construction was viewed as unprecedented.<sup>54</sup> However, it was not without consequence. The *Yarmouth Herald* reported on Tuesday 22 August 1893 that "[a] large number of brick layers and stone masons are rushing the work on the Grand Hotel"<sup>55</sup> and on Tuesday 12 September that "... [a] staging of the Grand Hotel gave way yesterday afternoon, precipitating a number of workmen and a quantity of mortar, bricks, &c., to the ground. Frank Mallett, belonging to Tusket Wedge, was badly cut and otherwise injured about the head."<sup>56</sup>

The hotel was strategically located on Main Street overlooking the harbour and easily accessible by street railway to all of the commercial, social and cultural facilities of the town. The U-shaped building was erected on a lot 113 feet front by 300 feet deep, and

---

<sup>52</sup>

The Grand Hotel Company (Limited) Directors sent a notice to Rhodes Curry & Co. Limited, dated 21 May 1894 advising them they were going to hold them liable to the delay penalty of \$75 a day for every day completion was delayed. See: DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited), Minute Book, typed notice tipped in between pp. 42 and 43.

<sup>53</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 11 July 1893, p.2.

<sup>54</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 26 September 1893, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 22 August 1893, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 12 September 1893, p.2.

was placed in such a way as to have frontages on three streets.<sup>57</sup> The front and entrance of the building were on Main Street. The building was four floors high which included a Mansard roof and a fully utilized basement. A veranda and balconies wrapped the front and south side of the building. The front entrance to the hotel was designed to give a favourable impression. The original architectural design of the building was in keeping with the style of a “grand hotel.” After a tour of the newly completed hotel, one newspaper reporter described the experience:

We were at once impressed with the splendid appearance of the office [reception area]. This is certainly fitted up in the best possible taste and is very attractive. Entering by the massive front doors from the front verandah, the visitor at once finds himself in an airy, spacious and beautifully finished office, with its imposing ceiling, in natural wood, its finely carved mantels and counters, its adjacent rooms for convenience of guests, with the elegant hall and staircases leading to other portions of the building.<sup>58</sup>

The original design of the hotel was so important to the directors that they were willing to pay an additional cost when the architect altered the drawings. The minutes of the directors’ meeting held on 26 October 1893 reported that the architect, Mr. Motts, was asked to explain why “. . . the building as it stands is not according to the perspective drawing which he submitted to the Directors & which they thought was a correct drawing of the building as it was planned to be built.”<sup>59</sup> The architect had changed the design of the Mansard roof on the south side in order to defray cost, but had not consulted the

---

<sup>57</sup>

The building had a 113 feet front on Main street, 140 feet on Grand street and 155 feet on the south side. J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth Past and Present*, p.609.

<sup>58</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 12 June 1894.

<sup>59</sup> DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited), Minute Book, p. 25.

directors on this alteration. This decision by the architect Mott, Myles and Chatwin of Saint John, made relations between the company and the architect uneasy.

Throughout the construction of the hotel, questions concerning the quality of materials, workmanship, as well as building to specification and deadline became sources of conflict. It was, however, the window issue which brought this conflict to the point of threats and a lockout. The contractors had substituted a lesser quality glass in the front main windows and the directors demanded the architect to instruct the contractors to change all the glass to conform to the original specifications. This issue escalated with the contractors locking out the Directors from the hotel. This incident forced the directors to hold the Annual Meeting of the Company, 22 May 1894, on the hotel veranda. The meeting was relocated and resumed at the office of William Lovitt.<sup>60</sup>

There were other challenges that the shareholders had to deal with in the building of the Grand Hotel. One was money. Various strategies were employed to keep the financial side of the corporation solvent. For example, Robert Caie, one of the hotel's shareholders advanced loans to the company on a number of occasions in order to pay contractors for their services. As well, the company offered stock as a payment option. For example, George J. Morton, the contractor who installed the hotel's heating supply, was payed in cash through Robert Caie's advances to the company<sup>61</sup>; he also acquired company stock. The hotel also approached the town for financial relief on the costs of town services. Before the Grand Hotel Company was formed, the town had not been

---

<sup>60</sup> DUA, *Grand Hotel Company (Limited) Minute Book*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 30, 34.

supportive of the idea of a new hotel. Now that the hotel was under construction, the Town Council allowed some concessions to the corporation. The town granted the directors reduced rates on sewer connections, as well it extended the sidewalk, and improved the road along the hotel's street frontage.<sup>62</sup> While these allowances may not seem like large concessions, this was nonetheless the extent of the support that the Town was willing to give to any individual private business at that time.

Besides the importance of investors who were willing to take a risk in building a hotel, the cooperation between the Town Council and business was also a necessary precondition for the completion and long-term financial viability of the hotel. Under the leadership of elite ship owner Loran E. Baker, members of the Town Council joined with other businessmen to promote the town in the feature article on Yarmouth which appeared in the newspaper *Progress*, October 1893. The political leaders were portrayed as successful and efficient businessmen who governed the town in such a way that served the best interests of the town. The article featured twenty-six mini-biographies<sup>63</sup> of

---

<sup>62</sup>

"Town Council", *Yarmouth Herald*, 1 August 1893, p. 2; and DUA Grand Hotel Corporate Minute Book, p 54.

<sup>63</sup>

These twenty-six individuals were: Mayor James Burrill, town councillors Joseph H. Cann, George S. Sanderson, A. F. Stoneman, B.B. Law, Nathan B. Lewis, J. R. Wyman, and civic officials Thomas E. Corning and Hiram Goudey, Thomas B. Flint Federal Member of Parliament, and A.G. Hood Postmaster; elite ship owners A.C. Robbins, William Law, L. E. Baker, Main Street businessmen E J. Vickery, S.C. Hood, William Millen, E. K. Spinney, L. G. Swain, George Parker, and other businessmen Charles E. Brown retired, J. W. Walsh, A. Cann and C.C. Richards, and future Grand Hotel shareholders S.A. Crowell, and J. W. Moody. *Progress* (Saint John), 14 October 1893, pp. 9-16.



prominent individuals and businessmen to illustrate the enterprising and community-spirited nature of its citizens. Included were individuals connected to the Town Council and other government bodies<sup>64</sup>, corporators on the Yarmouth Board of Trade established in May 1894<sup>65</sup>, elite shipowners, Main Street merchants, other businessmen and Grand Hotel shareholders. Even though all the major businesses were highlighted in this collaborative effort, special attention was given to the Grand Hotel. It was in this article that engraved drawings of the hotel, which was under construction at the time, were first published for public viewing. This article demonstrated a cooperation between the local government and business necessary for the success of the Grand Hotel, as its viability was linked to the promotion of the town as a desirable place to live, to do business and to visit. The Grand Hotel was unveiled in this article within the general context of cooperation and community support. By creating an environment that was conducive to business success, the Town Council also encouraged community support for the hotel.

Community support for tourism and the hotel was incremental. First, the community's attention had been directed to the town's potential for tourism through the local press reports of the early publicity tours of 1891-1892, which were sponsored by the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the railway companies. By highlighting the positive aspects of the town, these reports had suggested that Yarmouth could share in the

---

<sup>64</sup>

These government representatives included town councillors, civic officials, the federal Member of Parliament for Yarmouth, and the post master, a federal employee.

<sup>65</sup>

See Appendix 2 for a complete list of Board of Trade corporators as per the May 1894 registration document.

province's growing tourist industry. Second, the Town Council had visibly demonstrated its cooperation in the promotion of the town and the Grand Hotel through the October 1893 *Progress* article. Third, the reality of the opening of the Grand Hotel demonstrated to the community that the hotel and its directors had the capability to attract the kind of attention that could transform Yarmouth from a "gateway" to a tourist destination.

Two events were planned for the opening of the Grand Hotel. At the first event, an open house held on 2 July 1894, all the residents of Yarmouth were invited to tour the new building. The *Yarmouth Herald* reported that

...hundreds of citizens of both sexes availed themselves of the privilege and were shown around the different apartments by the directors, the manager and his assistants. All were surprised and pleased to witness so fine a hotel in our town. It is undoubtedly the most commodious, best equipped and most elegant establishment of the kind in the Maritime Provinces.<sup>66</sup>

There was no mention of a reception or food as part of this open house. This public opening was a courtesy which the hotel's directors and management had extended to the entire community.

The second event was an exclusive gala ball, held on 19 July 1894, for invited or ticketed guests who included members of the local community, as well as dignitaries, visitors and press from other parts of the province, Canada and the United States. This affair was organized as a publicity opportunity which resulted in rave reviews for the hotel and the town. This private formal opening had been planned by an organizing

---

<sup>66</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 3 July 1894, p.2.

committee which included Loran E. Baker, W.L. Lovitt<sup>67</sup>, Robert Caie and A.W. Eakins. Invitations were extended to prominent citizens from Yarmouth and the surrounding area, business colleagues of the shareholders,<sup>68</sup> and representatives of the press from Halifax, Saint John and the United States.<sup>69</sup> The evening's programme consisted of a reception and ball. As part of the reception, the evening began with a literary and musical programme held in the main office of the hotel. Most of this entertainment was performed by women readers and vocalists. Besides the local talent, Mrs. Alex C. Lassen, the wife of the editor of the *New York Daily Financial News* also participated.<sup>70</sup> Following the reception, a ball with orchestra was held in the dining room. J. Murray Lawson described this gala event in *Yarmouth Past and Present*.

A reception and ball were given by the Directors at its formal opening on the evening of the 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1894, which was an unqualified success and was, without doubt, the most brilliant social event of its character ever attempted in Yarmouth. Upwards of 400 guests were present, including many strangers from different parts of the United States; also from Halifax, St. John, Windsor, Kentville and other provincial towns. The Hotel was looking its best, being most beautifully and tastefully decorated with a profusion of flowers and shrubbery. Under the radiant electric lights the scene was enchanting.<sup>71</sup>

Even though the gala opening was restricted to those who could afford the "rich and

---

<sup>67</sup> Note, this was the son of the late W.D. Lovitt.

<sup>68</sup> See: NAC, S.A. Crowell fonds, MG 28 III 3, Volume 9, Correspondence, 1894.

<sup>69</sup>

There were press representing the *Brookline Chronicle*, the *Boston Home Journal*, the *New York Daily Financial News*, the *Halifax Chronicle* and the *Saint John Progress*. *Yarmouth Telegram*, 20 July 1894.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth Past and Present*, p.609.

elegant" dress required for the occasion, it was important to the community at large. The gala opening was a social and a promotional opportunity where local, regional and American connections were sought and reinforced. The success of this event indicated to the community that the Grand Hotel and its directors could attract the kind of attention that was necessary to transform Yarmouth from a "gateway" to a destination. In this way, all parts of the community were gradually convinced that tourism could contribute to the overall prosperity of the town.

## CHAPTER 4

### The Visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth, 27-28 August 1894

The visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth in August 1894 can be interpreted as another opportunity to promote the town and the newly opened Grand Hotel. Just as the gala opening of the hotel had been used as an opportunity to promote it beyond the circulation area of the local press, so too was the Aberdeen's Canada-wide tour. Within the first year of Lord Aberdeen's term as Governor General,<sup>1</sup> His Excellency and Lady Aberdeen began a tour of Canada from the east to the west. Throughout his term as Governor General, Lord and Lady Aberdeen "... logged thousands of miles and gained an intimate knowledge of Canada and Canadians."<sup>2</sup> John T Saywell noted that few Governor Generals have more completely fulfilled the mandate to "... visit every corner of his dominion and become for the time being, not only one of its citizens, but by adoption a fervid son of each town and province."<sup>3</sup> This visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth in the summer of 1894 was an event which would likely be reported in newspapers outside of the local press area.

The Aberdeen Canadian tour of 1894 seemed to have many purposes. From the

---

1

Lord Aberdeen was sworn in as Governor General of Canada on 18 September 1893. For a description of his term see, John T Saywell, ed., *The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1960), pp. xiii-lxxxiv, (Introduction).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxviii.

writings of Lady Aberdeen, the tour was a way of getting to know all the parts of Canada within a shorter period of time than would have been the case if only one province was visited each year. As well, the opportunity gave Lady Aberdeen a way of promoting the newly formed National Council of Women of Canada (NCW), an organization aimed at bringing women of all religious denominations together for the purposes of doing good works.<sup>4</sup> The Aberdeens spent the month of August visiting various towns and cities in the Maritimes. From Halifax they made visits to towns and cities in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Visits to Prince Edward Island, Fredericton and Truro were centred around agricultural conferences aimed at inspiring civic pride and improving agricultural methods, as well as encouraging farmers to produce for export. Provincial chapters of the NCW were established in Halifax and Saint John.

The visit to Yarmouth, however, was not centred around an agricultural conference. Nor did the women of Yarmouth seem to require Lady Aberdeen's assistance in establishing a branch of the NCW, as they had already begun to organize to that effect.<sup>5</sup> It would appear that this visit was more important to the Town of Yarmouth than it was to Lord and Lady Aberdeen. The comments made by a Halifax journalist on the success of the event support this suggestion. He noted that this event nearly did not happen. Shortly before the visit was to take place, a message was received indicating that the Aberdeens had changed their plans. Instead of the proposed two nights and one day, they

---

<sup>4</sup>*The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898*, John Saywell, ed., pp. 117-118.

<sup>5</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, 1893-1894, p. 520.

would stay for only one evening and depart the next day. This did not go over very well with Yarmouth's leaders, for within an hour of receiving the telegram a petition with one hundred names was presented to the reception committee.<sup>6</sup> These petitioners urged the committee to relay, essentially, this message "Please do not come to Yarmouth until you can give us enough time to receive you in a manner credible to us, and that will give you enough time to enjoy your visit."<sup>7</sup> Within a short period of time, news was received that the Governor General would indeed be visiting Yarmouth as originally planned, but that Lieutenant Governor Daly and his wife would not be accompanying the royal representatives.

The Aberdeen visit generated favorable press reviews of the town and the Grand Hotel. As well, complimentary impressions offered by Lord Aberdeen would later be referred to in hotel advertisements. The activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen did much to attract the attention of tourists. The large crowds were noted in the press coverage. One reporter from the *Halifax Herald* noted, ". . . one of the most notable features of the Yarmouth reception was the large number of Americans present and the

---

6

The article did not indicate who received the Aberdeen's message. It noted that the reception committee had received the people's petition. The identity of these 100 petitioners is not known. A search of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia's fonds and papers related to government house did not product any leads on this petition or on the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth. The reception committee who greeted the Aberdeens on their arrival, was composed of business and political representatives named to the Citizens' and Managing committees.

<sup>7</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 4 September 1894.

sympathetic interest they took in the occasion.”<sup>8</sup> One reporter from the *Halifax Evening Mail* echoed this observation: “. . . the large amount [sic] of American tourists at the gathering was also a very noteworthy feature. These foreign visitors seemed to vie with the Nova Scotians in the exuberance of their enthusiasm for Lord and Lady Aberdeen.”<sup>9</sup> Other reports also noted that Yarmouth’s streets were lined with large, enthusiastic, well-mannered crowds consisting of local residents, individuals from the surrounding towns and countryside, and tourists.

Not only did this event attract tourists to Yarmouth, but the favourable reviews by the press and the Aberdeens supported the promoted image of Yarmouth. A reporter from the *Halifax Herald* noted the entrepreneurial spirit and other positive attributes of the community.

Yarmouth is a live town because it has live men. Next to Halifax and St. John, it is the most thriving prosperous and important place in the lower provinces. It has three good newspapers, two solid banks, splendid waterworks system, gas and electric light works, an electric street railway, pavements of asphalt, spacious stores, magnificent churches, palatial dwellings, with gardens, lawns, spruce and thorn hedges that excite the admiration of visitors; a beautifully kept cemetery, the finest opera house in the province outside the cities; religious, philanthropic societies galore; the finest hotel; what may be said to be daily steamer communication with Boston; and now they are to have, not only a competing line of railway to Halifax, but for 60 or 70 miles of the new line, Yarmouth is to have two parallel competing roads! But above all and most important of all, Yarmouth has a half dozen, energetic, wide awake, public spirited, liberal minded, far seeing wealthy men, whose names will go down to posterity, not because of the material benefits they are accumulating for themselves, but because of the material benefits

---

<sup>8</sup> *Yarmouth Herald*, 4 September 1894, p 2.

<sup>9</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p. 63, *Halifax Evening Mail*, 28 August 1894.



they are conferring upon Yarmouth and Nova Scotia.<sup>10</sup>

It was however, Lady Aberdeen who made the observation in her personal journal that “. . . This was a very go-ahead little town of 8,000 inhabitants, with an exceedingly good ocean service to Boston. Much communication between the two & many summer visitors here from the United States.”<sup>11</sup> Further she noted the enthusiasm of the people of Yarmouth in their welcome, and the beautiful newly opened Grand Hotel. Lady Aberdeen’s observations are particularly valuable because of the Aberdeens’ extensive travel throughout Canada. John Saywell argued that because she had a critical mind, “Her recorded observations on people and places, usually accurate and pungent, are interesting and valuable. Her *Journal* is, on the whole, the best social portrait of Canada at the dawn of the twentieth century that we possess.”<sup>12</sup> Her phrase “a very go-ahead little town” indicated a successful “imaging” of Yarmouth, constructed and promoted by business interests for the visit.<sup>13</sup>

There were several similarities between the earlier publicity tours of the Yarmouth

---

<sup>10</sup> Special from the *Halifax Herald, Yarmouth Herald*, 4 September 1894.

<sup>11</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen’s Journals, 1893-1894, p. 521.

<sup>12</sup> John Y Saywell, "Introduction", pp. xxviii-xxix.

<sup>13</sup>

Bonnie Huskins compares the "imagining" of two Maritime cities through the visit of the Prince of Wales. Booster’s strategies revealed how they used constructed images to attract favourable attention and economic investment. Bonnie Huskins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Boosterism and the Imagination of Community during the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John and Halifax in 1860", *Urban History Review/ Revue d'histoire urbaine*, XXVIII, 1 (October 1999), p. 31-46.

Steamship and the railway companies and of the planning and events surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Not only did the royal representatives travel a similar route which took in the major attractions of Nova Scotia's Southwestern shore, but some of the same individuals involved with the Yarmouth Steamship and railway companies were also involved in the planning of the visit. But in 1894, unlike the earlier press tours, the Grand Hotel was open and became a focal point in promoting the Town of Yarmouth.

Little is known about the circumstances leading up to the invitation extended to Lord and Lady Aberdeen. The visit was announced at a Grand Hotel shareholder's meeting held 22 May 1894<sup>14</sup> and in the *Yarmouth Herald*, also on 22 May 1894. Lord Aberdeen merely referred to the invitation in one of his speeches as having been extended by representatives of the town.<sup>15</sup> These town representatives referred to by Lord Aberdeen could have been members of the Town Council, who had demonstrated, in the 1893 Saint John *Progress* article, their willingness to collaborate with business in the promotion of the town and the Grand Hotel. It may have originated from the forty-two incorporators who joined together and formed Yarmouth's Board of Trade earlier that year. These individuals had signed their incorporation document on 8 May 1894 and received approval for the organization on 23 May 1894. Or the invitation may have been extended by the directors and shareholders of the Grand Hotel. The corporate members, directors

---

<sup>14</sup> DUA, Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, MS-4-210, Corporate Minute Book, p. 47.

<sup>15</sup>

This invitation was mentioned by Lord Aberdeen in his reply to the mayor's welcoming address. *Yarmouth Telegram*, 31 August 1894. In this article no mention is given to the identity of these representatives. This article was among those in the NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks.

and shareholders of the Grand Hotel were also part of the same business community, which included elite ship owners and others who had shared interests in shipping, transportation, industries and utility companies, as well as the entrepreneurs who had vested interests in Main Street businesses and in increasing the town's overall prosperity. Among these individuals were politicians, local and provincial, as well as Board of Trade members and other local businessmen. Whatever the circumstances surrounding this invitation, the event would not have been the success it was reported to have been without the full cooperation of the community. The most notable difference between the earlier press promotion tours and this event was in the range and number of participants.

The visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen required the support of the town's business, political and social leaders, as well as the community at large. Once the invitation was formally accepted, the Council appointed a provisional committee. This Citizen's Committee of fourteen individuals met on Tuesday 14 August, just thirteen days before the expected arrival of the royal representatives. Consisting of the entire Town Council, as well as other political representatives and members of the business community, this committee selected ten individuals to form a 'Managing Committee' to plan and organize activities surrounding this visit.<sup>16</sup> Three elite shipowners,<sup>17</sup> Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt, and William Law, together with local and other government representatives, and other

---

<sup>16</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 14 and 17 August 1894

See: Appendix 1 for a complete list of event participants.

<sup>17</sup>

These three ship owners along with W. D. Lovitt, who had died in January 1894, had shared business interests in Yarmouth. Their investments included the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the Grand Hotel Company Limited.

local businessmen, were members of the Citizen's Committee and were later appointed to the Managing Committee. In addition to these ten individuals, the press eventually identified 54 others as official planners, organizers and participants in this event.<sup>18</sup> These 54 individuals included various small businessmen, professionals, managers and employees dependent on local businesses who were part of a Flags and Decorating Committee; women who had social interests in the community and also had their own economic interests, as wives, widows or spinsters, and participated in a women's meeting at which Lady Aberdeen was the guest speaker; and others who were official participants but not necessarily part of a committee and also had vested interests in the Town of Yarmouth.<sup>19</sup>

The spirit of cooperation and the participation of the town's social, economic and political leaders reflected an ethos which accepted business interests as community interests. The visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen broadened this cooperation and acceptance to the community at large. The official participants who planned and organized this event mirrored a hierarchy in the community. At the top were members of Yarmouth's shipping elite along with other businessmen, notably members of the Town Council and representatives of the Board of Trade, who had also participated in Yarmouth economic development from shipping to tourism. Below this top level of leadership were the social leaders, as represented by the women, who through the local

---

<sup>18</sup>

See: Note on Sources and Method, p.136, for the listing of newspapers which were consulted in identifying these 64 event participants.

<sup>19</sup> See: Appendix 1 for a list of event participants.

temperance societies had persuaded the town to accept temperance as a community standard, along with Main Street merchants, businessmen and professionals, as well as employees of local business and government. All of these participants had interests which were linked to the prosperity of the town. All of these individuals would benefit in some way from increased business due to tourism.

Collectively, the event participants reflect the same characteristics discussed in relation to Yarmouth's new business community: the persistence of the common experience in shipping, the continued involvement of elite ship owners, the inclusion of a younger generation of entrepreneurs who were establishing themselves alongside an older group of well-established businessmen, and a willingness to cooperate in furthering a vested interest in the town through leadership roles which extended beyond their involvement in the local economy as demonstrated by their participation in this event, as well as political, business, and social associations. This part of the chapter discusses these characteristics for three of the four groups of event participants. The fourteen other participants have been excluded from this discussion because their interests and participation in the community were similar to the others in the three groups. As well as an examination of the women participants, their spouses have been included to demonstrate an economic link to the business community.<sup>20</sup>

Citizen's and Managing committee members have been treated as a single group for the purposes of this analysis because of the fourteen individuals on the Citizen's

---

20

See: Appendix 7 for a comparison of the participation of the event participants, by group, in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector.

Committee, eight were appointed to the Managing Committee. The remaining six individuals included four town councillors and two businessmen. Collectively members of both these committees represented the town's political<sup>21</sup> and economic leadership in 1894. As a group, they formed the core of Yarmouth's new business community.<sup>22</sup> Of all the participants, they represented those with the most shipping and banking investments and those with the widest range of participation in the development of new sectors of Yarmouth's economy. Their common interests began with their shared shipping investments dating from the 1850s and continuing throughout the 1890s. Thirteen of these committee members held shipping interests. They included three elite ship owners and six other ship owners who were considered prominent. Through their participation in the shipping industry and the landward development of Yarmouth's economy, these individuals knew each other and had shared business interests.

A change of leadership can be seen through the committee members for this event. Six elite ship owners were alive at the time of Lord and Lady Aberdeen's visit in August 1894. Two of these individuals were 70 years of age or older<sup>23</sup> and the other remaining

---

<sup>21</sup>

Within this group, political leadership went beyond the Town Council. Loran E. Baker was a Liberal Member of the Legislative Council, William Law was a Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Thomas B. Flint was a Liberal Member of Parliament.

<sup>22</sup>

Many of these individuals have been discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis. Profiles for six of them can be found in Appendix 4.

<sup>23</sup>

John Murphy was 71 years of age at the time of his death, 23 September 1895. A.C. Robbins who had reportedly retired from active public life by 1893, *Progress* 14 October 1893, was 74 years of age at the time of Lord and Lady Aberdeen's visit in August 1894.

four were all in their 60's. Prominent and other less visible ship owners were filling leadership roles which had been opened by the declining numbers of Yarmouth's past leaders. The involvement of these less prominent ship owners in shipping<sup>24</sup> and the development of banking, industries, and utilities were important to their positions as community leaders in the 1890s. Ten ship owners, six of whom were considered prominent joined the three elite ship owners, Loran E. Baker, John Lovitt and William Law, as members of these organizing committees for the visit. This change in leadership, part of a generational shift, is further illustrated by an age break down of the committee members. The average age of the Members of the Managing Committee was 55 years of age. These individuals represented the mature well-established male citizens of Yarmouth. The six Citizens' Committee members not appointed to the Managing Committee were on average 45 years of age. These members represented a younger group of entrepreneurs in Yarmouth's economy. Together these committee members acted in the same way that a board of trade did in other cities and towns throughout

---

24

These committee members' shipping interests can be described in the following way: The three elite shipowners who were members of the Managing Committee included, Loran E. Baker, William Law and John Lovitt. Other members of the Managing Committee who were prominent included James Jenkins Burrill, Thomas Killam 2<sup>nd</sup>, and Augustus Stoneman. Thomas B. Flint had held some shipping interests and the remaining Managing Committee members Joseph R. Wyman, George G. Sanderson and Paul L. Hatfield had not owned shares in vessels registered at Yarmouth at any time during the period 1840-1889. Citizen's Committee members who were not appointed to the Managing Committee included prominent ship owners Jacob Bingay, E. K. Spinney and Nathan B. Lewis, as well as those with some shipping interests, Bowman B Law, and Joseph H Cann, and one with no shipping interests, George W. Johnson.

Canada.<sup>25</sup> When the Board of Trade was established, five of these committee members would be listed as corporators in the registration documents.<sup>26</sup>

The Flags and Decorating Committee was composed of fifteen individuals engaged in occupations as businessmen, clerks and managers. These committee members, whose average age was 36 years<sup>27</sup> were much younger on average than those individuals on the Citizens' and Managing committees. For thirteen individuals whose occupations could be determined, eight were employees and five were businessmen. Some of the members of the Flags and Decorating Committee may have been recruited to this committee by their employers since young able-bodied individuals would have been required for hanging the flags, buntings and arches from the various telephone poles and buildings. This may have been the case, for example, with Inglis Hatfield, an employee of William Burrill & Co., a company in which James J Burrill, Managing Committee member and Mayor of Yarmouth, was an active partner. In contrast to the members of the Citizens' and Managing committees, only one of the members of the Flags and Decorating Committee ever had any shipping interests. However, even with these committee members there was a shipping connection, for six of these individuals had

---

<sup>25</sup>

See: Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development", *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*, vol XII, no 2 (October/octobre 1983), pp 77-99.

<sup>26</sup>

These cooperators included: Managing Committee members, William Law and Joseph R. Wyman; and Citizens' Committee members, Jacob Bingay, George W. Johnson and Edgar K. Spinney. See: Appendix 2 for a list of the Yarmouth Board of Trade cooperators, May 1894.

<sup>27</sup> The ages of only 11 of these 15 individuals could be determined with any certainty.



relatives who did have shipping interests at one time or another.<sup>28</sup> This group, the Flags and Decorating Committee members, collectively represented those individuals whose livelihoods depended on the enterprises of merchants and small businessmen.<sup>29</sup> Only one committee member, Augustus Cann, had ever run for a position on Town Council. He was a retired Master Mariner who was in the drug business during the 1890s with his brother-in-law C.C. Richards in the firm of C.C. Richards & Co. As well, he was the only individual in this group to be listed among the Yarmouth Board of Trade corporators.

Nineteen women were identified in the press as having participated in a meeting which featured Lady Aberdeen as guest speaker. Lady Aberdeen spoke to the women of Yarmouth about the new organization, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCW). Although, as Lady Aberdeen observed, the women of Yarmouth didn't seem to need her help in establishing a branch, a provisional committee for a Yarmouth Branch was appointed at this meeting. The purpose of this new council was to provide a nondenominational, nonreligious organization to advance the interests of all women. In Yarmouth, however, Protestant women were already organized in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an organization for the advancement of temperance. It was not surprising that this burst of organizational activity to establish a local branch of the

---

<sup>28</sup> Five out of these six individuals had father's who had owned ships.

<sup>29</sup>

See: Appendix 7 for the participation of event participants, by group, in the development of the economy, by sector.

NCW was the only activity to be recorded for this new organization during the 1890s.<sup>30</sup>

Collectively, the women who appeared on the platform and participated in this meeting represented the religious and moral interests in the community. They represented the main religious denominations in the town: Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal (Anglican) and Roman Catholic. Three quarters of the town's population were Protestants,<sup>31</sup> 26% of whom were Baptists. The Baptists were particularly involved in the temperance movement and in issues of morality. The religious affiliations of fifteen of these women were determined with some degree of certainty. All were Protestants, six Baptists, four Methodists, three Presbyterians and two Episcopalians (Anglicans). Out of these fifteen Protestants, six were active executive members in the local WCTU. When the four provisional directors of the local branch of the NCW were appointed, each Protestant denomination was represented and two of these positions were filled with executives from the WCTU. Further, eighteen of these women spoke English as their

---

<sup>30</sup>

In his "Introduction" to Lady Aberdeen's *Journal*, John T Saywell argued that women who were organized in the WCTU did not easily cooperate with women of non-Protestant denominations in this new organization. Further, he noted that fundamentalist Protestants, specifically the Baptists, were largely represented in this temperance organization. In Yarmouth, the Baptists were represented in the WCTU and also in the town. Three quarters of the Protestants in Yarmouth were Baptists and 26% of all town residents with an identified religious affiliation were Baptists. The reason Yarmouth women did not actively participate in the newly established NCW branch may have been due in part to a reluctance of the WCTU members to cooperate with non-Protestants in the community. However, there was no evidence to indicate that this situation, as noted by Saywell, also existed in Yarmouth.

<sup>31</sup>

These percentages were derived from statistics in Canada. Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1891*, "Table IV-Religions", pp. 250-251.

mother language and were from American, British or Nova Scotian origins. The only exception may have been Mrs. Cereno Johnson D'Entremont.<sup>32</sup>

Although these women had an impact on the social life of the town, their marital status would have determined their political and economic presence in the community. This group of nineteen women included wives, widows and spinsters.<sup>33</sup> Thirteen were wives of businessmen, professionals and clergy. Three were widows and two were spinsters. Two of the three widows<sup>34</sup> held sufficient property to qualify as voters in town elections; two spinsters earned their own livings as school teachers.<sup>35</sup> All of these women, except for Mrs. Cereno Johnson D'Entremont, were identified as residents of the Town of Yarmouth.<sup>36</sup> Although married women were allowed to hold property separate

---

<sup>32</sup>

As very little information was found on Mrs. Cereno Johnson D'Entremont, she was excluded from most of the analysis in this study.

<sup>33</sup>

The marital status of Mrs. Cereno Johnson D'Entremont, as a wife or a widow, could not be determined.

<sup>34</sup>

The three widows included: Mrs (Capt.) William E. Trefry (Susan H. Chipman Trefry), the widow of a Master Mariner, who had held limited shipping interests; Mrs John Young (Lydia Hibbard Young), the widow of a prominent shipowner; and Mrs. Helen Webster, the widow of Dr. J. L. R. Webster a physician. Mrs. Susan Trefry and Mrs. Helen Webster were listed as qualified voters for town elections in "Revisors' List", dated 22 January 1890, YCMA, YMS 7-3.

<sup>35</sup>

The two spinsters included: Miss Eudora Hilton, the daughter of prominent shipowner Benjamin Hilton, was in her early 40s and conducted a private school out of her residence on Pleasant Street; and Miss Antoinette (Nettie) Forbes was also a school teacher in Yarmouth. *Yarmouth Town Directory and Guide*, John Miller, compiler, (Yarmouth: Printed at the Light Office, 1895), p.48.

<sup>36</sup>

*Yarmouth Town Directory and Guide*, John Miller, compiler, (Yarmouth: Printed at the

from their husbands during the period under study, the extent of the property held during their lifetimes is not easily determined. For example, for those married women who died before their husbands, no probate records could be found at the Yarmouth County Registry Office. The only indication of their personal property was from business records available at the time. These records revealed that none of the women-- married, unmarried or single--had any interests in the joint stock companies, 1883-1894, nor did they have interests in any of the industries or utilities.<sup>37</sup> Their interests were found in bank and Yarmouth Steamship Company stocks. For example: Mrs Margaret Crosby Goudey, wife of crockery merchant Israel Goudey, held stocks in both Yarmouth banks; Mrs Esther Holmes Lewis wife of businessman and Grand Hotel shareholder Henry Lewis, held stocks in the Exchange Bank; and Lydia Hibbard Young, widow, held stocks in the Bank of Yarmouth. Mrs. Mary Isabel Creighton Baker, wife of Loran E. Baker, the President of the Yarmouth Steamship Company, and Eudora Hilton, spinster, both held stocks in the Yarmouth Steamship Company. For a better indication of the economic interests of the married women participants, the interests of their husbands were examined in relation to the Yarmouth economy.

The husbands and relatives of these women were also leaders in the town. For example, three women were married to clergy<sup>38</sup>, one was married to a temperance

---

*Light* Office, 1895).

<sup>37</sup>

See: Note on Sources and Method, pp. 143-145, for a list of the companies and the business used in this study.

<sup>38</sup>

These wives of clergy included: Mrs. Margaret Ellen Millar wife of Rev. E. D. Millar, a

lecturer<sup>39</sup>, three were married to professional men<sup>40</sup>, two were married to businessmen who were also shareholders in the Grand Hotel<sup>41</sup>, two were married to merchants<sup>42</sup> and

---

Presbyterian pastor; and Mrs E. B. Moore wife of Rev E. B. Moore, a Methodist pastor, and Mrs. J. H. Forshay wife of Rev. J. H. Forshay, pastor of First Baptist Church located on Main Street.

<sup>39</sup>

Mrs. T. M. Lewis (Jane Hunter Flint Lewis) was married to a temperance lecture, as well as, being the sister of temperance advocate and M.P., Thomas Bernard Flint.

<sup>40</sup>

These wives of professionals included: Mrs. Marion Alice Cameron, wife of Aeneas Cameron principal of the Yarmouth Academy; Mrs. Isabelle Byers Harding, wife of Dr. Alvin C. Harding a dentist; and Mrs. Georgie Durkee Rowe, wife of William C. Rowe, the chief engineer of the *Boston*, a steamship which went between Yarmouth and Boston in the service of the Yarmouth Steamship Company. The president of this company was Loran E. Baker. As well, Mrs. Cameron was the daughter of elite shipowner A. C. Robbins.

<sup>41</sup>

Mrs. Loran E. Baker (Mary Isabel Creighton Baker) and Mrs. S. A. Crowell (Mary Edna Coming Crowell) were married to businessmen who were both original shareholders in the Grand Hotel. Loran E. Baker, an elite shipowner, had turned his shipping investments into banking, manufacturing, transportation (railways and steamships), utilities and the Grand Hotel. S. A. Crowell was primarily a merchant with limited investments in ships. He had invested with others in two vessels, in one of these vessels William Law was the major investor. Although he invested in a variety of landward enterprises, his main business interests were S. A. Crowell & Co. a firm of hardware merchants, and the Crowell Shoe Store. S. A. Crowell, Loran E. Baker, William Law and other businessmen were profiled as community leaders in the feature article on Yarmouth which appeared in *Saint John Progress* in October 1893. In the 1890s, one of S. A. Crowell's investments outside of his commercial businesses was the Grand Hotel.

<sup>42</sup>

The wives of the merchants included: Mrs Margaret Crosby Goudey wife of crockery merchant Israel H Goudey, and Mrs. Esther Holmes Lewis wife of Henry Lewis partner in the firm H & NB Lewis. Israel Goudey was a crockery merchant whose business was located on Main Street. Although, in the past he had some shipping investments, his main investments were in his business and in real estate. Henry Lewis, a retired Master Mariner, was a prominent shipowner in Yarmouth's trans-Atlantic trade and registered vessels from 1855 to 1891. In the 1890s he was a merchant in the firm H & NB Lewis Ltd. which had locations on Main Street and on Lewis Wharf on Water Street. He had

two were married to manufacturers.<sup>43</sup> In relation to shipping, nine of the thirteen married women's husbands had shipping interests. Eight of their husbands had interests in the banks, industries or utilities or a combination of these. As a group, these women and their spouses represented the social interests of the town, as well as a broad range of economic interests.<sup>44</sup>

These three groups of participants illustrate the interests in the community that came together to plan, organize and participate in activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Since this event has been linked to the promotion of the Grand Hotel, one might expect that most of these event participants would have had investments in the Grand. But an examination of their investments showed that only eleven out of sixty of the event participants and spouses were shareholders/subscribers. Five were among the Citizen's and Managing committee members. What is significant is not the number of shareholders/subscribers, but the similarity of interests between the event

---

invested in various manufacturing enterprises in Yarmouth and eventually became a shareholder in the Grand Hotel. The inventory part of his probate record filed in 1922, shows shares in the Grand Hotel. He was not among the original shareholders.

<sup>43</sup>

The wives of the manufacturers included: Mrs. Lois Anne Horton Williams wife of Edward S. Williams; and Mrs. Anne Rowely Moody Viets wife of Edward Martyn Viets. While Edward S. Williams was a tinsmith by trade and held interests in the establishment Lincoln & Williams, Edward Martyn Viets was formerly a merchant who turned to establishing a knitting mill with another merchant, Charles Dodds. Edward S. Williams had limited shares in two vessels, 1866-1892, while Edward Martyn Viets had never held shares in vessels.

<sup>44</sup>

However, none of these husbands were listed among the incorporators on the Yarmouth Board of Trade registration documents, May 1894.

participants and the Grand Hotel shareholders. Comparing their economic interests revealed that the Citizens' and Managing committees members most closely resembled the Grand Hotel shareholders' economic interests and participation in the development of Yarmouth's landward economy. Both these groups of individuals had participated in the development of Yarmouth's shipping, banking, ocean-land transportation system, industries, and utilities.<sup>45</sup> These individuals shared a vested interest in the local economy. Although the range of investments in the local economy varied among the other participants, their interests were also linked to their community. By bringing all of these participants together, this event enlarged the "booster spirit" which had been fostered by Yarmouth's political and economic leaders.

The role of the participants in promoting their town can be best described within the context of the event. Activities highlighted the positive qualities of the town and its enterprising residents. Every effort was made to make a positive impression, so much so that Lady Aberdeen noted in her journal that "the cordiality was extreme."<sup>46</sup> On Monday 27 August the Aberdeens journeyed from Halifax to Yarmouth in a special train car. From Annapolis, President Frank Killam and General Manager James Brignell of the Western Counties Railway accompanied the royal representatives to Yarmouth. While both men were residents of the town, little information is available on James Brignell, a

---

<sup>45</sup>

See Appendix 8 for a comparison of the participation of event participants to the Grand Hotel shareholders/subscribers in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector.

<sup>46</sup> NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, p. 519.

railway employee. Frank Killam on the other hand was well-known in Yarmouth. He had a career as a shipbuilder, ship owner, commission merchant and politician.

Politically, he had served as a Liberal Member of Parliament representing Yarmouth, 1869-1882. In business, he had been associated with the family firm, Killam Bros., since 1869 and had been an investor in other local enterprises, such as the railway. The Aberdeens were met at Weymouth by members of a reception committee which included the Managing Committee members, Mayor Burrill, T. B. Flint M.P., Warden Hatfield, William Law M.P.P., Hon. L. E. Baker M.L.A., as well as County representatives Sheriff George H. Guest and Albert Pothier M.P.P. Sheriff Guest was the High Sheriff for Yarmouth County, and Albert Pothier an elected representative for Yarmouth County in the provincial legislature. The viceregal visitors arrived at Yarmouth at 8:30 that evening. At the Yarmouth depot, more members of the Managing Committee, J. R. Wyman, A. F. Stoneman, George E. Sanderson and Thomas Killam, greeted the visitors, as well as members of the Municipal Council.<sup>47</sup> A guard of honour was formed under the command of Major Thomas Robertson Jolly, a newcomer to the town of Yarmouth.<sup>48</sup> A torchlight procession by the fireman and the Yarmouth Band under the direction of

---

<sup>47</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbook, pp. 63-65, *Halifax Evening Mail*, 28 August 1894.

<sup>48</sup>

He was not born in Yarmouth. A native of Scotland, he settled in Yarmouth in 1864. He had established the firm Dodds & Jolly with business partner Charles Dodds, which was dissolved in 1891, owned shares in several vessels until 1892 and operated a dry-goods business since 1891 on Main Street under the name of J. R. Jolly & Co. In addition to his involvement in the Militia, he was listed as a corporator of the Yarmouth Board of Trade.



Professor Metcalfe<sup>49</sup> escorted the visitors and the reception committee to the Grand Hotel.<sup>50</sup> Once the Aberdeens and party reached the hotel, the Mayor and Mr. Flint M.P. directed them to their accommodations and then left them alone for a quiet supper at the hotel.<sup>51</sup>

The next day, Tuesday 28 August 1894, was full of planned activities in which the Aberdeens were guests of the Town. At 10:30 a.m. the official programme began with a salute and a civic welcome at the Court House. The Yarmouth Garrison Artillery under Major Jolly, and Lieutenants Lewis and Seeley formed a Guard of Honour.<sup>52</sup> Although a large number of people were presented to the Aberdeens at this gathering, only two individuals were noted in the press, Alex Lawson and Henry A. Grantham, who were two esteemed citizens of Yarmouth because of their long service to the community. While

---

<sup>49</sup>

Professor Metcalfe had arrived in Yarmouth in March 1892 to take charge of the Yarmouth Brass Band. He taught music out of the Bingay Block on Main Street. Previously, he had been a choir leader with the Presbyterian Church in Windsor, NS. Little else was written about this newcomer in the Yarmouth papers and directories.

<sup>50</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbook, pp. 65-66, *Halifax Chronicle*, 28 August 1894.

<sup>51</sup> NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, p. 519.

<sup>52</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbook, pp. 68-69, *Halifax Evening Mail*, 29 August 1894.

Information which would indicate the identity of Lieutenant Lewis was not easily obtained. Lewis was a common Yarmouth name. Lieutenant Thomas M. (Melvin) Seeley was the editor of the *Yarmouth Light*, a local newspaper. He was born in Yarmouth County and came to the town as a young man. He had worked for a number of local newspapers before spending some time in Saint John, N.B., where he completed his trade as a printer. He had recently returned to Yarmouth and resumed his affiliation with the Yarmouth Garrison. His involvement in the garrison had begun in the 1880s.

both men were newcomers to Yarmouth--Alex Lawson was born in Scotland, Henry Grantham in England-- they had married women whose families were well-established in Yarmouth.<sup>53</sup> Alex Lawson had served the community as editor of the *Yarmouth Herald*, a supporter of the liberal cause in Yarmouth. Henry Grantham, a barrister and the oldest Queen's Council in Canada, was registrar of probate for the County.

After lunch, the afternoon's activities resumed with Lord Aberdeen, son Haddo and escorts touring the town and surrounding countryside. In the meantime, Lady Aberdeen toured the Old Ladies Home and was the guest speaker at the Yarmouth women's meeting. The two parties met up later in the afternoon at the Court House where Yarmouth school children sang and the YMCA boys' brigade formed a guard of honour. Two children, Miss Dorothy Murray and Miss Jennie Corning presented bouquets to Lady Aberdeen. These girls were the daughters of civic officials, Stephen B. Murray, Municipal Clerk, and Thomas E. Corning, Town Recorder. Although both of these men were barristers by profession, at this time only Corning was practising law with a firm. He belonged to Corning & Chipman.

The evening's entertainment centred around the Grand Hotel. At 8:30 p.m. an "At Home" reception began and, according to the press,<sup>54</sup> nearly a thousand people proceeded to meet and greet the royal representatives in the parlours of the hotel. Following this

---

<sup>53</sup>

Alex Lawson married Frances A Weddleton daughter of Capt. John Weddleton. Henry Grantham married Margaret Collins Farish daughter of Henry Greggs Farish.

<sup>54</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, 29 August 1894.

reception, the Aberdeens viewed an illuminated procession from the verandah of the hotel. J. R. Wyman, A.W. Eakins and G. J. Morton were in charge of this procession of firemen and bicycles.<sup>55</sup> At the end of the procession the firemen lined up in front of the Grand Hotel for an address from Lord Aberdeen. The finale of the evening was a brilliant display of fireworks set off in front of the Grand Hotel. The following day, Wednesday 28 August 1894, the Aberdeens boarded a special train back to Halifax.

In a thank-you letter to the Mayor, Lord Aberdeen gave his impression of the event's activities:

. . . the effective appearance of the Guard of Honor at Yarmouth and to the part taken by the Escort of Firemen with their torches, and then on to the excellent accommodation at the Hotel where we were so hospitably entertained. Also to the proceedings at the Court House on Tuesday, and again to the interesting drive during the afternoon when so much was seen of the surroundings of the city and valuable information obtained regarding the resources of the district; a further notable feature being the excellent specimen of bicycle riding which was displayed by the members of the Artillery Escort, and further the extremely efficient arrangements and tasteful decorations prepared by the ladies in connection with Lady Aberdeen's meeting at the Music Hall.

And in the next place I might speak of the charming appearance of the gathering of the children and their pleasing singing, and further of the evening reception, and the subsequent procession and spectacular display by the well-equipped Fire Brigade, and together we could not fail to recognize the thoughtful consideration which led to the avoidance of crowding too many engagements into the time

---

55

All three of these men were merchants. J.R. Wyman and A.W. Eakins were members of the Board of Trade. J.R. Wyman and G.J. Morton operated establishments on Main Street whereas A.W. Eakins operated from Water Street and the wharfs. A.W. Eakins was a partner in the firm Parker-Eakins Co. Ltd, with partners Edward F. Parker and A.C. Robbins (elite shipowner). A.W. Eakins had been prominent in Yarmouth's shipping industry having held shares in a number of vessels, as well he invested in the landward development of railways, manufacturing, and the Grand Hotel. He was one of the original shareholders of the hotel and a active promoter of the town. G. J. Morton, a merchant plumber, served as the Chief Marshall of the Fire Brigade. He had installed the plumbing and heating for the Grand Hotel and held shares in the hotel.

available.<sup>56</sup>

The outside press recognized the efforts of the Town of Yarmouth, for example the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* noted: "The people here are taking great pride in their reception to the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen. They have every reason to do so, for so far the affair had been conducted in a very admirable manner."<sup>57</sup> As well, the impression that Yarmouth was not to be outdone was also conveyed as a reporter from the *Halifax Evening Mail* observed, "It is not too much to say that in elaborateness of preparations, the whole-souled enthusiasm of welcome, Yarmouth's reception has not been surpassed by that of any other town or city in eastern Canada."<sup>58</sup> Of particular note was the evening program of the 28 August. The program included a torchlight procession and an 'at home' reception held at the Grand Hotel and earned the praise of the press in such comments as, "Last night Yarmouth exerted herself to the utmost as a hostess." The *Weymouth Free Press* also noted "Nearly a thousand people attended the 'at home' in the parlors of the Grand Hotel to-night, and it was the most brilliant affair ever held."<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p.86, *Yarmouth Times*, 4 September 1894.

<sup>57</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p. 67, *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, 29 August 1894.

<sup>58</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p 68, *Halifax Evening Mail*, 29 August 1894.

<sup>59</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p 84, *Weymouth Free Press*, 31 August 1894.

Some of the subsequent publicity read like an advertisement, "Their excellencies are guests of the town at the Grand Hotel, from the rooms of which they have a good view of the harbor, the islands, the country around, and away out to sea."<sup>60</sup> The fact that the Aberdeens had been guests at the hotel during its first season was noted in a subsequent hotel advertisement.

The 'Grand', during the few months of its existence, has earned for itself an amount of praise and flattering eulogy that is not only unusual, but quite extraordinary. The House is classed by its guests as one of the three best in Canada. Among the guests entertained last summer were His Excellency Lord Aberdeen (Governor General of Canada) with Lady Aberdeen and suite, and His Excellency volunteered the most complimentary remarks regarding the House and its management.<sup>61</sup>

The Grand Hotel was also important to this event as a symbol of progress, just as the business interests, the event and the hotel represented, were important to the prosperity of the town. The Grand Hotel as noted in a later advertisement ". . . stands as a conspicuous monument of public spirit, for it was built by a syndicate of the moneyed men of the place, not so much with a view to a profitable investment as to give their city a hotel worthy of Yarmouth's position and reputation."<sup>62</sup> Raitz and Jones argued that the "grand hotel" was an important building in the urban environment which influenced

---

<sup>60</sup>

NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p. 68, *Halifax Evening Mail*, August 29, 1894.

<sup>61</sup>

Yarmouth Steamship Co., *Beautiful Nova Scotia*, p. 71. See: Illustration 10 for a copy of this advertisement, "The Grand Hotel, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia."

<sup>62</sup>

*The Grand Hotel, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, ca 1900, p.15, Microfiche of the originals held by the Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Province House.

urban life and form. Further they suggested that while the hotel was an important symbol, the key to it inspiring pride and confidence in the community was success.<sup>63</sup> The Grand Hotel had been built by an established group of businessmen from Yarmouth as a way of taking advantage of an economic opportunity created by an increasing number of tourists to Nova Scotia. These individuals were also building a tribute to themselves as entrepreneurs and projecting their idea of the place onto the community. They were taking an active role, and the hotel was a vehicle for their vision.

Yarmouth's hotel was a symbol for all to see, for both visitors and residents. The hotel was part of a "booster spirit" which was driven by a single vision and kept others who did not fit in this vision on the margins of a middle class community. This exclusion was evident in the press reports of the event. The "at home" reception was reminiscent of the hotel's gala opening. Those who could afford to participate were welcomed and noted in the press. Fancy dress was the standard accepted by the town's residents for the "at home" reception, just as it had been at the hotel's gala opening. But this display of social status was in contrast to the low-key approach taken by Lady Aberdeen. The press noted that "The dresses worn by the ladies were very beautiful and costly and in striking contrast to the quiet and unassuming costume worn by the Countess."<sup>64</sup> Lady Aberdeen's comments concerning the town's Acadian population were also in contrast to the image

---

<sup>63</sup>

Karl B Raitz and John Paul Jones III, "The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol", *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Volume 9, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 1988), pp. 17-36.

<sup>64</sup> NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, p. 84.

the town portrayed of itself. In her private journal she wrote, "All speak so warmly of the Acadians—the most thrifty of farmers. All the servants in Yarmouth are French."<sup>65</sup> It is the only reference during the occasion of the visit, public or private, made about ethnicity in relation to the Town of Yarmouth. The population of the town in 1891 was 14% Acadian, drawn from the surrounding hinterland as new recruits to Yarmouth's labour force. The portrayal of the Acadians as farmers and servants may have had some truth, but the other reality was that a significant portion of the young female French population was employed in the cotton mill, just a stone's throw away from the Grand Hotel, as low paid waged labour. These women and girls did not have the same economic, educational or social advantages as other females residing in the town.<sup>66</sup> Their participation and options were limited in part by their ethnicity. They did not fit into the promoted image of the community.

The hotel was upheld as a symbol of business success based on principles of temperance. By adopting this approach to business, the directors had acknowledged and conformed to community standards.<sup>67</sup> An article from the *Hants Journal*, reprinted in the

---

<sup>65</sup> NAC, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 8, Lady Aberdeen's Journals, p. 521.

<sup>66</sup>

D A Muise, "The Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force, 1871-1921", *Acadiensis*, XX, 2 (Spring 1991), p. 3-30.

<sup>67</sup>

The Town Council had responded to the ratepayers and the community's temperance advocates by appointing an inspector to enforce the Canada Temperance Act, also known as the Scott Act. Prosecutions were pursued and violators were fined or imprisoned. Besides those who were arrested for drunkenness, businesses who served alcohol were also charged under the act. In particular, violations by the Lorne and Queen hotels were noted in the local press. In the case of the Lorne Hotel, the owner resorted to selling the

local press, emphasized this point.

Those who claim that liquor selling is not necessary to the prosperity of a hotel, may have a first-class object lesson in support of their claim in the new and popular Grand Hotel at Yarmouth. It is an absolute impossibility to procure intoxicants of any kind beneath the roof of this superb hotelery, and the people of Yarmouth are very proud of the fact. As a result, the lady guests of the hotel may be seen at any time of the day or evening seated in the large and elegantly appointed office, which fronts on Main Street, and which they seem to prefer to the parlors. There is no trouble about the Grand Hotel not "paying" either, for up to the present time the trouble has been, not to find guests, but to find beds for the crowds who have been thronging Yarmouth all through the season. Temperance principles have certainly not interfered with the prosperity of the Grand Hotel.<sup>68</sup>

The community's acceptance of the promoted image of the town and the support for the Grand Hotel came to fruition through the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Not only had the community participated in the activities surrounding the event but ratepayers paid for expenses associated with the visit. The Town Council paid more than \$750 for entertaining the Aberdeens.<sup>69</sup> The hotel was fully reimbursed for the accommodations, receptions and related costs.<sup>70</sup> Through this event the town openly supported a private enterprise and further used a private facility as a public space.

---

establishment and moving out of town when he had been charged for the third time. The community was able to establish certain boundaries. While the prosecutions penalized some businesses, others businesses, such as the Grand Hotel, accepted temperance as a business principle. *Yarmouth Herald*, 8 June 1894 and 4 August 1894.

<sup>68</sup> *Yarmouth Telegram*, 27 September 1895.

<sup>69</sup>

The actual amount noted in the Auditors' Report, January 1895 as recorded in the Town Council Minutes, p. 151, was "Governor General, entertaining, \$779.48."

<sup>70</sup>

DUA, Grand Hotel Company (Limited), Minute Book, p. 59, Directors' Meeting, Tuesday 18 February 1894.



## **CONCLUSION**

The visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen was more than just an occasion to promote the Town of Yarmouth and the newly opened Grand Hotel. It represented a culmination of events that had led to the community's portrayal of itself as a tourist destination. Through the event participants, the town's economic, political and urban development were linked to the gradual realization that the town, as an investment, could be a vehicle for promoting their vision of ever increasing prosperity and growth. These individuals demonstrated a symbiotic connection between their community and their businesses. Community support was necessary for business success, just as business success was necessary for the economic prosperity of the town.

Diversification of Yarmouth's economy from a seaward to a landward focus was the first precondition for the transformation. The strategies and the adaptability of local entrepreneurs created a diversified local economy, which sustained the economic viability of the community. Of underlying importance was the common experience of Yarmouth's entrepreneurs in the shipping industry. Not only their wealth but their ways of doing business provided the basis for landward development. Although business associations formed through shipping were not necessarily reflected in their landward investments, the principle of sharing in risk with people they knew fuelled development of various sectors of the local economy, including banking, transportation, industries, utilities and tourism. While a great many individuals participated in developing Yarmouth's economy, its diversification led to the formation of a new business community by the

1890s. A generational shift and a continued presence of ship owners characterized this new group of community leaders. Specifically, elite ship owners Loran E. Baker, William D. Lovitt, William Law and John Lovitt were joined by other ship owners and entrepreneurs with special skills and talents in developing the various sectors of the local economy.

The political transformation of the town contributed to the cohesion of the community. Yarmouth's urban development was pushed ahead when the town became incorporated in 1890. Entrepreneurs with Main Street interests filled positions on the newly formed Town Council and facilitated the uniting of business and community interests. During this period, public monies were used to improve infrastructure and provide services, Yarmouth's commercial centre was revitalized, and members of the Town Council joined other local entrepreneurs in promoting their town to outsiders as a desirable place to live, do business and visit. The newly formed Town Council acted as a mediator in protecting the interests of business while at the same time addressing the needs of an urbanizing community. This role was exemplified through the town's purchase of a privately owned waterworks. In the end, by acting within the limits of what the ratepayers would accept, the Town Council was able to protect the interests of the privately owned Lake George Water Company's directors and shareholders, and secure a quality water supply in sufficient quantities for health and fire fighting purposes. With the issuing of town water bonds, as a means of financing the water company, the ratepayers had a vested interest in protecting the credit rating of the town and maintaining the confidence of the bond holders by encouraging economic prosperity and growth. A

change of attitude toward taxation had led to the realization that the town itself was an investment.

Creation of a community image and promotion of Yarmouth as a tourist destination would not have been possible without the leadership of Yarmouth's entrepreneurs and the support of the community at large. In the first stage of this developing tourism, local entrepreneurs took advantage of the town's geographic proximity to the United States, and developed a regular steamship service to bring visitors from Boston to Nova Scotia. Improvements in the transportation system which included both steamship and rail connections strengthened Yarmouth's position as the "gateway" to Nova Scotia's tourist attractions. In the second stage of this developing tourism, local entrepreneurs sought ways to retain a share of the province's tourists. The building of the Grand Hotel was pivotal in transforming Yarmouth from "gateway" to tourist destination. Both the promoted image of the community and the advertised features of the hotel combined middle class community values with business interests. The image, created for tourist promotion, embodied the values of home life, pride of ownership and temperance, which gave the impression of a safe, moral community. Technological conveniences such as electricity, telephones, an electric street railway, and running water added to the appeal of comfort and modernity. This combination of values from the past and the advances of the modern age were also used to advertise the Grand Hotel. In effect, the Grand Hotel became a symbol for the town's new image.

While the potential for retaining a share of the province's tourism was the economic incentive for building the hotel, the business community depended on the

support of the local community to transform the town from a “gateway” to a tourist destination. The Town Council, local businessmen and investors in the Grand Hotel had joined together to promote Yarmouth’s future in tourism just as the Grand Hotel was nearing completion. With the successful opening of the hotel, its directors had demonstrated to the community that they could attract the kind of attention needed to make Yarmouth a tourist destination. The collective effort of the town in entertaining Governor General and Lady Aberdeen demonstrated the final integration of the community’s “booster spirit.”

The community had developed a cohesive identity which reflected the interests of its propertied residents. Excluded from this identity were the town’s Acadian minority who worked in the town’s cotton mill and other factories. Just as Lady Aberdeen had noted the image of a “go-ahead little town,” she also made little mention of the Acadian presence. This image served the needs of business in appealing to the American tourist. While tourist promotion for the province in general described Nova Scotia as the “Land of Evangeline,” Yarmouth omitted the Acadian heritage from its appeal. The town’s appeal was based on contrasting itself with the hot, stuffy summer conditions of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. A healthy climate, which would relieve the symptoms of hay fever, beautiful scenery and lovely residences, which would add to the enjoyment through restful walks, and cultural activities, which would entertain the visitor, were highlighted as part of the town’s features.

The town used the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to promote itself and the Grand Hotel. While this event only lasted two days, it illustrated that various interests in

the community could come together as one to promote their town. It showed the crucial role of Yarmouth's entrepreneurs in redefining their community's identity and in developing new sectors of the local economy. In doing so, they made a lasting contribution to the community's prosperity through tourism. Even though tourism could hardly be the "raison d' être" for Yarmouth's existence, it has endured to this day as an essential part of the local economy.

Was Yarmouth unique in its "booster spirit"? Within Nova Scotia, other towns also pursued strategies for urban and economic development at this time. For example, the town of Kentville had built a new hotel, the "Aberdeen," which was visited by the Governor General and Lady Aberdeen en route to Yarmouth. In particular, the towns along the Southwestern shore of Nova Scotia which had been included in the press tours of the Yarmouth Steamship and the railway companies during the early 1890s either upgraded or built new facilities so that they could share in the province's tourist trade.

Unfortunately, few studies of Maritime communities examine local strategies for economic development. Peter DeLottinville provides evidence of bonusing as part of Milltown's strategy to attract economic development. The community demonstrated its support for the establishment of the St. Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company's cotton mills by purchasing company shares.<sup>1</sup> Nolan Reilly examined the role of the local entrepreneur in Amherst's industrialization as it related to the events that lead up to the

---

1

Peter DeLottinville, "The St Croix Manufacturing Company and its Influence on the St Croix Community, 1880-1892", (MA Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1979), pp. 82-83. Milltown is located in New Brunswick.

Amherst general strike of 1919. Although, Reilly's study focussed on the transformation of Amherst through industrialization and later deindustrialization, important comparisons can be made with Yarmouth. He attributed the prosperity of the local economy to the ability of the local capitalists to take advantage of new opportunities and showed how their economic, political and social connections within the community created a cohesive elite. Amherst businessmen controlled the town council and were able to rally the support of the community against threats to their dominant position. He also provides a contrast to Yarmouth because Amherst had only a peripheral involvement in shipping, whereas Yarmouth had deep roots in the shipping industry. Amherst's entrepreneurs sought ways to compensate for this disadvantage by pushing for the building of the Chignecto Canal, whereas Yarmouth's entrepreneurs built on this advantage and used their experience to develop new sectors of the local economy.<sup>2</sup>

T.W. Acheson had demonstrated how a business community based on shipping, was able to retain control and manage change in Saint John during the pre-Confederation period.<sup>3</sup> Yarmouth demonstrates that those involved in a "wood, wind and sail economy" were flexible entrepreneurs who retained a vested interest in their town even in the 1890s. Yarmouth's shipping heritage was part of the community's common experience. It influenced ways of doing business and extended Yarmouth business connections beyond

---

<sup>2</sup>

J. Nolan Reilly, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: A Study of Amherst, 1891-1925", (PhD Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983), pp. 13-49.

<sup>3</sup>

T. W. Acheson, *Saint John, The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 48-66, 246-248.

its locale to Saint John and a regional economy. It was reinforced through family connections and social interactions. It was integrated into the image created by Yarmouth boosters.

Yarmouth provides an example of a community whose “booster spirit” was based on cooperation. Ship owners, local entrepreneurs and investors, Main Street merchants, Board of Trade corporators, Town Council candidates, temperance advocates, and the town’s ratepayers came together in the common purpose of promoting their town through the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. The town had created a cohesive community image that was the basis for its promotion as a tourist destination.

## **NOTE ON SOURCES AND METHOD**

Event participants were identified through newspapers accounts of the planning and activities surrounding the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth. The following newspapers were used:

**National Archives of Canada**, Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5, Volume 17, Scrapbooks, pp. 63-69

*Halifax Chronicle*, 28 August 1894.

*Halifax Evening Mail*, 28 August 1894 and 29 August 1894

**National Library of Canada**, local newspapers available in the original

*Yarmouth Herald*, 21 August 1894.

*Yarmouth Telegram*, 14 August 1894 and 17 August 1894.

Since a number of individuals had the same name, it was necessary to find the vital dates and some family information. A variety of records were used in verifying identities. These records included tombstones and cemetery records for Mountain and Chebogue cemeteries, Sweeny's Funeral Home records, probate records, obituaries, local histories, town directories and genealogical records. The personal information gathered for each of these individuals was used in conjunction with shareholders lists and other business records. I was able to determine, with some certainty, that the individuals named in various business ventures were indeed the individuals selected for this study. Similarly, this method was used to verify the identity of elite ship owners, town council candidates, Board of Trade corporators and Grand Hotel shareholders.

Once the identity of these individuals was determined, other sources were used to identify their business and social interests. While good records were available for the Grand Hotel Company Limited, the Yarmouth Yarn & Duck Company Limited, the



Exchange Bank of Yarmouth, the Bank of Yarmouth, and the Yarmouth Steamship Company, the records for most other local businesses were scant. Government records such as acts of incorporation, court cases, and Records of the Provincial Secretary were also used to identify corporate members, directors and shareholders. Local newspaper articles and obituaries, town directories for 1890 and 1895, and probate records were also useful in identifying the economic interests of these individuals. In particular, probate records were most helpful since they often included an estate inventory listing and describing the extent the deceased individual's property. These lists, used as the basis of dividing up the estate among the various heirs, are sworn statements by the estate executors and were filed with the County Court of Probate. Since business records were not readily available for the Yarmouth Street Railway and other local businesses, probate records were a valuable source in recreating individual investment profiles.

For the purposes of examining the economic participation of these individuals, the local economy was divided into six sectors: shipping, banking, transportation, industries, utilities and tourism. Shipping interests for each individual were determined by searching the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project CD Rom of British records on vessel ownership.<sup>1</sup> From the Certificate of Registry records, it was possible to determine how many vessel shares an individual owned, all the owners of a single vessel, port of registry, name and description of vessels, as well as opening and closure dates for registry and

---

1

*Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada, The Atlantic Canada Shipping Project*, St. John's, Newfoundland : Maritime History Archive, Memorial University, 1998.

disposition of vessels. This information provided the basis for determining the business associations formed through vessel ownership.

The participation of individuals in developing Yarmouth's landward economy was determined by examining the business records of fourteen local companies. These companies were selected, partially on the basis of available records, but also because they represented a spectrum of activity in the local economy. The following description lists the companies which were examined, as well as the availability and location of these businesses' records. In addition, local newspapers, local histories and probate records offset the scarcity of business records for some companies.

### **Banking:**

#### Bank of Yarmouth

Shareholders lists and /or Annual Reports for 1870, 1874, 1880, 1882, 1883-1885, 1887-1894:

Yarmouth County Museum Archives (hereafter YCMA), Parker-Eakins Collection, YMS P-E.

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Sessional Papers*, "Returns from the Chartered Banks of the Dominion of Canada", 1870-1894.

#### Exchange Bank of Yarmouth

Shareholders lists and /or Annual Reports for 1874, 1882-1884, 1887, 1889-1894:  
Dalhousie University Archives (hereafter DUA), S A Crowell fonds, MS-4-66.

YCMA, Yarmouth Businesses, YMS-4.

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Sessional Papers*, "Returns from the Chartered Banks of the Dominion of Canada", 1882-1894.

**Transportation:****Western Counties Railway**

Shareholders list 1883:

Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), Killam Family Papers, MG 1, volume 526, file 6.

**Yarmouth Steamship Company**

Shareholders lists and/or Annual Reports for 1887, 1888, 1891-1895:

DUA, S A Crowell fonds, MS-4-66.

YCMA, Parker-Eakins Collection, PE YMS -4.

YCMA, Yarmouth Steamship Company Limited, YMS-4-69.

Kinney, J.E., *Historical Description of Activities in Connection with Sea-Borne Traffic Between Yarmouth, Nova Scotia and Boston, Massachusetts From 1855 to 1928*, Yarmouth, NS: 1928.

**Industries:****Burrell-Johnson Iron Co.**

Information about the company and its directors, management and shareholders:

YCMA, Yarmouth Business Records, Burrell-Johnson Iron Co., YMS-4-9.

**Canadian Woodworking Company**

Business records not available. Newspaper articles, local histories, town directories for 1890 and 1894 and probate records used to identify management, shareholders and directors.

**Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Company Limited**

Shareholders lists and/or Annual Reports for 1883, 1888, 1890-1894, Corporate Minute Books, 1883-1894, and Insurance plans, 1890:

DUA, S A Crowell fonds, MS-4-66.

YCMA, Parker-Eakins Collection, YMS-PE.

YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Company, YMS-1995: 72/1/2 and YMS-1995: 72/1/8.

**Yarmouth Iron Works**

Shareholders list 1879:

PANS, Provincial Secretary Incorporation Records, RG 7, volume 366.

Yarmouth Woollen Mill Company Limited

Incorporation documents, 1882:

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1882*, "An Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Woollen Mill Company Limited", Chapter 90

**Utilities:**Lake George Water Company

Incorporation Records, 1890:

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1890*, "An Act to incorporate the lake George Water Company, Limited", Chapter 131.

Yarmouth Gas Light Company Limited

Shareholders lists and/or Annual Reports for 1891, 1895, Incorporation records for 1883, 1895, and Court records, 1891:

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1888*, "An Act to Incorporate the Yarmouth Gas Light Company Limited", Chapter 127.

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1895*, "An Act to Amend chapter 127, of the Acts of 1888, entitled 'An Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Gas Light Company Limited' and to provide for the re-capitalization of the said company, and for other purposes", Chapter 134.

*The Nova Scotia Reports, Volume XXIII, Containing Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia*, Benjamin Russell and John M Gilbert, reporters, Toronto: Carswell Company Limited, 1893.

Yarmouth Street Railway

Information about the company and its directors, management and shareholders  
Bye-laws, 1890, and Incorporation Records, 1887, 1889, 1893:

PANS, Provincial Secretary, RG 7 volume 367.

YMCA, Yarmouth Business Records, YMS-4.

Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1887*, "An Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Street Railway Company, Limited", Chapter 93.

Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1889*, "An Act to amend chapter 93 of the Acts of 1887, entitled, 'An Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Street Railway Company, Limited'", Chapter 124.

Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1893*, "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Street Railway Company, Limited", Chapter 186.

**Yarmouth Water Company Limited**

Annual Reports, 1882, 1887, and Incorporation records, 1879:

PANS, Provincial Secretary, RG 7, volume 367.

PANS, Public Health, RG 25, Series C, volume 1.

Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1879*,  
“An Act to incorporate the Yarmouth Water Company”, Chapter 76.

**Tourism:****The Grand Hotel Company (Limited)**

Corporate Minute Book, 1893-1900, Shareholders lists, 1893-1894, and  
Incorporation records, 1893

DUA, Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, MS-4-210.

YCMA, Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, YMS-4-27.

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings, 1894*, “Provincial  
Secretary’s Report, Appendix No. 12—Joint Stock Companies”, pp. 8-9.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **PRIMARY SOURCES**

#### **Manuscript Collections and Materials:**

**Dalhousie University Archives** (hereafter DUA), Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, MS-4-210.

DUA, S A Crowell fonds, MS-4-66.

**Municipality of Yarmouth**, Bound volume entitled "Yarmouth Sessions, Court Records E, Yarmouth, NS", volume contains the handwritten minutes for the General Sessions of the Peace for the Township of Yarmouth, 1877-1879, and for the Municipality of Yarmouth, 1879-1895.

**National Archives of Canada** (hereafter NAC), Aberdeen Papers, MG 27 I B 5.

NAC, S A Crowell fonds, MG 28 III 3.

NAC, Illustration, "Bird's eye view" of Yarmouth, 1899, D D Currie, Publisher, Moncton, NB, PAC 16638.

NAC, Registrar General, RG 68, Town of Yarmouth Board of Trade certificate, lib/fol 28/244, microfilm reel #3991, pp. 244-246.

**Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia** (hereafter PANS), Insurance Plan of Yarmouth, NS, microfilm reel #968.

PANS, Insurers' Advisory Organization Inc. (Atlantic Branch) fonds, Accession # 1997-120.

PANS, Killam Family Papers, MG 1, volumes 527-533.

PANS, Public Health, RG 25, Series C.

PANS, Provincial Secretary, RG 7.

**Registry Office for Yarmouth County**, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Probate Records, 1892-1937.

**Yarmouth County Museum Archives** (hereafter YCMA), Chebogue Cemetery Records.

YCMA, Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, YMS-4-27.

YCMA, Mountain Cemetery Records.

YCMA, Parker-Eakins Collection, YMS-PE.

YCMA, Sweeny's Funeral Home Records, 1891-1960.

YCMA, Town and Municipality of Yarmouth Assessment Rolls, 1887, YMS-7-3.

YCMA, Town and Municipality of Yarmouth, "Revisor's [Voters] List", 1890, YMS-7-3.

YCMA, Yarmouth Business Records, YMS-4.

YCMA, Yarmouth Duck & Yarn Co., YMS-1995: 72/1/2.

**Contemporary Publications:**

*1890 Yarmouth Town Directory*, Yarmouth, NS: Printed at the *Times Office*, 1890.

Brown, George S., *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: A Sequel to Campbell's History*, Boston: Rand Avery, 1888; reprint edition, Argyle Municipality Historical & Genealogical Society, 1995.

*The Grand Hotel, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, ca 1900, Microfiche of the originals held by the Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Province House

*The Mercantile Agency Reference Book (and key) for the Dominion of Canada*, R.G. Dun & Co, 1892.

*The Nova Scotia Reports, Volume XXIII, Containing Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia*, Benjamin Russell and John M Gilbert reporters, Toronto: Carswell Company Ltd., 1893.

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., *Beautiful Nova Scotia, The Tourist's Eden, The Brief Story of the Summer Outings in the Queen of Vacation Lands with a Short Description of Some of its Delightful Resorts, Quaint Old Historic Towns and Surpassing Scenery*, ca. 1895.

Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., *Land of Evangeline Route, The Yarmouth Line, The Shortest and Most Pleasant Route Between Boston and Nova Scotia and Cape Breton*, ca. 1894.

*Yarmouth Town Directory and Guide*, John Miller compiler, Yarmouth, NS: Printed at the Light Office, 1895.

**Government Documents:**

Canada. *Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume I*. Ottawa, 1893.

Canada. Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1891*. Ottawa, 1891.

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Sessional Papers*, 1870-1894.

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth*. Yarmouth, N.S., 1885-1890.

**Nova Scotia**

House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings*, 1889-1895.

House of Assembly. *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1879-1895.

Town of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Town Council of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*. Yarmouth, 1897.

**Newspapers:**

*Boston Evening Transcript* (Boston, Mass.), 1891-1893.

*Progress* (Saint John, N.B.), 1893.

*Yarmouth Herald* (Yarmouth, N.S.), 1890-1937.

*Yarmouth Light* (Yarmouth, N.S.), 1898-1912.

*Yarmouth Telegram* (Yarmouth, N.S.), 1890-1931.

*Yarmouth Times* (Yarmouth, NS), 1890-1918.

**SECONDARY SOURCES****Monographs:**

Acheson, T.W., *Saint John, The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Armstrong, Christopher, and H.V. Nelles, *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company, Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897*, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977.

Artibise, Alan, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*, Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.

Beck, J. Murray, *The Evolution of Municipal Government in Nova Scotia, 1749-1973*, A Study prepared for the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, 1973.

Beck, J. Murray, *The Government of Nova Scotia*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.



Careless, J.M.S., *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities and Identities in Canada Before 1914*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Forbes, E.R. and D.A. Muise, editors, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, Toronto and Fredericton: University of Toronto Press and Acadiensis Press, 1990.

Kinney, J. E., *Historical Development of Activities in Connection with Sea-borne Traffic Between Yarmouth, Nova Scotia and Boston, Massachusetts, from 1855 to 1928*, Yarmouth, N.S., 1928.

Kinney, J.E., *The Port of Yarmouth and Its Development, A Brief Historical Sketch from the Early Days to the Present*, Yarmouth, NS: Kiwanis Club of Yarmouth, 1930.

Lawson, J. Murray, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1902.

McKay, Ian, *The Quest of the Folk, Antimodernism and Cultural Scetion in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Naylor, R.T., *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914, Volume II*, Toronto, 1975.

Reilly, Sharon, *Selected Buildings in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, Manuscript Report No. 262, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1977.

Ruff, Eric and Laura Bradley, *Images of Our Past, Historic Yarmouth, Town and County*, Halifax and Yarmouth, N.S.: Nimbus Publishing Limited and The Yarmouth County Museum, 1997.

Sager, Eric W. and Gerald E. Panting, *Maritime Capital, The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Saywell, John T., editor, *The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898*, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1960.

Taylor, John, *Ottawa, An Illustrated History, The History of Canadian Cities*, Toronto and Ottawa: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986.

**Articles:**

Acheson, T.W., "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910", *Acadiensis*, I (Spring 1972) : 3-28.

Alexander, David, and Gerry Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889", *Acadiensis*, VII (Spring 1978) : 3-38.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth, "Community, ethos and local initiative in urban growth: review of the theme in Canadian Urban History", *Urban History Yearbook 1983*, Leicester University Press, 1983, pp. 53-72.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development", *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire*, XII, (October/octobre 1983) : 77-99.

Harvey, D.C., "The Struggle for the New England Form of Township Government in Nova Scotia", *Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report*, (1933) : 15-22.

Huskins, Bonnie, "'A Tale of Two Cities': Bosterism and the Imagination of Community during the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John and Halifax in 1860", *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*, XXVII (October 1999) : 31-46.

Muise, D.A. "The Industrial Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force 1871-1921", *Acadiensis*, 20 (Spring 1991) : 3-30.

Muise, D.A., "'The Great Transformation': Changing the Urban Face of Nova Scotia, 1871-1921", *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 11 (1991) : 1-42.

Panting, Gerald, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889" in Lewis Fischer and Eric W. Sager, *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914*, St. John's, Nfld: Memorial University, 1978.

Platt, D.C., "Financing the Expansion of Cities, 1860-1914", *Urban History Review*, (February 1983) : 61-66.

Raitz, Karl B., and John Paul Jones III, "The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol" in *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol. 9, No. 1, (1988) : 17-36.

**Guides:**

Bishop, Olga, *Publications of the Government of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, 1758-1952*, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1957.

Gremmill, J.A., editor, *The Parliamentary Companion, 1897*, (Ottawa: J. Drurie & Co., 1897).

Johnson, J K, editor, *The Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967*, Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968.

**Theses and Research Papers:**

Aitken, Robert M., "Localism and National Identity in Yarmouth, N.S., 1830-1879", MA Thesis, Trent University, 1976.

Bernards, Michael Francis, "Breaking Industry and Breaking Backs: The Collapse of the Bank of Yarmouth, 1905", MA Research Essay, Carleton University, 1991.

DeLottinville, Peter, "The St Croix Manufacturing Company and Its Influence on the St Croix Community, 1880-1892", MA Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1979.

Phinney, Susan L, "The 'Land of Evangeline' : The Dominion Atlantic Railway and the Tourist Promotion of Nova Scotia" MA Research Paper, Carleton University, 1991.

Reilly, J. Nolan, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: A Study of Amherst, 1891-1925", PhD Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983.

**Other:**

*Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada, The Atlantic Canada Shipping Project*, St. John's, Newfoundland : Maritime History Archive, Memorial University, 1998. CD Rom containing information on the Atlantic Canada shipping industry, derived from two British record series—certificates of registry and crew agreements.

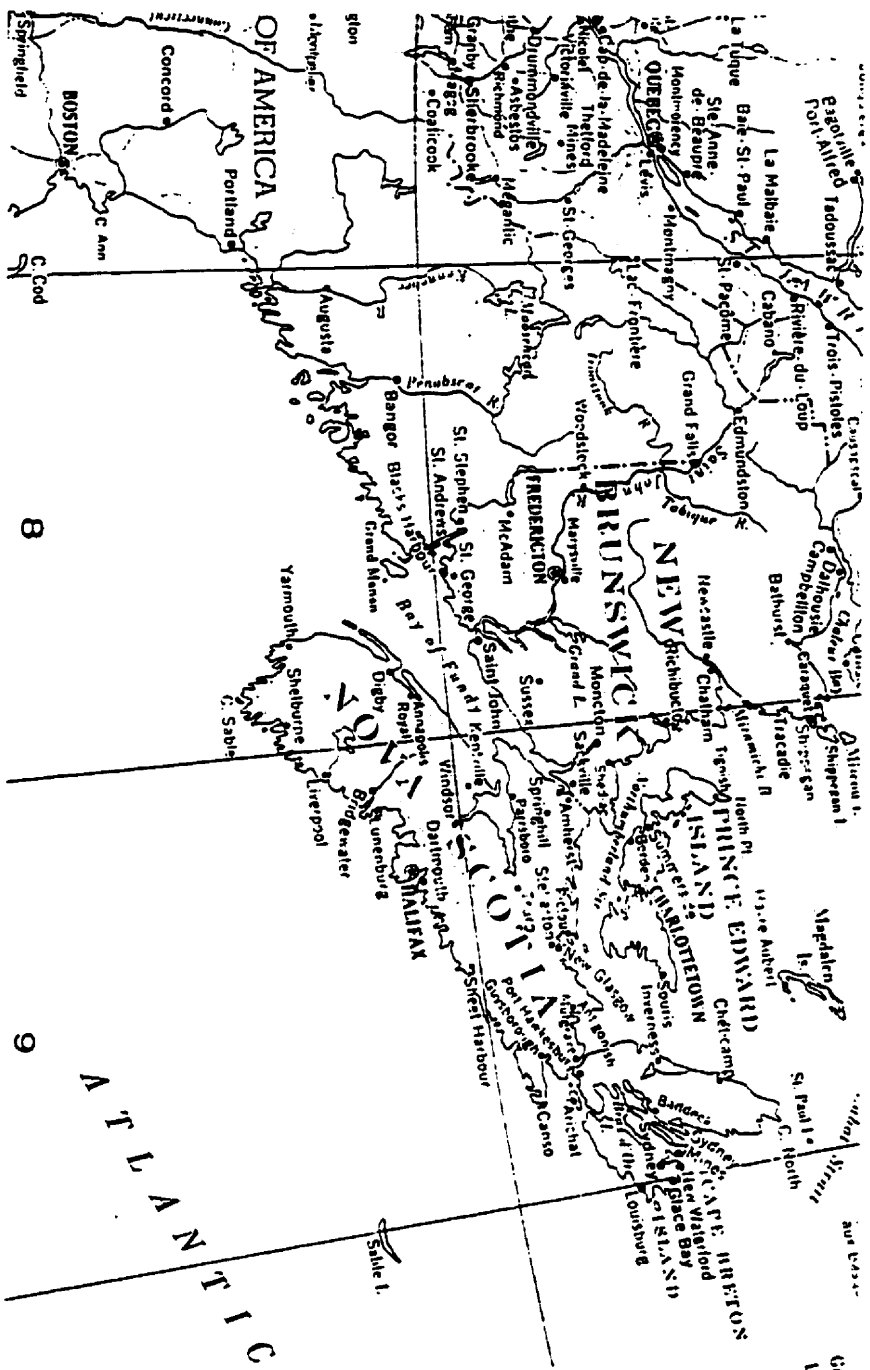
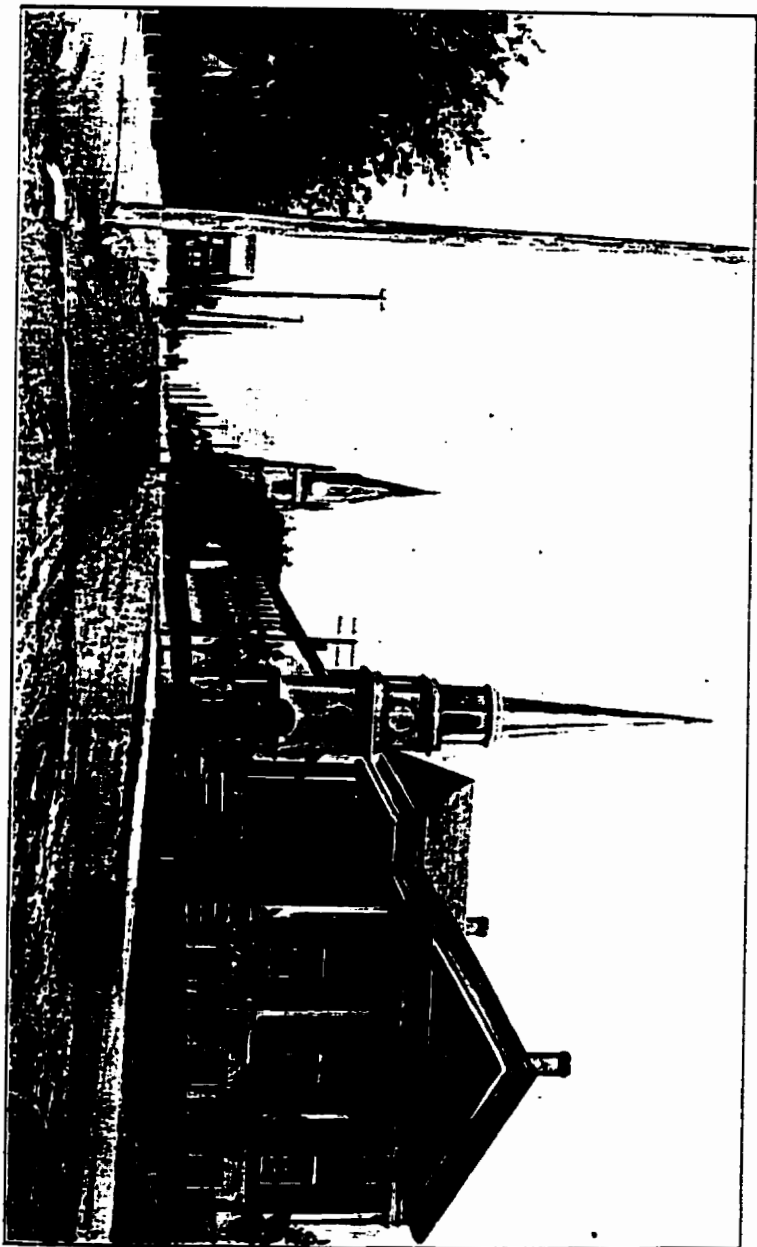


Illustration 1: Map of Nova Scotia

Source: Canada. Surveys and Mapping Branch, *Atlas and Gazetteer of Canada*, (1969), p. 83



1890.

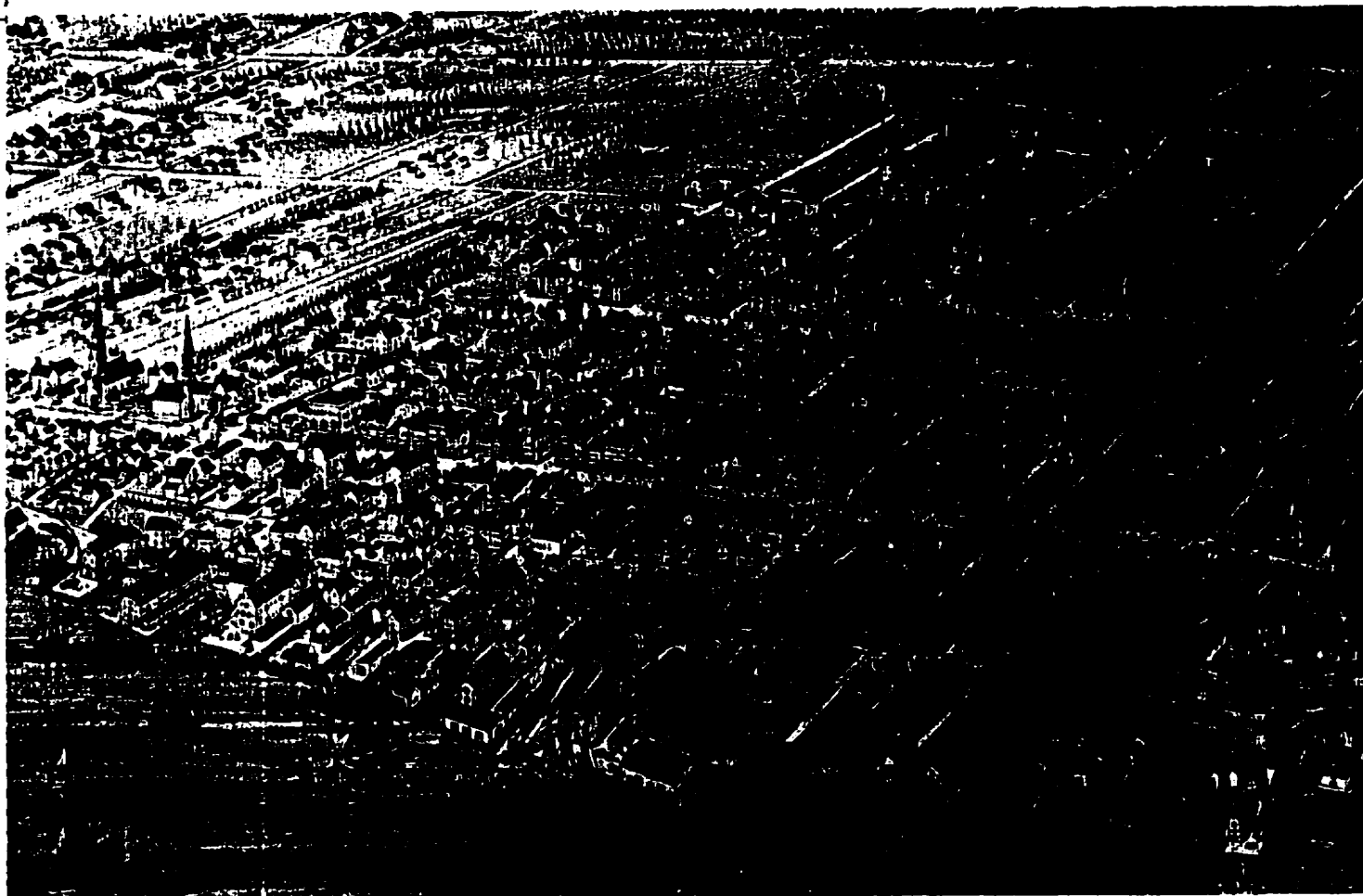
Court House and first Baptist and first Tabernacle Churches.

**Illustration 2:** Photograph of Main Street, Yarmouth, N.S., looking north, 1890  
**Source:** J. Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902), p. 280.



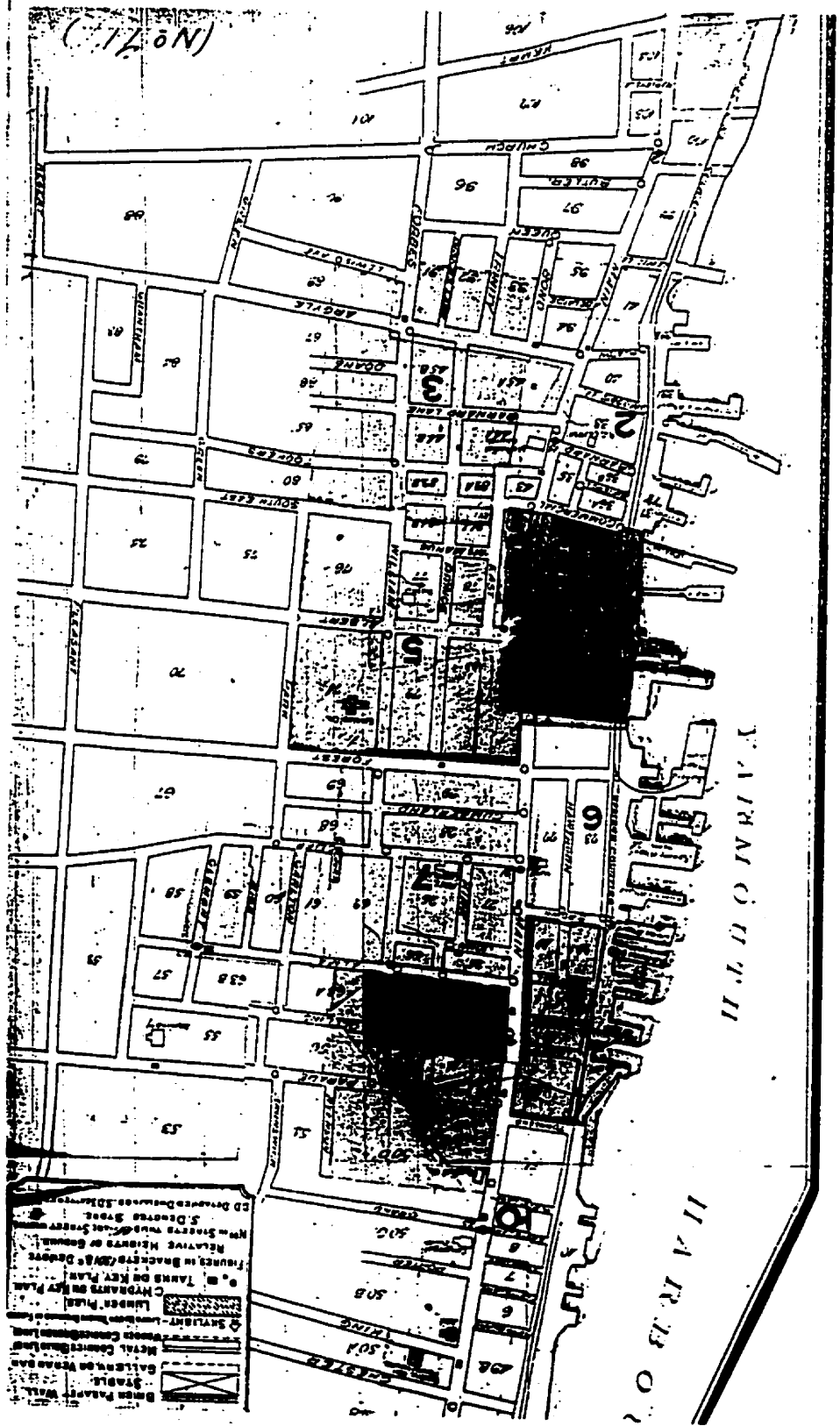
**Illustration 3:** Photograph commemorating the visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen to Yarmouth, 27 August 1894.

**Source:** This photograph was taken by one of the Parker Brothers, well-known Yarmouth photographers who had a studio on Main Street. The original is held by the Yarmouth County Museum Archives.



**Illustration 4:** "Bird's eye view" of Yarmouth, N.S., Duncan D. Currie, 1889

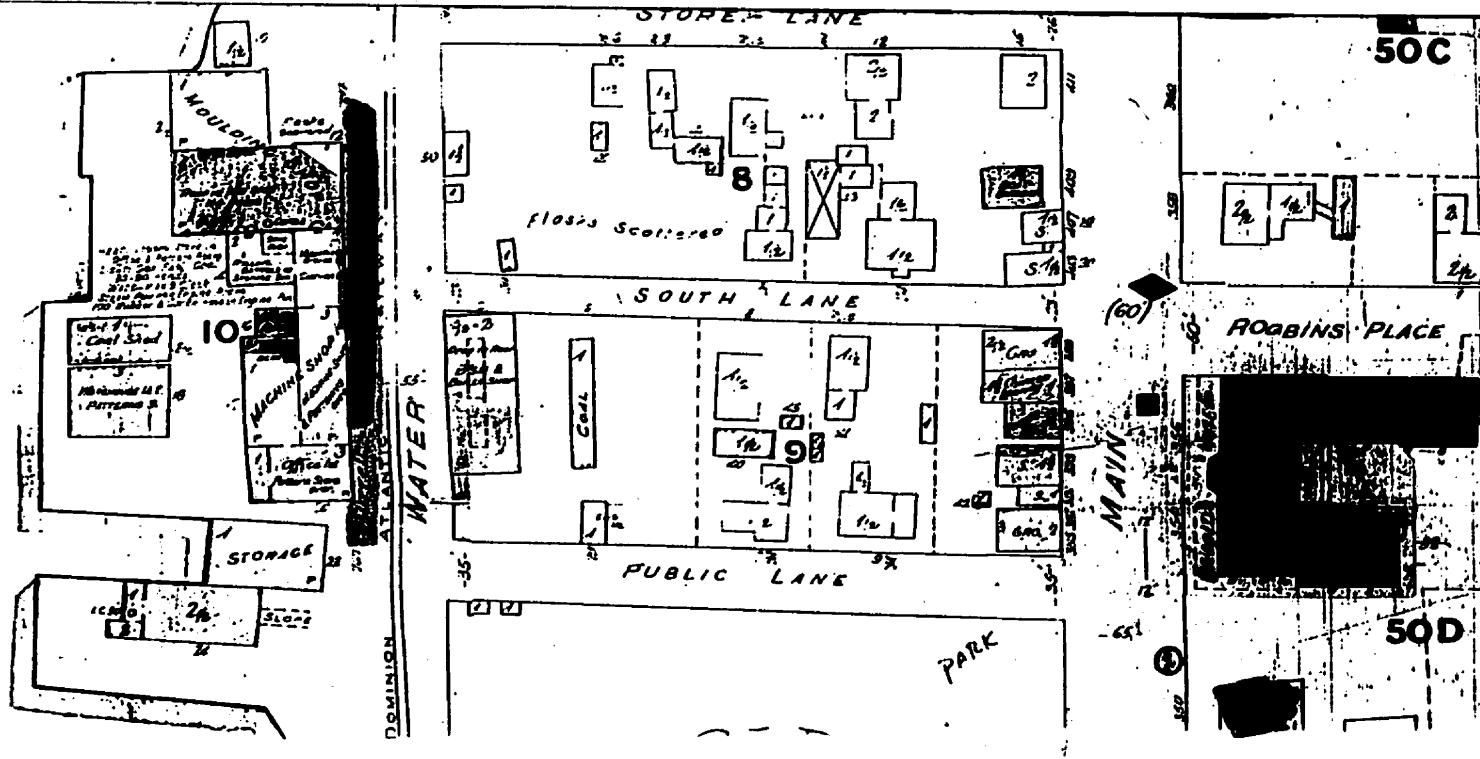
**Source:** National Archives of Canada, Yarmouth, N.S., 1899, D. Currie, Publisher, Moncton, N.B., PAC 16638.



**Illustration 5: Street layout of Yarmouth's core**  
Source: Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Insurance Plan of Yarmouth, N.S., microfilm reel #33991.  
Map No. 71, surveyed 1891, revised August 1900.



H  
H A R B  
H



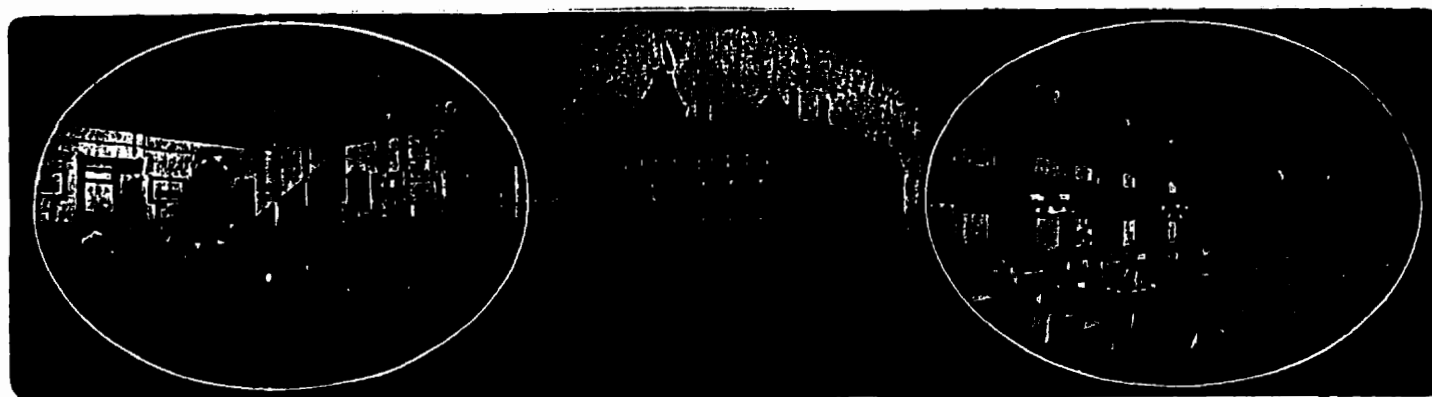
**Illustration 6:** Section of Yarmouth's core showing the location of the Grand Hotel, Burrell Johnson Iron Company, and the railway

**Source:** Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Insurance Plan of Yarmouth, N.S., microfilm reel #3991. Map No. 71, surveyed 1891, revised August 1900.



**Illustration 7:** Yarmouth's First Town Council. Mayor James J. Lovitt is surrounded by councillors James Burrill (top), A.F. Stoneman (right), G.G. Sanderson (right), Joseph R. Wyman (bottom), B.B. Law (left), and Nathan B. Lewis (left).

**Source:** J. Murray Lawson, compiler, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902), page tipped in between pp. 128 and 129.



OFFICE.

## GRAND HOTEL.

DINING ROOM.

The Grand (see page 609) is one of the notable Hotels of Canada. Built in 1894 by the Grand Hotel Company, Limited, and opened under the management of a gentleman who had had many years' experience in conducting first-class Hotels in the United States, it at once took rank with the best Houses in the Dominion, and has ever since been widening its circle of friends and satisfied guests. Before the opening of the Grand the unusual advantages of Yarmouth as a summer resort were almost unknown to tourists. Since then, and with the increased facilities for travel, our delightful summer temperature, natural beauties of scenery, and attractions for fishermen and sportsmen, are taken advantage of each season by increasing hundreds. In some parts of the United States the people are subject to a malady they call "hay fever," which comes on them in the autumn. It is quite unknown here, and it has been found by persons who are subject to it in the States, that if they come to Yarmouth they enjoy perfect immunity from it. This fact has been the means of making Yarmouth a favorite resort for "hay fever" patients.

### Illustration 8: "The Grand Hotel"

Source: This was in the advertisement section of J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth Past and Present, A Book of Reminiscences*, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902).

## Nova Scotia Hotels.

| PLACE.       | NAME.           | PROPRIETOR.              | Per Day.     | Per Week. |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Halifax      | Halifax         | Hesslein & Son           | 2.50 to 3    | Agre't.   |
| "            | Queen's         | A. B. Sheraton           | 1.50 2.50    | "         |
| "            | Waverley        | Miss Romans              | 2.50         | "         |
| "            | Royal           | Mrs. Winsor              | 1.25         | "         |
| "            | Albion          | Grant Bros.              | 1.50         | "         |
| Bedford      | Belleview       | Wm. Wilson               | 1.50         | "         |
| Newport      | Newport         | W. Gibson                | 1.25         | 0.00      |
| Windsor      | Dufferin        | Schultz & Jordan         | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Victoria        | T. Doran                 | 1.50         | Agre't.   |
| "            | Windsor         | T. Gibson                | 1.25         | "         |
| "            | Avon            | W. Hunter                | 1.25         | "         |
| Hantsport    | American        | E. W. Dalton             | 1.25         | 6.00      |
| "            | Hantsport       | Jas. Wall                | 1.25         | 4 to 7    |
| Wolfville    | American        | J. W. Harris             | 1.50         | 4 to 7    |
| "            | Central         | Mrs. C. R. Quinn         | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Wolfville       | C. E. Eastwood           | 1.50         | 5.00      |
| "            | Bay View        | Mrs. H. Brown            | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Village House   | J. W. Beckwith           | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Kent Lodge      | Miss Moore               | Agre't.      | Agre't.   |
| Pt. Williams | Port Williams   | M. A. Orr                | 1.00         | 5.00      |
| Canning      | Waverley        | A. B. Baxter             | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| Kentville    | Aberdeen        | D. McLeod & Son          | 1.50         | Agre't.   |
| "            | Kentville       | Jas. Lyons               | 1.50         | "         |
| "            | Porter          | Rufus Porter             | 1.50         | "         |
| "            | American        | Jas. McIntosh            | 1.25         | "         |
| Kingsport    | Kingsport House | E. C. Borden             | 1.25         | "         |
| "            | Central House   | Edw. Viner               | 1.25         | "         |
| Berwick      | Central         | Mrs. Vaughn              | 1.25         | 5.00      |
| "            | Thorndyke       | Fred Carlyle             | 1.25         | 5.00      |
| Aylesford    | Aylesford       | M. N. Graves             | 1.00         | 5.00      |
| Middleton    | American        | D. Feindol               | 1.50         | 4.00      |
| "            | Middletown      | J. M. Ross               | 1.50         | Agre't.   |
| Bridgetown   | Grand Central   | E. G. Langley            | 1.25         | "         |
| "            | Revere          | Mrs. Russell             | 1.25         | 5.00      |
| Annapolis    | Clifton         | W. McLelland             | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | American        | Mrs. Gavaza              | 1.50         | 7.00      |
| "            | Queen           | S. Perkins               | 1.50         | 7.00      |
| Bear River   | Bear River      | R. McLelland             | 1.50         | 7.00      |
| Digby        | Royal           | John Daley               | 7.50         | Agre't.   |
| "            | Short's         | Mrs. Short               | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Digby           | Mrs. J. W. Wright        | 1.50         | 7.00      |
| "            | Waverley        | Miss Woodman             | 1.50         | Agre't.   |
| Weymouth     | Weymouth        | R. L. Black              | 1.50         | "         |
| "            | American        | J. W. Goodwin            | 1.50         | "         |
| Yarmouth     | Grand Hotel     | Grand Hotel Co., Limited | 2.50 to 7.50 | "         |
| "            | Queen           | E. M. Nichols            | 1.50 to 3    | "         |
| "            | Lorne           | J. H. Huribert           | 1.50 to 3    | "         |
| Tusket       | American        | W. H. Gilman             | 1.25         | "         |
| Lockport     | Clifton         | J. G. Locke              | 1.50         | "         |
| Liverpool    | Grove Mansion   | Mrs. Hill                | 1.50         | 6.00      |
| "            | Acadia          | Mrs. E. Sellon           | 1.25         | Agre't.   |
| Lunenburg    | King's          | J. W. King               | 2.00         | "         |
| Bridgewater  | Fairview        | F. W. Clark              | 1.50         | "         |
| "            | "               | J. B. Russell            | 1.25         | "         |
| "            | Riverside       | W. J. Ward               | 1.25         | "         |

Tourists will find the above hotels comfortable and home-like. Large, airy rooms; good attendance; pleasant grounds, and lots of room for the little ones to play out of doors.

**Illustration 9:** "Nova Scotia Hotels", ca. 1894

**Source:** Yarmouth Steamship Co. Ltd., *Land of Evangeline Route, The Yarmouth Line, The Shortest and Most Pleasant Route Between Boston and Nova Scotia and Cape Breton*, ca. 1894, p. 12.

# THE GRAND HOTEL, YARMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA.

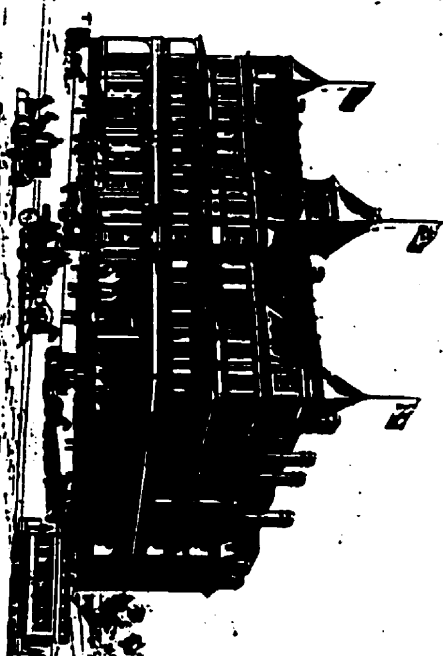
The Hundred Rooms - American Plan - Moderate Rates - Special Prices by the Week or Season.

The "GRAND" is a new brick and freestone hotel of the first class, built in 1894, and first opened to the public July 2, 1894. The House was built and furnished with especial reference to the demands of modern tourist and business travel, and will be found to be a model of quiet comfort, elegance, and convenience. It is heated by the hot-water system and open grates, and lighted by the incandescent electric light. There are a number of very pleasantly situated suites of rooms, with private parlor, hall, and bath connecting, that would afford luxurious accommodation to small family parties. The House is situated on Blain Street, opposite the Park, and commands from the windows and roof an unsurpassed view of the town, the harbor, the Milton lakes, and the Bay of Fundy.

### HISTORIC CARS PASS THE FRONT.

The Company had the good fortune to secure for the opening and management of the "GRAND" the services of Sir, Charles T. Wilson, who was for many years manager of the Tremont House, Boston, and more recently of the Lookout Inn, Lookout Mountain, Tenn., the Broadway Central, New York, and of the Glen House, White Mountains. (The Glen was burned in 1891, but it will be remembered by those who have been its guests while Sir Wilson was in charge, as the best hotel in the White Mountains region.)

The "GRAND," during the few months of its existence, has earned for itself an amount of praise and flattering eulogy that is not only unusual, but quite extraordinary. The House is classed by its guests as one of the three best in Canada. Among the guests entertained last summer were His Excellency Lord Aberdeen (Governor General of Canada) with Lady Aberdeen and suite, and His Excellency volunteered the most complimentary remarks regarding the House and its management. Circulars containing full information may be obtained, and rooms secured in advance, on application to the Manager.



THE GRAND HOTEL COMPANY (Limited) }  
 PROPRIETOR.

J. B. HARRIS, PRESIDENT.  
 CHAS. T. WILSON, MANAGER.  
 A. W. HARRIS, SECY.-TREAS.

**Illustration 10:** "The Grand Hotel, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia" advertisement, ca. 1895.  
 Source: Yarmouth Steamship Company Ltd., *Beautiful Nova Scotia, The Tourist's Eden, The Brief Story of the Summer Outings in the Queen of Vacation Lands with a Short Description of Some of its Delightful Resorts, Quaint Historic Towns and Surpassing Scenery*, ca. 1895.

**Appendix 1 : Official Participants in the planning and activities for the Visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, 27-28 August 1894.**

Managing and Citizens' committee members:

Loran E Baker\*  
 Jacob Bingay\*\*\*  
 Mayor James Burrill\*  
 Joseph H. Cann\*\*\*  
 Thomas B Flint\*  
 Paul L. Hatfield\*\* (not a town resident, Warden of the Municipality)  
 George W. Johnson\*\*\*  
 Thomas Killam 2<sup>nd</sup> \*  
 Bowman B. Law\*\*\*  
 William Law\*  
 Nathan B. Lewis\*\*\*  
 John Lovitt\*  
 George G. Sanderson\*  
 E. K. Spinney\*\*\*  
 Augustus F. Stoneman\*  
 Joseph R. Wyman\*\*

- \* Managing and Citizens' committee member
- \*\* Managing Committee member
- \*\*\* Citizen's Committee member

Flags & Decorating Committee members:

Charles F. Brown  
 A. J. Cann  
 Augustus Cann  
 Henry Churchill  
 Arthur S. Cook  
 John Guest  
 John Haley  
 Inglis Hatfield  
 J. D. Kirk  
 J. M.. Lawson  
 George C. Lewis  
 John G. Richards  
 W. L. Rogers  
 Arthur Stoneman  
 Charles R. Stoneman

**Appendix 1 : Official Participants in the planning and activities for the Visit of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, 27-28 August 1894.**

Women who participated in the National Council of Women meeting with Lady Aberdeen as guest:

Mrs L. E. Baker (Mary Isabel Creighton Baker)  
 Mrs. A. Cameron (Marion Alice Robbins Cameron)  
 Mrs. S. A. Crowell (Mary Edna Crowell)  
 Mrs. Cereno Johnson D'Entremont (not a town resident)  
 Miss Antionnette (Nettie) Forbes  
 Mrs. I. H. Forshay  
 Mrs Israel H. Goudey (Margaret Crosby Goudey)  
 Mrs A. C. Harding (Isabelle Byers Harding)  
 Miss Eudora Hilton  
 Mrs Henry Lewis (Esther Holmes Lewis)  
 Mrs T. M. Flint Lewis (Jane Hunter Flint Lewis)  
 Mrs E. D. Millar  
 Mrs E. B. Moore  
 Mrs William C. Rowe (Georgie Durkee Rowe)  
 Mrs William E. Trefry (Susan H Chipman Trefry)  
 Mrs Edward Martyn Viets (Anne Rowley Moody Viets)  
 Mrs J.L.R. Webster (Helen O G Webster)  
 Mrs Edward Williams (Lois Anne Horton Williams)  
 Mrs John Young (Lydia Hibbard Young)

Other Participants:

James Brignell  
 Jennie Corning (minor)  
 A. W. Eakins  
 Henry A. Grantham  
 George Hutchinson Guest  
 Thomas R. Jolly  
 Frank Killam  
 Alex Lawson  
 Lieutenant Lewis (identity unknown)  
 J. D. Metcalfe  
 George J. Morton  
 Dorothy Murray (minor)  
 Albert A. Pothier (not a town resident, MLA for Yarmouth County)  
 Thomas R. Seeley

## Appendix 2 :Yarmouth Board of Trade corporators, May 1894

|                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Bingay, Thomas VB      | banker           |
| Bingay, Jacob          | ship owner       |
| Cann, Hugh B.          | merchant         |
| Cann, Augustus         | merchant         |
| Cook, M. Pickles       | merchant         |
| Crosby, Lorenzo        | merchant         |
| Dennis, James Duncan   | merchant         |
| Eakins, Robert S.      | merchant         |
| Eakins, Arthur W.      | merchant         |
| Haley, John H.         | manufacturer     |
| Haley, Alvin           | manufacturer     |
| Haley, Samuel C.       | manufacturer     |
| Hall, Thomas           | merchant         |
| Hatfield, Job          | insurance broker |
| Hood, Henry A.         | merchant         |
| Horton, Jonathan       | trader           |
| Johns, Thomas W.       | bank manager     |
| Johnson, George W.     | manufacturer     |
| Jolly, Thomas R.       | merchant         |
| Law, William           | merchant         |
| Lovitt, William L.     | ship owner       |
| McLaughlin, James      | merchant         |
| McLaughlin, Daniel     | merchant         |
| Millen, William        | merchant         |
| Parker, Edward F.      | merchant         |
| Porter, William Lloyd  | merchant         |
| Purdey, William C.     | merchant         |
| Richards, Charles C.   | merchant         |
| Richardson, Harry A.   | bank manager     |
| Rogers, Joseph R.      | insurance broker |
| Ross, William D.       | merchant         |
| Ryerson, S.M.          | merchant         |
| Spinney, Edgar K.      | merchant         |
| Stoneman, A.F.         | merchant         |
| Stoneman, Thomas W.    | merchant         |
| Taylor, George S.      | tailor           |
| Tooker, Norman B.      | merchant         |
| Van Horne, Arthur R.   | mechanic         |
| Vickery, Edgar Jenkins | merchant         |
| Wetmore, William R.    | merchant         |
| Wyman, Joseph R.       | [merchant]       |
| Wyman, L.B.            | merchant         |

Source: National Archives of Canada, RG 68, lib/fol 28/244, microfilm reel 3991, Town of Yarmouth Board of Trade Certificate, pp. 244-246.



**Appendix 3 : Grand Hotel Company (Limited) subscribers/shareholders, 1893-1894**

Loran E. Baker  
 E. B. Cann  
 Hugh D. Cann  
 Robert Caie  
 Samuel A. Crowell  
 G. M. Dane (for T B Dane & Son)  
 A. W. Eakins  
 Henry Lewis  
 N. B. Lewis  
 John Lovitt  
 William D. Lovitt  
 William L. Lovitt  
 J. W. Moody  
 C. C. Richards  
 E. K. Spinney  
 D. Sullivan  
 G. S. Taylor  
 E. J. Vickery  
 William Law  
 J. G. Hall & Co of Boston, Mass.

**Corporate Members per the incorporation record, 17 April 1893:**

|                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Loran E. Baker    | (First or Provisional Director) |
| William D. Lovitt | (First or Provisional Director) |
| Robert Caie       | (First or Provisional Director) |
| Hugh D. Cann      | (First or Provisional Director) |
| Arthur W. Eakins  | (First or Provisional Director) |
| John Lovitt       |                                 |
| Nathan B. Lewis   |                                 |
| Samuel A. Crowell |                                 |
| Edgar K. Spinney  |                                 |

**Sources:**

Dalhousie University Archives (hereafter DUA), Grand Hotel Company Limited fonds, MS-4-210, file 18, Corporate Minute Book, 1893-1900.

Nova Scotia. House of Assembly. *Journal and Proceedings*, "Provincial Secretary's Report, Appendix No. 12--Joint Stock Companies", pp. 8-9.

**Appendix 4 : Profiles of the participation of selected individuals in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector**

| <b>Name</b>      | <b>Shipping:</b>      | <b>Banking:</b> | <b>Transportation:</b> | <b>Industries:</b> | <b>Utilities:</b> | <b>Tourism: Grand Hotel</b>   |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| George H. Lovitt | Elite Ship Owner #5   | 2/2             | 0/2                    | 0/5                | 2/4               | 0/2   |
| W. D. Lovitt     | Elite Ship Owner #1   | 2/2             | 2/2                    | 3/5                | 4/4               | Director  |
| L. E. Baker      | Elite Ship Owner #4   | 2/2             | 2/2                    | 1/5                | 3/4               | Director  |
| John Lovitt      | Elite Ship Owner #11  | 2/2             | 2/2                    | 1/5                | 4/4               | Shareholder and corporate member, 1893                                  |
| William Law      | Elite Ship Owner #10  | 2/2             | 1/2                    | 1/5                | 1/4               | Share subscriber who later withdrew his subscription                    |
| N. B. Lewis      | Prominent Ship Owner  | 2/2             | 1/2                    | 0/5                | 2/4               | Shareholder and corporate member, 1893                                  |
| Joseph R. Wyanan | No vessel ownership   | 0/2             | 0/2                    | 1/5                | 1/4               | No interests in the hotel other than to be a supplier of bolsters, 1894 |
| A W Eakins       | Prominent Ship Owner  | 2/2             | 1/2                    | 1/5                | 0/4               | Director and shareholder  |
| S A Crowell      | Had shares in vessels | 1/2             | 2/2                    | 2/5                | 0/4               | Director and shareholder  |

**Source:** See Note on Sources and Method, pp. 137-142.

**Appendix 5: Value of rateable property for the town districts in the Municipality of Yarmouth, for the years 1888-1890**

| <b>District</b>                      | <b>1888</b>                                       | <b>1889</b>  | <b>1890</b>                                      |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| 7-Milton, north end of town          | \$ 972,580 (27%)                                  | \$ 891,937 (23%)                                   | \$ 869,200 (22%)                                 |
| 8-Court House                        | \$ 619,250 (17%)                                  | \$ 628,175 (16%)                                   | \$ 667,227 (17%)                                 |
| 9-Centre, commercial section of town | \$ 933,160 (26%)                                  | \$1,275,200 (33%)                                  | \$1,318,705 (34%)                                |
| 10-Exchange Building                 | \$ 640,650 (18%)                                  | \$ 649,050 (17%)                                   | \$ 647,250 (17%)                                 |
| 11-South End                         | \$ 420,455 (12%)                                  | \$ 421,685 (11%)                                   | \$ 377,490 (10%)                                 |
| Total values:                        | \$3,586,095<br>67 % of total municipal assessment | \$ 3,866, 047<br>69% of total municipal assessment | \$3,879,872<br>70% of total municipal assessment |

**Source:**

Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth in the County of Yarmouth*, "Statement Showing the Value of Rateable Property in the Election Districts comprising of the Municipality of Yarmouth", Yarmouth, N.S. ,1890, p.84.

## Appendix 6 : Population and Property for the Town of Yarmouth--by districts, 1890/91

|  | South End         | Exchange Building | Centre<br>(Commercial<br>centre) | Court House     | Milton<br>(North end) |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Town population,<br>6,087 <sup>1</sup>                   | 26%<br>(1545)     | 25%<br>(1525)     | 17%<br>(1049)                    | 19%<br>(1175)   | 13%<br>(793)          |
| Francophone<br>population<br>14% (864/6087) <sup>2</sup> | 29%<br>(443/1545) | 18%<br>(271/1525) | 4%<br>(45/1049)                  | 4%<br>(46/1175) | 7%<br>(59/793)        |
| Proportion of<br>Rateable Property <sup>3</sup>          | 10%               | 17%               | 34%                              | 17%             | 22%                   |
| Eligible Voters<br>(1081) <sup>4</sup>                   | 19%<br>(207)      | 23%<br>(250)      | 24%<br>(252)                     | 18%<br>(198)    | 16%<br>(174)          |

<sup>1</sup>Canada. *Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume I, "Table III-Civil Condition",* Ottawa, 1893), pp. 142-143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp.142-143.

<sup>3</sup>Municipality of Yarmouth. *Minutes and Reports of the Council of the Municipality of Yarmouth, N.S.,* (Yarmouth, N.S., 1890), p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> YCMA, Town and Municipality of Yarmouth, "Revisors' [Voters] List", 1890, YMS-7-3.

**Appendix 7 : Comparison of the participation of event participants, by group, in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector**

| <b>Event Participants</b>                       | <b>Shipping</b> | <b>Banking</b> | <b>Transportation</b> | <b>Industries</b> | <b>Utilities</b> | <b>Tourism: Grand Hotel Company</b> |
|---|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 15 Citizens' and Managing committees members    | 13/15           | 11/15          | 10/15                 | 10/15             | 11/15            | 5/15                                |
| 15 Flags & Decorating Committee members         | 1/15            | 4/15           | 2/15                  | 3/15              | 0/15             | 1/15                                |
| 7 Women Participants who held personal property | 0/7             | 3/7            | 2/7                   | 0/7               | 0/7              | 0/7                                 |
| 13 Living Spouses of Women Participants         | 7/13            | 5/13           | 4/13                  | 5/13              | 2/13             | 3/13                                |
| 10 Other Participants                           | 5/10            | 3/10           | 4/10                  | 2/10              | 0/10             | 2/10                                |

Sources: Note on Sources and Method, pp. 137-142.

**Appendix 8 : Comparison of the participation of event participants to the Grand Hotel subscribers/shareholders in the development of the Yarmouth economy, by sector**

|   | Shipping               | Banking                | Transportation         | Industries             | Utilities               |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>15 Citizens' and Managing committees members</b> | <b>13/40<br/>(33%)</b> | <b>11/39<br/>(28%)</b> | <b>10/36<br/>(28%)</b> | <b>10/34<br/>(29%)</b> | <b>11/23<br/>(48%)</b>  |
|   |                        |                        |                        |                        |                         |
| <b>15 Flags &amp; Decorating Committee</b>          | <b>1/40<br/>(2%)</b>   | <b>4/39<br/>(10%)</b>  | <b>2/36<br/>(6%)</b>   | <b>3/34<br/>(9%)</b>   | <b>0</b>                |
|   |                        |                        |                        |                        |                         |
| <b>7 Women Participants who held property</b>       | <b>0</b>               | <b>3/39<br/>(8%)</b>   | <b>2/36<br/>(6%)</b>   | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                |
| <b>13 Living Spouses of Women Participants</b>      | <b>7/40<br/>(18%)</b>  | <b>5/39<br/>(13%)</b>  | <b>4/36<br/>(11%)</b>  | <b>5/34<br/>(15%)</b>  | <b>2/23<br/>(9%)</b>    |
| <b>10 Other Participants</b>                        | <b>5/40<br/>(12%)</b>  | <b>3/39<br/>(8%)</b>   | <b>4/36<br/>(11%)</b>  | <b>2/34<br/>(6%)</b>   | <b>0</b>                |
|   |                        |                        |                        |                        |                         |
| <b>21 Grand Hotel Shareholders</b>                  | <b>14/40<br/>(35%)</b> | <b>13/39<br/>(33%)</b> | <b>14/36<br/>(38%)</b> | <b>14/34<br/>(41%)</b> | <b>10/23<br/>(43 %)</b> |
| <b>Totals</b>                                       | <b>40 (100%)</b>       | <b>39 (100%)</b>       | <b>36 (100%)</b>       | <b>34 (100%)</b>       | <b>23 (100%)</b>        |

**Sources: Note on Sources and Method, pp. 137-142.**