

A History of the Collins Family of Placentia, Newfoundland

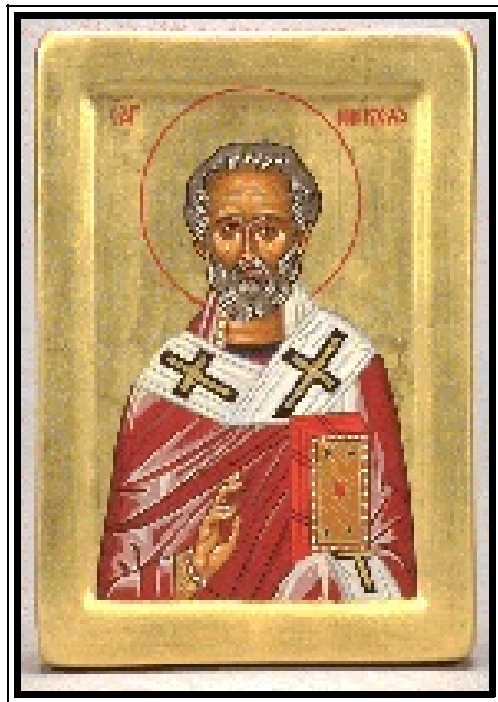


Placentia prior to 1896 - MUN collection

by John Paul Bradford, MA
Last Updated: November 16, 2013

I Introduction

Out of the ancient fields of southwest England emerged a family which eventually found its way about two hundred and fifty years ago to the Avalon peninsula in eastern Newfoundland. This paper sets out what we know of the origins of this family, how it probably came to Newfoundland and how its first five generations lived and toiled here. An investigation into the Collins family of Placentia, Newfoundland suffers from the same handicap as most other Newfoundland families in that records for the earliest periods are spotty and for some span of years non-existent. Nevertheless, tombstones, church and government records and several



An icon of Saint Nicholas of Myra

precious and unique early documents and family traditions allow us to identify the main story until more standard references, such as the directories of the mid to late nineteenth century and the censuses of the twentieth, become available. The Collins family has some engaging personalities and unusual experiences making it one of the more intriguing families in the history of Newfoundland.

A deliberate choice has been made in this history to include as much original material as possible allowing the reader to taste the flavour of old documents for themselves or to hear the very words written by members of the family in their letters, petitions, non-fiction works and novels. Although this is a Collins history, it seems only fair to include the children of Collins women whose children bear the surnames of their fathers. However, to make this history manageable, their grandchildren are not pursued. We have also chosen to present, where possible, information on the husbands of these Collins women. In the periods we are studying - roughly 1730 to 1950 - there are not many records available for married

women but by presenting the lives of their husbands one can gain an appreciation for the lives they led. This history also includes an extensive section on the Goodall family of Placentia. This seemed reasonable since every Collins of this line in Placentia is also descended from this family.

Origin of the Surname

For reasons which will become clear later on, the Collins of Placentia are believed to be of English origin.¹ The English surname Collins is a “double diminutive” of the Christian name

¹ Appendix One at the rear of this volume contains a brief outline of the Irish Collins Family of Placentia.

Nicholas. Nicholas was a name introduced into England by the Normans after they conquered the country in 1066. Prior to this, the English used a variety of Anglo-Saxon names most of which have not survived to the present time. Saint Nicholas, the martyr bishop of Myra in Asia Minor in the fourth century A.D., was quite popular in medieval England with many churches dedicated to him. His feast day was and is on December 6. Nicholas became a popular choice as a personal name among many English families including the peasantry. According to P.H. Reaney's *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, a pet-form of Nicholas was *Col*. This shortened form of the name at times picked up the further common diminutive *-in* producing *Col-in*.¹ This would mean something like "Little Col". The medieval progenitor of this family was probably baptised Nicholas but he was called Colin and a descendant of his was identified in local records as "Colin's son" which eventually petrified into a surname without the "son".

Dorsetshire

Although we have no evidence any further back than the origin of the surname (c.1200 - 1350), there are still some things which can be said about the ancestors of our family in the millennia before this. The vehicle we will use is the history of the county of Dorset in southwest England. For reasons explored later in this paper, the author believes that the Collins of Placentia likely originated in this county.

Early Dorset was occupied in Mesolithic times and by Neolithic times farmers were prosperous enough to raise large funeral barrows. The Celts arrived c.500 B.C. and by the time of the Roman invasion the county was dominated by the Durotriges tribe. Roman legions swept through the region in the A.D. 50's. The future emperor Vespasian captured Maiden Castle from the Durotriges in A.D. 54. The area was well developed in Roman times with the most important centres being near the coast in the southwest of the county. Durnovaria, originally a Celtic tribal centre, became a Roman centre and is today's Dorchester. Catholic Christianity was also introduced by the second and third centuries from Gaul.

With the withdrawal of Roman legions in A.D. 410 all of Britain became subject to attack from barbarian raiders who eventually settled much of the country. The southwest of England and what is today Wales resisted longer than most areas and Germanic settlers in the form of the Saxons did not overwhelm the county until nearly two centuries later. Then the native tongue changed to Old English (also called Anglo-Saxon) and paganism revived. A map of Dorset shows Saxon names on numerous towns and villages. The area was long part of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex.

The Norman conquest of 1066 brought changes to the ruling class as Saxon aristocrats were replaced with Norman ones. Castles, monasteries and new church buildings were created in the first three centuries after the Conquest.

The Reformation swept away the traditional religion in the 1500's as Calvinist ideas spread amongst the new mercantile classes in England. The altars were stripped and the images destroyed throughout Dorset. In the English civil war of the 1640's, the county was divided between royalists and supporters of Parliament and several battles were fought here. Our Collins had already left Dorset before the Industrial Revolution but even in the 1800's it remained largely rural.

The English in Newfoundland

The earliest English claim on Newfoundland originated with John Cabot's voyage of 1497. After this time - and perhaps before - Basque and Portugese fishermen began harvesting the vast cod resource offshore. The English fishery soon followed but for the next two centuries, few settlers remained on the island year round. The crown discouraged settlement fearing it would damage the economy of the counties in southwest England which sent thousands of men every Spring to Newfoundland and welcomed them home every Fall. Eventually, however, small settlements began to spring up. The English dominated the north and east of the Avalon Peninsula and the French the area around Placentia Bay.

The typical Englishman involved in this trade came from a farm family in Devon, Dorset or Somerset. They could start quite young and many made journeys for decades. The Newfoundland fishery was, however, never the occupation of average person in this part of England but it was important to the economy. Men and supplies left England for Newfoundland where they fished all Summer from small dories, drying and salting the cod on flakes or stages on shore. When the season was over, the ships broke up their shore facilities and headed to Spain or Portugal where they sold vast quantities of fish for the products of the south including wine to sell on the English market. This trade was already centuries old when our first Collins appears as part of it.

History of Placentia to c. 1730

Placentia is located on a low lying triangular flat at the upper part of Placentia Bay, a long arm of the Atlantic Ocean. The town is surrounded by water on almost all sides and is dominated by higher land formations in almost every direction. It is subject to flooding when tide and ocean surges pile up water behind the town.

Placentia's history is unusual in Newfoundland for, although it likely began as a seasonal fishing station for Portugese and Basque fishermen like so many other Avalon communities, it later became the centre of French Newfoundland and eventually was styled its capital. Sir Francis Drake visited the harbour in 1592 and counted up to sixty Basque vessels. The French settlement dates from at least 1611 and was a fortified site. We have extensive records of its early settlers. Almost to a man, however, these settlers or rather their descendants were removed to Nova Scotia in 1713 by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht and Placentia became English overnight. Poole merchants from Dorsetshire and Bideford merchants from north Devonshire came to dominate trade in Placentia² and especially the areas around Poole supplied many of the English settlers. One Bideford merchant whose name turns up in connection to the Collins was William Saunders who eventually transferred his headquarters to Poole.³

The English also fortified Placentia and for the whole first period of this story, the presence of the military in the form of both soldiers and the Royal Navy was a fact of life. Placentia was at first larger than the typical Newfoundland community and was at one point larger than the colonial capital of St. John's. Its prosperity was based on the fishery but it also was economically dependent on the military. Placentia, therefore, should not be thought of as isolated in any way. It also had strong ties to Irish and English merchant houses and, through the military, to both officers and men who had little interest in the fishery.

II The Family Arrives in Newfoundland

An Early Family Tradition

An examination of a number of obituaries of family members and certain other printed sources indicate that the Collins family of Placentia has long boasted of having a “distinguished lineage”. The following important account of the family’s origins is found in a biographical article on Joseph Edmund Collins (1855-1892) in *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*. This book provides a sketch of the life of numerous Canadian authors and publishers. Its publication date is 1886. Other such biographical works of the period depended on the living subjects themselves providing details. This is very likely the case here. Joseph Edmund Collins, whose life is described in Chapter VIII of this present work, had an interest in family history and half of his article is taken up with information on his ancestry. Born in the mid-1850's, he had access as an adult to the third generation of the Collins family in Placentia. The account runs as follows:⁴

The family settled in the island at an early date in its colonization. The first member of the family here was Edward Collins, an officer of the staff (British army), and he married Ruth, only daughter of Governor Goodall. This governor, it may be mentioned, succeeded to the governorship of the island shortly after the expiration of the term of Admiral Byron, grandfather of the poet. Seeing the excellent prospect to conduct a profitable mercantile fishery business, the governor advised his son-in-law to retire from the army and enter commerce. He did so, and obtained grants of all the grazing and meadow lands along the Brulé and surrounding the town; which granting very naturally and justly led to loud complaints some years afterwards among others who sought to obtain a few acres here or there, but found that it had been all disposed of to "the privileged family." Years later, when William IV, visited the "ancient colony" he made a long stay in picturesque old Placentia, becoming the guest of "Planter Collins," as he was now called. On leaving the island his Royal Highness took with him to England Edmund Collins, an uncle of the father of the subject of this sketch, for whom he formed a strong attachment, and appointed him apartments during his educational course in the palace, where he remained for a considerable period. Edmund acquired a technical education, and entered the navy, where he was rapidly promoted, till he became first lieutenant in the navy. Then he returned home for a time, and as further marks of the royal favour, a captaincy, and a promise of appointment to the next governorship of the colony, reached him, but he fell ill of hasty consumption and died.

This account provides a precious window into the beginnings of the Collins family at Placentia. There are, however, three difficulties with the account. Two involve minor errors in Christian names and the third an error in relationship. The first Collins in Placentia appears, from a detailed survey of sources, to have been William, not Edward. Edward is the name of the Royal Navy lieutenant, not Edmund.

The family tradition in 1886 was that the first Collins to arrive in Placentia was a soldier rather than the more common Newfoundland experience of a fisherman. This is entirely

plausible given the long history of a local garrison. As will be shown below, this first Collins was likely not a mere private, although the phrase “officer of the staff” might be taken loosely. We have confirmed that this man married a woman named Ruth and there is no doubt her surname was Goodall.

The third error in this account arises as to the identity of Ruth’s father. There never was a Governor Goodall in charge of Newfoundland. In Newfoundland, however, the title ‘governor’ was used, from 1729, of the governor himself ruling from St. John’s and in the titles of two lieutenant- governors, one at St. John’s and one at Placentia. Furthermore, the first fishing captain in a harbour was termed “admiral” for the season. All of these titles may have been distorted or confused in the family lore by 1886. We can safely discount the governors and lieutenant-governors as lists of their names and details of their terms have survived. As for fishing admirals, there are few records of these. Nevertheless, the solution is probably simpler. Our survey of Placentia records turned up an early Justice of the Peace at Placentia named Luke Goodall. His *flourit* is perfect for Ruth’s father and he is certainly the man half-remembered in the family tradition. We know this family had been granted land in early Placentia but we can make few comments regarding its extent.

The visit of Prince William Henry (later King William IV) occurred in 1786 and two incidents are recorded regarding him and the Collins family including the launching of Edward Collins on a naval career. Although we have a great deal of information on this officer, it is unlikely that he was ever offered a governorship. All in all, however, the family tradition recorded above weathers the challenge of historical scrutiny quite well.

The Goodall Family

The Goodalls predate the Collins family in Placentia and probably in Newfoundland. The surname is of English origin and has two sources. Either one could be the source for our family. Some bearers of the name obtained it through association with either Goodall House in Leven, (no long identifiable) or with the township of Gowdall in the parish of Snaith, both in Yorkshire. This means that a medieval member of the family had this place name attached to his Christian name in manorial records in the form of “So-and-So of Goodall House” or “of Gowdall”.

Other bearers of this surname had it attached to an ancestor as a nickname. This was common in medieval England and many surnames today were created this way. It was applied to brewers and innkeepers and meant “good ale”.⁵ Variations in spelling include Goodale, Goodayle, Goodhall, Guidail.⁶

The earliest reference to the name in Newfoundland comes from a report by J. Reynardson, Custom House at Bristol, listing ships cleared from that port for the Newfoundland fishery from June 24, 1713 to June 24, 1714. The vessel *John*, identified as a “Gally” (Galley in more modern English, a type of ocean going vessel) headed out on March 24, 1713 under the command of Captain James Goodall.⁷ She was seventy tons and had a crew of twenty men.⁸ We do not know if there is a connection between James and the Goodalls who settled in Placentia but it is not a common surname.

Another possible connection, given the later history of a family member in the Royal Navy, is a Captain Goodall, commander of a Royal Navy vessel in 1711 on this side of the Atlantic.⁹ We have only one reference to him, giving neither Christian name nor the ship he

commanded. He is not known, however, to have ever been in Newfoundland.

The earliest reference we have to the family in Placentia comes from a miraculously preserved grant of land. Among papers produced regarding a land dispute in 1805 was a “mutilated paper” in the possession of Ruth Goodall (later Collins). It runs as follows:¹⁰

By the Honble FitzRoy Henry Lee Governor
and Commander in Chief of Newfoundland
and of all His Majesty's Garrisons and Forts
Erected or to be Erected in Newfoundland

Whereas Luke Goodhale, a subject of his Britannick Majesty, has Thro' his care and Industry Cultivated a peice [sic] of Ground at Beave Brolie situated on the South West Side of the Grand Beach of Great Placentia, on which piece of Land he the said Luke Goodale has Erected a Dwelling House and Garden, I do hereby for the better Encouragement for other Matys² Subjects By Virtue of His Maty's Authority in that Behalfe to me Given Grant by these presents unto the Said Luke Goodall and His Heirs for ever the Peaceable and Quiet Possession of the Said Plantation without Hindrance or Molestation Given under my hand [&] seal this Twenty first day of August 1735 and of His Majesty's Reigne the Ninth Year.

(signed) FH Lee

Apparently Ruth saved her father's copy of this document given to him at the time of the grant and produced it seventy years later. It was accepted in 1805 by then Governor Erasmus Gower as genuine.¹¹ From this document we learn that Luke Goodall was fishing as a planter (resident fisherman who hires other fishermen) by 1735. It is very likely that he was occupying this portion of the beach for a few years before having it granted to him.

From about the same time, we have a brief description of Placentia. The following is reproduced from *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Foreign Parts 1701-1892*:¹²

At this place the Rev. R. Killpatrick was detained three months on his return to Trinity Bay in 1734, and having preached six Sundays and baptised 10 children, he reported that the people of Placentia were “very much in want of a minister”, “being regardless of all religion and a great many of them wholly abandoned to atheism and Infidelity.”

Placentia appears at this time as a very rough settlement without much of a veneer of civil society.

The next piece of information regarding Luke Goodall reveals much more. It is fourteen years later and Luke is serving with Thomas Salmon as Justice of the Peace. The following letter

² A short form of “Majesty's”.

was sent to George Brydges Rodney, the Governor:¹³

Placentia July 24, 1749

Honble Sir

We humbly beg your Excellency's Pardon for taking the Liberty of giving you this trouble, We believe it our Duty to Acquaint your Excellency with our Proceedings, Since by the latter commission by Admiral Warren bearing date at St. John's the 15th 174[6?] his advice to Captain Jekyll was as we were formerly, in Commission from Admiral Medley and not Acting, by reason some New Commissions came here from Captain Smith to Appoint Other Justices; till the Arrival of Captain Jekyll which made a close examination into the Records, finding there was no Proceeding in maintaining the Civil Powers insisted We should take and Execute the former Comission [sic] and Appointed me Thomas Salmon as oldest Justice and keeper of the Rolls, as before in former Commissions, as I was first made in Newfoundland by Lord Vere and Governor Osborn: Mr. Goodall, the next in Commission, We think it our Duty to Acquaint your Excellency that We have often been disappointed in not performing of our Duty for want of a Gaol, which in Enclosed a Copy of our Orders to us for the Building of One, and have almost compleated the same Built with Stone, the Walls two feet thick, We resolve to have it finished by the latter end of August, many reflection We have receive[d] since we begin, by telling they will not contribute any thing towards it. We therefore Humbly beg your Excellency to Strengthen our Orders, for ... Collect the Charge, as will appear by the Bill of Charge to be Paid to the Workmen, which is chiefly out of our Pockets. We shall be fully satisfied that your Excellency's Order with the former Orders must be complied with in your Absence. Last year building a Pulpit, Reading Desk, Clerk's Desk, with several new Pews, Picketing the ChurchYard &c:^a, and not as yet no funds or fines sufficient to defray the Charge your Excellency's Orders by the first opportunity will Oblige

Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servants

Thomas Salmon Luke Goodall

To the Governor of Newfoundland

This letter includes enough names to allow us to date the years of some of the events mentioned. Thomas Salmon, trader and fisherman, had arrived in Placentia very early on in the English occupation. His letters indicate that he was the garrison's armourer prior to 1719¹⁴ having previously served as an armourer in the Tower of London.¹⁵ He had terrible rows with Placentia's third Lieutenant-Governor, Samuel Gledhill, who eventually drove him out of Placentia in 1724.¹⁶ He returned about the time that Samuel Gledhill was ordered home and was appointed Justice of the Peace for the winter of 1729 under the administration of Governor Henry Osborne and Lord Vere Beauclerc. This was the first appointment of Justices of the Peace on the island. His fellow Justices were Peter Signac and Thomas Buchnan.¹⁷ Luke Goodall does not appear as a Justice at this time which is expected from the letter which indicates that Luke was "next in commission" and 'not equal in commission'.

We next learn that both Thomas Salmon and Luke Goodall were acting as Justices at the

time of Governor Henry Medley who served in Newfoundland in 1739-1740.¹⁸ This is perhaps Luke Goodall's first appointment. A 1747 letter of Lieutenant-Governor Otho Hamilton (who arrived in early 1745) indicates, as does our letter above, that a Captain Smith appointed three new Justices but Hamilton indicates that they had all left Placentia and he needed help.¹⁹ That assistance seems to have come in the form of Captain Edward Jekyll of the *Lyan* who inspected the garrison in 1747. He reappointed Thomas Salmon and Luke Goodall based on their previous experience.²⁰

Since their reappointment they had been busy repairing the church - apparently the French Our Lady of Angels now adapted for Protestant worship - and building a gaol. This letter was prompted by their hopes of recovering personal funds expended on these projects. The governor's reply is as follows:²¹

St. John's 16 August 1749

Gentlemen

I received your Letter of the 24th July from Placentia: In Answer thereto must inform you I have sent you a New Commission Appointing Justices of the Peace for the District of Placentia; As to all Other matters you must apply to Captain Knight, who has my instructions in regard thereto: But I must inform you that in case he thinks proper to insert your names in the New Commission, that you strictly put the Laws in Execution, concerning Publick Houses not being duly Licenced, agreeable to the Order I have published on that head, and that all Fines arising therefrom, be appropriated to the Building of the Prison, and keeping the same in proper repair. I am

Gentlemen, Your very Humble Servant

G.B.R.

To Mr. Thomas Salmon
& Luke Goodall, Placentia

The Captain Knight of this letter was the governor's surrogate who arrived in Placentia with his blank Commission for the Justices. We know from a reply of the Governor to the authorities in London the names he filled in:²²

The Appointing of Justices of the Peace has been of the greatest service to the Island in General, all the Inhabitants and Planters having duly submitted to their Authority, they are always people of the best Character in the Island and without such Magistrates, it would be Impossible for the Inhabitants to reside there during the Winter.

...

Placentia:	Thomas Salmon
	Luke Goodall
	Elisha Rowland
	John Haddock
	George Horn
	Samuel Adams
	Joseph Olive

...
Rainbow, St. Johns, 2 Oct 1749³

This same list appears in records of Francis William Drake, the next governor, under the date of December 24, 1750 except that Thomas Salmon's name is replaced with that of Edward Brown.²³ Perhaps the old resident Salmon had passed on.

The next year Luke Goodall is appointed one last time as Justice of the Peace.²⁴

Trepassey, Aug. 8, 1751

A Commission was made out appointing Edward Brown keeper of the Rolls Luke Goddard [sic Goodall], Elisha Rowland, John Haddock, George Horn; Samuel Adams and Joseph Olive Esq^{rs} his majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District of Placentia.

By Frances William Drake, Esq Governor &c.

His Majesty having been pleased to grant upon me full Power and Authority for Appointing Commissions of Oyer and Terminer for the hearing and determining all Criminal Causes [sic] (Treason Excepted) that shall be committed in this Island.

I have therefore thought fit to Order that the general Assize for the Trial of Such Offenders be Yearly held at St. John's and is this year to begin Thursday the 19th day of September.

You are to affix publick notice hereof throughout your District and take care that all Persons guilty of such Offences be sent there to take their Tryals, with the proper Evidence for proving the Crimes laid to their Charge.

Given under my Hand at Trepassey the
8th day of August 1751

F.Wm Drake

To his Majesty's Justices of the
Peace for the District of Placentia

Having been reappointed, the justices were ordered to send those accused of crimes to St. John's for trial. The form of the actual commission of 1751 has been preserved in a copy made for the Ferryland district but which appears to have been designed to be used in all districts. The following is that commission with the Ferryland references removed:²⁵

By Francis William Drake Esqr
Governor and Commander-in-Chief in over the Island
of Newfoundland in America, the Fort and Garrison at
Placentia, and all other Forts and Garrisons Erected or to

³ This list repeats in another document: PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 1 p.23:
"A Commission sent to Captain Knight Appointing Thomas Salmon /Keeper of the Rolls/ Luke Gooda[ll] Elisha Rowland, John Haddock, George Horn, Samuel Adams, and Joseph Olive Esq^{rs}, His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District of Placentia. - Rainbow, St. John's, 16 August 1749". Goodall's name is damaged at the edge of the page.

be Erected in That Island

By virtue of the Power and Authority given and granted unto me by Letters Patent, dated at Westminster, the Twenty-Fourth Day of May in the Twenty-Fourth Year of the reign of George the Second by the Grace of God of great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith To Constitute and appoint Justices of the Peace, with other officers and Ministers, for the better Administration of Justice and keeping the Peace in the Island of Newfoundland in America.

I do constitute and appoint you _____ Esq^{rs} jointly and severally his Majesty's Justices to keep the Peace in the District of _____ in Newfoundland, and to keep and cause to be kept all Ordinances and Statutes, made for the good of the Peace, and for the Conservation of the same, and for the Quiet Rules and Government of the People in all and Every the Articles thereof in the said District, as well with in the Libertys as without, according to the Force, Form and Effect of the Same and to Chastise and Punish all Persons Offending against the Form of these Ordinances, and Statutes, as shall be fit to be done, and to Cause to Come before you all those Persons, who shall threaten any of the People in their Persons or on the Burning of their Houses to find Sufficient Security for the Peace or for their good Behaviour towards his Majesty and the People and if they shall refuse to find such Security then to Cause them to be kept safe in Prison untill they find such Security

I have also appointed you Two or more of you whereof any of the said _____ Esq^{rs} his majesty's Justices of the Peace to Enquire by the Oaths of good and Lawful men of the District aforesaid, by whom the Truth maybe better known of all and all manner of Felonies, Tresspasses, Forstallings Regratings, Engrossings, Extortions whatever, and of all and Singular other misdeeds and Offences of which Justices of the Peace may and Ought lawfully to Enquire by whomsoever or however done or perpetrated, which hereafter shall happen howsoever to be done, or Attempted in the Districtt aforesaid, And all those in the Districtt aforesaid, who have Either gone or , or hereafter shall presume to go or ride, in Company with Armed force against the Peace to the disturbance of the People, and also those who in like manner have lain in Wait or hereafter shall presume to lay in wait to maim and kill his Majesty's People, and also of all Innholders, and of all and singular Other Persons who offended or Attempted, or hereafter shall presume to offend or Attempt in the Abuse of weights and measures or in the sale of Victuals against the form of the Ordinances and Statutes or any of them in that Behalf made for the Common good of England, and the People thereof in the District aforesaid, Also of all Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Stewards, Constables, Gaolers and other Officers, whatsoever who in the Execution of their Offices, about the Premises or any of them have Unlawfully Demeaned themselves, or hereafter shall presume, Unlawfully to demean themselves, or have been or hereafter, shall be Careless, Remises or Negligent in the Districtt aforesaid, and of all other things whatsoever, by whomsoever or however done or perpetrated, in the District aforesaid, or which hereafter shall happen howsoever to be done in any wise more fully concerning the Truth of the Premises or any of them and to Inspect all Indictments, whatsoever, so before you, or any of you, taken or made, or taken before others later Justices of the

Peace, in the Districtt Aforesaid, and not yet determined and to make and Continue the Process thereupon against all and singular Persons so indicated, or which hereafter shall happen to be Indicted before you Untill they be Apprehended, or Render themselves or be Outlaws.

And to hear and Determine all and Singular the Felonies Tresspasses Forestallings Re grateings, Engrossings, Extortions Unlawful Assemblies, Indictments as Aforesaid and all and singular Other Premises, according to the Laws and Statutes of England, as in the like Cases, hath been, Used or Ought to be done, and to Chastise and punish the said Persons, Offending, and Every of them for their Offences by Fines, Ransoms, Amercements, Forfeitures, or otherwise, as ought and hath been Used to be done; according to the Laws and Customs of England or the Form of Ordinances and Statutes aforesaid Provided allways that if a case of difficulty upon the Determination of any of the Premises shall happen to arise before you or any Two, or more of you, or any Capital Offences be brought before you, such as Robberies, Murders and Felonies then you nor any two or more of you do proceed to give Judgment therein but take care all Persons Guilty of such Offences be sent to the Prison at St. John's in Order to take their Tryal at the Assizes Yearly to be held there And therefore You and Every of you, are hereby required that you diligently intend keeping the Peace, Ordinances and Statutes and all and Singular other Premises, and at Certain days and Places, which you or such Two or more of you as is Aforesaid shall in that Behalf, appoint that you hold a Quarter Sessions of the Peace and that you hear and determine all and Singular the Premises, and Perform and Fulfill the same in Form, as aforesaid, doing therein, that which to Justice Appertaineth, according to the Laws and Customs of England, Saving to his Majesty, the Amercements and other things to him thereof belonging, and by Virtue of these Presents at Certain days and Places which you or such Two, or more of you as aforesaid shall make known to Them. You are required to Cause to Come before you or such Two or more of You as Aforesaid such and such good and lawful Men of the Districtt by whom the Truth of the Premises may be better known and Enquired of And furthermore You are hereby required and Directed to appoint at Certain Times and Places as aforesaid of such of the Inhabitants and Planters residing and Abideing in the Winter in the districtt Aforesaid a Proper number of Constables and other Ministers of Justice as is Necessary, toward preserving the Peace and Quiet of his Majesty's subjects, Provided, allways that you nor any such Person or Persons or other Officers or Ministers so by You appointed do presume or be Suffered to Act in such offices untill he or they have taken the Oaths mentioned in the Act passed in the First Year of the reign of his late Majesty King George, the First Entitled An Act for the further Security of the Crown in the Heirs of the Late Princess Sophia being Protestants, and for Extinguishing the Hopes of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and his Open and Secret Abettors, and also to make and Subscribes the Declaration, mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the Twenty Fifth Year of the reign of King Charles the Second Entitled and Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants and also have taken such Oaths or Oaths, as are Usually taken in the king of great Britain by Persons Executing such Offices and Trusts, which Oaths, and Declaration you are jointly hereby Authorised and Impowered to Administer

and give to all and Every Person & Persons that ought to take the same according to the Laws and customs of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

And that you nor any of you do any thing by Virtue of these Presents, Contrary or Repugnant to the Act for Encouraging the Trade to Newfoundland, passed in the Tenth and Eleventh Years of the reign of King William the Third, nor in any manner Abstract the Powers thereby granted and given to the Admirals of the Harbors, or Captains of our Ships of War, or any other Matter or thing Either prescribed by the said Act, or by Such Instructions as you shall Receive from me, But that You or any of You, and Your inferior officers and Ministers whom you shall Appoint amongst the Planters or inhabitants resideing or Abideing in the Districtt, aforesaid, be Strictly Requir'd and Enjoined in all Cases and Times whensoever Necessary to be Aiding and Assisting to the Utmost of their Power, to the Commadore or Commanders of his Majesty's Ships of war, and to the Several Admirals in their Respective Harbours in putting in Execution the several good Rules and Orders prescribed by the said Act for Encouraging the Trade in Newfoundland.

And I do strictly acquire all and Singular the Planters and Inhabitants of the Districtt Aforesaid to be Observant, Aiding and Assisting to you and Every One of you, and the officers so by you appointed in perserving the Peace, and Executing the Powers and Authoritys herein Contained as they will answer the Contrary.

Finally I have appointed you _____ keeper of the Rolls of the Peace in the said Districtt and therefore you shall cause to be brought before yourself and your Fellows at the said Days and Places the Writts Precepts Processes and Indictments aforesaid, that the same may be Inspected, and by a due cause be determined as Aforesaid

In Witness whereof I have hereunto Affixed my Hand
and Seal at St John's the 9th day of August 1751, in the
Twenty Fifth Year of reign of our Sovereign Lord
George the Second of great Britain France and Ireland
King Defender of the Faith
F. Wm. Drake

By Command of the Governor
Wm Hall

Our next record simply names "Mr. Goodale" and could refer to Luke or his son. This is a map found among the Sweetman Company records showing "Plan of a plott of Land at Bois Brulé at Placentia Surveyed the 26th Nov^r 1756 belong^g to Mr. Welsh Containing 5 Acres 3 Roods 19 Perches and 136 Square feet" This refers to Richard Welsh, a Wexford merchant, who established himself at Placentia and whose company in various incarnations survived into the next century. To the north of the property is "Capt. Cottnuons Field" and to the east side is "Mr. Goodales Land." No details are given but it would be the land of the 1735 grant.

We have three documents mentioning a Samuel Goodall who is almost certainly Luke's son. The first and last involve the Goodall property again:²⁶

At the Court held at Placentia the 13th Sept. 1757

Present Jn^o Chapman, Esq^r
And^w Lemercier + Saml Spratt Esq^{rs}
Justices of the Peace

.....

Petition of the Inhabitants of Placentia against Saml. Goodall for Encroaching upon the common Land belonging to the said Inhabitants; Ordered that the said Goodall take down his Encroaching fence immediately.

Samuel's name also appears on lists of tavern keepers at Placentia for both 1759 and 1764.²⁷ This public house would probably have been located in the first floor of his own house and catered to the seasonal fisherman and soldiers. Finally, Samuel's name occurs in relation to the 1735 document quoted above. When Ruth Collins produced this paper for Governor Gower in 1805, the governor wrote:²⁸

Whereas Mrs. Ruth Collins has presented to me a paper which, though greatly mutilated, appears to be a genuine grant from His Excellency Tho^s Graves Esq. admitting the quantity of ground cultivated by Samuel Goodall in Bay Bruley on the South West side of the Grand Beach of Placentia to consists of Twenty two Acres statute measurement, and as I understand this to relate to the piece of Ground mentioned in the foregoing Grant, I do hereby admit that the piece of Ground therein granted may consist of Twenty-two Acres accordingly

Given under my hand + seal at
Fort Townsend St. John's Newfoundland
5 October 1805
E. Gower

By Command of His Excellency
Jos: Founnel

Although we lack the full context of what is going on with the 1805 investigation into the ownership of the land in question, the above statement by the governor indicates that Luke Goodall's grant of 1735 was, at the time of Governor Graves, in the possession of Samuel Goodall. Thomas Graves served in Newfoundland from 1761 to 1764. It also appears that Ruth had a copy of that second grant as well but that it was unfortunately not reproduced for us. Perhaps this was all part of the struggle we first see in 1757 when Samuel is accused of encroaching on public land.

The Goodall name disappears from Placentia after 1764 but descendants continued on through the family of Ruth. There is one last consideration. The 1886 *Cyclopedia* article above showed that a family oral tradition had developed about a Governor Goodall who was in Newfoundland after Governor Byron. Although there was no Governor Goodall, there was a Samuel Granston Goodall, RN, who was commander-in-chief of the Newfoundland Station in 1792 shortly after Byron's tenure.²⁹ Is it possible that this man, due to similarity of name, became accidentally associated with the Placentia Goodalls in family lore? Or is it possible there is some distant connection between the two?

William Collins

William Collins appears to be the first Collins of our line who decided to live the rest of his life out on the island and to raise his family here. Lacking any evidence regarding the place of his birth, it is reasonable to assume that he was born in England about 1728.³⁰ From the information outlined above, it is likely that William served in the British Army. He could have joined as a boy but, if he were an adult, then a date in the latter half of the 1740's would be a good guess for his time of joining. If family stories are correct, he was eventually posted in Placentia. He must then have served in one of the two units stationed there in the mid-1700's. Most soldiers who were stationed at Placentia at this time part of the 40th Regiment of Foot. There was always a numerically smaller detachment of Royal Regiment of Artillery as well. We have no way of knowing with which force William may have served.

The 40th began with the amalgamation of several "independent companies" in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia into a single regiment under Richard Philips in 1717.³¹ Philips was governor of Nova Scotia and for a time the new unit was called "Philips' Regiment". It was involved in numerous fights with Indians in Nova Scotia early on. These Indians were allies of the French. In July 1748, a company of the regiment was captured by MicMac.³² Among the prisoners was Otho Hamilton, mentioned above, who served at Placentia for many years. In 1750, Edward Cornwallis, founder of Halifax, took over as colonel and the numerical designation of the 40th was given to the regiment.³³ Peregrine Hopson took over in 1753 and some Placentia records show the name Hopson's Regiment. It is most likely from his age, that William would have served in the late 1740's and 1750's. The Seven Years War broke out in June 1756 leading to the capture of all of New France. The 40th was involved in the capture of Louisbourg in 1758 and some companies were at Quebec City in 1759 under Wolfe. We do not yet have a parallel history for the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Marriage and Family

William must have become acquainted with Ruth, the daughter of Luke Goodall, and chose to settle in Placentia taking up his new father-in-law's trade as a planter. We do not know when Ruth was born or when the couple was married but, since their last child was born about 1787, it is likely that Ruth was born in the early to mid-1740's. That means she was born in Placentia as we know that her father was there as early as 1735.³⁴ Their marriage was perhaps in the 1760's. It is likely that it was solemnised by a Church of England clergyman who left no record of the event. Ruth, it appears, was at least a decade younger than her husband.

William and Ruth had a good-sized family. It is likely that Thomas was the eldest. There were six other boys: Samuel, William, John, Edward (1778), Luke and Joseph (c.1787).³⁵ This order may well be their birth order. There was also a daughter, Elizabeth, who was likely born around the time of Thomas. It is reasonable to assume all were born in Newfoundland.

There is some difficulty with the ages recorded for some family members from tombstones. Consider the following: If William was born in 1728 then he was marriageable from about 1753. This fits in well with Samuel's birth in 1758 (based on his age at death on his tombstone) with Thomas and Elizabeth being older. However, Edward was born in 1778, his brother Luke (who was married in 1810) around 1785 and his brother Joseph's birth was presumably around 1787 (based on his age at death on his tombstone). This would make Ruth

pregnant for a period of over thirty years and her final children born when she was in her early fifties. This is highly unlikely. Thomas has small children in 1795. If one figured he was married about five years earlier somewhere around the age of 25 then he would have been born in the mid-1760's. It is possible that Samuel's tombstone inflates his age at death and he was really about ten years younger. This would make Ruth in her twenties in the 1760's and having children still in the 1780's is quite possible. If correct, it would mean that Ruth was likely born in the early 1740's as surmised above.

Land and Fishery

Ruth and William eventually had a house, garden and fishing stage at Placentia. Since Ruth's brother, Samuel, disappears from records after 1764 and Ruth is later involved in some dispute about the Goodall land at Placentia, it is reasonable to assume that she inherited this sizable piece of real estate.

The typical fishery worked in the following way. Stages were built from the shore line out into the water so the boats could pull up right along side. Sheds were built on top where the fish were split and gutted. Flakes, low platforms originally waist high and five feet wide, ran a hundred feet inland.³⁶ The fish were laid out to dry on these. A space of about four feet separated flakes. Later the area between flakes was filled in to produce a massive single platform around the harbour.³⁷ In the early Spring, the collection of bait was the first task. First mussels were dug up on the beach but later on herring would become plentiful. By mid-June the caplin would strike and they could be collected in nets or even baskets.³⁸

Originally, these fishing works were built each Spring and taken down in the Fall. Planters like the Goodalls and the Collins's, however, created permanent structures. This allowed fishing to begin earlier than would have been the case years before. Economically, the term planter indicates a position between the fishermen and the merchants. A planter is a local man who purchased supplies from the merchants and hired hands to work his numerous boats, skiffs and "other fishing craft." Ships from England and Ireland brought men to work for ship's captains, merchants, and planters. Placentia's population exploded each Spring. These are the men the Goodalls and the Collins's would have hired. A boat between thirty and forty feet long had a crew of three to four men (master, midshipmen and up to two foremen). Early in the morning the boats would slip out of the harbour rowing or sailing to the shallows off the coast. All day was spent baiting a hook which was lowered down as much as thirty fathoms on a rope, waiting for a bite and then hauling the cod to the surface.³⁹ The cod usually ranged from five to ten pounds but occasionally fifty or even one hundred pound monsters could be landed. Once the boat was full or the sun began to set, the boat headed for the fishing room. It pulled up along the stage and the cod were thrown up using a staff stuck into the fish. The header brought a fish into the shed where he opened it and removed the liver which was put into a tub and eventually taken to a vat where the sunshine would produce cod liver oil. The fish was then pushed down to the splitter who cut the fish open fully, removed the bones and guts and let them fall to the beach below. A boy would gather the split fish and pile them up until the salter came along who used a shovel or brush to put salt on them. The next morning the boats headed out again. The shore workers took the previous days haul in wheelbarrows to the flakes where they were washed before being spread out for drying. They had to be repeatedly turned. In addition,

firewood had to be constantly gathered from the forests around Placentia and new bait constantly accumulated.

The sackships began arriving in July bargaining for the fish already dried.⁴⁰ The Goodalls and Collins's did not own ships to take their products to Spain and Portugal. Instead, they sold to the merchants like Richard Welsh in Placentia. Welsh supplied planters with what they needed and took fish back in payment at the end of the season. They sold some fish to the captains of sackships which came to pick up what ever they could. In October, Placentia bid good-bye to the seasonal workers until the next Spring.

Court Records

The first instance we have of the Collins family in Placentia is from Surrogate Court records. At this time, the chief magistrates were Robert Edgecumbe and John Haddock (who served with Luke Goodall back in 1749 to 1751). Both were later dismissed for miscarriages of justice and favouring the merchants.⁴¹ Prowse, in his famous work *A History of Newfoundland* (1895), relates the details thus:

William Collins was charged by John Green, his servant, with having beaten and turned him away; Collins was ordered to pay his servant's passage home "in order that the place may not be troubled with vagabonds." Collins evidently had the ear of the court.⁴²

Prowse feels that this was an injustice and that Collins got preferential treatment in simply having to pay Green's passage home and not being liable for the assault. This incident is recorded in the Placentia Court Records, 1761-1764. We do not yet have the exact date but this shows the family was settled in Placentia at least by the early 1760's and very likely they had been there somewhat longer.

From the *Outgoing Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Office*, we gain further insight into William's business dealings:⁴³

By His Excellency Hugh Pallisser
&ca, &ca –

Whereas Will^m Collins, W^m Wornel, Jos^h Saunder, and Barnaby Mooney all Boatkeepers, have represented to me, that they intend to erect fishing Works upon Vacant Ground at Point Vert in Placentia Bay, and desire to be secured in the enjoyment thereof; to their own use and benefit.

The said Will^m Collins, W^m Wornel, Jos^h Saunder, and Barnaby Mooney are all and each of them hereby permitted to build, cut out and make Stages, Cookrooms, Trainfats, Flakes, and other Fishing Conveniences upon any vacant Ground they may find at Point Vert or elsewhere (provided the same is not Ships Room) and all such Stages, Cookrooms, Trainfats, Flakes and other Fishing Conveniences, which they or any of them may Build, cut out and make upon such vacant Room, will become their property, and they may enjoy the same to their own use and benefit, without any disturbance on any pretence of property to the Soil, or on any other pretence of or from any Person or Persons whatever according to the Proviso in the 7th Article of the Act of the 10th + 11th of

William 3d commonly called the Fishing Act, they conforming to the Rules prescribed by the said Act, particularly to the 9th Article thereof which requires a Fishing Certificate for ye Companies empd by them.

Given &ca in Court at St. John's
6th September 1768

By Order of His Excellency
Jno Horsnail

Hugh Palliser

Most fishing at Placentia at this time was still in-shore. This means that men would go out each morning in small boats, catch their load of cod and bring it into shore to be processed, Placentia eventually became heavily involved in the Bank fishery in which much larger vessels went out for a week or more at a time to the Grand Banks to fish. In this case, the fish was held in the hold and heavily salted to preserve it until it could be processed back home. Josiah Saunders mentioned above was the son-in-law of the merchant Richard Welsh. The location at Point Vert, further out the arm leading into Placentia, probably was built up to be closer to the in-shore fishing grounds. In 1772, William also obtained a license for a tavern.

The Seven Years War

The Seven Years War spilled over into Newfoundland in 1762. Although Quebec (1759) and Montreal (1760) had already fallen to the British and the war was winding up, the French attacked and captured St. John's in 1762. The following from Arthur Kitson's *The Life of Captain James Cook Navigator* (1907) recounts the events as they played out in Placentia:

At length the period of inaction was ended. Captain Charles Douglas, H.M.S. Syren, who was cruising off Cape Race, received information that a squadron of four French ships of the line, having some 1500 picked troops on board, had made a descent on Newfoundland, and had captured St. John's, the capital, which had been most shamefully neglected, and its garrison reduced to 63 men. The Grammont, 22-gun sloop, was unfortunately in harbour at the time, and was also taken. Douglas at once pressed two English merchant vessels into the service, and putting a petty officer in command of one, the William, and his Master in the other, the Bonetta, despatched them to cruise in search of Captain Graves, the reappointed Governor of Newfoundland, who was daily expected from England. The Bonetta soon fell in with the Antelope, Graves's ship, and she immediately joined Douglas, and then proceeded to strengthen the Isle of Boys as far as time would allow. Then going to Placentia, a place of as much importance as St. John's, and more capable of defence, they set about making preparations to beat off any attack, leaving a garrison of 99 men and as many marines as could be spared. Graves then despatched Douglas with the remainder of the Syren's marines to take possession of Ferryland, and sent the ship herself off with letters to Lord Colville, but the William having missed the Antelope, made her way to Halifax with

the news of what had occurred.

Colville arrived at Placentia on August 14 and landed more marines and with this town secure, Amherst began gathering troops for the attack on St. John's. The capital fell on September 17 ending the last French military occupation of the island.

Mercantile Connections

William likely had dealings with more than one merchant house. The firm which came to dominate the Placentia fishery was that of Richard Welsh of Waterford, Ireland which in time was taken over by William Saunders and eventually was known by 1789 as Saunders and Sweetman. This company employed many Irishmen. We know that William also had money on account in England with Richard Bird of Sturminster Newton and with William Colborne of Poole, both in Dorset. These companies were not very active in Placentia but they were heavily involved in the Newfoundland trade. We can speculate that William may have had his origin in Dorset because of his special relationship with these companies.

We have only one example of his business activity in Placentia. The following comes from the Letterbook of Saunders & Sweetman.⁴⁴

Placentia Jun 2, 1789

Capt James Salmon

If the caplin should strike in you'll bait the following boats

..... Wm Collins 1 Shallop.....

[rest of this list not reproduced here]

You'll bait all the boats that fishes on our Rooms to P Roche, Dav's Rouarke & Jn'o Tibboe. Should any of our boats come in tomorrow you'll send them out immediately with the and give them positive [sic] orders not to come in docking of caplin, until you see [sic] a great possibility of its being plenty, in case you'll note as your own discretion may judge most proper. I have some notion of going down to your place in the morning and in the int

Remains well wishes
P Sweetman

In September 1775, Placentia suffered from one of its periodic floods. Some of William and Ruth's children were still small at this time. It must have been a terrifying time for the family. Captain Robert Pringle, the chief engineer of the Royal Engineers at St. John's was an eyewitness:⁴⁵

We beg leave to acquaint you in that on the 11th instant between the hours of nine and 10 at night, we had a violent gale of wind at the best part of the night; and by its violence, and the rising of water, every house in this place had some two, three, and some four feet of water in them, everyone living obliged to move up to the Garret.

William Saunders wrote to the colonial office more than once in 1779 indicating the

dangers the fisheries of Placentia were experiencing because of American privateers cruising the waters nearby. The American War of Independence had erupted four years earlier making former friends hostile.⁴⁶

Prince William Henry

The most interesting event of this period from our point of view, however, was the visit of Prince William Henry from July 5 to September 5, 1786. He was the son of King William III and a commissioned officer in the Royal Navy. His older brother was heir to the throne and by all accounts a decent man. Prince William Henry, however, had a harder time settling down. He was appointed captain of *HMS Pegasus*, a frigate, and sent across the Atlantic. One of the duties of the *Pegasus* was to patrol the coast of the southern Avalon, report on the fishery, settle disputes and dispense justice. He used Placentia as his base. He was the most powerful figure Placentia had ever seen and, although he did not find it a pretty place,⁴⁷ he was not disinterested in the town.



The Arms of King George III (1760-1820) given to the Church of England in Placentia after his son's stay here

The prince, being a product of his age, was a staunch Protestant and found Placentia to be a largely Catholic settlement. Amongst his first actions was to forbid the use of the courthouse for Mass. Apparently the local Catholics were using this building while their own church was being constructed. He also stopped the practice of Catholics being buried in

the Church of England grave yard. The prince may have been aware that in the early days of English Placentia, members of the Church of England, though never half the population were still a sizable minority. By the time of his visit, however, that community was fast dwindling and Catholics outnumbered Protestants several times over. The prince attempted to revive the official religion and encouraged the building of a new Church of England church in the town and the following men came forward on August 22, 1786 to put their names down to help:⁴⁸



Prince William Henry, later King William IV

His Royal Highness Prince William Henry ; Alexander Wilson Esq. , John Browne Esq. , Robert Bollard Esq. , Thomas Saunders Esq. , Peter Sweetman Esq. , Samuel Young Esq. , Samuel Harrison Esq. , Charles Shutis? , Wm. Collins , John Viguers , -- Branstre..? , John Boggs constable , Joseph Blackburn , Issac Best , Jane Grossord , James Martin , Thomas Hooper, John Green.

The church was completed in 1787. The prince also called on local support for a clergyman and the following men subscribed on September 4:⁴⁹

Thomas Saunders Esq., Samuel Harrison Esq., Robert Bollard, Alexander Wilson, John Browne, John Viguers, Wm Collins, Charles St. Croix, John Boggs, James Martin, Mrs. Grossard, John Green

Some stories paint the prince as a drunk and angry man at Placentia as well as a philanderer but there is little evidence to support this. He did make some dreadful mistakes however. The following story, quoted from the official court records, gives us a sober reminder of what life was like in Newfoundland at this time:⁵⁰

A riot happening on shore at 4 o'clock, the Magistrate attending to suppress it, was insulted. The Prince came on shore with a guard of marines, arrested the ringleader, called a Court, and sentenced him to receive 100 lashes - he was only able to receive 80. Next day inquired into the facts of the case; (and report has it that they had whipped the wrong man.)

This incident which occurred on August 6 prompted the prince to have the citizens of Placentia swear an oath of allegiance to the monarchy.⁵¹ Men and boys over the age of twelve were called on to prove their loyalty and the following men were sworn on August 10:⁵²

PROTESTANTS: A. Wilson, John Browne, Ths. Saunders, R. Ballard, John Blackburn, Issac Best, Wm. Collins, John Boggs, Thomas Hooper, James Martin, Thomas Collins, Thomas Vicquers, Wm. Colburn, Charles LeCroix, Wm. Bay.

CATHOLICS: Stephen Flynn, J.? Flynn, Wm. Lamb, George? Blanch, Bar.. Willand, John Murphy, Michael Mokile, Michael Mokile Jr., Pat Dwyer, Martin Kelly, Robert Baker, Richard Kelly, Wm. Ryan, Michael Blanch, Geor? Ryley, John Moran, Andrew Forrest, Thomas Wheland.

Our William Collins and his son Thomas were sworn that day. Two days later some of the younger sons were sworn:⁵³

Quakers: Sam'l Harrison, Samuel Colburn, James Jordner.

Protestants: Wm. Newman, Sa' Wooley, James Satis(?), Thomas Stoke, Wm. Rose, Andrew Wilson, Robert Bollard, (...)St. Croix, Sam'l Collins, Wm. Durnett, Wm. Collins Jr., John Collins, George Marty, Wm. Pillinn(?).

Catholics: John Lamb, Thomas FitzGerald, Daniel Barry, Thomas Murrowny, Walter Farnen, John Colburn, John Green, James Poor, John ..ouley (?), Robert Spornard, David Walsh, James Bryan, John Wheland, James Cassady, Michael Dubard, John Kelly, James Bryan Jr., Pat Kelly, Phillip FitzPatrick, Tim(?) Barnett, Wm. Tibbs, Fra, Linard, Pat Willard, Wm. Miller, John Viguers (a constable), Ed Burke(RC priest), John Millar, M. Flinn, Robert Wayland, Pat Murphy, Pat Miller, Phillip Millar.

This is the only mention of Quakers at Placentia. Still other members of the community were sworn in at a later date.

It seems that the prince formed a relationship with the Collins family. They were of English Protestant stock and the prince likely visited their abode and socialised with them. After



**The silver service of Prince
William Henry**

the prince left Newfoundland, he sent Ruth Collins a silver service for use in the new Church. It was made of sterling silver by Edward Fennell of London. Its four pieces included an ewer (pitcher), chalice, paten and collection plate. It was likely sent to the Collins family for safe keeping since there was no regular Church of England clergyman at Placentia. According to Ann Collins, the Collins family eventually passed this trust onto the Blackburns who served as church wardens, who later passed it to the Bradshaws. The plate has been kept in St. John's since 1927 in the Anglican cathedral.⁵⁴ We also learn from the 1792 *Report* of the Society for the Propagation for the Gospel that William Collins paid for the bell which was placed in the tower.⁵⁵

Placentia in 1794

We have a short description of Placentia in July 1794 from the journal of Aaron Thomas, an able seaman about *H.M.S. Boston*. It helps to set the scene of what it was like to return to the town from down the bay:⁵⁶

The Town of Placentia is a Settlement, in importance, next to St. John's. There are about 200 Houses or Hutts huddled together, built on a kind of Sand Beach, which is nearly surrounded by water. The Inhabitants of Placentia mostly come from Waterford in Ireland. The face of the Country about this place is unusually Mountainous and Rocky. The Town, at the back of it, has a narrow Arm of Water which is overhung by a hideous Precipice. Salmon, very delicious in flavour, and equal (tho small) to any in the world, are caught here in great multitudes. Here is a small Fort with about twenty Artillery men. I saw two of these Soldiers return one morning from drawing their Nett. They had haul'd in forty-six Salmon at one draught, which was Provision for the Garrison (if it might be so called) to suffice them for upwards of a week.

Here are two old Forts in ruins, one on Castle Hill, the other on the Larboard hand, going into the Northeast Arm. This last cost Government a Deal of Money but it was never finished.

The Will

By the summer of 1795, William Collins was beginning to fade. He prepared his will which was later probated in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In England, this was the

required practice if a man held property (including money) in more than one diocese. In theory, Englishmen overseas also probated their wills in this court if they had possessions back in England. A search of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Index shows that there were only about two hundred Newfoundland wills probated there over many decades. Many of these are for seamen attached to ships visiting Newfoundland. The full transcript of William's will runs as follows:⁵⁷

In the Name of God Amen
I William Collins of Placentia in
Newfoundland being in my perfect
senses of Mind do in and by these
presents make ordain and declare this
my last will and Testament in manner
and form as follows first

recommending my soul to Almighty
God in hopes a Resurrection to ever

Eternal Life through the Merits of my Redeemer Jesus Christ I do hereby in and by these presents make over and Bequeath to my Dear and beloved Wife and unto our children all my worldly Goods in manner and form as hereunder expressed first Declaring that whilst my beloved wife lives a single Life she only or whom she shall appoint shall be and remain sole Executor for our Children and Grand Children and to have the care and disposal of all my Money and Effects to be Delivered to them in manner following first I Give and Bequeath to my Son Thomas Collins children (ver/ William Collins Thomas Collins and Ruth Collins when they are of age or as my beloved wife may think fit the Sum of five pounds each in all fifteen pounds in case any of them should die before it is allowed to any of them the whole is to be Divided between the Survivors The Remainder of my Money in Mr. Joseph Birds hands of Stirminister in Dorsetshire, England that shall approve it and one hundred pounds at Interest in William Colborns hands and any other Money that shall appear due to me at my Decease after being decently interred and my Debts paid and the two hundred pounds dowery which I promised at the Intermarriage of my Daughter Elizabeth Collins with the Reverend Mr. John Evans the Interest thereof is only at the disposal of Mr. John Evans whilst my said Daughter Elizabeth Collins otherwise Evans lives and at her Death only the said Sum of two hundred pounds is to and ... the property of whatever Child may be then living of her natural offspring with S. Mr. John Evans that my Daughter shall think proper to have it to as her last will should it please God my Daughter should die before Mr. Evans it is my Declared will that the said sum shall be secured for the Eldest Child living he being the natural ... of my said Daughter by Mr. John Evans and that the Interest only to support the Child is to be drawn until the Child is of proper age accuing to ... the remaining part of my ... as aforesaid that shall appear due to me is to be Delivered in even and equal shares to my undernamed sons when my beloved wife thinks they can do best and Inauag... but not one



Old Church of England Church 1787 -1906

shilling without their Mothers consent unto Samuel Collins William Collins John Collins Edward Collins Luke Collins and Joseph Collins equally a share alike providing always they are pleasing and take their Mothers advice otherwise they cut themselves off from any share and their part shall be Divided among them that take their Mothers advice and consent all the remaining part of my Effects such as my houses and Gardens and their produce in Placentia that I purchased on my Stage and every of my Boats and Skiffs and every other of my fishing Craft and utensils thereunto belonging with all my household furniture and all my Stock of Cattle and every other my intessarys I Give and Bequeath unto my beloved wife Ruth Collins to be at her disposal at her Death provided always she lives a single Life the remainder of her Days but in Case she should Marry it is my last will and testament that every of my Effects then remaining of shall be taken sold and disposed of and Divided equally between my Wife and all before mentioned Children being our Sons unprovided for in that Case and if my said beloved wife Ruth Collins should Marry she shall be entitled to no more of my Personal Property than to each of my before mentioned Sons share save only unto her while she lives the use of the houses Gardens and Stage at Placentia in which we now live in occupy & & the same to be at her will & disposal to my natural Children by her at her Death which she may think most deserving in her last will and Testament in ffull Testimony of the above being my last will and Testament Thereunto set my hand and seal at Placentia in Newfoundland where no stamped paper is used this tenth Day of July one thousand seven hundred and ninety ffive 1795 - (signed) William Collins (Place of Seal) - Signed Sealed and Delivered to be the last Will and Testament of William Collins in presence of Barnaby Mooney (signed) Josiah Blackburn

This Will was proved at London the twenty sixth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven before the Right Honourable Sir William Wynne Knight Doctor of Laws Master Keeper of Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted by the oath of Ruth Collins Widow the Relict of the Deceased and the sole Executrix named in the said will to whom administration of all and singular the Goods Chattels of the Deceased was granted having been first sworn by Commission only to administer.

This amazing document is the only reason we know William's wife's name. It also lists all of his children and grandchildren living in 1795. Presumably other children could have died over the years but lack of church records makes this impossible to determine. Ruth is made the sole executrix for the will which tells us something of her character. William would have been more likely to pick a male relative or a trusted business partner rather than his wife if he had any doubts about her being able to settle the estate. The portions concerning her remarriage should not be taken as any attempt by William to coerce her into staying single. This part of the will is standard legal jargon found in many wills of the period and was merely designed to ensure that the inheritance passed on to William's children and not to a second spouse. It is likely that Ruth, already a grandmother, was not looking to marry again.

Touchingly, William leaves a small sum to his three grandchildren. Although little by

today's standards, five pounds was a considerable amount of money in 1795. It was not nearly enough to set them up in business but it would be a nice nest egg to begin with when they came of age. It also is indicative of William's prosperity that he left anything to his grandchildren at all. The will is generally vague about what William owned in Placentia besides a house with its attached garden for growing household vegetables and a stage with various articles of the fishing trade. However, he has money on account with the two Dorset merchants, Joseph Bird and William Colborne of Sturminster Newton. These are not inconsiderable sums. One is tempted to assume they represent the balance of his accounts with them rather than money banked but at least in the case of Colborne this money is said to be "at interest". Bird and Colborne were originally clothiers at Sturminster Newton and they not only made money by supplying clothes and cloth to the merchants directly involved in the Newfoundland trade but also recruited labour for men like Isaac and Benjamin Lester of Poole. Later both men became directly involved in the Newfoundland trade themselves.⁵⁸

There is also the substantial dowry to be settled on the husband of his daughter Elizabeth. Although he was not one of the merchants, William Collins must have employed a substantial number of men to run his fishing operation and was no doubt one of the notables of the town. It becomes, however, easier to understand Prince William Henry's interest in the family. Barnaby Mooney and Josiah Blackburn were witnesses to the will. Barnaby Mooney, it may be recalled, was involved with William in business in 1768. Josiah Blackburn became the father-in-law of William's son, Luke.

William Collins died on November 29, 1795 and is buried at the Old Church of England cemetery in Placentia. His tombstone reads: "Near this place lies Intombed the remains of the life [of] WILLIAM COLLINS A principal planter here who was in life respected and in death lamented Time how short Eternity how long Ob.t Nov. 29th 1795 Ata. 67"

Ruth as Head of the Household

As with so many women in history, Ruth rarely appears outside the shadow of her husband. His death, however, allows the records to show her for the first time. It is difficult to determine Ruth's social status due to the paucity of records. She was not, however, a simple fishermen's daughter. An unpublished thesis by Willeen Keogh entitled *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon: 1750-1860* gives the following account of 'English gentry women' which help us to penetrate to a small degree Ruth's world and also that of her daughter Elizabeth:⁵⁹

These gentlewomen were the wives and daughters of local mercantile and professional men. Their husbands, fathers, and brothers were merchant-planters, mercantile agents, ship owners and captains, naval officers, doctors, and Anglican clerics - men who also served as magistrates and local administrators (e.g., school board members, road commissioners, relief commissioners, customs collectors, and directors of hospital boards), and whose names appeared regularly on the grand jury lists and presentments for the area. From the mid-1830's onwards, they also formed the pool from which representatives to the island's House of Assembly were elected. This emerging middle class was tied economically to the plebeian community through interdependence

in the fishery. Nonetheless, they maintained social distance through their separate ethno-religious pedigree, exclusive patterns of marriage and socializing, and different forms of consumption, housing, dress, and behaviour.

One of the defining elements of their class identity was the construction of middle-class womanhood. Middle-class men, by necessity, had to associate with the outside community on a daily basis. Some of their activities - their orchestration of supply and credit, their court and administrative functions - reinforced the power dynamic between gentry and plebeian communities. But the regular intermingling of men of both social groups on waterfront premises, in gardens and fields, in stores and public houses, tended to blur the boundaries of class somewhat within the small fishing villages of the area. Thus, the removal of middle-class women from the public sphere, the increasing separateness of their lives, and in particular, the contrast between their lives and those of plebeian women, were instrumental in reinforcing class perimeters on the southern Avalon.

This contrast between middle-class and plebeian women, however, was less stark in the mid-1700's than it was a century later, for feminine roles among the local gentry were not static over the study period, and the life experiences of these women changed in several respects over the span of a hundred years. The most obvious difference was their residence patterns, for most wives and daughters of the merchant-planters operating on the study area up to the late 18th century remained in the home country; few ever set foot on the southern Avalon.

Ruth was the daughter of a planter and Justice of the Peace, the wife of a planter, the mother of a deputy sheriff and naval officer and the mother-in-law of a Church of England clergyman. She certainly seems to fit the description above except that she not only lived in Placentia, unlike many of her class who remained in England, but she was likely born here. It was probably her mother, unnamed in local sources, who immigrated to Newfoundland.

Our first indication of Ruth's personality and competence, as noted above, comes from the will of her husband where she is appointed sole executrix instead of her adult son Thomas. This image of a confident, capable woman is reinforced by the following memorial of 1800:⁶⁰

To
George Frederick Ryves Esq^r Captain
of His Majesty's Ship Agincourt and Supreme Surrogate
for the Island of Newfoundland
The Memorial of the Boatkeepers of
Placentia

Humbly Shewth

That your memorialists having seldom seen a Gentleman of your virtue and disinterestedness come among them as surrogate - are encouraged to lay their grievances before you particularly with a view - that unless they be redressed, - that you will be so good as to represent their case to His Excellency the Governor -

Your memorialists beg leave to inform you worship, that the Merchants of this

place, are long in the habit of charging such prices, as best suits themselves, on the Boat-keepers and likewise affixing prices to their fish and Oil without allowing them the Boat Keepers the common right of mankind, they being considered as persons having no will of their own.-

Your Memorialists only wish to have an Equitable price set in Goods, and also in the produce of their Fishery. - and to be Regle'd [?] -. In an equal manner with the Boat Keepers in St. John's and its neighbourhood, and not considered as slaves.

Your memorialists most humbly crave your Worships particular attention to this their Complaint and as in duty bound will forever pray[.]

Placentia

August 19th 1800

John Green

Philip Reach

Thomas Blanch

Ruth Collins and Sons

Cornelius Hawkins

Michl Blanch

John Lambey

George Blanch

Richard Furstall

John Viguers + sons

Notice this memorial is signed "Ruth Collins and Sons" even though at least two of her sons are married with children at this time. It is also regular in theses records to note if a petitioner signed with a mark. There is no such indication here meaning Ruth could likely write her own name. She clearly had a keen interest in the family business at Placentia.

Finally, there is the 1805 land dispute mentioned above. It is Ruth who produces the old land grants, probably long stored in a wooden chest with the family's other valuables. The last we hear of Ruth involves an unfortunate lawsuit filed by Samuel, John and Joseph against their brother Luke for keeping part of their mother's estate. The issue was dealt with in the Placentia Court house over two days in August 1818. The first is a note in the court records from August 11:⁶¹

Saml John vs Luke Collins

The Plaintiffs complained of Defendant keeping part of the property left them by their late Mother's Will and preventing an equal distribution of said Property.

It appears upon investigation that the Property which the Defendant would not allow to be divided was given him by his Mother in 1812 as was proven by Deed of Gift under the hand of Ruth COLLINS

The Plaintiffs Now and to pay costs

R ROWLEY
Surrogate

The next day at court gives us more details of Luke's defence:⁶²

Deposition of Luke Collins of Placentia

Personally appeared Luke Collins of Placentia who deposeth and saith that on the fifth day of July 1812, his Mother Ruth Collins gave him a spot of ground adjoining her

dwelling house, in Placentia, twenty two feet in breath, bearing nearly East and West and seventeen feet bearing nearly North & South, on which said ground, he the said Luke Collins had built a Store, at his own expense adjoining the said dwelling house, together with a wood yard on part of which the said store is built and that the document bearing date the 5th day of July 1812, by which the said property was transferred to him, was actually the will and deed of his Mother, the said Ruth Collins.

(Signed) Luke Collins

Sworn before us at Placentia this 12th day of August 1818 Signed Robt Rowley
Surrogate
Francis Bradshaw JP
Joseph Blackwell JP

It would appear from this case, that Ruth was probably not long dead in August 1818.

The Second Generation

We have been able to discover a few fragments of the lives of some of William and Ruth's children. Four of their boys appear in the 1794 militia list for Placentia: Thomas, Samuel, John and William.⁶³ This list was drawn up in reaction to rioting at St. John's by Irish labourers. There is no evidence that these men actually did any training. All would have been at least eighteen, however, and it is of interest that Luke is not on the muster roll. Perhaps he was too young. Joseph definitely was too young. In the case of Edward, he was no longer living at home as we will see below.

Placentia in 1805

The following description of Placentia comes from a report to Governor Gower about the state of the local defences. The following portion sheds light on the town at this period when it seems to be suffering from hard times:⁶⁴

The settlement is at present in so reduced a state, and so little the resort of fishing boats, that it may perhaps be deemed proper to abandon it entirely + save Government the annual expense of maintaining a post here. If however a post of rendezvous upon the south coast ought at all times be ready - And if the situation of Placentia is convenient for it - it affords many advantages for the purpose.

Its capacious inner harbour is secured by a work already in existence - which at the same time commands the outer harbour, + renders it untenable for the enemys ships until they have demolished the work.

Perhaps it is not to be considered one of the least advantages of Placentia that its extensive beach would afford the ready means of curing the fish; should the fishermen be driven by the enemy from the many small harbours on the opposite coast, to which the independent fishermen have of late years resorted. It would also afford them the means of making flake stages upon the banks of the harbour, with the trees which grew upon them - and so carry on the fishery with as much advantage as used to be done before it

was the custom to settle.

I would apprehend that to establish another post, to obtain the means of defending the place against a land attack would exceed the importance of the object at present - otherwise a battery with a loopholed guardroom or a tower might be placed on Castle hill, which would render a land attack difficult.

Thomas and Family

The will quoted above shows that Thomas was married with children by July 1795. It is reasonable to assume that he was married by at least 1790 and possibly earlier. If he is the oldest child, then he must have been born before Samuel and as argued above was probably born in the 1760's. The will unfortunately does not give Thomas' wife's name but we know that he had at least three children: William (it was a common practice to name a first born after one's father), Thomas (after his wife's father unless his name was also William, then this boy was likely named after Thomas himself) and Ruth (for Thomas' mother).^d

A Placentia court document gives us a list of constables for the year 1818. Both Thomas and his younger brother William appear on it:⁶⁵

Sep 29, 1818

The Court still sitting the following Constables were chosen to serve for twelve months from this date being duly sworn

Richard Forestal
Thomas Collins
Mathew Crotty
John Mooney
John Ryley
Wm Collins
Ed Walsh

Francis Bradshaw JP
Josh Blackburn JP

The following entries are also from the Placentia Court records. The brevity of the entries makes it difficult to determine what the point of contention is. Thomas is the plaintiff and the Sparrows the defendants:

[1] Sep 25, 1821

Thomas Collins vs Thomas Sparrow

The Plaintiff was skipped this year for £.7. the voyage to the defendant who had now turned him adrift - Summons granted for Defendant to appear on 27th Instant

Charles A Baker Surrogate⁶⁶

^d If this system were used by William and Ruth Collins, William's own father was a Thomas and Ruth's a Samuel. In fact, Ruth's father was Luke Goodall. Perhaps, though, William and Ruth had had an older son named Luke (as well as the later one) who died in childhood.

[2] Sep 27, 1821

Thomas Collins vs Thomas Sparrow

William Magill for the defendant appeared in Court. A deposition was put in of John Dunn of Little Placentia that the Plft had destroyed the bait obtained for the use of the fishery - Pltft ordered to return to his Master's employ and pay for summons and serving.

Charles A Baker Surrogate⁶⁷

[3] Aug 5, 1822

Collins vs T Sparrow & wife

Summoned Defendants to appear to-morrow morning to answer complaint of obstructing the Sheriff in the execution of his duties

Peter Fisher Surrogate⁶⁸

[4] Aug 5, 1822

Collins vs T Sparrow & wife

The Defendant Catherine Sparrow appeared in court and made oath to the inability of her husband T Sparrow to attend from sickness in consequence of which the case was deferred to the next quarter sessions

Peter Fisher Surrogate⁶⁹

Elizabeth and the Reverend John Evans

The will of William Collins also give us information about his only daughter, Elizabeth. She was married to the Reverend John Evans.⁷⁰ He is one of the more colourful characters in the family and what we know of his life is related in the chapter III of this history. Elizabeth and John were married about 1791.⁷¹ We have information confirming the birth of one son⁷² and two daughters and another claiming they had six children by 1798. We have the names of only two of their children.

William Collins

This son of William and Ruth Collins has not left much of a historical footprint. We know of him only from the will of his father, the militia list of 1794 and the 1818 list of constables. William may appear in one other record concerning his brother Luke. This is recorded in Chapter VI.

Samuel and John - Fannie and Martha

Samuel and John Collins give us our first serious genealogical problem in this history. They share a headstone in the same cemetery in which their father is interred, the Church of England graveyard by the present St. Luke's Anglican Church. This was raised by "Fannie and Martha Collins". We do not exactly know who these two women are but they are discussed below. As mentioned above, there is serious reason to doubt the age given for Samuel. The tombstone claims that John died on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1847 at the age of seventy-two. He was therefore born c.1775. Samuel died August 11, 1851 aged 93 years. He was therefore

born c.1758. The sixteen or seventeen years difference between the two has led some researchers to conclude that they are father and son but this is not likely since John would then be William Collin's grandson and should have been mentioned in the will of 1795. He is not. It is therefore more reasonable to assume they are brothers and that their ages are not entirely accurate. Furthermore, one of these two men, by a process of elimination, must be the father of John Collins (c.1798 - 1884) of the third generation. Thus far we have no reason to favour one man over the other for this honour. Likely the other man produced no offspring. The story of this branch of the family is continued in Chapters V and IX.

Luke and Margaret Blackburn

Luke married Margaret Blackburn in 1810⁷³ and they raised a family of at least two children: Samuel (c.1816) and Mary Sofia (c.1825). It seems unlikely from these three dates that there were not more children and, as our investigation into this family continues, we may yet find some missing members. This family became known locally as the "Court House" Collins's because of the association of some members with local judicial occupations. Their story is told in Chapter VI.



Tombstone of John and Samuel Collins in the Church of England graveyard

Joseph and Anne Brett

Finally, we have Joseph Collins, who appears to be the youngest of the children of William and Ruth. He married Anne Brett whose origins are not known. They had at least one child, Margaret, in Placentia about 1828.⁷⁴ Margaret produced a large family on the west coast of Newfoundland. The story of Joseph's family continues in Chapter VII.

III

Elizabeth Collins and the Reverend John Evans

Elizabeth Collins married the Reverend John Evans. We have very little information on her but a wealth of detail regarding her husband's public life. Through them we can imagine what life would have been like for her.

The first Church of England building at Placentia was constructed over the French period Catholic Church of Our Lady of Angels. Both Catholics and Protestants continued to use the French graveyard. In 1759 or 1760, Rev. M. Langman made a visit to Placentia and found seventy Anglican families in the area. He conducted services two Sundays and baptized about fifty people. It is possible that some of the Collins children were baptised at this time.

After Prince William Henry left Placentia, the Society for the Propagation for the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) agreed to send Rev. John Harris^e, who had previously served as curate at a parish in Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, Wales.⁷⁵ He discovered that the old chapel of Our Lady of Angels, used for Church of England services for many years, had been taken down. He found only one hundred Anglicans in Placentia and fewer still in the bay. He also saw the erection of the new church.⁷⁶ We have not yet discovered the name with which this church was christened. When Harris was transferred to St. John's to replace Mr. Price there, Placentia received Rev. John Evans. He had served as a curate somewhere in the vicinity of Haverfordwest as well.⁷⁷

Speculation on Evans' Early Life

Although we have little evidence for his early life, we know that John Evans was from Wales⁷⁸ and he might have been born near Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire. Many clergy were drawn from the gentry class and Evans probably received a good Classical education including Latin and Greek. He did not attend Oxford or Cambridge University so it is likely he obtained his degree at Trinity College, Dublin before being ordained. He then served as a curate in a parish somewhere near Haverfordwest for some period of time.⁷⁹ We do not know how he was attracted to the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Foreign Parts but, since his predecessor, John Harris, came from the same area, it is hard not to speculate on a connection between them.

From the beginning, the society stressed the need for their missionaries being able to read and preach well and took careful note of their pronunciations. The men were tested on these elements before being selected.⁸⁰ The following quote from the society's 1786 report shows exactly what the society expected of its missionaries at the time they recruited Evans:⁸¹

Extract from the INSTRUCTIONS given to the CLERGY employed by the SOCIETY for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

First, with respect to themselves

I. That they always keep in their View the great Design of their Undertaking, viz., To promote the Glory of Almighty God, and the Salvation of Men, by Propagating the

^e His surname is often found in contemporary records as Harries.

Gospel of our Lord and Savior.

II. That they often consider the Qualifications requisite for those, who would effectually promote this design, viz. A sound knowledge and hearty belief of the Christian religion; an apostolical zeal, tempered with prudence, humility, meekness and patience; a fervent charity towards the souls of men; and finally, that temperance fortitude, and constancy, which become good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

III. That in order to the obtaining and preserving the said qualifications, they do very frequently in their retirements offer up fervent prayers to Almighty God for His direction and assistance; converse much with the Holy Scriptures; seriously reflect upon their ordination vows; and consider the account which they are to render to the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, at the last day.

IV. That they acquaint themselves thoroughly with the doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in the Articles and Homilies; its worship and discipline, and rules for behavior of the Clergy, as contained in the Liturgy and Canons; and that they approve themselves accordingly, as genuine Missionaries for this Church.

V. That they endeavour to make themselves masters in those controversies, which are necessary to be understood, in order to the preserving of their flock from the attempts of such gainsayers as are mixed among them.

VI. That they take special care to give no offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in affairs not relating to their own calling and function.

Secondly, with respect to their Parochial Cure

I. That they conscientiously observe the rule of our Liturgy, in the performance of all the offices of their ministry.

II. That besides the stated service appointed for Sundays and Holy-days, they do, as far as they shall find it practicable, publicly read the daily morning and evening service, and decline no fair opportunity of preaching to such as may be occasionally met together from remote and distant parts.

III. That they perform every part of Divine Service with that seriousness and decency that may recommend their ministrations to their flock, and excite a spirit of devotion in them.

IV. That the chief subjects of their sermons be the great fundamental principles of Christianity, and the duties of a sober, righteous, and godly life, as resulting from those principles.

V. That they particularly preach against those vices, which they shall observe to be most predominant in the places of their residence.

VI. That they carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as the peculiar institutions of Christ, pledges of communion with Him, and means of deriving grace from Him.

VII. That they duly consider the qualifications of those adult persons to whom they administer baptism; and of those likewise whom they admit to the Lord's Supper; according to the directions of the Rubrics in our Liturgy.

VIII. That they take a special care to lay a good foundation for all their other ministrations, by catechising those under their care, whether children or other ignorant persons, explaining the catechism to them in the most easy and familiar manner.

IX. That in their instructing Heathens and Infidels, they begin with the Principles of Natural Religion, appealing to their Reason and Conscience; and thence proceed to shew them the Necessity of Revelation, and the Certainty of that contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the plainest and most obvious Arguments.

X. That they frequently visit their respective Parishioners; those of our own Communion, to keep them steady in the Profession and Practice of Religion, as taught in the Church of England ; those that oppose us, or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them with a Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness.

XI. That those, whose Parishes shall be of large Extent, shall, as they have Opportunity and Convenience, officiate in the several Parts thereof, so that all the Inhabitants may by Turns partake of their Ministrations, and that such as shall be appointed to officiate in several Places shall reside sometimes at one, sometimes at another of those Places, as the Necessities of the People shall require.

XII. That they shall, to the best of their Judgments, distribute those small Tracts given by the Society for that Purpose, amongst such of their Parishioners as shall want them most, and appear likely to make the best Use of them; and that such useful Books, of which they have not a sufficient Number to give, they be ready to lend to those who will be most careful in reading and restoring them.

XIII. That they encourage the setting up of Schools for the teaching of Children; and particularly by the Widows of such Clergymen as shall die in those Countries, if they be found capable of that Employment.

XIV. That each of them keep a Register of his parishioners names, profession of religion, baptism, &c. according to the scheme annexed, No. I. For this own satisfaction, and the benefit of the people

Thirdly, with respect to the Society

I. That each of them keep a constant and regular correspondence with the Society, by their Secretary.

II. That they send every six months an account of their respective parishes, according to the scheme annexed, No. II.

III. That they communicate what shall be done at the meetings of the Clergy, when settled, and whatsoever else may concern the Society.

Evans Arrives in Placentia

John Harris' 1789 account of his last full year at Placentia sets the scene for the arrival of Evans.⁸²

The Rev. Mr. Harris, missionary of Placentia, has acknowledged the receipt of the books, &c. which were sent to him last year. The church is very nearly finished, for which they are much indebted to the activity and diligence of Mr. Brown, the first Magistrate in the place. The place is very small, and abounds with Roman Catholics. In the summer there were 3000, in the winter about 2000. The Protestants do not exceed 100. - From the 28th September 1788, to the 27th of October, 1789, he had no married couple in Placentia and only 2 in Fortune Bay: had baptised at Placentia 6 infants, and at Little Placentia 1; at Coterin 8, at Burin 14, at Fortune Bay 9. Buried at Placentia 8. Ten Communicants, who very constantly attend.

Evans arrived in Placentia in 1790.⁸³ It must have been quite an adjustment for him. The weather was colder in winter and cooler in summer than what he was used to in England and Wales. The community's population was largely Irish Roman Catholic. The members of the Church of England were few. The new church building must have been an asset and no doubt the royal Communion service added to the solemnity of the worship. Nevertheless, Evans was a long way from home and forced to endure the hardships brought on through extensive travel around the various communities in the southern part of Newfoundland.

Unfortunately, we have not yet obtained a copy of the 1791 Report of the Society which would have contained details of 1790. Nevertheless, the 1792 Report (which contains details of 1791) may well be Evans' first report. Harris apparently was unable to go to St. John's in the winter of 1790-1 and stayed in Placentia.⁸⁴ Evans, perhaps, had his guidance for several months before running the mission on his own. The synopsis of Evans' report in the society's annual publication runs as follows:⁸⁵

The Society received intelligence of the safe arrival of Mr. Evans at his Mission of Placentia, and of the great civility and attention which he has met with from the principal settlers. He says that the Protestants are very regular in their attendance on divine worship, but the Communicants are only 7. He received from Mr. Harries, his predecessor, several prayer-books and tracts, and Protestant catechisms, which he says will be very useful, and he requests a further supply of the last, which the Society have

sent him, and also a Library for the use of the Mission.

He corrects a mistake in the last year's Abstract, where in it was said that there were two bells given to the Church, there being only one, the gift of Mr. Collins; but Mr. Brown contributed very liberally to the building of the Church, which is a very neat edifice. He has visited several other settlements, and officiated to congregations of 60 and 80 persons, and baptised 63 children, 27 adults, and married 1 couple. He visited also Burin in Placentia Bay, where are 27 Protestant families, who are desirous that a Missionary may visit them annually, which the society think may be very proper, especially as the Governor has granted them a spot for the building a Chapel, and 'tis hoped that they may soon be accommodated with a school-master to educate their children. Mr. Evans officiated there six times to 60 persons, or more; baptised 20 children, and married one couple. He expressed himself much indebted to the liberality and friendship of Mr. Waldron, who accommodated him in these excursions with a boat, though attended with no little inconvenience to himself.

Appointment as Garrison Chaplain

In 1791, Edward added to his duties and his small salary by being appointed chaplain of the garrison at Placentia. The following correspondence from the Governor's records shows this appointment and some of the benefits Evans gained from it. All are dated May 26, 1791:⁸⁶

By His Excellency Mark
Milbanke Esq^r Governor and
Commander in Chief in and
over the Island of Newfoundland
&c &c

Whereas I think it necessary to appoint some Person to act as Chaplain to His Majesty's Garrison at Placentia, and having good confidence in your Ability and Desire to promote the Christian Religion: I do hereby appoint you the Reverend John Evans to act and do the Duty of Chaplain to his Majestys said Garrison accordingly till further Orders.

Given under my hand and seal in the said Island the 26th day of May 1791

Mk Milbanke

To the Rev^d Mr. John Evans
hereby appointed to Act
as Chaplain to His Majesty's
Garrison at Placentia
By Command of the Governor
A. Graham

The next letter is from Governor Milbanke at St. John's to Captain Skinner, Chief Engineer, who was stationed at St. John's. Presumably he would send further orders to Placentia.⁸⁷

St. Johns Newfoundland

26 May 1791

Sir,

Having this day appointed the Reverend Mr. John Evans to Act as Chaplain to His Majesty's Garrison at Placentia; and thought fit to allow of his occupying the Lieutenants Quarters in the said Garrison it being at present empty and not to be wanted for an officer for some time to come. I desire you will give directions for the said Quarters to be put in habitable Repair for Mr. Evans as soon as possible.

I am Sir Your most obedient Humble Servant

Mk. Milbanke

To Captain Skinner

Chief Engineer Newfoundland

The third letter is also from the governor but this time to the man in charge of the items associated with the room granted to Evans.⁸⁸

St. Johns Newfoundland

26 May 1791

Sir,

Having this day appointed the Reverend Mr. John Evans to Act as Chaplain to His Majestys Garrison at Placentia. I am to desire you will from the date hereof issue to the said Mr. Evans one Rooms allowance of Fuel and Candle. I am

Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Mk Milbanke

To John Lee Esq^r Barrack Mast^r

The final letter in the series is from Governor Milbanke at St. John's to William Isham Epps who was in charge of food stores for the garrisons throughout Newfoundland:⁸⁹

St. Johns Newfoundland

26 May 1791

Sir,

Having this day appointed the Reverend Mr. John Evans to Act as Chaplain to His Majestys Garrison at Placentia. I am to desire that you will from the Date hereof issue to the Mr. Evans one Ration of provisions for himself and another for his Servant[.] I am

Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Mk Milbanke

To Mr. William Isham Eppes

Appointment as Justice of the Peace

As we have seen above, the role of Justice of the Peace was an important one and required a man who could read and write, understand his instructions, devote time to this unpaid position and who, of course, was not a Roman Catholic. Evans was an obvious choice to fill this position and he accepted it. The Commission of Peace was renewed yearly but we have only those for the first two years:⁹⁰

St. Johns 27th September 1791

Appointed John Brown Esq^r, and John Evans Clerk Justices of the Peace at Placentia
John Brown Esq^r to be keeper of the Rolls.

Two records show the renewal of the next year:⁹¹

St. John's Newfoundland

the 7th September 1792

Appointed the undermentioned persons to be His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Several Districts as expressed against their names.

Placentia - Alan Hyde Gardner John Evans Clerk /Custos/ Esq^{rs}

It is recorded again seven weeks later:⁹²

St. John's Newfoundland

20 Oct 1792

Appointed James Oakley Esq^r Justice of the Peace for the District of Placentia. Also John Evans Esq^r / Clerk / to be Justice of the Peace and Custos for the said district, who took the necessary Oaths to qualify him to hold the said office before me.

R. King

In 1791, John Brown was *Custos Rotolorum*, or Keeper of the Rolls. These are the Placentia Court records. By the next year, Evans has assumed this important roll making him "senior" Justice of the Peace. Evans' partner in September 1792 was Alan Hyde Gardner. The records of justices of the peace in other jurisdictions show his name repeated in three others. This would have been an impossible task. James Oakley's name replaces Gardner by the October document.

The following is the 1793 *Report* of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which gives details for 1792:⁹³

The Rev. Mr. Evans, the Society's Missionary at Placentia, in his letter of the 8th of December last, acquaints the Society, that, besides attending to his own particular charge he had visited Fortune Bay, and officiated 6 times at different places, but was concerned to find many of the Inhabitants extremely ignorant. A frame of a small Chapel

has been erected at Burin, where Mr. Saunders instructs 20 or more Scholars with great attention and diligence. He baptised 15 children in Fortune Bay, and 11 at different places, and had had 7 funerals. But as the Inhabitants live so very scattered, and the greater part being of the Romish persuasion, he has not been able to send an exact account of the births and burials; and as to marriages, they are preformed by any person who can read. He chearfully [sic] submits to the great fatigue of his various excursions, if he can in any degree answer the end of his Mission, and extend the knowledge of the Gospel among a people who have hitherto lived in lamentable ignorance and darkness.

And so passed his first years in his mission with its many chores and challenges. Although the reports do not mention it, one frustrating aspect of his work would have been the lack of a local bishop. Although Evans could baptise and give Communion, a bishop was needed for Confirmation. He could prepare people for that sacrament but there was no practical way of them receiving it.

The following is the 1794 *Report* detailing 1793:⁹⁴

One letter has been received from the Rev. Mr. Evans, Missionary, at Placentia, in which he acknowledged the receipt of some Prayer books and Tracts from the Society. That, in the course of the summer, he had officiated eight times in Burin, morning and evening, and that the people were very regular in their attendance. That, the ill success of the Fishery, had prevented the finishing of the Church, the frame of which had been erected last year. He laments that, from the extent of the Bay, and the Inhabitants being so scattered (single families residing some leagues from each other) he is not able to visit the distant Harbors so often as he could wish, and their spiritual necessities require. He recommends Mr. Saunders for Schoolmaster at Burin, with which the society have complied. The number of inhabitants he states thus. In Great and Little Placentia , Paradise, and Anderin, 2000; in Burin 550; in Fortune Bay, 1000.

Marriage and Family

As if the young reverend were not busy enough, he also found time for courting and in around 1791 married the only daughter of William and Ruth Collins.⁹⁵ They were likely married in the little church at Placentia but we have no record of the event. One of their first children was Mary, who seems to have been born c.1791.⁹⁶

A later date for their marriage and for Mary's birth could be construed from the following record of Governor Wallace:⁹⁷

Fort Townsend St John's
8th October 1794

Sir

In consequence of a representation from the Rev^d Mr. Evans Chaplain to the Garrison at Placentia stating that he has not received any Rations for His Wife. You are hereby directed to issue to him proper Rations for one Woman to commence the 11th day of August 1794 and to continue the same in future.

I am Sir your humble Servant
Jas. Wallace

To William Isham Epps Esq^r
Commissary of Provisions.

His position as chaplain continued to produce benefits for Evans over the years and provide information for us. In the following, we find that Elizabeth has had a child:⁹⁸

Fort Townsend St John's 29 July 1795

Sir

In consequence of a representation from the Rev^d Mr. Evans Chaplain to the Garrison at Placentia stating that he has not received any Rations for his Son; you are hereby directed to Issue to him proper Rations for one Child to commence the 29th day of July 1795 and continue the same in future.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant
Jas. Wallace

To William Isham Epps Esq^r
Commissary of Provisions.

This boy is not mentioned in the July 10, 1795 will of William Collins above but the reply to Evans' request is dated July 29. He might have been born between these two dates. The will may be interpreted in such a way as to make one think that William was aware of his daughter's pregnancy. There were other children of this marriage. One document quoted below claims as many as six but this seems incredible in the time given. Unfortunately we lack the names of most of these children. It is possible that further research may turn them up.

The Routine

Reverend Evans would have conducted service on Sunday morning in Placentia throughout most of the year. He would have arranged and provided relief for the distressed who came to his attention. He was on-call for religious duties involving the garrison including parades and celebrations they may have conducted. During the fishing season, when the population increased, he would have been involved with more judicial matters as the inevitable problems arose between hardworking men far from home. He also took time in the summer to visit communities throughout Placentia Bay as well as other bays, such as Fortune mentioned above.

The following is the account of his activities for the year 1794 contained in the 1795 *Report* of the society:⁹⁹

By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Evans, Missionary at Placentia, the Society have been informed, that in visiting the Out Harbors he was cast away, and lost everything except what he had on. The boat in which he made his escape was very leaky, but, by the goodness of Providence, he escaped with his life, reaching the shore, to the surprize of all who are acquainted with that coast, and getting safe to a small cove about two miles from the rock on which the vessel was lost. He acknowledges the receipt of a box of books from the Society. Particular family business has made his presence in England necessary

this Winter, but he will return again to his mission this Spring.

It is possible that Evans' original letter, if it survives somewhere, has more details of what sounds like an exciting escape from death. It is interesting to speculate regarding the family business which called him home. Was there a death in the family? Was he showing off his new bride? It is also interesting to note that he returned to England and not Wales, although perhaps the distinction wasn't important to the writer of the report. The events of the year 1795 are contained in the next report:¹⁰⁰

The Rev. Mr. Evans, of Placentia, came to England on particular business last winter but returned again in the Spring, after receiving a pecuniary compensation for the losses he sustained in being cast away the year before, in visiting the Out Harbors. Since this, the Society have received one letter from him, by which they are informed that he has visited Burin, where he found the Inhabitants full as attentive as before to religious instruction; but he was sorry to add that, in consequence of the very unsuccessful fishing voyages, the greater number of the Boat-keepers had been reduced to very indigent circumstances, and therefore little able to compleat their Church, till it shall please God in his good Providence to send more prosperous times. Mr. Saunders continues to attend his school at Burin, but few of the Inhabitants can contribute any thing to his support. The Society have therefore encreased [sic] his salary to 15 L a year. Mr Evans had found no opportunity of visiting Ferryland. He baptised 6, and buried 2^f, since his arrival at the Mission.

The parish at Ferryland had lost its missionary, and it might be inferred from above that the society had requested Evans make a journey there during the year. The 1797 *Report* giving events for 1796 indicates that the society received no report from Evans and reminds us that Newfoundland and the Empire were at war with revolutionary France. However, the society was not surprised:¹⁰¹

The great and general alarm which the attempt of the French Fleet on this Coast occasioned last summer has been some impediment to the regular correspondence of the Missionaries with the Society.

No letter has been received from Mr. Evans, Missionary at Placentia.

Waldegrave's Plan for the Poor

Our next two records show some of Evan's judicial functions. Justices were required to collect fines and license fees which were usually used to defray costs (as we saw fifty years earlier with Salmon and Goodall). Here Evans writes to the secretary of Governor Waldegrave:¹⁰²

Placentia

2nd October 1797

^f One being his father-in-law.

Sir,

I have agreeable to His Excellency's Commands comunicated [sic] to me by you, in your Letter bearing the date of 28th July, sent you an Account of the Licens'd Public House[s] in this district, which you will find in a statement, I here with enclose to you. The fees taken in court of sessions have ever in this district been retain'd by the Magistrates and Officers of the Court, and the part of the License Money usually appropriated by them to their own use, I have set down, and also pointed out, how the other part has been applied, The Public Houses at present are much fewer in Number, than in former years, in consequence of the great decrease of Trade in this Harbor.

I have sent copies of the Proclamation to the different Settlements, and shall as much as possible, see them earned into effect.

I am, Sir, Your most obedt humble servant [sic]

(Sign'd) John Evans

J.P. Rance, Esq^r.

Governor Waldegrave, a deeply religious man known for his compassion, devised a scheme in the Summer of 1797, whereby money was to be collected in the Fall of 1797 from everyone involved in the fishery to be used for the poor during the winter. Evans, however, had the unpleasant task of reporting that he had never received this letter and therefore the collection had not been made.¹⁰³

Placentia decemr 4th 1797

Sir,

I had the honor of receiving your letter by His Excellency the Governor's Command bearing date the 15th of October 1797, enclosing a duplicate of a Letter of the 13th of August together with two Proclamations and a letter to the Inhabitants. Your letter of the 13th August I never received, and wish it could be discovered to whom it was intrusted. It would give me great Anxiety to incur justly His Excellency's displeasure. It has always been my ambition to pay every attention to the duties of the station I have been placed in by the Governors of this Island, and whilst I hold any office I hope to give every satisfaction.

I shall pay every attention to the different Instructions given by the Governor. I have laid the Proclamation and His Excellency's letter before the Inhabitants which met their warmest approbation, I am sorry it arrived to [sic] late to be of any effect this year, as the Servants had all been paid their Wages previous to my receiving it. I am happy to say that since my residence at this place the Inhabitants who are able have at all times contributed liberally toward the relief of the indigent, and doubt not that they will always shew the same readiness to relieve as far as possible the necessities of the distress'd.

I am, Sir, Your Most obedient humble Servant

John Evans

J.P. Rance

O'Kennedy and the 6th Irish Brigade

Later in that same December, the transport *Elizabeth* out of Cork limped into Placentia

having left her convoy on her way to Halifax. Aboard was Captain O’Kennedy and two companies of the 6th Irish Brigade totally one hundred and forty-six men. The ship had run into heavy seas and sprung her bowsprit, lost one hundred and thirty fathoms of cable and her anchor. The sailors and soldiers were all sick and soon nine men and two women had died of fever. There was fear that an epidemic might be brewing on board. As no spar could be found and the cable and anchor not possible to obtain in Placentia, the crew and troops were forced to stay the winter. This caused great distress in the town as provisions were already short and no new ones could be acquired.¹⁰⁴ The Irish soldiers had been paid in “stamp’d Spanish dollars” before leaving Ireland with the promise that they would worth 4s 9d. The inhabitants of Placentia, however, refused to accept them at this rate but only at the normal unstamped rate of 4s 6d. John Evans, apparently, was part of the trouble here and O’Kennedy in a letter to Colonel Thomas Skinner, who was in overall command of British forces in Newfoundland at St. John’s, said the following:¹⁰⁵

Notwithstanding the interference of Mr. Evans Justice of the Peace, I am to request you’ll have the goodness to signify His Majesty’s intention with respect to the value attached to the stamp’d Dollars to the inhabitants of this place.

Evans obviously did not buy the idea of the stamped dollars and wouldn’t be persuaded by O’Kennedy who is clearly frustrated.

A Pay Raise

The society’s report for 1798 giving events of 1797 again shows that no letters were received from Evans. We do know, however, that the governor was working on behalf of the missionaries. Governor Waldegrave took on the problem of low wages for the missionaries in Newfoundland. This bore fruit as we see in the following letter:¹⁰⁶

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel &c
on Friday 16 February 1798

Resolve

That the thanks of this society be given to The Honorable Vice Admiral Waldegrave, for his active services in the cause of Religion in Newfoundland; And that he be informed, that the Society has paid a due attention to his recommendation respected the salaries of their missionaries there. And therefore have agreed that Mr. Harries of St. John’s have an increase of 20 a year, - Mr. Jennor of Harbor Grace 15 a year; And Mr. Clinch + Mr. Evans of Trinity and Placentia, have each an increase of 10 a year to their present Salaries to commence from Christmas 1797.

Willm Morice DD Secretary &c

The society’s 1798 report reads as follows:¹⁰⁷

No letter has been received from Mr. Evans, of Placentia.

The Society having taken into their serious consideration the state of the Missionaries in Newfoundland, their laborious, and sometimes dangerous duties, their

difficulties, their services, and their merits; on which the sentiments of the Governor, who kindly interested himself in behalf of the Missionaries, intirely [sic] coincided with those of the Society; they have, on these accounts, been induced to increase the salaries of all the Missionaries on that island, not in an equal advance, but according to the situation and circumstances of each Mission, which has been an additional expence [sic] in the whole of 55 l. a year.

The reports of 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796 and 1797 all show Evans making £70 a year by this time.¹⁰⁸ The report of 1798 indicates a rise to £80 a year.¹⁰⁹

A Truly Unfortunate Man

While John Evans was certainly a busy man with his clerical, judicial and familial duties, something had gone dreadfully wrong. The exchange of letters which follow must be understood against the backdrop of what appears to be an advanced and destructive alcoholism effecting Evans. This was not uncommon in Newfoundland. Even the beloved Catholic Father Bourke of Placentia, roughly contemporaneous with Evans, may have had a nacent problem with drink as it was suggested to him that he take an oath against drinking while on the mission by his superiors.¹¹⁰

When Waldegrave arrived in May 1797, he soon heard that The Reverend John Evans was a problem. True to his nature, he tried to fix the problem extracting promised from Evans to change his behaviour. Reverend John Harris of St. John's seems also to have intervened on behalf of his fellow missionary. The problem, so Waldegrave's felt, was solved. Evans continued with his various offices as we see from this report to Waldegrave's secretary.¹¹¹

Placentia 28th July 1798

Sir,

Agreeable to His Excellency the Governors Command communicated to me by your letter of 15th October 1798 I have enclosed a Copy of such proceedings as were brought to a public hearing. I have observed at the bottom of that Copy that there were a number of frivolous disputes which were terminated by the mutual consent of the Parties. It has been my endeavour ever since I have been in the Commission of the Peace to settle all disputes as amicably as possible and those I could not bring to a compromise I have refered [sic] to Arbitration, being of opinion that the settlement in that way was the most equitable and most satisfactory, and I hope it will meet the Governors approbation.

I wrote to you to England in answer to your Letter of the above date, but as you may not have received it I herewith send you a duplicate.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

John Evans

J.P. Rance, Esq^r

Even before this letter arrived in St. John's, however, trouble was brewing. The day before Evans' letter above arrived in St. John's, two letters came from Waldegrave's office. The

first a matter of routine business:¹¹²

Fort Townsend

27 Sept. 1798

Sir

As your letter of the 18th of October last did not reach my hands until the 13th day of December following, it was not out of my power to return reply by an earlier opportunity I have no objection to your possessing the vacant quarters at Placentia, so long as they may not be required for the use of His Majesty's Troops, but whenever the quarters may be wanting for the above purpose, you are to consider this permission as no longer in force[.]

I am, Sir, most obedient,

humble Servant

Wm Waldegrave

The Rev^d Mr. Evans

Placentia

Apparently the Evans family had moved out the garrison accommodations at some point but we don't have any information regarding this. The tenor of the second letter shows a note of irritation with Evans:¹¹³

Fort Townshend

27th Sept. 1798

Sir,

The Reverend Mr. Morrice Secretary the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts having applied to me to know the cause of your having so long neglected to correspond with him agreeably to your instructions. I now call upon you officially as Governor to assign your reasons for the above neglect.

I expect that you will be equally speedy and explicit in your answer, as my stay here, from the lateness of the Season will be naturally short.

I am Sir Your most humble

Wm Waldegrave

The Revd Mr. Evans

Placentia

It seems the Society had failed to receive the reports from Evans which were periodically called for. The situation was serious enough in their eyes to send to the governor for help. Waldegrave was at this time in the middle of raising funds for a new church at St. John's, another indication of the seriousness with which he took his religious faith. Evans' laxity on what he seems to consider a very important matter has clearly irritated him. It was perhaps

exacerbated by the energy he had expended on getting men like Evans a better salary. While the governor waited for a reply from Evans, he received a disturbing report from his surrogate, Captain Warren, who had returned to St. John's and given a report on the situation in Placentia. Waldegrave was told of the drunkenness of Evans. His anger at being kept in the dark over this behaviour is obvious from the letter he fired off to the garrison commander at Placentia, Captain Phillip de Cortlandt:¹¹⁴

Fort Townshend

7th October 1798

Sir,

It is with infinite concern & astonishment that I learnt from Captain Warren [of] the most unbecoming and scandalous behaviour of The Rev^d Mr. Evans at Placentia. Captain Warren saw too much of this himself but he gives you, Mr. Bollard and Mr. Hannay as his authors concerning the still more shocking behaviour of Mr. Evans. How you as Commanding Officer of the Garrison can have been so long silent on this head is a matter that perhaps you can better explain than I can account for, I am however sorry to observe, as the case now stands, it does not impress my mind a very favorable opinion respecting your ideas of Military discipline or love of order in Civil Society: And I consider this breach of duty on your part to have arisen from a Mistaken lenity, I shall pass it over, nevertheless, I desire that you will make known to me immediately the most glaring particulars of Mr. Evans irregular conduct. You must let me have an explicit answer as soon as possible.

I am, Sir, your Most Obedient Servant

Wm Waldegrave

Capt de Cortlandt
Placentia

de Cortlandt was clearly taken aback by Waldegrave's rebuke but even so reveals a great sympathy for those involved in the situation. He returned a quick reply to the governor:¹¹⁵

Placentia

13 October 1798

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 7th Instant and feel much concern'd that any part of my conduct as commanding Officer of the Garrison of Placentia should have merited from you such severe reprehension but beg leave to submit to your Excellency the following Statement of the situation of the Rev^d Mr Evans at Placentia.

That Gentleman was sent out by the Society as Missionary for that district, as such I conceived I had no control over his conduct whatsoever except merely as an Individual, at that place therefore I judged it might have been deem'd officious in me to interfere in a matter that concerned the Parishioners only.

This being his original and principal Appointment, although since his arrival at Placentia the Officer Commanding in the Island has favor'd him with the appointment of

Acting Chaplain to that Garrison, by which he was in a certain degree brought under the Cognizance of the Officer Commanding there, and as his conduct in many Instances had been very flagrant I made no doubt & was led to believe that the Inhabitants themselves would make their formal representations to the society, by which means he would be removed without taking upon me the disagreeable task of being principal in the ruin of a Man who had promised me most faithfully to alter his conduct and who had a large family that must necessarily be involved in his disgrace and be reduced to inevitable misery and distress, all which must have laid very heavy upon my mind had I taken steps that strict Duty perhaps would have dictated. These considerations were the real motives of my being silent on this most disagreeable subject and will I hope so far operate on your mind as to induce you to spare me the painful Task of going into any particular details of his conduct by permitting me to say generally that it has been as to render him entirely unworthy of the situation he holds as acting Chaplain to that Garrison, I hope that this explanation may remove any unfavorable Impressions you may have on my Conduct respecting this unfortunate Man.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's
most obedient humble Servant

Ph. De Cortlandt

His Excellency
The Honble Wm Waldegrave
&c &c

Evans replied to the governor's two letters, those dealing with giving Evans' quarters in the garrison and the demand to know why the S.P.G. had not been receiving reports. Evans responses with two letters. First is a thank you note:¹¹⁶

Placentia November 7, 1798

Sir

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 27th of September informing me that I had your permission to occupy the vacant Quarters here.

I beg leave to return you my most grateful thanks for your kind attention.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant

John Evans

His Excellency
The Honble W Waldegrave
Governor and Commander in Chief &c &c &c

The second letter, written the same day, offers an excuse for not writing back more promptly and an explanation for the missing reports. Evans' letter reveals no hint of the storm clouds gathering around him and the anger of the governor.¹¹⁷

Placentia November 7th, 1798

Sir

On my return here from Fortune Bay on the 28th of October, I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Letter of the 27th of September. On enquiry I found that no letter from me could reach St. John's before your departure for Europe after that date.

It gives me great anxiety that I should have been absent both the last and present year when your Letters to me came to Placentia, which prevented my returning an Answer in time to be received by you [in] this Country; when you are made acquainted with the cause of my being absent, I humbly hope you will excuse the seeming inattention. I every year, some time in the Summer visit the different out Harbors of this District and this year on the repeated solicitations of many of the Inhabitants went into Fortune Bay, its extent, together with other unavoidable delays, made my return much later than I expected. In going from one Harbor to another I am under the necessity of embracing such opportunities as may offer, which makes the time of my return so precarious. The uncertainty of the place I may be at makes it also highly improper to forward any Letter of consequence to me, as I might by that means never receive it. These reasons I hope will fully shew the cause of your receiving no Letter from me when in this Island, together with my Letter of this Years to Dr. Morice I have enclosed Copies of Letters written in 1796 and 1797. I can account for the loss of some of the Letters I wrote to the Society, as I have certain information that the vessels I wrote by were either lost or taken by the Enemy. How others have miscarried I cannot possibly comprehend unless they were wilfully detained, a practice I believe but too common. With sincere wishes for your safe return to England, I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir, Your Excellency's obedient and most humble servant

John Evans

Waldegrave, meanwhile, had set sail for England and probably did not receive Evans' letters until the Spring. He was not waiting until the Spring to act, however. On reaching England, Waldegrave wrote the following letter to Reverend William Morice, DD, who had earlier informed Waldegrave of the pay increases for missionaries to Newfoundland:¹¹⁸

Portland Place

18th November 1798

Sir

I am sorry to find myself under the very unpleasant necessity of requesting you to lay before the Society the accompanying letters.

Mr. Evans left Placentia before he could have received my letter of the 27th September which in some measure accounts for its remaining unanswered. It was generally supposed at Placentia that Mr. Evans did not intend returning to that Place, and by some it was conjectured that he meant to leave the Island entirely, - the last I heard of him, was his being at one of the harbours on the Western Coast.

What makes this case truly lamentable is that Mr. Evans has left behind him at Placentia a wife and six children. The conduct of Mr. Evans has been such as renders it utterly

impossible for him to remain in Newfoundland as a missionary, but I cannot conclude this letter without strongly soliciting the Society to take into its consideration the distressful situation of his wretched wife and children.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

Wm Waldegrave

The Revd Dr. Morice

&c &c &c

In a letter we do not have, Reverend Morice replied to Waldegrave stated that the Society require specific allegations before it could make any decisions regarding Evans. The following is the governor's reply, giving us for the first time information about what Evans had done:¹¹⁹

Portland Place

2nd February 1799

Sir

As my Secretary Mr. Rance informs me that you have signified to him the necessity of my bringing some positive and specific charge against the Revd Mr. Evans, in order that he may be dismiss'd from his present mission, I have only to say that Capt Warren of His Majesty's Sloop Shark, on whose good sense, Judgment and humanity I can place the utmost reliance assur'd me, that when at Placentia, he had heard, from good authority, that Mr. Evans had appeared in the Pulpit in a state of inebriation, and that he had been given to understand that this was one of the principal causes of the Inhabitants of Placentia no longer attending divine Service. Capt Warren added that he himself saw this unfortunate man at ten o'clock in the morning, very far from sober.

I shall now beg leave to subjoin an extract from Capt Warren's report to me on the subject of Placentia, "It is painful for me to be oblig'd to represent to your Excellency, that the conduct of the Rev'd Mr. Evans, Missionary at Placentia, has been for some time, and now is, so scandalous, that scarce an individual belonging to the Town will attend divine Service, consideration for his large Family has been the only reason the Inhabitants have not represented his proceedings, but, Sir were I not to report the unparallel'd bad conduct of this truly unfortunate Man, I fear I should be conceiv'd negligent."

Should the society wish to make any further reference to the Inhabitants of Placentia on this subject, I shall with pleasure adopt any mode it may think proper to point out.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

Wm. Waldegrove

The Revd Dr. Morice

&c &c &c

This letter, and perhaps some follow up information from other sources, led to the termination of Evans as an S.P.G. missionary. Although we lack a specific letter indicating so, it is reasonable to assume his position as chaplain had also been terminated. Although Waldegrave returned to Newfoundland in the Spring of 1799, the next we hear regarding this matter is from October of

the same year in a letter from Evans to the governor:¹²⁰

St. John's, 12 October 1799

Sir,

Having the mortification of incurring the displeasure of the Society for propagating the Gospel in consequence of the malevolent representations of some of the Inhabitants of Placentia, I humbly solicit the liberty when your excellency may think proper, to lay before you certain papers which I hope will in some measure palliate [sic], if not certainly confute their malevolent aspersions. The anxiety I now endure on account of a wife and helpless offspring, which I know not how to provide for. I want Language to express and will plead [sic] my excuse for thus addressing you. Destitute of all support having expended both health and property in endeavoring [sic] to answer the object of my mission, without any other prospect of remuneration but from a continuance of being employed by the Society, I beg leave to submit my Situation to your determination, and hope to be honored with an Answer.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

Jn^o Evans

The Honable

Wm Waldegrave

Waldegrave's reply is honest and forceful. If Evans is under the illusion that this detractors' complaints can be easily disposed of, Waldegrave's reply ends almost all hope of reprieve:¹²¹

Fort Townsend

12th October 1799

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of this day's date, and am much concern'd to feel that my reply must be wholly unsatisfactory to you.

How far your ill-conduct may have been exaggerated to the society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by malevolent persons, I cannot say, but certain I am, that your unbecoming behaviour (to use no harsher expression) has been represented to the above Society by persons whose breasts are either strangers to malevolence of any sort, and whose sole motive for making such representations, was an high sense of their duty both to God and their country.

You cannot, sir, but have in your remembrance when I first visited this Country, your tacit acknowledgement of your guilt, as also your promises, through our worthy Minister Mr. Harries, of your immediate amendment and that your future conduct should be such, as became the sacred trust you then held. It was on these promises alone, and Mr. Harries' persuasion of their sincerity, that I was prevailed on to overlook the past. Let your own feelings declare whether or not you were deserving of such lenity.

As to the Papers which you are desirous to lay before me in order to palliate if not refute the malevolent assertions that have been made against you, you may produce them,

if you think proper, but if you do this, it must be done in the presence of Mr. Harries, Mr. Ogden, one or two Captains from my squadron, as also my Secretary, for as your character has been attacked publically, your vindication must be equally so.

As I was the person who brought forward the charges that was alleg'd against you, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I shall certainly not object, to lay any Paper you may have to offer in your defence, before that respectable body, but remember, I will never be your advocate. You have deceiv'd me once but you shall never do so a second time.

With respect to the unhappy situation of your family, you have nobody to reproach but yourself. As to their distress, it was this consideration that induc'd the Society to grant you, to the best of my recollection, six months salary, but this you must probably have been acquainted with by Dr. Morice's letter.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant

F Wm Waldegrave

Mr. Evans

It was likely a hard winter for the Evans family. With no salary coming in and no benefits like quarters and rations at the garrison, John and Elizabeth and their children would have been thrown back onto the charity of Elizabeth's mother and brothers. Evans had apparently held onto one last bit of dignity. Whether by oversight or not, he was still Justice of the Peace for Placentia. Did his sudden fall from grace lead to reformation of his character? George Ryves, surrogate captain of the *Agincourt*, made the following report to the new governor, Charles Morice Pole.¹²²

The Agincourt

Placentia Harbour

August 19, 1800

Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform you of our safe arrival at this place on Sunday afternoon. Early on Monday morning I opened court. The actions were very triffling [sic], but detain'd me that day and the greatest part of this. Mr. Evans, I found as I expected, beastly drunk. A most improper person to act as a Justice. I really think it would be high proper to do away [with] his authority for this acting[.] I have been particular in my enquires respecting the state of the place which I shall fully explain to you when I have the pleasure of seeing you. I am sorry to say there doesn't appear to be any person properly qualified to act, amongst those I saw Mr. Bradshaw from his manner and situation I should conceive the best suited. There certainly is great want for some person to fill the office as at present I do not find any judgment of the Surrogate's put into execution after his leaving the Bay[.]

I shall leave this place early tomorrow morning as it seems uncertain when this Letter may reach St. John's I shall defer sending you the particulars of my transactions 'till I arrive off the Harbour according to your orders.

I have the honor to remain

Your obedient Servant
Geo. Frederick Ryves
To Charles Morice Pole, Esqr
Rear Admiral of the Red
Commander in Chief &ca &ca &ca

Unable to shake off the demon of drink, Evans continued his downward slide. The final hammer fell in September. The following letter is from Governor Pole to Francis Bradshaw:¹²³

Fort Townsend 18th September 1800

Sir

Herewith you receive a Commission appointing you in conjunction with Mr. Josiah Blackburn His Majesty's Justice of the Peace for the Harbour and District of Placentia, in the room of Mr. Evans whom you are no longer to suffer to Act. You will also receive therewith forms of Returns of Inhabitants and Fisheries, which are to be filled up and returned to reach this place by the 15th of October next.

I hope I shall have the pleasure to learn that the public affairs of Placentia are conducted with much more regularity and propriety than they have heretofore been.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Charles M. Pole

Mr. Francis Bradshaw

Evans' alcoholism had laid waste his career in Newfoundland and damaged his family life. Our final window into this unhappy story comes in 1802. In that year Elizabeth and her mother Ruth asked for the help of the merchant Pierce Sweetman in squelching a rumour that Evans had sold a Bible which was not his property to the garrison blacksmith for a guinea. They claimed it was the property of the Evans family.¹²⁴ The letter of Sweetman to the Reverend John Harris is reproduced below.¹²⁵

Placentia Oct 6, 1802

Dear Harries

I have this day been called upon by Mrs Evans & her Mother to request my taking the trouble of contradicting a report sent abroad by your particular friend Justice Phils who told Capt Ommanney, Mr Bradshaw & myself that unfortunate Evans had sold that sacred volume of the Eviltion [sic] of God I sent by the Trinity to the Chaplain of this place & to the smith of the for one guinea.

The Bible which you had which you subtracted your name as myselfpossession & I am well informed that the Bible sold to old Vulcan was the private property of the Evans family so that the Justice Reports on that head are not to be implicitly attended to.

Hearing that Capt Ommanney may not have reached St John's, I send you the reports on the case of Justice Blackburn V Mr M Sweetman by which I think /if you are the same John Harries that I formerly knew/ youfor your recommendation

To Mrs Harries I beg my respect & full complements & with love to Tom & the girls.
Remain as I have for many years done

Your very sincere friend
Pierce Sweetman

The Revd John Harries
St John's

As unfortunate an ending this is for John Evans in Newfoundland, it was not the end of his career as a minister or of his family. It seems that the family left Placentia shortly after this date and returned to Wales. John became a curate in 1804 at St. Meilyr's in Llys y Fran, a small parish to the northeast of Haverford West. The church here was headed by the rector Charles Ayleway.¹²⁶ The building is of local stone and medieval in origin. In c.1809, Elizabeth gave birth to Janette Eliza in Bletherston, another village to the southeast of Llys y Fran. She may well have been their last child.

Their daughter Mary married Thomas Bowen on November 17, 1813. He was a retired officer of the 85th Regiment of Foot. This was his third marriage. He had four children from his first wife and thirteen from Mary.¹²⁷ The Bowens were a gentry family and it proved a good match. The eldest of Thomas and Mary's children was John Bowen. He followed in his grandfather's footsteps in many ways. He settled for a time in Canada, then returned to Wales where he decided to enter Trinity College, Dublin. He was eventually ordained in the Church of England, was a curate in Yorkshire, travelled extensively in the Near East and finally became the first Anglican bishop of Sierra Leone. His sister gathered together his notes, journals and letters and published them under the title *Memorials of John Bowen, Late Bishop of Sierra Leone* in 1862. In this work, John Evans received mention: "...Mary Evans,... the daughter of the Rev. John Evans, who had been for some years chaplain to the garrison at Placentia, Newfoundland."¹²⁸

John and Elizabeth's daughter Janette Eliza never married. She became the head mistress of a school in Bilton, Yorkshire for some time¹²⁹ and later retired with her nieces, passing on just shy of her hundredth year.¹³⁰ We know of a granddaughter of John and Elizabeth. This is Fanny Evans. She is identified in the 1851 Census of England as Janette's niece. This means that an unidentified son of John produced her. Although with Janette in Yorkshire at that time, she was born in 'America', which was often a very broad term which could include Canada, the United States or Newfoundland.¹³¹ She was born c.1816. John retired his curacy in 1814 and died on September 28, 1819 at Talybont near Narberth. His passing was noted in two publications, *The Christian Remembrancer* and *The Cambro-Briton*. The latter reads: "At Talybont, near Narberth, Rev. John Evans, Curate of Newton and Llansyfran, for many years a Missionary at St. John's, Newfoundland."¹³² Nothing is known regarding the death of Elizabeth.

IV
Edward Collins
1778-1811

The best documented person of the second generation of the Collins family in Placentia is the fifth son of William and Ruth. This was Edward Collins. He was born in Placentia on Monday, September 14, 1778.¹³³ This is the only date of birth we have for any child of this generation and it is available because Edward, by strange fortune, became an officer in the Royal Navy during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. During the surrogacy of Prince William Henry, Edward came to the attention of the prince. There are a number of sources which speak of how this happened. The oldest, though far from most accurate, is from G.N Wright's *The Life and Reign of William the Fourth* written in 1837 which in turn drew it from J. Watkins *The Life and Times of William the Fourth* written in 1831 (both within the life times of Edward's brothers):¹³⁴

In the middle of June, 1786, Prince William-Henry, having received his orders while off the coast of Normandy, parted company with the captains of the *Druid* and *Rose*, and steered immediately for Newfoundland, and from thence to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Here two instances of the royal benevolence demand our attention. When the Prince was on the eve of sailing from Plymouth, he was accosted in the dock-yard by a poor boy, who, without knowing him requested his Royal Highness would give him a birth [sic] in his ship to keep him from starving. The Prince put some questions to him, and, being pleased with his answers, as well as his manner told him to go on board the *Pegasus*, and tell the commanding officer that the captain had sent him. His Royal Highness afterwards ordered him to be completely clothed and equipped as a mid-shipman.

When the Prince arrived at Newfoundland, he accidentally saw a poor woman, who was burthened [sic] with a family of fourteen children, without the means of supporting them. Struck with the affecting sight, his Royal Highness, after surveying the whole, made choice of one boy, whose appearance pleased him, and this lad was treated in the like manner with the other. During the several voyages made by the Prince, these fortunate youths always stood behind his chair when he dined, but were never made to do any servile work, either on board or on the shore. They were placed under the immediate care of the steward, with whom they also messed. When his Royal Highness returned to Plymouth, to complete his beneficence, he sent both to school, and directed the steward's wife to see that they wanted for nothing in his absence.

It is not conceivable that this second boy is anyone other than our Edward Collins as the oral tradition survived in Placentia of his selection by the prince. The copy of Wright's work consulted for this history is from the Joseph Smallwood Collection at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at the Queen Elizabeth II Library in St. John's. One of the front pages of this volume includes some notes in Smallwood's handwriting including the following: "p 147 - Nfld in 1786 - a boy, probably Collins".

Our next source is from Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* (1898). In his discussion of the stay of Prince William Henry at Placentia in 1786, Prowse relates that "[The Prince] gave a

commission to one of the Collins family, who was afterwards a lieutenant.”¹³⁵ He then sends the reader to a footnote where he relates the following:¹³⁶

The story goes that, in order to test the courage of the boys to be selected for commission the Prince made a feint to give them a tremendous blow with a stick. Young Collins, a stolid, strong fellow, never budged, and was accordingly chosen for His Majesty’s service.

There is no doubt that this passage refers to Edward Collins. Our third source is an article written in 1938 by James M. Collins on the history of Placentia for the *Evening Telegram* in St. John’s. Collins seems to have drawn on Prowse to some extent but also on local (perhaps family) traditions and a document held by some unidentified person in Placentia. This 1938 article quotes Prowse but adds that the prince was on intimate terms with the Collins family and, as with Wright above, reports that he took the boy to England with him. Collins however doubts the veracity of how Edward was chosen but continues the story as follows:¹³⁷

Edward was a young boy of six or seven years of age when he was taken to England by Prince William. Here the young lad was sent to a Nursery School and as soon as he became capable of being sent to sea, he was enlisted as a sailor in the Bri[tish] Navy. In the Navy he soon displayed all the traits of good seamanship and was awarded for his great courage and gallantry. He soon rose to the post of third lieutenant. In an encounter with an enemy ship “The Fondroyant” [sic] the commanding officer of the British was killed and the command was given to Collins. In the ensuing battle “The Fondroyant” was captured and the ship became the prize of the English officers. For this remarkable display of gallantry Collins was appointed First Lieutenant of the H.M.S. Fondroyant.

This final account is likely based on oral family traditions and contains errors which will be explored below.

The Pegasus

Prince William Henry arrived in Placentia as captain of *HMS Pegasus*. At this time the system used to recruit and train future officers involved patronage and on the job training. The prince was known for choosing as his recruits the sons of friends and naval officers over those of powerful families.¹³⁸ Cutting through the errors in the accounts recorded above, it appears that Edward was considered by the Prince to be worth training. Nevertheless, aptitude for seamanship and some indication that Edward might make a good officer would not have been enough. Likely it was William Collins’ military background which suggested this course. It is highly unlikely that Edward would have been selected otherwise.

Edward was seven years old in the summer of 1786 and turned eight shortly after the departure of the Prince. If the accounts above are taken seriously, we are asked to believe that Prince William Henry took Edward on board the *Pegasus* that September. Edward then began learning about life on board a Royal Navy vessel at a very early age. There was nothing unusual about this. Officers could have “servants” on board but many of these servants were really boys learning about the sea. They would spend time with the crew learning the basic requirements and even spending time aloft in the sails and rigging. There may also have been some academic

education.

The frigate *Pegasus* had twenty-eight guns and was of the fifth rate.^g She was named for the mythological flying horse of Greek mythology. The *Pegasus* left Placentia on September 5, 1786. She sailed south and called in at Halifax on October 10th, then the major British naval facility this side of the Atlantic. Even in port it was usual for the crew to remain on board because shore leave was a temptation to desertion. The men would only go ashore if there were some duty to perform but even then would remain under the watchful eye of their officers. If shore leave were granted, then only a few men would go at a time with the rest waiting their turn - an incentive for a timely return. Would little Edward have seen much time on land under such a regime? It would seem unlikely. Instead the *Pegasus* became his only home.

From Halifax, they continued down the eastern seaboard of the United States which only three years before was recognised by Britain in the Treaty of Paris as an independent country. The Fall, Winter and Spring were spent in the West Indies. *HMS Pegasus* became part of the Leeward Islands Station. While awaiting the arrival of Admiral Sir Richard Hughes' successor, the West Indies fleet was led by Horatio Nelson.¹³⁹ In contrast to his personal life, the prince ran a well-disciplined and well-ordered vessel.¹⁴⁰ The prince took his duty to train his midshipmen seriously. Edward was not a midshipman nor even an able seaman on this voyage. He was too young for any title beyond "servant". This was, however, the normative method of bringing young men destined to be officers aboard. Edward must have learned a great deal and Prince William Henry had the potential to be a powerful patron. We know the *Pegasus* visited Kingstown on St. Vincent from an article of the *The Royal St. Vincent Gazette and General Advertiser*.¹⁴¹

KINGSTOWN, Nov. 11.

On Thursday evening last his Majesty's frigate, the *Pegasus*, under the command of His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, arrived in this Bay, from Halifax, after a passage of sixteen days. Yesterday morning His Royal Highness came on shore, and was received on his landing by Major ROPER and several other officers of his Majesty's 66th regiment of foot, and the President of his Majesty's Council. His Royal Highness immediately waited on the Commander in Chief, whose severe indisposition, we are sorry to add, deprived him of seeing his Royal Visitor. His Royal Highness then visited the Garrison, where the 66th regiment was drawn up to receive him, and a Royal Salute was fired. ----- His Royal Highness, on his return from the Garrison, was pleased to accept of an invitation to dine with his Majesty's Council and the General Assembly, this day.

We have pleasure to learn, that His Royal Highness's stay among us will be some days, which will afford the Inhabitants of this Colony an Opportunity of testifying the loyalty and affection they bear to his Royal Person and Family, and the Joy which an event, so auspicious as His Royal Highness's arrival, has diffused through all ranks of his Majesty's Subjects.

This Island may indulge a laudable pride in boasting of its being the first of the Windward Islands that has received a visit from a Prince of the Blood. A Prince, whose high birth is amongst the least of his shining qualities. His Royal Highness's great professional merit and noble emulation in that service to which he is at once both an honor and an example, renders him the boast of Britons and envy of rival Nations, whilst

^g All ships above twenty guns were rated by size between first and sixth rate. The designation had nothing to do with quality but size.

his early affability and engaging manners endear him to all mankind.

This day the Honorable Council and Assembly of this Government met at the Court-House in this town, pursuant to a summons for that purpose, when it was unanimously resolved to address His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, on his arrival in this Island. The Address, we understand, will be presented to His Royal Highness on Wednesday next; on which day a Public Dinner and a Ball will also be given in Compliment to him.

It must have been an exciting day for the little Placentia lad even if he only saw the celebration from the deck of the ship. Christmas was spent at Antigua. On Valentine's Day 1787, Nelson wrote to his friend Captain Locker, from the island of Montserrat:

I am here, with the *Pegasus* and *Solebay*. The island has made fine addresses, and good dinners. Tomorrow, we sail for Nevis and St. Christopher's, where the same fine things will be done over again. His royal highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship; and, without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest ordered frigates I have seen. He has had more plague with his officers than enough. His first-lieutenant will, I have no doubt, be broke. I have put him under arrest; he having written for a court-martial on himself, to vindicate his conduct, because his captain thought proper to reprimand him in the order-book. In short, our service has been so much relaxed during the war, that it will cost many a court-martial to bring it up again.

In March, the Prince served as best man at Nelson's wedding on the island of Nevis. They visited Jamaica a little later. While Placentia lay under the frosty grip of a Newfoundland winter, Edward caught sight of his first palm trees, suffered from the sweltering tropical heat and saw large-scale institutionalised slavery for the first time. By this time, Edward would have been well acquainted with ship life. He would have had a box to carry his possessions but these were likely very few. A few clothes would have sufficed and they would have been of the style of the regular seamen who had no uniform at this time. Clothes were washed on deck in tubs with sea water. Men cleaned themselves the same way. Pork, sea biscuits, peas, oatmeal, beef, cheese, sugar, butter all made up part of the diet. Raisins and flour sometimes replaced beef. There was usually a weekly schedule of these foods which were strictly controlled. Fresh food was brought on at intervals. All but the captain ate in messes. Edward, on the officer track, may have eaten with the midshipmen. Fresh water was available in large quantities but its quality deteriorated as the cruise continued. Edward would have slept in a hammock suspended from the wall of the cabin (again he was probably in with the midshipmen). Hammocks were removed during the day. On a frigate like the *Pegasus* the officers lived in the gunroom and almost certainly used chamber pots for human waste, emptying them over the side. Gambling was illegal but happened. Swearing and drunkenness common. Smoking was not allowed below decks due to the danger of an explosion but pipes were common outside. Many chewed tobacco. Music filled the ship in the duller times and larger ships - but not likely the *Pegasus* - had chaplains who provided the little formal religion available aboard.¹⁴²

By October 10th, 1786, the *Pegasus* was back in Halifax. She came in with the *Leander*, *Ariadine*, and *Resource*. The prince took his ship into the St. Lawrence River in August. On the 14th, he arrived at Quebec City, captured less than thirty years before after the famous Battle of the Plains of Abraham which ended the French regime in what would become Canada. By October 27 through to mid-November, the *Pegasus* was again in Halifax. It was here that instructions arrived telling the prince to return to England. It is possible that Edward spied a look

at his island home from the deck of the *Pegasus* as she sailed past in the late Autumn of 1787. It was the last time he would see it for many years. The vessel stopped at the Cove of Cork and at Youghal in Ireland in December and finally arrived in Plymouth harbour on December 27, 1787.¹⁴³ Family stories claim that on reaching England, the Prince arranged for Edward to be educated in a school. We have no details at all regarding this.

The Niger

Nearly four years later, on the sixth of November 1790, William and Ruth Collins swore before J. Brown, Justice of the Peace at Placentia, as to the date of Edward's birth. This was shortly after he turned twelve years old and seems to have been preparatory for his formal entrance into the Royal Navy. Whatever experience he may have acquired while on the *Pegasus*, his naval records officially begin on September 3, 1791 when he was appointed "captain's servant" on board *HMS Niger*¹⁴⁴ under Captain Richard Goodwin Keats. The 1780's and early 1790's were a period of a great naval arms race with France and Spain. The navy was expanding and many new vessels were being built.¹⁴⁵ The *Niger* was a thirty-two gun, fifth-rate ship launched in 1759. She was named for the great African river where England had long carried on trade. *Niger* had a crew of two hundred and twenty men.¹⁴⁶ Great Britain was at peace but ships like the *Niger* were patrolling the waters of the English Channel watching for smugglers and maintaining the martial skills which were so soon to be tested. The *Niger* was a Southampton class ship. This type started being built in 1759 and was the standard frigate for the next thirty years. She probably had twenty-four twelve-pounder guns on her upper deck, four six pounders on her quarterdeck and two others on her forecastle. Carronades often replaced some of these latter guns by the time of Edward's service on the *Niger*.¹⁴⁷ Carronades were short cannons designed to smash rather than pierce the side of an enemy ship.

Across the water in France, that nation had been embroiled in its famed revolution for the past two years and French aggression was on the increase. The storm clouds of war were slowly gathering. Edward spent, in the style of his records, four months, two weeks and three days as captain's servant. There is no doubt that he was on the track which would eventually lead to a commission and the occupational description is misleading to modern ears. Edward spent these months learning seamanship skills which would be so valuable when war finally came.

Edward's captain was a close friend of Prince William Henry. Since the prince had no vessel at this time and Edward had now reached the appropriate age for a commission-bound lad to join a ship, it is possible that the prince asked Richard Keats to take him on. It is also possible, though perhaps less likely, that Edward's father and Keats had some previous relationship and that the prince's patronage came via Keats rather than Keats' patronage through the prince. We shall likely never know. Edward's early career, nevertheless, is bound up with Keats. A captain was expected to gather his own crew and especially in the case of the officers serving under him preferred to have those whom he had trained from youth. These officers and officers-in-training would often follow their captains from command to command. This is exactly what we see in the case of Edward. Officer-bound youths came from a range of social classes. Lavery in his work *Nelson's Navy* estimates that twenty-seven percent came from the landed gentry of England. This is the lowest level of the aristocracy. A small percentage came from the upper aristocracy, the highest of all being Prince William Henry. Fifty percent were the sons of professional men such as doctors, lawyers, clergy and especially naval officers. About ten percent came from the commercial and lower classes.¹⁴⁸ Where does Edward fit in? If his father was a military man as the family tradition indicates, then he would fall into the fifty percent group. It is also possible that the Collins family, or perhaps Ruth's family, is a branch of a gentry family. Until we learn more about their roots, we can only speculate.

Richard Goodwin Keats had an illustrious career. He was born in 1757, the son of Rev.



A painting of an older Richard Goodwin Keats

Richard Keats at Chalton, Hampshire.¹⁴⁹ He joined the navy in 1770 and served under Captain, later Admiral, Montagu who seems to have been his patron. He moved with this man several times serving among other places in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. He made lieutenant in 1777 on board the *Ramillies* under Captain Robert Digby. In June 1779, he served aboard the *Prince George* where he first met Prince William Henry, then a midshipman. He then moved with Digby through several vessels and even fought in New York during the American War of Independence. In 1789, at the request of Prince William Henry (now Duke of Clarence) he was promoted to captain. In 1790, he commanded the *Southampton* and then was moved to the *Niger* the next year.

We are fortunate that Edward became associated with Keats because information on this captain is more readily accessible than on most captains and Keats was quite active over the next few years. The *Niger* arrived at Portsmouth on October 17, 1791 and at London around November 15.¹⁵⁰ We know this from an article entitled 'Shipping News' in the London *Times*, a source which supplies us with many of the details we know about the movement of the various vessels discussed below. The *Niger* had only recently returned from the West Indies under

G.C. Berkeley on July 18 and had been paid off (de-commissioned) on August 29. Its new commission under Keats began almost immediately.

On January 10, 1792 Edward became an able seaman.¹⁵¹ He was now thirteen years old. This means that he was thoroughly acquainted with the basic operation of the ship. His pay would also have increased. He served in this capacity for one year, three months, one week and one day. On the same day *The Times* reported that the *Niger* had been busy patrolling for ships bringing in contraband or trying to avoid customs. This was a typical peace time duty for the navy. The reports runs as follows:¹⁵²

PORTSMOUTH

JANUARY 6.

This day arrived at Spithead the *Niger* frigate, Captain Keats, with three prizes laden with spirits, &c. one of them is the *Lion of Hastings*, about 70 tons burthen; another cutter about 50, and a large boat. The whole will prove a valuable seizure.

Prizes were a great inducement to life in the navy at least for the officers. Each man received a share from the proceeds of a captured vessel during war time. Some officers made fortunes this way.¹⁵³ Toward the end of the year the crew had more excitement. There was an incident at Portsmouth in November 1792 when one hundred marines suddenly left their barracks, marched across town and boarded *HMS Niger*. The following article in *The Times* explains what happened:¹⁵⁴

LONDON

There is another report, which has occasioned some alarm, originating in an order sent by Government to Portsmouth, for the immediate sailing of the Niger frigate. On Wednesday morning at two o'clock, an express arrived from the Admiralty, at SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMMOND'S, at Portsmouth. Immediately the Marine-Corps beat to arms, and at twelve o'clock, Lieutenant Colonel SPRY, three Lieutenants, four Serjeants, four Corporals, and 100 privates, embarked on board the Niger frigate.

This sudden preparation, and the secrecy that was observed, of course occasioned many conjectures. It is therefore of public consequence that we should explain the matter. It is extremely easy to create an alarm, and it is equally easy to remove it, when the causes that give rise to it are explained.

In consequence of very serious tumults which have for some days past subsisted among the seamen at Shields for an advance of wages, a matter by no means unusual, as is explained in a very sensible letter on the Coal Trade in this day's Paper, Government has very wisely thought fit to send a Corps of Marines thither to quell the disturbances, and restore order. It is for this purpose that the Niger has sailed from Portsmouth, and we have no doubt but that in a few days we shall hear of perfect tranquillity in that place.

We again repeat, that there is no new cause for alarm.

By November 12, the ship had returned to Portsmouth riding again at Spithead.

In France, the revolution was spinning out of control and the Terror was in full swing by 1793. In late January, Louis XVI faced the guillotine. Shortly thereafter, France declared war on Great Britain on February 1, 1793.¹⁵⁵ Austria, Prussia and Great Britain were lined up against France. Edward's peace time naval service had lasted only slightly over one and a half years. Edward, however, entered the war as a fourteen year old with significant sea experience under his belt.

With the approach of war, the Duke of Clarence (as Prince William Henry was now identified), had begun manoeuvring for a post in command of a squadron. Although he had proved himself a competent peace time captain, the prime minister, William Pitt, and many at the Admiralty balked at him commanding a fleet in wartime. Nevertheless, *The Times* of January 16, 1793 reported that Keats was to take command of the *Royal Sovereign*, a ship of the line, and the Duke would raise his flag on the same vessel.¹⁵⁶ Behind the scenes, however, these appointments were being scuttled.

The Duke of Clarence's older brother, the Duke of York, took land forces into Holland to support the House of Orange which was threatened by a pro-French revolt. Keats, who remained with the *Niger*, led a convoy of transports to Holland in March 1793. *The Times* account follows:¹⁵⁷

HELVOETSLUYS MARCH 27

On Sunday last, the 24th, the transports came within the pier heads, and at noon disembarked a body of the 14th regiment sufficient to take the three guards of this fortress - Colonel GREENFIELD, of the 1st regiment of Guards, delivered the keys of the garrison, to Lieutenant-Colonel DOYLE, who, as Commandant here, because Governor of this Province, by virtue of a special Commission from the Prince of ORANGE.

On Monday, the 25th, the whole of this fine regiment, consisting of 600 effectives complete, debarked at seven o'clock in the morning with their field pieces; as did the 300

of the Royal Artillery, engineers, and artificers, under the command of Colonel MONCRIEFF, Quarter-Master General; and also 200 drafts for the 37th and 53rd regiment, whose arrival is hourly expected from England. The Niger frigate, Capt. KEATES, that convoyed the above troops, parted with the transports off the island of Goree, in chace [sic] of a French privateer of considerable force. - The ships of war, remaining in these roads, are the British frigates Syren and Echo, and the Childers armed brig - two Dutch frigates, two cutters, and three bomb-boats - The first regiment of Guards marched from hence on Monday morning to the Briel, and then embarked in Scutis for Dort, where they arrived safely that night.

The *Niger* was part of the Channel Fleet. This was the centre piece of the Royal Navy. Its main occupation was to blockade French ports - Brest in particular as it was the major French naval base - or give battle to the French fleet before it reached the open sea and threatened British colonies.¹⁵⁸ If possible, Rochefort, L'Orient (Lorient, today) and Cherbourg were also covered. This fleet protected the English Channel from Selby Bill, not far east of Portsmouth, down to the west coast of France. The fleet was commanded by an admiral but its many divisions were also commanded by subordinate admirals. Portsmouth and Plymouth were its main bases. At these ports the ships were outfitted, resupplied and repaired.¹⁵⁹ At Portsmouth, the ships often road at Spithead which was well sheltered from wind.¹⁶⁰ At Plymouth, the ships road at Plymouth Sound, Hamoaze and Cawsand Bay.¹⁶¹ The fleet's main anchorage, however, was at Torbay in Devonshire. From here, the ships could rapidly deploy to the coast off Brest.¹⁶² Edward would have spent much of his time in these places.

The London

In April 1793, Keats handed over the *Niger* to a Captain Moorson and began outfitting *HMS London*, named for the imperial capital. This was a ship of ninety-eight guns of the second rate built in Chatham in 1766. This was a much larger vessel than the *Niger*, having three full decks of guns.¹⁶³ This vessel had a complement of seven hundred and fifty men¹⁶⁴ Edward was placed on the books as Able Seaman on April 12, 1793¹⁶⁵, having been brought over by Keats. The Duke of Clarence raised his flag on the *London* during May and June. Edward was on board a ship with both his patrons but it was not to last. The Admiralty had its way and the Duke lost his command.

The *London* was under Admiral Howe in the Channel Fleet. On July 21, the crew of the *Bellerophone* was removed to the *London* at Plymouth and soon her outfitting was complete. She was ready for war. We next find the *London* at Torbay on September 14 and back at Portsmouth by December 17. In the meantime, Edward, after five months and two days as able seaman on the *London*, was promoted to midshipman.¹⁶⁶ This ship would have had up to twenty-four midshipmen.¹⁶⁷ He was just days away from his fifteenth birthday. This was a post he held for the next six months and two weeks.¹⁶⁸

Basil Hall described the duties of a midshipman about this time in his *Fragments of Voyages and Travels* (1846):¹⁶⁹

These young gentlemen are divided into three watches, and the individuals of each part are stationed on different parts of the deck. The mate of the watch, who is the principal person amongst them, with two or three youngsters, walks on the quarterdeck... Another midshipman, generally the second in seniority, has the honour of being posted on the forecastle; while a third, stationed abaft, walks on the poop.

They used the log (a measuring device), were in charge of signals, could take command of a boat or a prize ship, act as deputy to a lieutenant in command of a division of guns, learned all the basics of seamanship if they were not already acquainted with them and kept a written log of their activities while on board a ship.¹⁷⁰ On a large ship like the *London* the midshipmen usually had two berths on the orlop deck (a lower deck). Like the men, they formed messes and were served by two or three servants.¹⁷¹ His uniform, which he was expect to provide for himself, consisted of a cocked hat, a long single-breasted navy blue jacket and long boots. A white patch was a particularly distinctive part of his collar. His cuffs had three buttons. There was no dress uniform for midshipmen.¹⁷²

The government decided the best way to defeat France was to strip her of her colonies and a large expedition was outfitted to take the French islands in the West Indies. Although there was initial success, in the end thousands of British soldiers succumb to disease in the tropics and perished. During this time the *London* would have been making regular cruises with the Channel fleet. The following description of life in the navy from David Howarth's *British Seapower* allows us a glimpse of Edward's life at this time:¹⁷³

The ordinary business of the navy was made up of innumerable uneventful cruises, sightings of distant sails that were lost again, and occasional encounters with one or two ships a side, exciting for a time, especially for the chance of a profitable prize, but not important enough to find a place in any but the most detailed book of history. The sea was a much more constant danger than the enemy. In the navy, even after the time of Captain Cook and even at the height of war, at least ten times more men died of disease than were killed in battle. Monotony and boredom were the commonest experience.

The Pomona and the Alexander

Edward left the *London* on March 1, 1794.¹⁷⁴ He has two short stints over the next four months on vessels not commanded by Keats. Likely the *London* had reached the end of her commission and Keats had found employment for Edward on other vessels until his next command arrived. On March 2, Edward was entered into the books of *HMS Pomona*, a vessel of twenty-eight guns of the sixth rate built at Southampton in 1777-78. She had a crew of two hundred.¹⁷⁵ She carried nine-pounder guns and was weak compared to many other ships. No more were built after the outbreak of war in 1793.¹⁷⁶ She was named for the Roman goddess of fruit trees who had become associated with the concept of abundance. In 1795, a few months after Edward had left her, her name was changed to *Amphitrite* (perhaps due to confusion with the recently captured and now commissioned *Pomone*). Edward served two months, three weeks and four days as midshipman (one of four on a vessel this size¹⁷⁷) but we have no information on the ship or her captain at this time. Admiral Howe, however, did not favour close blockade of French ports and most of the activity of the fleet was confined to English harbours at this time except for convoy duty protecting fleets coming and going from England.¹⁷⁸ Edward was discharged from the *Pomona* on April 15, 1794.¹⁷⁹

On April 16, Edward appears on the books of *HMS Alexander*¹⁸⁰, a large seventy-four gun vessel of the third rate built at Deptford in 1773. She was named for Alexander the Great, the greatest general of ancient Greece and long a model of martial skill and daring. She was under the command of Richard Rodney Bligh. Edward stayed here for two months, one week and two days as midshipman. She would have had a complement of six hundred and fifty men¹⁸¹ and Edward would have been one of twenty to twenty-four midshipmen.¹⁸² Likely his time aboard represents one cruise. The French fleet in Brest, commanded by Rear Admiral Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse, set out in June 1794 to protect a convoy from the United States carrying grain

and products from the West Indies. In response, the Channel fleet was split in two. One division went after Villaret-Joyeuse and the other headed into the Bay of Biscay to find the grain convoy. The *Alexander* under Bligh was part of the latter mission under Rear Admiral George Montagu. Despite their patrols, the convoy slipped through. To the north, the French and British fleets, however, fought a major battle which has come to be known as the “Glorious First of June”. Twenty-five British ships of the line battled twenty-six French ships of the line. Admiral Howe captured seven of these ships in a crushing defeat for Villaret-Joyeuse. The French had 4,200 killed or wounded and 3,300 captured but they had covered their convoy.¹⁸³

Edward departed the *Alexander* on June 19, 1794¹⁸⁴ and missed a terrible fate which befell the ship later that same year. *Alexander* and *Canada* were returning from Spain to England after having escorted a convoy. On November 9, 1794 a French squadron of eight ships descended upon them. *Canada* escaped but Bligh and the *Alexander* were captured. Arriving at Brest, all their possessions were taken and they were incarcerated in a prison barge. Later they were transferred to a castle inland.

The Galatea

Meanwhile, Keats received a new command in May 1794. This was the thirty-two gun frigate (fifth rate) named *HMS Galatea*. She was named for a Sicilian Nereid (sea-nymph) in Greek mythology. Galatea fell in love with the youth Acis who was crushed by a rock thrown by the cyclops Polyphemus. She turned his blood into the river Acis in Sicily. *HMS Galatea* was a fast vessel capable of running down enemy prizes. She had a complement of two hundred and twenty men.¹⁸⁵ Edward joined the *Galatea* on June 20, 1794 but not as a midshipman.¹⁸⁶ Instead he reverted to Able Seaman. This is likely because Keats already had his full compliment of midshipmen (six on a vessel this size¹⁸⁷) but the distinction between the two ranks was blurred at this time so perhaps there is little meaning to the reversion. The records say that Edward, however, also served as a clerk.¹⁸⁸ This is likely the captain’s clerk (usually only one on a vessel this size) and it underlines a close relationship. A captain had to keep careful records which were examined by the Admiralty. It was the clerk’s job to ensure that all of these documents, from the ship’s log to muster rolls, were accurately filled out. He also had to copy all the captain’s correspondence.¹⁸⁹ Edward held this position for two years, twelve months and one week (these are lunar months of which thirteen are needed to make up one year).¹⁹⁰

We know a great deal about the activities of the *Galatea* while Edward was aboard from *The Times* and secondary sources. The following account comes from Brian Lavery’s *Nelson’s Navy* and describes the fitting out of the *Galatea* for this commission:¹⁹¹

The frigate *Galatea*, for example, began fitting out on 24 May 1794, when the first lieutenant appeared on board and commissioned the ship; the captain did not arrive till a few days later. The ship spent the next three months alongside the *Mercury* hulk, taking in stores and setting up rigging. By 7 June she had only thirty-seven officers and men on board, but some artificers were sent from the dockyard to help with the work, as the crew slowly increased. By the 10th, the iron ballast had been laid in the hold, and shingle ballast was being lifted on board from dockyard hoys. On the 21st the ground tier of casks had been completed, and work began on the lower rigging. The main yard and the fore crosstrees were brought on board on the 24th, and the tops were fitted the next day. By the end of the month, the crew had risen to 118, and work proceeded with the rigging. The seamen worked aloft, while landmen were set to work scraping and painting the outside and inside of the hull. On 5 July the topmasts were swayed up, and two days later the topgallants. Yards were swayed up and crossed during the next few days, and on

14 July the seamen began tarring the standing rigging. Some of the provisions had been consumed during this period, and the ground tier was again completed on the 20th. The fore and after holds were stowed on the 28th and 29th, and on the 30th the sails were bent to the yards. The landsmen were still painting the inside of the ship, and on 4 August the painters of the dockyard arrived on board to help them. The powder was brought on board on the 6th, and finally on 11 August a hoy came alongside with the ship's guns. They were hoisted on board, set on their carriages, and the ship was ready for sea. Ships could be fitted out more quickly if men were available, but there were often delays.

The captain was also responsible for finding the crew for a newly commissioned ship - according to the Admiralty regulations he was 'to use his utmost endeavours to get her manned' - though he was given the help of the port admiral and the impress service. The captain himself could also send out press gangs; on the night of the 24 June, for example, the captain of the *Galatea* 'sent an officer and a gang of hands on shore on the impress service'. They left at 10 pm and returned at 2 in the morning with an unspecified number of men; five of these were retained in service. Ships often got large drafts of volunteers or newly pressed men from the receiving ships, and after the war had been going some time they might get men 'turned over' from ships taken out of commission. The manning of the *Galatea* was slow. She had a total complement of 260, but one month after commissioning, less than half that number were on board. After seven weeks the number had risen to 163, and the situation was eased in the following week, when the first party of 24 marines arrived on board. By the time she sailed she was nearly up to full strength, but many ships of that period sailed about ten per cent short of complement.

The *Galatea* was made part of Captain John Borlase Warren's squadron of frigates which operated out of Falmouth and close into French waters. Another such group was headed up by Sir Edward Pellew. They were "composed mainly of new heavy 18-pounder and even 24-pounder frigates, with the best young captains and a free hand to cruise, these squadrons won a large share of glory and prize-money,...".¹⁹² We know the *Galatea* left Falmouth on September 5, 1794 for operations off Brest in Brittany under Pellew.¹⁹³ This is merely an example of one of the many missions which were likely uneventful. We also know that the *Galatea* arrived at Portsmouth with a 'lost mizen top mast' on November 16, 1794 but we do not know how the damage occurred. She set out again arriving at Falmouth December 31, 1794 where she joined the rest of the squadron preparing to sail for the coast of France.¹⁹⁴ That same day, however, the French fleet slipped out of Brest and had a thirty-four day cruise taking over a hundred British prizes.¹⁹⁵ Captain F. Cole (1760-1798) took temporary command of the *Galatea* for some period in early 1795. Keats returned, however, in February. Howe ordered the main fleet out to cover a convoy of six hundred ships in February 1795. A terrible gale pushed them back to Torbay, however, where an unusual southeasterly wind threatened to destroy the fleet on February 13th. Nevertheless, their cables held and the danger passed.¹⁹⁶ Sir John Warren's squadron, however, had set out the day before as indicated in a letter reproduced in the London *Gazette*:¹⁹⁷

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, MARCH 7

Copy of a Letter from Sir John Warren, Captain of his Majesty's Ship La Pomone, to Mr. Stephens, dated Cawsand Bay, March 2, 1795.

SIR,

I beg you will inform their Lordships, that, in pursuance of their orders, I put to sea on the 12th of February last, with the ships named in the margin*. The weather becoming thick, with fresh breezes and a heavy sea, on the 14th, the Anson carried away her main-

top-mast, which obliged me to heave-too; and, owing to her damages, I was under the necessity of bearing down the two following days, as she had drifted considerably to leeward; and, being unable to repair her defects at sea, I ordered Captain Durham to proceed with all possible dispatch to Plymouth.

On the 18th, having fell in with three sail of the enemy's transports, part of a convoy bound from Brest, I hauled the wind, and endeavoured to make the land; and on the 21st, the light-house on the isle of Oleron bearing S.E. by E. I discovered a frigate, and 20 sail of vessels under convoy, close in with the shore, many of them under American, Danish, and Swedish colours. I pursued them half way up the Pertuis D'Antioche, in sight of the isle of Aix; but the tide of flood setting strong up, and the wind right in, I was obliged to tack, and captured and destroyed the vessels in the enclosed list. I understand the frigate was *La Neriade*, of 36 guns, twelve-pounders, with transports and other vessels for wine and stores, to Rochfort and Bourdeaux, on account of the Convention^h, for their fleet. On the 26th, the Isle of Groa bearing East six leagues, I gave chase to six sail of vessels, in the N.W. at nine A.M. captured the Conventional schooner *La Curieufe*, with the five others. They were bound to Nantz from Brest, with cloathing for the army.

I am much indebted to the attention and activity of Captains Keats and Martin, with their Officers and men, upon this occasion.

I arrived here this day, with the *Galatea* and *Artois*, and shall use every dispatch in completing the ships for service. I have the honour to remain, &c.

J.B. Warren

* *La Pomone*, *Galatea*, *Anson*, *Artois*, and Duke of York lugger.

Howe's health was damaged after the gale of February 13, 1795 and he left most of the running of the Channel Fleet to Admiral Bridport after this.¹⁹⁸ Bridport believed in extensive cruising but "his blockade was still relatively loose."¹⁹⁹ That Spring a major operation was underway to land French royalist troops on the continent in the hopes of stirring up rebellion against the Republican government. Quiberon Bay south of Brest was chosen for the landing site. Admiral Warren, operating on *La Pomone*, was ordered to use his squadron to transport the troops and support the landing. As part of his squadron, the *Galatea* and her Captain Keats and Able Seaman Edward Collins, captain's clerk, participated in the venture.

The main deck of the *Galatea* and other vessels were filled with French royalist troops - which must have been an odd sight for the Royal Navy. The vessel was ordered into Quiberon Bay on June 19 but was chased out by the French fleet under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse who soon gave up the pursuit.²⁰⁰ Landing of the troops began June 27, 1795. They moved inland and had some initial success but the locals did not rise in the numbers expected or hoped for. The fighting inland dragged on and the squadron cruised the coast. We have a letter printed in *The Times* of October 10, 1795 which paints a valuable picture of life on the ships and their activities.²⁰¹

EXPEDITION TO THE COAST OF FRANCE

"Queen Charlotte off Bellisle, Oct 2, 1795

"I embrace the opportunity of the *Russel* which goes in disabled, to write to you. Our expedition till within these few days has remained nearly in statu quo, viz. cruising

^h The Convention was the name of the revolutionary government.

off this place and l'Orient. Last week we retook a Lisbon packet from a French brig that had taken her a few days before off the Land's End. We retook her almost in the mouth of Lorient Harbour, into which the brig escaped. The brig was from America, with dispatches.

"We have distinctly seen, and exactly know that naval force in Lorient. It consists of nine sail of the line, one a three decker, and three frigates. They do not seem inclined to come out.

"We have got French newspapers from Quiberon, in which was a faithful account of our force here, and of our intentions; also the trial and sentences of one of their Captains for the business of the 23rd of June, off LORIENT. He was broke for not having done his duty; but, from a dispassionate consideration of the circumstances, seems to have been sacrificed to party. He is now our prisoner, having been very lately taken on his passage from LORIENT to Rochfort. Five of their Captains were broken for not taking the Queen Charlotte.

"We have taken a small Island, called L'Isle de Dieu, without any resistance. It is of use to our cavalry to graze on.

"A Council of War was held in Quiberon Bay by Sir J.B. Warren, Commander in Chief of the expedition, and the other Officers, with regard to the practicality of an attack upon the Island of Noirmoutier. We attacked it and were repulsed, after burning some houses. It was defended by 120 pieces of cannon and 1500 men.

"Yesterday, October 1, we experienced the hardest and most tremendous squall, or rather gale, I have seen here or elsewhere. We had a good deal of thunder and rain in the morning, but by noon it was fine weather. About two it poured again; a most tremendous clap of thunder took place, and was succeeded not only by a very heavy rain, but (what is very uncommon, and what we never expected) by a perfect hurricane, for about a hour. We were on our beam-ends for two minutes. Luckily our lower and middle-ports were shut, but we lost our fore-yard. Several ships were considerably damaged. The Russel had her main-must [sic] struck by the lightning, which shattered it much. But, alas! her First Lieutenant, while at dinner at the ward-room table, was killed on the spot by the lightning. He has left a widow and four children. Three of the seamen were also killed.

"In consequence of the squall we bore up for Quiberon Bay, but the weather getting very fine and moderate, and continuing so, we have flood off."

The Royalist soldiers met with some reverses and by late summer were in retreat. Seven hundred and fifty of them surrendered to Republican troops only to be slaughtered. The remainder of the troops retreated into the Quiberon peninsula where their position slowly eroded. Finally the Royal Navy was ordered to evacuate them. One thousand one hundred troops reembarked along with two thousand four hundred refugees.

Warren settled these people on the islands of Hoedic, Houat and Isle Dieu (Isle d'You?). In October a force of four thousand British troops arrived at Isle Dieu in order to secure it but a few week later everyone boarded the ships once again - British soldiers, French royalist troops and the wretched refugees - and returned to England.

By this time The Netherlands were under French occupation (from 1794) and Prussia withdrew from the coalition making a separate peace with France in 1795. The *Galatea* had meanwhile now been in continuous service for nearly fifteen months. In January 1796, she was ordered in Plymouth where she was taken into the dock and had her bottom cleaned. On June 22,

she joined with the *Jason* under Captain Sterling and sailed out of Plymouth for a cruise off the coast of France. Two letters to *The Times* gives us details about this cruise. The first recounts an action on July 20, 1796:²⁰²

SIR JOHN WARREN'S SQUADRON

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER ON BOARD THE POMONA, DATED
FALMOUTH, AUG. 2

“Fortune has again put it in our power to annoy the enemy effectually. On Sunday the 20th ult. at six A.M. Bei de Ray bearing S.S.E. six leagues, and Ushant N.N.E. nine miles, a convoy, consisting of 11 sail, were discovered, to which we gave immediate chase; and upon our nearer approach perceived it to consist of a national frigate of 32 guns, and a brig corvette of 18 guns, the rest merchantmen, who, finding they could not get through the Passage of the Saints, bore up, and run into Douaray-Bay; but, from the superiority of sailing of our squadron, we cut off the convoy from their escort. La Pomone, Anson, and Artois, pursued the frigate and corvette, who continued running towards the end of the Bay to a little river, called Poldare, in which was a small creek, protected by batteries. We continued the pursuit until the frigate had run ashore, and we damaged the brig so much, that, had she been in deep water, she must have gone to the bottom; but, at all events, she never can be of use to the enemy, our shot having done the business effectually. Being within three leagues of Brest, and having a Bay of almost that length to work out of, and the wind blowing pretty strong from the westward, night coming on, and the ebb tide having made, which might have easily brought any force they thought proper round from Brest, we thought it adviseable not to anchor in the Bay, or to endeavour to carry off or annoy the enemy any more, but to use our utmost to get out to sea. During our transactions with the frigate and corvette, the *Jason*, *Galatea*, *Argus*, and *Dolly* cutter, were employed boarding the merchantmen. We had the pleasing satisfaction of seeing them tow them off the shore, and set fire to nine sail of them, who were all in ballast, and burt down to the water's edge in sight of the inhabitants of Brest, as the hills around the Bay are all covered with a vast concourse of people, who had the mortification of seeeing [sic] their men of war run on shore and destroyed, and the convoy burnt and scuttled, on which in a great measure depended the naval preparations at present intended at Brest, as the convoy were bound to Bourdeaux and Rochfort, for the express purpose of bringing round a great quantity of naval stores, which they stood in the greatest want of at Brest.

The second letter takes us to the beginning of August:²⁰³

SIR JOHN WARREN'S SQUADRON

Anson off Brest, Aug. 3, 1796

“The squadron arrived in Gronvelle Bay, Jersey, the 22nd of last month, and found everything quiet. We remained there five days, when we sailed for St. Maloes, where we staid about 30 hours; saw lying there six sail of ships, brigs, sloops, and merchant vessels, unrigged and laid up. The squadron were off Morlaix, the 30th of July, and expected to have made a prize of a man of war brig, but found her to be his Majesty's brig *La Sulfisante*, 14 guns, Captain TOMLINSON, at anchor about half a mile from the shore. Sunday the 1st inst. we discovered a small convoy close in shore between the Saints and the Main, which we chased and came up with, but could not get up with the

frigate and corvette; the corvette we drove on shore, and make no doubt but that La Pomone and ourselves must have killed a number of men on board her.

“The frigate came to an anchor in a little Bay off Douraray, just to the southward of Brest. We fired several shots at her, but, I believe, to no effect. The Jason and Galatea were the sternmost ships; they burnt and run on the rocks the whole convoy, consisting of 1 ship, 5 brigs, 1 sloop, 1 galliot, and 4 chauffe maries; they sailed from Brest the evening before, bound to Bordeaux for wines, &c. all in ballast. We should not have destroyed the vessels had the wind been favourable to have brought them off. La Pomone and ourselves have been within three miles of Brest Road, where we discovered 10 sail of the line and 9 or 10 frigates, to all appearance ready for sea. Two of their cut down frigates were racking very near us all the time; but would not come near enough to engage,”

The following is an account of the squadron (and the *Galatea* in particular) running down the French frigate *Andromaque* later in August 1796 which appears in William James' *The Naval History of Great Britain* written 1837:²⁰⁴

On the 22d of August, at 10 a.m., as the squadron of British frigates under Commodore Sir Borlase Warren in the Pomone, consisting, besides that ship, of the 44-gun frigate Anson, Captain Philip Charles Durham, 38-gun frigate Artois, Captain Sir Edmund Nagle, 32-gun frigate Galatea, Captain Richard Goodwin Keats, and 18-gun Brig-sloop Sylph, Captain John Chambers White, were cruising off the mouth of the river Gironde with the wind from the north-north-west, the French 36-gun frigate *Andromaque* made her appearance in the south-south-west, standing in towards the entrance of the river. This frigate had been cruising, and successfully, in company with the *Néréide* and *Decade* of the same force, and the 28-gun frigate (or 24-gun corvette, as the French would call her) *Baïonnaise*.

The Galatea, who, with the Sylph brig, was close in-shore and considerably ahead of her consorts, crowded sail to cut off the French frigate from the Gironde, and, by making several French signals, induced the *Andromaque* to come to an anchor near the entrance of the Grave channel. In a few minutes, however, the *Andromaque*, discovering her mistake, cut her cable, and made all sail to the southward, pursued by the Galatea; who, having stood into the channel between the lighthouse and the Chevrier bank, now hauled to windward of and rounded the latter in four fathoms' water. Having cleared this danger, the Galatea made all sail before the wind, followed by the Pomone and Anson. Meanwhile, the Artois and Sylph had been detached to examine two suspicious ships away in the south-west.

At 8 p.m. the Galatea was not more than two miles astern of the *Andromaque*. At 9 p.m. a violent squall, attended with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, obliged the chasing ships to shorten sails; whereby the French frigate was suddenly lost sight of, owing to the extreme darkness of the night. At 10 p.m. the weather moderated; and, while the Pomone and Anson stood to the northward, on the supposition that the *Andromaque* had hauled her wind in that direction, the Galatea continued her course along the French coast to the southward.

At 11 p.m., the weather clearing, the Galatea regained a sight of the French frigate in the south-south-west, and made all sail in chase. At midnight the Galatea was only a mile off shore, and, at 4 a.m. on the 23d, not above two miles astern of the *Andromaque*. At daybreak the Artois and Sylph, who had found the two ships they had

been sent to examine to be Americans from Bordeaux bound to Boston, were seen nearly hull-down in the north-west. At about 5 h. 30 m. a.m. the *Andromaque* hauled up for the land, and at 6 a.m. ran on shore within five leagues of Arcasson, successively cutting away her mizen, main, and fore masts.

As the *Andromaque* had not hoisted either ensign or pendant, Captain Keats concluded she did not intend to make resistance, and therefore fired no more than three shots before he sent the boats, under the command of Lieutenant Henry Lloyd, first of the *Galatea*, to effect her destruction. At a few minutes before 7 a.m. the *Artois* and *Sylph* came up, and joined their boats, with Lieutenant Benjamin Carter, first of the *Artois*, in command, to those already despatched by the *Galatea*. Notwithstanding the height of the surf, and the consequent danger of any attempt to reach the shore, the French crew seemed much more desirous to encounter the risk, than to surrender themselves as prisoners to the few boats which the heavy breakers would permit to approach the vessel. Several prisoners, however, including the captain, some of his principal officers, and a few Portuguese seamen taken out of two Brazil ships, were at length brought away ; and the remainder of the frigate's crew, whom the ebbing of the tide had now enabled to walk to the shore, were humanely apprized by the British that it was the intention of the latter to destroy the ship.

At 8 a.m. the boats with the prisoners reached the *Sylph*, and, having placed them on board, took the brig in tow. On getting close abreast of the *Andromaque* the *Sylph* anchored. with a spring on her cable, and commenced firing into the frigate's bottom, in order to prevent the possibility of her floating at the return of high water. At noon the *Sylph*, having accomplished her object, ceased firing, and sent the boats to their proper ships; the two nearest of which, the *Artois* and *Galatea*, were about two miles outside of her, and the remaining two, the *Pomone* and *Anson*, away in the offing.

Finding it impossible to board the frigate until the tide flowed, the *Sylph* weighed, and stood off and on until 3 p.m.; then again stood in towards the frigate. The French crew were now assembled among the sand-hills near their ship, as if they intended to prevent her being boarded ; but a few well-directed shot from the brig soon dispersed them. At 4 p.m., when it was nearly high water, the *Sylph* ran within 700 yards of the shore, and, having again anchored, sent her boats to complete the destruction of the frigate; the crew of which made some resistance, but were kept in check by the fire of the brig. At 4 h. 30 m. p.m. the boats returned, having set the frigate on fire. At 5 p.m. the *Andromaque* being in a total blaze fore and aft, and having blown up forward, the *Sylph* weighed and made sail towards her squadron ; which, at 6 h. 30 m. p.m., she rejoined.

We regret to be obliged to observe, that very few of these particulars, so creditable to the respective officers and crews of the *Galatea* and *Sylph*, are contained in Sir John Warren's letter in the *Gazette*.ⁱ The account of the destruction of the *Andromaque* French frigate ought to have been written by the captain of the *Galatea*.

Under the peculiar circumstances of this case, almost any commanding officer would either have written such a letter as should have transferred the credit to the party by whose exertions (Sir John Warren was not even in sight during the critical point of this enterprise) the service was executed, or would have allowed that party to render his own account of the transaction; thereby enabling him, not merely to do justice to himself, but to recommend for promotion his deserving subordinates.

ⁱ A letter to Evan Nepean from Warren printed in the *London Gazette* and reprinted in *The Times*, Monday, Septemeber 19, 1796, page 1; Issue 3692; col. C.

This latter consideration alone should induce an officer to try to conquer that modesty, that dread of being thought an egotist, which generally characterizes the man of true spirit. How many a lieutenant or commander, having missed a recommendation from his captain or superior officer, has never found a second opportunity of distinguishing himself. How many a one has remained ever afterwards in the back ground of the service, soured against a profession of which he might have been one of the brightest ornaments, and disposed, from a misconception of the cause of the neglect with which he is treated, to attach blame to a wrong quarter.

Spain made an alliance with France in August 1796. In October, she declared war.²⁰⁵ This left only Austria still occupying the French on the continent and added the huge Spanish navy to the headaches of the British admirals. It was now much more difficult to maintain the Mediterranean fleet with so few friendly harbours.²⁰⁶ The French began preparing an invasion flotilla for England at Dunkirk and the North Sea Fleet had to begin blockading Dutch ports.²⁰⁷ Intelligence then reported that a second invasion fleet was preparing at Brest. The Channel Island fleet began a closer blockade of Brest by the end of the year in response.²⁰⁸ The French fleet, however, slipped passed the Royal Navy on December 16th with fifteen thousand troops headed for Banty Bay in Ireland where they landed on the 22nd. They had made their move during very poor weather when the Channel Fleet usually withdrew to its own ports. Unfortunately, the French landed in Ireland during a blizzard and soon gave up the landing, returning to Brest after having accomplished little.²⁰⁹ The British public was in shock, however. The invasion had only failed due to the weather.

The year ended with the *Galatea* coming into Falmouth on December 30: "Arrived La Pomone, Sir JOHN WARREN, and Galatea, Capt. Keats; the former greatly damaged, mizen-top-mast gone, fore-top-mast sprung, &c."²¹⁰ On January 3, *Galatea* came into Plymouth "having separated from Sir J.B. WARREN'S squadron in a gale of wind."²¹¹ We know that on January 11, 1797 the *Galatea*, having left Plymouth, arrived at Portsmouth.²¹² Probably the squadron was forming up at Spithead in preparation for the next foray across the Channel. On January 24, 1797, *The Times* reports:²¹³

PLYMOUTH, JAN. 24

This Afternoon sailed on a cruize to the westward, his Majesty's ships -
 Pomone 44 Captain Sir J.B. WARREN.
 Anson 38 ----- P.C. DURHAM
 Astois 38 ----- Sir EDWARD NAGLE
 Phoebe 36 ----- BARLOW
 Galatea 32 ----- KEATS
 Sylph 28 ----- J.C. WHITE
 Argus 12 ----- Lieut. CLARK.

The military situation grew worse as Austria withdrew from the war at the beginning of 1797. Britain now stood alone against France, Spain and Holland. Then on February 27, 1797, three French frigates landed 1500 troops near Fishguard in Wales.²¹⁴ The invasion amounted to nothing as they all quickly surrendered but it proved again that Britain was vulnerable. From far away, however, came some good news. At Cape St. Vincent, Admiral John Jervis had defeated the Spanish fleet on February 14, 1797 reducing fears of a united French and Spanish naval

assault.

On April 11, *The Times* reported the following:²¹⁵

PLYMOUTH, April 11

Sailed his Majesty's ships La Pomone; of 44 guns, Sir J.B. WARREN; Anson, of 44 guns, Captain DURHAM; Sylph, of 18 guns, Captain WHITE; Childers of 14 guns, Captain O'BRIEN; and Argus lugger, of 14 guns, Lieut. CLARKE:- they are to be joined off Falmouth by his Majesty's ships Artois, of 38 guns, and Galatea, of 32 guns, when they will proceed on a cruize.

Later in the same month, the normal naval routine suffered a massive disruption. Mutiny erupted among the ships at Spithead on Easter Sunday.²¹⁶ It was more of a well organised strike of the seamen than a mutiny. Captains, including Keats, and many officers were put ashore. Some vessels joined willingly and others were forced at gun point by the mutineers. We do not know if Edward was put ashore. The seaman wanted a pay raise (the first in over a century), better food, brutal officers removed and a royal pardon for their actions. The government agreed to these demands after careful negotiations. The captains returned to their ships which then sailed as ordered.

With the mutiny settled, it was back to work for the crew of the *Galatea*. *The Times* reports on a daring mission:²¹⁷

PLYMOUTH May 7

We have certain intelligence by his Majesty's ship Anson, which arrived two days since, and which has been cruising with Sir J.B. WARREN, that his Majesty's ship Galatea stood into Brest Water, and one of her boats went as far in as possible, and counted 17 sail of the line, several frigates, and about 200 sail of transports, all apparently ready and a boat which they took, with the French Admiral's First Lieutenant and Purser, informed them they expected 7 sail of the line from Toulon to join them.

Another mutiny at Nore on the Thames estuary a short time later was, in comparison, to the Spithead affair, poorly managed and thirty seamen were hanged. *The Times* of June 10th contains a long letter asking for the Nore mutineers to come to terms and end their disaffection. This was signed by the crews of a number of ships at Portsmouth. Following the letter, the next little article says:²¹⁸

An Address to a similar effect has also been sent from the Seamen at Plymouth, dated on board his Majesty's ship *Cambridge*, in Hamoaze, 6th June, 1797, and signed by the Crews of the *Cambridge*, *Leviathan*, *Magnanime*, *Cerberus*, *Arzois*, *Gibraltar*, *La Concorde*, *Galatea*, *Greyhound*, and *Zealand* men of war.

Keats was transferred in June 1797 to the *Boadicea*.²¹⁹ For the first time, we do not see Edward immediately following his captain. Instead, now eighteen, he was promoted on the books again as midshipman on the *Galatea* under its new commander Captain George Byng.

This was May 29, 1797. Edward continued as midshipman for one year, three weeks and five days. Almost immediately, *Galatea* was detached from Warren's frigate squadron and sent to protect a convoy heading to the West Indies.²²⁰ Hours before sailing, however, some crew members made a bid to change those orders:²²¹

PLYMOUTH DOCK, JUNE 12

Yesterday evening the *Galatea's* boat having occasion to go alongside the *Chapman*; of 24 guns, Captain KEEN, the boat's crew went below, and endeavoured to excite the people to mutiny. Finding their efforts ineffectual, they called them a parcel of mean-spirited scoundrels, and told them they were the saucy *Galateas*, and would take possession of their quarter-deck. While this was going on, one of the people belonging to the *Chapman* went to Captain KEEN, and apprised him of it, who ordered the *Galatea's* men into their boat, and made them put off immediately. The *Chapman's* crew proposed to take strong measures with them, but we understand the Captain declined it, as it was taking the law into their own hands. Fortunately for the delinquents, the *Galatea* sailed early this morning for the West Indies, otherwise they would have met with severe punishment.

The following articles show that the *Galatea* couldn't have gone all the way to the West Indies. She must have been part of an escort which had some ships protecting the convoy only so far out in the Atlantic. On June 30, 1797, Captain Byng captured a French privateer:²²²

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, JULY 8

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, July 1, 1797

SIR,

Pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship *Galatea* has just brought in L'Argonaute French lugger privateer, mounting 2 brass six-pounders, 10 swivels, and 36 men; 14 days out of Granville.

Captain Byng acquaints me this lugger is quite new; had not made any prize; that he captured her yesterday between Cape Clear and Scilly, and that 12 days ago she had been chased by a frigate and 3 cutters, 3 leagues from the Lizard, but escaped under the Isle of Bas.

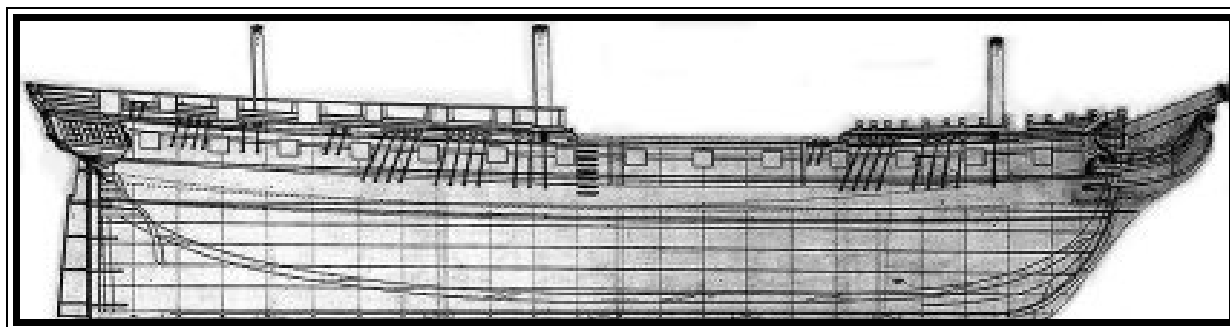
I have the honor to be, &c. ROB. KINGSMILL

In July 1797.²²³

COVE OF CORK, July 28

Yesterday arrived two very rich ships from the Brazils, bound to Portugal, taken by Le Courier French privateer, and afterwards retaken by his Majesty's ships *Doris*, Lord RANELACH, and *Galatea*, Capt. BYNG.

Lord RANELAGH sent the *Galatea* in with the prizes and went in chase of Le Courier.



HMS Boadicea

One of the prizes in coming up the harbour struck on the Spit, and it is feared the ship and a part of the cargo will be lost.

In October of that same year, Napoleon led his ill-fated expedition to Egypt which was hopelessly crippled by Nelson. By February 1798, Napoleon, back in France after abandoning his army in the east, began massing forces for yet another attempted invasion of England in February 1798.²²⁴ The Channel Fleet was once again the wooden shield.

The *Galatea* is not mentioned in *The Times* again until April 24, 1798, when she put in at Scilly with a convoy from Cork, County Cork, Ireland due to contrary winds.²²⁵ Perhaps this silence means she actually did sail all the way to the West Indies after all. Edward was discharged from the *Galatea* on June 23, 1798.²²⁶

The Boadicea

Edward then served with his old commander, Richard Keats, one last time. On June 24, 1798, Edward was entered into the books of the *Boadicea* as a supernumerary. This may mean that Edward was merely a passenger heading to his next assignment but perhaps he fulfilled some actual role on board. The *Boadicea* was a fifth rate frigate of thirty eight guns and a crew of around two hundred and eighty.²²⁷ She was part of Warren's squadron at this time. Edward served on her for less than two weeks and was probably awaiting his next appointment. Keats seems to have been wanting to keep him employed in the meantime. The *Boadicea* was typically off Brest at this time but perhaps was in England during Edward's brief stay. Edward was discharged on July 6.

The Gaieté

The Prime Minister, William Pitt, was by this time able to put together a second coalition against Revolutionary France. Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain were in this alliance. On July 27, 1798, Edward, now nineteen, was entered as a midshipman in the books of *HMS Gaieté* (also found *Gayette*).²²⁸ She was a sloop of twenty guns captured from the French by Captain Thomas Wolley in the *Arethusa* off Bermuda on August 20, 1797. She was armed with two long nine-pounders and eighteen thirty-two-pounder carronades. Edward's new commander was Edward Dunford King who was still a lieutenant at this time but later rose to captain (1801), Admiral of the Blue (1849) and Admiral of the White (1851). She was a small vessel and Edward would have had plenty of responsibility on her. He was likely the only midshipman on board and perhaps that was the point of having Edward assigned to her. They sailed for the West Indies during part of the time Edward was on board perhaps protecting a

convoy. The West Indies Fleet was divided into two commands, one for Jamaica and one for the Leeward Islands.²²⁹ There had been lot of action in this area in the last few months. Trinidad fell to the British in February 1798 but St. Domingue (Haiti) was mostly evacuated in July²³⁰ about the time the *Gaieté* left England. After six months and four days, Edward's status changed to Able Seaman for the last one month, two weeks and six days. We have no idea why. Perhaps a more senior midshipman came aboard and bumped him down the ladder. He was discharged on February 25, 1799²³¹ probably back in England.

The Royal William, Haughty and Juste

Russia withdrew from the coalition in 1799. The next few months were a time of change for Edward. He serves on three vessels in quick succession. On March 26, 1799 he is entered on the books of *HMS Royal William* as a supernumerary.²³² We do not know his captain. This was an older vessel of eighty-four guns (third rate) launched in 1719. He was discharged from her on April 30, 1799 after one month, one week and one day.²³³ There is then nearly a month before he is entered on the books of *Haughty* on May 26 as a midshipman.²³⁴ She was a gun boat armed with two twenty-four-pound guns in the bow and ten eighteen-pound carronades on the sides. He was discharged on July 5 after one month and two weeks. Finally, he joined *HMS Juste* on July 6 for one month and two days as midshipman. His captain was Sir Henry Trollope (1756-1839) who took command at this same time. *La Juste* had been captured off Ushant by Admiral Howe's squadron on June 1, 1794. She was a large vessel of eighty guns similar in size to the *Royal William*. She carried most her guns on two decks with twenty-four pounders on the upper deck. This type of ship was very powerful.²³⁵ She had a complement of seven-hundred and fifty men.²³⁶ She had fought at the Glorious First of June several years earlier. Edward was discharged from her on August 4, 1799.²³⁷

Examination for Lieutenant

These brief stays probably had something to do with Edward's attempt to secure a commission as an officer. He now had the time in and was the right age, twenty, for his first appointment as a lieutenant. The day after his discharge from the *Juste*, the following letter was written by Sir Evan Nepean, first secretary at the Admiralty Office in White Hall from 1795 to 1804, to the Admiralty Board. This board, consisting of the first lord of the Admiralty and five or six junior members met daily and decided, among other matters, promotions and appointments of commissioned officers.²³⁸ This letter is of a standard form used at the time:²³⁹

Admiralty Office, 5th Aug 1799

Gentlemen,

Whereas the Bearer hereof, Mr. Edward Collins has made Application that he may be examined touching his Qualifications to perform the Duty of a Lieutenant in His Majesty's Navy; I am commanded by their Lordships to signify their Directions to you, to proceed to examine him accordingly; and in case it shall appear to you that he has served Six Years at Sea, and has been rated Two of the said Six Years as Midshipman, or Mate, in some of His Majesty's Ships; and that he does produce regular Journals, and good Certificates from the Commanders he has served with, of his Soberiety, Diligence and Qualifications of an Able Seaman; and that upon your own Examination, you find he has attained to a sufficient Knowledge, both in the Practick Part and Theory of Navigation, and you shall be satisfied that he is not under Twenty Years of Age, you are then to give him a Certificate, expressing therein his particular Qualification.

I am, Gentlemen, Your most humble Servant, Evan Nepean
Navy Board

A handwritten list of some of the ships Edward served on follows: London, Pomona, Alexander, Galatea, Gaiete. Below these is a list of his captains and commanders: Capt. Keats, Darby, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, Byng, King, Trollope, Lt. Davies. We have not yet figured out where Lord Fitzroy or Lt. Davies fit in.^j

The next day another document was drawn up. This consists of a chart with columns of the ships Edward served in (the basis of our account of his early naval career), his positions and the length of time he served on each. After this is the following:²⁴⁰

NAVAL-OFFICE, 6 August 1799

These are to Certify, That Mr. Edwd Collins is borne on the Books of His Majesty's Ships above-mentioned, the Time, and the Qualities there expressed, being seven years nine months three weeks.

T. Hyatt

For a Lieutenant 10/6

This document seems to have been forwarded to the Admiralty Board. This was part of the portfolio Edward needed before his examination for lieutenant.

On Thursday, August 8, 1799, Edward faced a board of examination probably in London. It consisting of five officers: Captain Charles Hope, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Captain Harry Harmood, Captain Isaac Coffin and Captain John Wainwright. A number of men would have been summoned that day to be tested by these officers. The typical examination consisted of answering a series of questions regarding seamanship and navigation. The difficulty seems to have varied considerably but often real life situations were proposed and the candidate said what he would do.²⁴¹ Edward successfully completed the examination as we see from the following Passing Certificate:²⁴²

Fee 10/6

In Pursuance of the Directions of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, signified to Us by Mr. Nepean's Letter of the 5th August 1799 We have examined, Mr. Edward Collins who by Certificate appears to be more than Twenty One Years of Age, and find he has gone to Sea more than Seven Years in the Ships, and Qualities under-mentioned, Viz.

^j There is a handwritten date at the bottom of the letter of 8 Augt 99 followed by three sets of initials: ASH (for A.S. Hamond), CH (for C. Hope) and HHH (Henry Harmood) and finally the name J. Wainwright.

A copy of the chart is inserted at this point. It is identical to that of August 6.

He produceth Journals kept by himself in the London, Pomona, Alexander, Galatea + Gaieté and Certificates from Captains Keats, Darby, Lord A. Fitzroy, Bligh, Byng, King, Trollope and Lt. Davies of his Diligence and Sobriety: He can splice, knot, reef a Sail, work a Ship in sailing, shift his Tides, keep a Reckoning of a Ship's Way by Plane Sailing and Mercator; observe by Sun or Star, and find the Variation of the Compass, and is qualified to do the Duty of an able Seaman and Midshipman. Dated at the Navy-Office, the 8th August 1799

Five signatures are found at the bottom of this letter: C. Hope, A.S. Hamond, H. Harmood, Isaac Coffin and John Wainwright.

Passed Midshipman

Edward now entered into a more difficult time in his career, for passing the examination did not mean that he was automatically a lieutenant. That did not happen until he secured an appointment as a lieutenant. There were times when up to two thousand men were waiting for such a commission. While waiting, many took on positions on ships so that they would at least continue to be employed but acting still as a midshipman.²⁴³ This seems to have happened to Edward but unlike the years that some had to wait, his first commission came through a year later.



An artist's recreation of a typical Royal Navy lieutenant, c.1799

The Hind

Lord St. Vincent (John Jervis) took over the Channel Fleet from Lord Bridport in 1800.²⁴⁴ Edward finally received his commission on August 21, 1800 as lieutenant on *HMS Hind*.²⁴⁵ This is over a year after the process began. What had Edward been doing in the meantime? It is likely that he was serving on the *Hind* which left Portsmouth on September 7, 1799 protecting a convoy headed to the West Indies. Perhaps he served as midshipman aboard her until his commission was approved.

A lieutenant was expected to keep one of the watches on the ship, meaning he was in charge for a four hour shift, being constantly on deck during that time.²⁴⁶ He needed to direct the crew during this period and take action if the weather came up or an enemy ship sighted. In such a case, he would then call the captain. He was often in charge of a section of the crew as well. His exact duties varied according to the instructions of his commander. In battle, a lieutenant would direct a section of guns. Around this time, a lieutenant would have made £8 8 shillings per month.²⁴⁷ His uniform was similar to

that of a midshipman's navy blues but now sported white lapels like a captain's. It had no gold lace or epaulettes but Edward now had a cocked hat.²⁴⁸ Edward may have had a sword while a

midshipman but definitely wore one now. Dress swords were straight and fighting swords curved. Most were worn in a leather scabbard.²⁴⁹

The *Hind* was a twenty-eight gun vessel (sixth rate) built in Sandgate in 1785. His captain was Joseph Larcom. She had a complement of two hundred men.²⁵⁰ Edward was one of only two lieutenants on board. She was similar in design to the *Pomona* mentioned above. The ship seems to have spent over a year in the new world but we have only two small incidents to enlighten us. After over a year on station, we learn of the following incident in 1801:²⁵¹

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Joseph Larcom, Commander of his Majesty's ship *Hind*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Spithead the 27th instant.

February 27.

SIR,

I have to inform you, that his Majesty's ship under my command captured on the 6th of January, off the West End of Jamaica, a Spanish schooner packet, called El Reyna Louisa, Don Manuel Palay, Commander, of two guns and twenty men, from Trinidad, in the Island of Cuba, bound to Carthagen with a small cargo of tobacco and wax, which I have sent to Providence. The Mail was destroyed previous to her capture.

The *Hind* had more excitement just before returning home when it helped with the salvage of another Royal Navy vessel near Jamaica.²⁵²

PORTSMOUTH, March 27

This morning arrived the *Hind*, of 28 guns, from Halifax; she sailed the 1st day of this month. By this frigate we learn, that the *America*, of 64 guns, struck upon a reef of rocks, called the Famagos, but was assisted by an American brig. Some time after the *Hind* and *Surprise* hove in sight, and by great exertions got her off, and conducted her safe into Port Royal harbour, where she now lies, and is to be converted into a prison-ship. The *Hind* brought home Captain BINGHAM, and part of the crew of the *America*; the remainder were left at Jamaica and Halifax.

Austria withdrew from the second coalition in February 1801 and Pitt's government fell the same month. The new Prime Minister was Henry Addington. The *Hind* returned from Jamaica by way of Halifax to Portsmouth on April 25, 1801. The *Hind* next found herself doing convoy duty to the Mediterranean. This was to Edward a new part of the world for, although he had been to the West Indies a number of times, he had never ventured into the southern waters of the eastern Atlantic. She seems to have been on this duty for the next year. One convoy which left England in September 1801 generated a number of articles in *The Times*.²⁵³

SHIP NEWS

FALMOUTH

Appeared off this evening the outward-bound Oporto, Lisbon, and Mediterranean fleets, under convoy of his Majesty's ships *Triumph*, *St. Alban's*, *Solebay*, and *Netley*; when the following ships sailed to join them: - His Majesty's ship *Pandour*, of 44 guns, with troops for Egypt; *Hind*, of 28 guns, Captain LARCOM; *Princessa*, *Lee*; *Navigation*, *Robinson*;

Pelican, Painter, for Smyrna; the Portuguese Indiaman Triumpho, Peffoa; Swedish ship --
---, Kapener; and Best Friend, Waiterel, for Lisbon; Apollo, King; Harmony,
Warrington; and Flirt, Newcombe, for Oporto. Wind W.N.W.

Two days later the report continues:²⁵⁴

SHIP NEWS

BRIXHAM (TORBAY), Sept. 3.

Arrived this afternoon, under convoy of his Majesty's ships Triumph, Hind, Solebay, and Hydra, the outward-bound Mediterranean and Lisbon fleets, consisting of 100 sail.

They left England a week later:²⁵⁵

SHIP NEWS

BRIXHAM (TORBAY), Sept. 10.

Sailed this morning the outward-bound Oporto, Lisbon, and Mediterranean fleets, under
convoy of his Majesty's ships Triumph, Hind, Solebay, Hydra, and Netley schooner. -
Wind S.S.E.

Peace negotiations with France began about this time and six months later the war ended.
The Peace of Amiens was signed on March 25, 1802. We have no further news on the *Hind* until
six months after this when she arrived home from a cruise which may have started while the war
was still on. If this is the case, then the *Hind* had probably joined the Mediterranean fleet since it
convoy duty of the previous year. The following is from September 1802.²⁵⁶

SHIP NEWS

PORTSMOUTH, SEPT. 11.

Arrived the Hind, of 28 guns, from the Mediterranean; and the Lion, of 64 guns, Captain
MITFORD, from the East Indies, last from St. Helena, in seven weeks.

A few days later, the *Hind's* commission ended and with it Edward's first commission. We read
from September 16th edition of *The Times*:²⁵⁷

SHIP NEWS

PORTSMOUTH, SEPT. 14

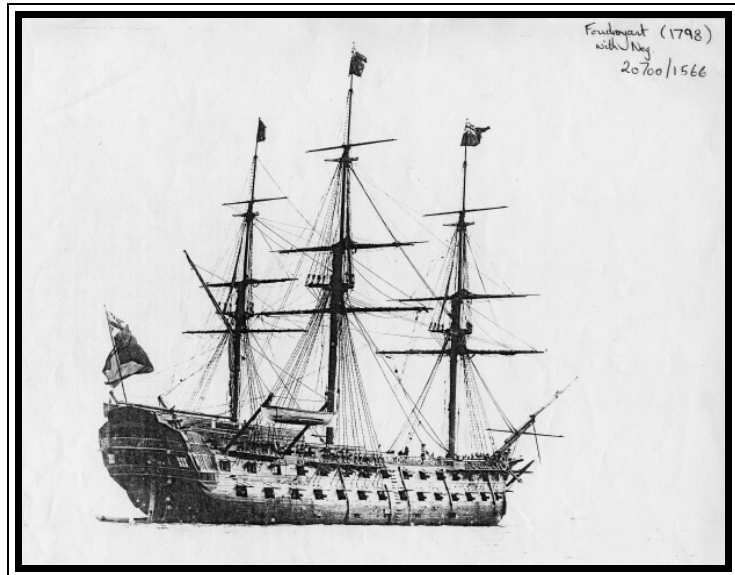
This afternoon sailed the *Lion*, of 64 guns, and the *Hind*, of 28 guns, to the Eastward, to
be paid off.

Prime Minister Addington quickly demobilised the navy and the period of peace saw
many crews and ships paid off. The *Hind* was probably among the later ones. She would have
been emptied of supplies and her rigging and masts removed. She would have been mothballed

until needed at some future time.

The Foudroyant

What Edward, now twenty-four years old, did between mid-September 1802 and July 1803 is impossible to determine. He was probably unemployed and numbered amongst many Royal Navy lieutenants awaiting their next assignment. As an officer, he was on half pay and so able to survive much better than a discharged seaman who was simply turned off the ship when her commission was over. The pay arrived every six months so Edward would have had to budget carefully. He could refuse to take a particular posting when offered but then his pay might also be stopped. Often officers took up official appointments in government while waiting in which case their pay was also stopped.²⁵⁸



The HMS Foudroyant launched 1798

Great Britain knew that with Napoleon in charge a renewal of the war was inevitable. The Spring of 1803 saw a rapid and somewhat secret re-mobilisation.²⁵⁹ On May 16, 1803, war with France broke out again.

The only vessel Edward served on whose name survived in family lore was *HMS Foudroyant*.^k This was the second Royal Navy vessel of this name. She was built at Plymouth between 1788 and 1798, a second rate vessel of eighty guns. She was similar to the *Juste* and *Royal William*. She would have had seven hundred and fifty men with eight lieutenants, a captain and often an admiral. The *Foudroyant* was 2062 tons and one hundred eighty four feet long and fifty one feet at her widest.

The reader might recall the story related above by James M. Collins regarding Edward's role in the capture of the French vessel *Foudroyant*. This story is seriously flawed. It is true that a French vessel called the *Foudroyant* was captured by a single British ship, the *HMS Monmouth*, after a brief action on February 28, 1758. She became the *HMS Foudroyant* but this was long before Edward was born. She was broken up in 1787, the year after the prince's visit to Placentia. It seems that the story of the capture of the first *Foudroyant* has become mixed up with Edward's service on the later *Foudroyant*. The magnification of Edward's role in the capture of a ship is typical of both war stories and family oral traditions.

The second *Foudroyant* first saw action in Admiral Warren's squadron off Ireland in October 1798. She served as Admiral Nelson's flagship in the Mediterranean from 1799-1800. In 1801, she was Admiral Keith's flagship in the Egyptian campaign where Napoleon's aspirations for an eastern empire died. The commission under which Edward Collins served was not so exotic. Having been extensively refitted, the *Foudroyant* was recommissioned on June 19, 1803 under Captain John Tremayne Rodd who eventually became Rear-Admiral of the White in

^k French word meaning "thunder and lightening".

1830. She was to be part of the Channel Fleet. Rear-Admiral Dacres raised his flag on her until October 29, 1803 when Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves¹ took command of a squadron and used the *Foudroyant* as his vessel. Captain Rodd left a few weeks later and was succeeded by Captain Peter Spicer. During the time Edward was on her, the *Foudroyant* was generally near home ports or enforcing the blockade. It was a time of very high tension because Napoleon had clearly stated his intention of invading England and was amassing a large force on the continent. The Royal Navy had to prevent Napoleon from gathering enough ships to bring that force across the Channel. This was the role the *Foudroyant* was fulfilling.

We are indebted to James M. Collins' 1938 article on Placentia for the preservation of the actual commission:

By the Commission for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland etc. and of all His Majesty's plantations etc.

Lieutenant Edward Collins hereby appointed Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Fondroyant [sic]. By virtue of the power and authority to us given we do hereby constitute and appoint you lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Fondroyant [sic] hereby requiring you to go on board; take upon you the charge and command of Lieutenant in her accordingly; strickly charging and commanding all the officers and company belonging to the Said Ship, subordinate to you to behave themselves with all due respect and obedience unto you their Said Lieutenant; and you likewise to observe and execute as well, the general printed instructions, as to what orders you shall from time to time receive from your Captain, or any other of your superior officers for His Majesty's service hereof, nor you nor any of you may fail as you will answer the contrary at your peril, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under our hand and seal of the office of Admiralty this 4th day of July 1803 in the 43rd year of His Majesty's reign.

By command of their Lordships

ST. VINCENT

T. TROWBRIDGE

JOHN FITZROY

Seniority 21st Aug 1800

We know some other members of the crew who went on board the *Foudroyant* that July. Fellow lieutenant William Bowen Mends was given his commission the same day and Edward Collins appears immediately under him on the ships role which probably indicates the order men reported in. Mends was number 83 and Collins 84.²⁶⁰ They both reported in on July 4, the same day as their commissions. Records show they boarded at Plymouth.²⁶¹ Mends received his first commission on April 9, 1801 which made him technically Edward's junior but, like Edward, he had seen a lot of action on ships like *La Pomone*, *Canada*, *Temeraire* and *Renown*. He was in Warren's squadron and also at Quiberon Bay.²⁶² Mends went on to become a commander in 1811 and a captain in 1814.²⁶³ Midshipmen on board included James Shea, M. Higgins and James Nevin.²⁶⁴

¹ This is the Thomas Graves who gave Samuel Goodall a land grant at the Brulé in Placentia and who recovered St. John's after the French captured that city in the 1760's.

The Times relates some of the *Foudroyant*'s comings and goings at this time. From October 1803 we read:²⁶⁵

Came in several tenders and cutters from Exmouth, Liverpool, Chester, and Londonderry, with seamen for the fleet, who were distributed to complete the San Josef, of 112 guns, Vice-Admiral COTTON, and the Northumberland, of 74 guns, Hon. A. Cochrane, in Cawsand Bay, now ready for sea; part were sent on board the Foudroyant [sic], of 84 guns, Rear-Admiral DARCES, in Hamoaze. 1650 seamen for the fleet have arrived here since Monday last, and 500 more are expected next week.

In November, she was at anchor at Plymouth.²⁶⁶

Remain in Cawsand Bay, the Prince of Wales, of 98 guns, Vice Admiral SIR R. CALDER, Bart. Capt. CUMING; Royal Sovereign, of 100 guns, Capt. CURRY (acting); Northumberland, of 74 guns, Hon. Capt. COCHRANE; Plantagenet, of 74 guns, Hon. Capt. DE COURCEY; Defiance, of 74 guns, Capt. P.C. DURHAM. In Hamoaze, fitting, the Salvador del Mundo, of 112 guns, Admiral Sir J. COLPOYS, K.B. Capt. DALLAS; Prince, of 98 guns, Capt. GRINDALL; Foudroyant, of 84 guns, Capt. SPICER; Temeraire, of 98 guns, Capt. -----; Neptune, of 98 guns, Capt. O.B. DRURY; Terrible, of 4 guns, Capt. Hon. H. PAULETT; and Imperieuse, of 38 guns, Capt. H. HOTHAM.

Later that month a terrible hurricane disrupted shipping in the Channel. *HMS Foudroyant* rode it out at Plymouth:²⁶⁷

SHIP NEWS

PLYMOUTH

The *Foudroyant*, of 80 guns, Rear Adm. GRAVES, in Cawsand Bay, struck every top mast and yard, and squared yards to the wind; she lay, amidst the fury of the storm, like a duck in a pond; Cawsand Bay being perfectly sheltered by Penlee Point from the effect of any wind but an easterly, or E.S.E.

The hazards of large sailing vessels of the time are portrayed in the following story from November 28, 1803:²⁶⁸

PLYMOUTH, NOV. 28

The *Foudroyant*, of 84 guns, Rear-Admiral Sir T. GRAVES, K.B. in Cawsand Bay, had her bowsprit a little sprung, by the Jamaica, of 26 guns, Captain ROSE, running foul of her last Wednesday in a gale of wind, by which accident the latter was obliged to go up the harbour into Hamoaze to repair her damages; fortunately no lives were lost, by the shock of running foul of each other.

Rear-Admiral Graves was succeeded by Admiral Cornwallis in late December 1803 or January 1804. The *Foudroyant* was not his flagship but was part of his division. Once again we gain insight into activities aboard the *Foudroyant* from *The Times*. Stormy winter weather did not always drive the ships to safe ports as this article of January 26, 1804 reports:²⁶⁹

No recent intelligence has been received from the coast of France, or from the Channel Fleet. Little doubt can, however, remain, but that the brave Admiral CORNWALLIS has been able to keep his station even in the late furious gales. Such a circumstance must cover with confusion our inveterate enemy, and disconcert all his favourite projects. If, during the course of such a winter, our fleets have been able effectually to blockade his ports, what can he hope for in the mild season, and during the long nights of Summer? Some other plan, therefore, must be projected; and what plan can avail him?

In the January 27 issue, reporting on events a week or two previously, we learn that the squadron is off Brest:²⁷⁰

We sincerely congratulate the public on a circumstance which we thought probable yesterday, but which is now confirmed by authentic dispatches - we mean, the continuance of the gallant and perserving Admiral CORNWALLIS on his station off Brest. It is impossible to do justice, by any combination of words, to the valour, dexterity, and firmness, which have been displayed on this occasion. It is enough of itself to strike a terror into the enemy, who will scarcely dare to encounter those who have been able thus to withstand the utmost fury of the elements themselves.

The advices received at the Admiralty from Admiral CORNWALLIS state, that all his ships remain in company, except the four which were previously known to have returned to port.

Despite this boasting, the violent weather did force the Royal Navy to withdraw temporarily from its station at the end of the January.²⁷¹

We mentioned it as a probable circumstance, in our Paper of yesterday, that, in consequence of the heavy gales of last week, Admiral CORNWALLIS had returned to Torbay; and we now find that our suggestions are realised. That brave, determined, and persevering Officer, has been reluctantly forced, by the warring elements, to quit his station for a moment, and is arrived in Torbay with four of his ships, the *Ville de Paris*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Colossus*, and the *Prince*. The rest of his squadron are in Cawsand Bay, except the *Minotaur*, the *Foudroyant*, the *Impetueux*, and the *Conqueror*, which have sailed to join him; and, it is probable, that they are, by this time, in Torbay also.

The records of the *Foudroyant* indicate that Edward was discharged on February 19, 1804 “per order the Hble W. Cornwallis Admiral of the Blue”.²⁷² Probably this was when the ship was in one of the home ports. Unfortunately, the records do not indicate why he left in mid-commission. Often this occurred due to a transfer to another vessel. This, however, does not seemed to have happened in this case.

The End of a Career

Edward’s discharge from the *Foudroyant* ends the paper trail of his career and leaves us with many questions. Although he had over a decade of service behind him, he was only twenty-five years old. Perhaps he left the *Foudroyant* for a position elsewhere which never materialised

leaving him again on half-pay. His previous patrons, the Duke of Clarence and Richard Keats, were still powerful allies. Although the Duke was often at logger heads with the Admiralty, a connection to him should have helped rather than hindered Edward's career. Keats continued to climb the naval ladder. He had been instrumental in detecting a French fleet heading to invade Ireland in 1798. In 1801 he commanded the *Superb*. He was promoted to Rear Admiral in 1806 and Vice Admiral in 1811. He served as governor of Newfoundland from 1813 - 1816. Eventually he became governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1821. This was an institution for wounded and destitute seamen. He was made admiral in 1825 and died in 1834.

Edward, however, did not benefit from his patron's success. Although he is still listed in navy rolls until 1811 - and presumably collecting half pay-, he seems to have seen no further service. We now are forced to turn once again to less reliable sources which may, however, contain a kernel of truth.

James M. Collins' 1938 article claims his career came to end in the following way:

It is said that he was afterwards sent out of England for insulting the Prime Minister William Pitt.

The story goes that at a state banquet at which Collins was a guest there arose different discussions in connection with the political affairs of the country. In the heat of the argument Collins arose from the table and drank a toast to the Minister, using as his text "Confusion and a greasy rope to Billy Pitt."

Once again there is no way to confirm this story which sound apocryphal. It was however the days of duels for insulted honour and perhaps Edward fell afoul of someone who could destroy his career. William Pitt had returned to power in May 1804 but his second administration lasted less than two years ending with his death. The family story goes on to claim that a "pardon" later came for the offence but that Edward had already passed away. Another version of the story goes like this:²⁷³

[The Prince] also took a deep interest in a Placentia boy named Collins. It has always been said that this lad was his natural son by a local woman.^m The boy was sent to England and entered the Royal Navy. He rose to the rank of lieutenant but his career was cut short when he drank a toast in the ward room "to the King's health and a rope's end to Billy Pitt["] the then Prime Minister of England. Collins was sent back to Placentia, but his influential friends later had him reinstated. It was too late however, and he died at Placentia. For many years afterwards his sword was on display in the old court house.

There is a third tradition. Barnable, using an unknown source, claims that Edward returned to Placentia in 1806 and that he may have been involved in some "doubtful means of raising money".²⁷⁴ Naval records indicates that he died in 1811²⁷⁵, around the time we believe his mother died. He may have spend some years in England awaiting a new appointment and

^m Regarding the parentage of Edward, a number of Placentia families have tales about a possible royal connection of some of their offspring but in the case of Edward, it is impossible chronologically for the prince to have been his father and so it is unjust to impune the reputation of his mother Ruth.

then returned to Placentia where his family would have seen to it that he had work. Oddly enough, considering his background, he is never involved with a political appointment in Newfoundland. There is no record of his death or burial in Placentia. Considering his relative youthfulness and lack of an oral tradition of an accident, it is likely that he perished from disease like consumption as suggested by Joseph Edmund Collins in 1886.²⁷⁶ Edward was then only thirty-two or thirty-three years old.

V

The Family of Samuel and John Collins

As we move from the children of William and Ruth Collins to their grandchildren we are faced with a genealogical dilemma. Of their son Thomas' three children we know nothing further. We have some good information on one daughter of Joseph the youngest and an indication that he had more children. At this point, however, we can not be certain whether John Collins (1798-1884), a member of the third generation, is the son of Samuel or John of the second generation. Further difficulty arises as we try to place two other Collins in their right position in the family tree. These are the Fannie and Martha, mentioned above, who caused a tombstone to be erected for Samuel and John. Our problem is that there is no direct evidence indicating the parentage of Fannie and Martha or who their husbands might be.

The Fishery

Samuel and John seemed to have had a close relationship and were at least for a time in business together. Our sole evidence for this comes from a single court reference :²⁷⁷

Aug 11,1820

Saml & Jno Collins vs Jno Walsh

Plaintiff appeared in court to get numeration of loss of a Servant labour who had been struck by a Edward Walsh for whom Defendant writ bondsman. Saml & Jno Collins having lost 14 days labour of the man for which a compromised at had taken place or to be settled by what may be occurred by the next visiting Surrogate - ordered that Defendant do pay Saml & Jno Collins the sum of Three pounds eight shillings as a enumeration.

Wm Minchin Surrogate

It appears that Samuel and John's fishing servant, who is unnamed, was struck by Edward Walsh losing fourteen days' labour and that John Walsh, who stood as Edward's bondsman, was ordered to pay £ 3 and 8 shillings. This must have been quite a beating to put the servant out of commission for so long.

Fannie and Martha

Fannie and Martha turn up in one other record in Placentia. They are commemorated on a single undated headstone in Mount Carmel Cemetery. "Sacred heart of Jesus have mercy on their souls" is all that is inscribe by their names. There are two possibilities: Fannie and Martha are the wives of Samuel and John. Being Catholic, they are buried in Mount Carmel. Their husbands, being Church of England, are in the Protestant graveyard. The sisters-in-law raised one stone for their husbands in the Old Church of England Cemetery and one for themselves in the Mount Carmel Cemetery. Another possibility is that these two girls raised a stone to their father and perhaps single uncle in the Church of England cemetery and then, themselves remaining single and converting to Catholicism, were commemorated on the one at Mount Carmel. Since there are no dates on the stone and no indication of relationship, we are at a loss to account for them.

John and Mary Margaret

In Mount Carmel Cemetery is the badly damaged headstone of John which reads “In memory of John Collins who departed this life 16th Oct. 1884 aged 84 years & 7 months. Requiescat in Pace.” This would place his birth about 1798. This is the John Collins mentioned above who is the son of either Samuel or John. His burial in the Catholic cemetery means that, like Joseph (c.1787-1860), he was Catholic. How do we account for John, Fannie and Martha conversions? It seems likely that, if John, Martha and Fannie are all siblings, that there was no conversion at all. Perhaps Samuel or John, whichever parentage is correct, married a Catholic girl and their offspring were brought up Catholic, an expectation in any mixed marriage even today. If Fannie and Martha were wives of Samuel and John, they were still likely from Catholic families.

John Collins (1798-1884) married a woman known to us only by the name Mary Margaret. We have yet to recover her maiden name. John is largely known only from the tombstone mentioned above. However, we also know that John and Mary Margaret had four boys who carried on the Collins name in Placentia: William (c.1817), James (b. 1822), Thomas (1828) and John (1834) and perhaps Ruth. That John named his eldest son Samuel may be evidence that his own father is Samuel (1775-1851) of the second generation. He is probably the John listed in Lovell’s 1871 directory as a fisherman²⁷⁸ but does not appear in Hutchinson’s directory of 1864. John lost his wife in February 1862 and died himself in 1884.

All the people mentioned in the rest of this chapter are descendants of John Collins (1798-1884) and his wife Mary Margaret. This generation saw many changes in the colony. One issue which arose was Confederation with the newly formed Dominion of Canada which consisted of much of British North America. An election was fought on this issue in 1869. Sir Ambrose Shea, a Roman Catholic of Irish stock, led the fight for union but he was opposed by Charles Fox Bennett, a Protestant merchant. In an issue which cut across sectarian lines, the majority of Catholics of Irish extraction (and those of English who had been absorbed into this group as our Collins’s had) opposed confederation. Fr. E. Condon of Placentia also urged his people to oppose the union and, when Shea arrived to give a speech, a mob shouted him down. In the whole district, pro-confederation forces received only one hundred votes.²⁷⁹

This generation of Collins’s would have been accustomed to no meat on Fridays and fasting from midnight until Mass on Sunday morning. They likely returned for benediction on Sunday night. This would have been typical of all the Catholics in Placentia but we have a window into more private devotions as shown in Chapter IX. Our Lady of Angels Convent, named for the old Catholic church of the French period, was opened in 1864. This was home of the Presentation Sisters who came to Newfoundland from Ireland in 1835 and worked as teachers.

The next five sections relate what we know of the children of John Collins and Mary Margaret.

William Joseph and Eleanor O’Reilly

William Joseph Collins was the first son of John Collins (1798 - 1884) and Mary Margaret. He was born about 1817.²⁸⁰ He served as the lighthouse assistant and keeper at Cape Saint Mary’s for decades.²⁸¹ The following is a description of the life of lighthouse keepers and their families from Malcolm MacLeod’s article on lighthouses in the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*:²⁸²

Although there were important social links with the outside, the relative isolation meant that everyone at a lighthouse had to be self-reliant. This quality, along with dependability and skill in tending machinery, was what qualified keepers for their positions in the first place. Lighthouse children invented their own outdoor games and explored the sites, their anxious parents trying to keep them away from the dangerous landwash. They usually went to school at home.

The following is the description of the light in Lovell's directory of 1871.²⁸³

"Government Positions and General Information"

Cape St. Mary's light--Was put in requisition on the 20th September, 1860; it is a revolving catoptric light of the first order producing alternately every minute a brilliant red and white light burning at an elevation of 300 feet above the level of the sea, and will be seen in a favorable state of the atmosphere 26 nautical miles from a vessel's deck; situated in 46.49.30 N. lat., 54.11.34 West long. The tower is of brick, and on each side of which stands the dwellings of the keeper and assistant, the sides of which are painted white, roofs red.

John Rieley, keeper; William J. Collins, assistant.

The following three descriptions come from the appendices of the *Journal of the House of Assembly*. They give some indication of issues involved in the lighthouse. The first is from 1885.²⁸⁴

CAPE ST. MARY'S

Last year I reported that the bad condition of the masonry of the tower, and the continued yearly overlay on extensive and expensive repairs, made "it a question of economy to do something that will be permanent," and proposed an iron casing as being the best means of meeting the ends in view.

In the estimate submitted herewith, the sum of two thousand (2,000) dollars is provided for the carrying out of this and some other necessary work.

J. T. Nevill, Inspector

The second is from the 1888 *Journal* giving the report for 1887.²⁸⁵

Report for 1887

Cape St. Mary's - For convenience of construction, when the tower was cased, a small space under the galley was only cemented. This does not prove effective and the iron should be carried to the top.

J. T. Nevill, Inspector

The most interesting is from 1893. By this time, William is the lighthouse keeper.²⁸⁶

Cape St. Mary's - The dock has again had to be cleared, and the annual repair of Lear's Cove hill and the road has been done.

The repairs mentioned last year as necessary have been done.

In a gale in August the boat belonging to the station and many others were lost. A new one will have to be provided. The bridge at the road end was also damaged, and, being old, it is doubtful if anything short of a new one will be effective.

For some time past the assistant and keeper did not work cordially together; and this being detrimental (or likely to be so) to the service, the assistant keeper was removed to Cape Pine, and the assistant from that station placed in the same position at Cape St. Mary's.

J.T. Nevill

Superintendent of Lighthouses

William married Eleanor O'Reilly²⁸⁷ on January 13, 1851.²⁸⁸ They had the following children: Joseph Edmund (b. 1855), Aloysius and John R. (1860), Agnes (1861), Ellen Rosaline (1862), William (1864) and Hannah (1866). The life of Joseph Edmund is well documented and can be found in Chapter VIII.

William lost a grandchild, Francis J. Collins, son of John R. Collins, in May 1890. He was seven months old. Eleanor died on October 13, 1898.²⁸⁹ She is buried at Mount Carmel. William died in July 1904²⁹⁰ and his tombstone at Mount Carmel proudly boasts "Ex-Light keeper Cape St. Mary".²⁹¹

James and Eliza O'Reilly

James was born about 1822.²⁹² He married Eliza O'Reilly, daughter of John O'Reilly and Mary Whalen (see Appendix IV on the O'Reilly Family). They were married January 13, 1851²⁹³, the same day as his brother William Joseph mentioned above. Eliza's family was of Irish extraction and also involved in the fishery and local politics. Her brother Thomas represented the district in the House of Assembly for a number of years.

In Hutchinson's 1864 directory James is listed as living in Placentia as a boatkeeper. This is synonymous with "planter". In Lovell's directory of 1871 he is listed as a fisherman. McAlpine's 1894-7 directory says he is a captain of a banker.²⁹⁴ In McAlpine's 1898 Directory he is a shopkeeper.

The bank fishery was by this time a large concern at Placentia. Instead of staying close to shore, the bankers went out for weeks at a time to the Grand Banks off Newfoundland and also to small banks in search of cod. The following is a description of it from the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*:²⁹⁵

As the Labrador fishery was meeting its problems it became obvious to both government and business that the Bank fishery should be encouraged. The West of England fishermen had had a thriving Bank fishery off the Newfoundland coast in the late Eighteenth Century but it had collapsed early Nineteenth Century. The French and Americans, however, maintained large Bank fleets throughout the century and Portugal was attempting to establish a deep-sea fleet. Bearing these point in mind the Newfoundland Government initiated a system of bounties in 1876 to encourage this fishery. The Bank fishery expanded and reached its peak in 1889 when 230 vessels

carrying 4,401 men caught 12 132 667 kg (238,821 cwts) of cod. The industry declined after this but the south coast continued to prosecute it.

James and Eliza had a large family: Margaret, Joseph (c.1850), Ann (1852), Esther (1856), Michael J. (1858), John William (1860), James (1862), Alexander (1864), Austin (1866), Ignatius (1868), John (1871), Theresa Joseph (1876), Bridget (1882) and Leo. James died in 1901 and is buried in Mount Carmel Cemetery at Placentia. His wife passed on in 1906. Her obituary contains some interesting information:

A GOOD WOMAN DEAD

On the 16th inst. there passed peacefully out of this world one of our oldest and most respectable women, in the person of Mrs. Eliza Collins, or better known by the name "Aunt Eliza". She was the youngest of the very large O'Reilly family whose parents, John and Mary O'Reilly, figured back prominently, for the last hundred years, both of who were natives of this old historic town. The deceased was highly respected for her sterling qualities, straightforwardness, charity and good counsel, which was always distributed with the large amount of good common sense she possessed TO THE MANY WHO SOUGHT IT[,] her husband and two children who predeceased her, leaving three daughters, who reside in Bay of Islands and seven sons, whose presence as they gathered around the bedside of their dying mother was most edifying, as they knelt beside her, their manly voices whispering the last prayers, and words of consolation which was taught them at her knee as children. To her children and friends we tender sincere sympathy in their bereavement. R.I.P.

Placentia Feb 16 1906.

The following is her will from 1905:²⁹⁶

In re the Estate of Eliza Collins deceased

In the name of God Amen. This is the last will and Testament of me Eliza Collins of Placentia in the Southern District of the Island of Newfoundland widow.

I will that all my just debts be paid as soon as convenient after my decease

I will that my son Austin shall have two Masses celebrated, and my sons James and Ignatius one Mass each within a year after my death for the repose of their mother, father and sisters souls.

I will devise and bequeath to my daughter Anne half my dwelling house and half the garden at the Swans

I will devise and bequeath to my son Austin the other half of my house and garden also the land situated at Brewley and at the south east.

I will bequeath to my son Joseph that piece of beach at the top of the garden adjoining Hendricks property given us by the government in lieu of land taken for road purposes

The balance of my property I will devise and bequeath to my son Austin

I hereby revoke all wills by me at any time heretofore made. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Placentia this fourth day of November A.D. 1905 the whole read over and explained Eliza Collins [LS]

signed by the said Testatrix in our presence and acknowledged to be her last will and testament who in her presence and in the presence of each other at the same time have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses Wm. G. O'Reilly Henry Ferrau(?).

I certify that the foregoing to be a correct copy of the last will and Testament of Eliza Collins.

D.M. Browning

Registrar

It is interesting to note that the land "at Brewley" is still being passed down the line. It is almost certainly the remains of the original 1735 grant to Luke Goodall.

Thomas

Thomas was the third son. He is listed as a "farmer and fisherman" in Hutchinson's 1864 directory. In 1871, Lovell's directory has him listed as a farmer. We have no record of a marriage, children or his death.

John

John, the fourth son, is listed as "packet master and mail contractor" in Hutchinson's 1864 directory. An article in the May-June 1988 issue of *Decks Awash* states: "John Collins started a regular mail service from Placentia to Burin, via Paradise and Oderin from 1850. Nicholas Cody of Burin had the contract for a year in 1851, but John Collins got it back the next year and operated until 1874."²⁹⁷ The terms of that first contract have been preserved in the appendix of the Journal of the House of Assembly (1851):²⁹⁸

Copy of Contract Between John Collins and Her Majesty's Government to Provide A Boat As a Packet For the Conveyance Of Passengers and Letters Between Burin and Great Placentia.

Articles of Agreement made and entered into this Eighteenth day of April, 1850, between John Collins, of Great Placentia, in the Island of Newfoundland, of the one part, and James Crowdy, Colonial Secretary of the said Island, on the part and behalf of Her Majesty, of the other part, as follows: First - the said John Collins does hereby agree to provide a boat of not less burthen than will contain fifty quintals of round fish; to be fully equipped, fitted out, and in all respects sea-worthy; and provided with suitable berths and lockers, for the conveyance of passengers and letters between Burin and Great Placentia, touching at Isle Valen, and Oderin. The said boat to be from time to time subject to the inspection and approval of the said James Crowdy, or such person as he shall appoint.

Secondly. - The said John Collins agrees to run the said Packet Boat once a month during the months of December, January, February and March; and once a fortnight during the months of May, June, July, August, September, October and November, on the following days and times; that is to say, - from Great Placentia to

Burin on the first Monday of the respective months of December, January, February and March; and on the first and third Mondays of May, June, July, August, September, October and November; remaining at Burin twenty-four hours; and on her return to Placentia touching at Isle Valen and Oderin, and remaining at each of those places four hours:

Provided always that the said James Crowdy shall have power to alter the days and hours of departing from the said places, or any of them.

Thirdly, - And in consideration of the due and faithful performance, by the said John Collins, of the foregoing agreement, to the satisfaction of the said James Crowdy, he, the said James Crowdy, on the part and behalf of Her Majesty, hereby agrees to pay to the said John Collins the sum of One Hundred and Twenty Pounds sterling, in four equal quarterly payments.

Lastly. - It is hereby agreed by and between the respective parties hereto, that in addition to the payments to the said John Collins of the said sum of one hundred and twenty pounds for the performance of the foregoing agreement, the said John Collins shall be entitled to demand and take for the conveyance of passengers between Burin and Placentia aforesaid, the sum of five shillings each, and sixpence for every letter conveyed, the said sums to be respectively paid by such passengers, and also by parties transmitting or receiving letters; which said several rates of postage and passage money are in conformity with the scale thereof established by the Governor in Council, pursuant to the Act in that case made and provided.

In Witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto their hands and seals, subscribed and set the day and year first above written.

(Signed)

John Collins

James Crowdy

Signed, and Sealed in the presence of (Signed) Christopher Ayre.

James Crowdy served as speaker of the House of Assembly in the 1840's and continued to serve as a colonial administrator beyond that as we can see in the foregoing document. John married a woman named Johanna whose maiden name has not been recovered. They had five boys: George, John (1855), Edward (1856), Samuel (1868) and Austin. All married and had children except perhaps George about whom we know nothing.

Ruth

Ruth was born around 1818. She married Thomas O'Reilly, son of John O'Reilly and Mary Whalen, on January 1, 1837 in Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia.²⁹⁹ He was the brother of Elizabeth O'Reilly, wife of Ruth's brother James. Thomas was born about 1807.³⁰⁰ They had the following children: Joseph (1840), Anne (1842), William (1848), Mary (1852), Thomas Joseph (1862) and Julia. Mary and Ann both died in February 1859.³⁰¹ Ruth died on February 18, 1900.³⁰²

VI
The Court House Collins's

Having dealt with several generations of the family of Samuel or John Collins, we now return to Luke of the second generation, one of the younger sons of William Collins and Ruth Goodall (Collins). Luke married Margaret Blackburn, daughter of Josiah Blackburn, in 1810. Luke and Margaret and their descendants are sometimes called the "Court House Collins's" because of several generations of this family giving their service as sheriffs, justices of the peace and gaolers. While Luke was still a young man, he was involved in an attempt by the parishioners of St. Luke to secure a missionary to replace the unfortunate John Evans, Luke's brother-in-law. He is not mentioned in the following memorial but it is clear that he was involved in the initiative from the reply to the governor made below. This is the memorial of 1802.³⁰³

To His Excellency James Gambier
Esquire Governor and Commander in Chief
in and over the Island of Newfoundland
and its dependencies

The memorial of the principle subscribing protestant inhabitants of Placentia, for ourselves and the rest of our protestant Brethen of this district humbly sheweth, That your memorialists are professors of the Established Church of England, and most of us Fathers and Guardians of rising families which we wish to have brought up and confirmed in the faith we adhere to but for want of a missionary constantly residing amongst us, all our endeavours for that purpose are likely to be frustrated as the avocation of the greater number (that of fishermen) necessarily calling us from our families a great part of the time leaves our youth to whatever education chance may throw in their way; so that we see with grief the Protestant interest decline in this place, several having gone over to the Catholic Communion, whose Professors are numerous in this part of the Island, and who are happy in having a pious and most exemplary Pastor.

That your memorialists attribute this defection from the Established Church to the not having Divine Service duly celebrated on the Lord's Day and other Holidays appointed by authority as well as for want of the Holy Sacraments being administered to the young and to the dying, several on these occasions having recourse to the Catholic Clergy.

That your Memorialists therefore hope, that as they have been at a great expense in building a Church (which for its neatness is equal to any in the Island) your Excellency will have the goodness to take our case into consideration and lay it before the Honorable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts and use your influence with them to send out a proper Missionary, to whose support we will contribute as far as our circumstances will admit, exclusive of what he may be allowed by the Honorable Society.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Placentia 3rd October 1802 (signed)

Wm Muller

Francis Bradshaw

Samuel Ingles

Chas Cook

Jos^h Blackburn

Benjm Green

Ja^s Biden

Rob ^t Bollard Junr	Jn ^o Morris	Ja ^s Martin
Sam ^l Cuming	Jn ^o Viguers + Sons	John Lang
Chris ^r St. Croix		Fra ^s Blackburn

Governor Gambier asked these memorialists in a letter of September 26, 1803 to let him know what concrete support could be expected from them as this would help to secure a candidate.³⁰⁴ In the meantime the governor had written to Reverend Morice of the S.P.G suggesting possible candidates, such as Ishmael Baggs, whom he had known for years.³⁰⁵

The group of Church of England stalwarts produced the following reply:³⁰⁶

Placentia, Newfoundland

the 8th November 1803

The Letter which your Excellency honoured the Protestant Inhabitants of this Town with, under date of the 20 September, was not received here until the 30th October following occasioned by being detained on the Western side of this Bay, which prevented their not replying to it before your departure from this island.

I now beg leave to inform your Excellency that I called a meeting of them immediately, and after communicating to them the purport of your letter, The Subscription accompanying this was entered into. I am sorry it does not appear more considerable, but it really is as much as the present circumstances of the subscribers can afford, but probably on alteration of times may enable them to appear with more liberality...

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant

Francis Bradshaw

His Excellency J. Gambier Esq^r

Governor of the Island of Newfoundland

We the undersigned Protest^t Inhabitants of this Town, do bind ourselves to pay unto the Missionary (being a regular Clergyman of the Church of England) appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel the sum's of money Annually, against our names expressed

Francis Bradshaw	5.5.0	James White	1.1.0
Josiah Blackburn	2.2.0	James his + mark Martin	1.1.0
Rob ^t Bollard Junr	4.14.6	James Smith	1.10.0
Sam ^l Cuming	1.10.0	Luke Collins	1.1.0
John Morris	1.1.0	Fra ^s Edwards	1.1.0
William Millis	2.2.0	John Green	2.2.0
John Viguers	1.1.0		

It is interesting to note the Luke is the only member of his family who pledges his support for a new missionary. Is it possible that the pull toward Rome was already well underway in the Collins family? There was to be, however, no new missionary for Placentia for

many years though they did receive visits from Anglican clergymen. In 1819, the Society sent Reverend George Spencer but he did not stay long. He later became Anglican bishop at St. John's.³⁰⁷

In 1835, Church of England Archdeacon Edward Wix wrote a journal of his journey that year around Newfoundland. His entry for his stay in Placentia gives us a glimpse of life there in the 1830's as the second generation of Collins grew older and their own children matured to adulthood. The following entry occurs the week before Ash Wednesday:³⁰⁸

1835 Tuesday, March 3.--Went partly in a sleigle, and partly on foot, by the Martise Reach, nine miles, to Great Placentia. While Newfoundland belonged to the French, this place was the seat of government. Within the memory of several of the present inhabitants, Placentia was a garrison town of our own, and there are still the remains of bomb-proof batteries in tolerable repair, faced with Portland stone. I assembled nine persons, the small remnant of our communion, in the old church which, within the memory of many living used to be completely filled by the garrison and numerous protestant inhabitants, under the ministry of the Reverend Walter Harris, and Reverend John Evans, the successive protestant episcopal Missionaries. There is here a valuable service of communion plate, which bears an inscription, notifying, that it was given by his Royal Highness Prince William, Henry, in 1787. There are, also, a splendid folio prayer-book and bible, and a new version of the Psalms, which were presented to the church in 1790, by Thomas Saunders, Esq., the founder of the present mercantile house of O. F. Sweetman, Esq., a member of our Newfoundland house of assembly. He is a Roman catholic, but most hospitably invited me to his house, and entertained me, although he was very busily engaged in sending out his sealing vessels to the ice, and was, besides, an invalid; and so good a feeling towards the church exists generally in this part of Newfoundland, that an aged widow lady, a Roman catholic, to whom, in conversing respecting the communion plate, I expressed the wish that it could be used monthly, and the books each week, responded evidently from the heart, with the wish that it could be so. It should be observed, in justice to the Roman catholics of this bay, that they are of a character very different from that of the more recent Irish settlers in the vicinity of St. John's, who, being misled by a newly-imported priesthood, who have more of the character of political partizans than of religious or moral instructors, have by their licentious and cruel acts rendered our journals of late years more like the annals of disturbed districts in the sister kingdom, than of a loyal and orderly North American colony. The hospitality with which I was received by the settlers of that communion in this bay carried me pleasantly back, in recollection, to the description given by our Missionary Auspach, of his own reception in Conception Bay. "The clergyman of the established church not only could go in the greatest security through any part of the district, but his visits were received with evident marks of satisfaction; his call for refreshment at any house was acknowledged as an honour; and that dwelling was considered still more highly honoured where he condescended to fix himself for the night in the course of his clerical visitations. His comforts were attended to with the most cordial and anxious care, even by the wildest Irishman, or the most bigoted Roman catholics." (Anspach's Newfoundland, p. 240.) I have already stated the pleasure with which I had witnessed the anxiety of a Roman catholic parent to bring up his children in that which, according to his view, was the nurture and admonition of the Lord; I may, therefore, without being suspected of a wish to misrepresent the general conduct of the members of this body, express the concern which I felt, at seeing in this and some other districts, the playing of cards and games of chance upon the Lord's Day.... Placentia has been visited, since the removal of a regular Missionary from the station, by the Bishop of

Nova Scotia, and by Reverend Messrs. Bullock, Burt, Robertson, Laugherne, and Pering;--yet so long has the church been shut up, that this was the first occasion on which the royal donor of the communion service had been prayed for here in public liturgy, as King.

Likely amongst those attending Services would be some of our Collins's. Prince William Henry became Duke of Clarence in 1789 and succeed his brother, King George IV, as King William IV in 1830. In 1845, Bishop Feild visited Placentia.³⁰⁹ In 1846, Queen Adelaide, wife of the now late William IV, sent money for the repair of St. Luke's as long as regular services were conducted.³¹⁰ Unfortunately, there was some trouble regarding the spending of the money and in 1848 Feild visited Placentia again but failed to solve the problem. He wrote:³¹¹

Unhappy Placentia! The restoration of the church by the Queen dowager's great bounty, which I hoped would be an occasion of union, peace and joy to the few church members who remain in this settlement; seems to have given birth to nothing but strife. The work on the church has been shamefully done much of it must be renewed..

Placentia's tiny Anglican population continued to suffer tough times.

Deputy Sheriff of Placentia

At some point, probably around 1800, Luke was appointed Deputy Sheriff of Placentia.³¹² This made him the enforcer of the judgments of the local Justices of the Peace and also of instructions sent from the High Sheriff of Newfoundland who was based in St. John's. This made Luke an important member of the local judiciary. He was also likely in charge of the new jail at Placentia.ⁿ We have a number of references to his activities.

In May 1807, Luke made an attempt to recover some money he apparently had expended in the course of his duties:³¹³

London 7th May 1807

Sir

In obedience to the commands of His Excellency Governor Holloway, I beg to acquaint you, that His Excellency has received and considered your memorial, but on enquiry finds, that there are no funds for defraying such salary as alluded to therein, consequently he cannot take it upon himself to grant any.

Journeys he understands are paid for by the Magistrates, or otherwise by special application, when the services performed are particularly stated.

I am, Sir, Your obedient humble Servant

G. Macbean, Scry

Mr. Luke Collins

Dy Sheriff of Placentia

ⁿ Governor Erasmus Gower drew £125 for its construction in 1805. Local moneys were also used. (CO 194/94 folio 176)

Two years later, we see Luke's duties including gathering information for the Justices of the Peace:³¹⁴

Fort Townsend, St. Johns 30 April 1809

Sir

I have it in Command from the Governor to request you will be pleased to make Enquiry, and send to His Excellency as soon as possible, an account of the whole of the Bankrupt John Miller's Estate at Placentia, what Monies or Bills, have been received from whom, and for what, and in what manner disposed of, and also what Claimants on that Estate remain unpaid, as timely Notice has already been given by order of the Chief Justice, and a final Decree will issue this ensuing Supreme Court by direction of the Governor.

Messrs Edwards and Sweetman, I understand were the principal Creditors, and consequently became Assignees to this Estate, of course will be able to give you the Information required and the Deputy Sheriff Luke Collins can furnish you with the Account - Sales &c -

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble Servant

G. Macbean Sec^d

Francis Bradshaw, Esqr

Magistrate, Placentia

P.S. I request the favor of an early Answer

The *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* gives us a glimpse of another type of duty Luke was called upon to deal with in 1812.³¹⁵

DECLARED INSOLVENT: Joshua Oldsfield of Liverpool, late of Placentia, Newfoundland, Mariner, Dealer & Chapman, duly declared insolvent and James Durney & Luke Collins of Placentia have been appointed to discover, collect and sell effects. St. John's, 9 Jan.

As one of the benefits of his position as Deputy Sheriff, Luke was given permission in 1810 and 1811 to cut grass on Mount Pleasant, a headland opposite the main settlement of Placentia.³¹⁶ This would have been to provide fodder for his animals. The actual permission for 1812 survives:³¹⁷

Permission is hereby granted to Mr. Luke Collins to cut the Grass on Mount Pleasant as long as he retains the Office of Deputy Sheriff, provided my successors in the Government find no objection to him doing so.

Fort Townsend St. John's Newfoundland

August 7, 1812

J.T.

Duckworth

By the Governor's Command

R. Le Scone

In 1815, Luke was ordered to St. John's with other Deputy Sheriffs in the colony by the governor Richard Goodwin Keats. This is the same Richard Keats with whom Luke's brother, Edward, long served as a subordinate back in the 1790's. The order is addressed to John Bland, High Sheriff of Newfoundland:³¹⁸

By His Excellency Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, Knight Grand Cross of the Most honorable Military Order of Bath, Vice Admiral of th White Governor + Commander in Chief in and over the Island of Newfoundland, &c &c

Additional Instructions to the High Sheriff, to be communicated by him to the Deputy Sheriffs.

The High Sheriff and Deputy Sheriffs in the several districts are hereby required to attend the Courts of sessions on Summons, there to return their Precepts to take charge of Prisoners - to receive Fines - and for other duties connected with their Offices.

Given under my Hand at Fort Townsend, St. John's Newfoundland the 14th October 1815

To John Bland Esq. High Sheriff

By Command of His Excellency P. C. LeGegh [?]

Luke's duties sometimes caused him some difficulties. Below is an example of the major merchant of Placentia, Roger Sweetman, supporting Francis Furlong, likely a valued customer, alleging that Luke had failed to serve an attachment or order against Patrick Phorans. Luke's records show that it had been served.³¹⁹

Jul 7, 1821

R F Sweetman for Frans Furlong vs Luke Collins

Plaintiff appeared in Court to demand the account of the writ with costs 11.1.6 part of which accounting to £10.0.0 said to be attached in Patrick Phorans hands, granted by Surrogate Baldwin on 21 October 1817 alledging that the Deputy Sheriff had not attached in time. John Kennedy sworn deposed exactly as in the former case Patk Phoran sworn deposed that no attachment was served on or before the 23 October 1817.

In defense Deputy Sherriff stated from his books it appeared he had attached the same on the 24th October 1817 - The case was by the Court referred to the Supreme Court

William Minchin Surrogate
Josiah Blackburn Justice
Peace

Marriage and Family

The May 17, 1810 issue of the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* mentions the marriage of "Luke Collins, Esq. Sheriff" lately of Placentia to Margaret, second daughter of

“Joseph Blackburne, Esq., J.P.” of Placentia.³²⁰ This is actually Josiah Blackburn who witnessed William Collins’ 1795 will. Josiah was a carpenter for the military in Placentia but eventually became a local merchant.³²¹ He also served as a magistrate and justice of the peace and member of the first school board established in 1836.³²² We know of only two children of Luke and Margaret’s marriage: Samuel (1816) and Mary Sofia (1825). There were almost certainly more children, though perhaps this family suffered from a high infant mortality rate. It is also possible that some of the children are simply unrecorded before they moved out of Placentia.

Fishery Business

Luke’s primary business seems to have been as a small merchant supplying fishermen with the goods they needed including boats. The only information we have about this comes from problems which wound up in court. Often Luke was seeking a court order for the collection of a debt but some examples show complaints against Luke. The following selection comes from Placentia Court records:

[1] Oct 2, 1819

Luke Collins paid a writ of £7.14.9 against Thomas Dunn which was granted returnable next Surrogate Court

Wm Nugent Glascock Surrogate³²³

[2] Jun 15, 1821

Wm RIELY vs Luke Collins

On the Petition of Wm Riely who complained of not being sufficiently supplied by the Deft for which reason he was obliged to sell his boat for fear of starvation. It did not appear to the Court there was any insufficiency in getting supplies from Deft as supplier in the year 1820, but that Plaintiff having left Placentia sold his boat and on being served with a writ for a debt due Defendant brings in these grievances as an action against Deft not being able to substantiate the charges of being insufficiently supplied by which any loss was sustained was non suited with cost of suite - no costs was paid Plaintiff having no effects.

William Minchin Surrogate & J Peace

Josiah Blackburn Justice Peace³²⁴

[3] Jul 7, 1821

Luke Collins vs Nichl Roache

Plaintiff prayed an order on Mr Wm Cooke to pay from note of hand from Defendant to the amount in Mr Cooke’s hands to £6.8.5 granted.

William Minchin Surrogate

Josiah Blackburn Justice Peace³²⁵

[4] Sep 26, 1823

James Walsh vs Luke Collins

Complaint by Petition for amount of £14.16.8 wages due Pltff for services last summer Dft acknowledged debt but pleads inability to pay judgement that Dft pay Pltft the sum of £14.16.8 immediately or a Writ of Execution will be granted tomorrow.

J Eagan Surrogate³²⁶

[5] Sep 30,1823

Luke Collins vs M Power

Action by a note hand produced in Court for £8.5.11.

Joseph Collins sworn deposs that note of hand is my writing. I was present when it was made out, it was read to said Power.

Judgement for Pltff with costs.

J Eagan Surrogate³²⁷

[6] Sep 30,1823

Luke Collins vs Mullooney & Bulger

Amount of a note of hand for £2.13.6

Judgement for Pltff with costs

J Eagan Surrogate³²⁸

[7] This is to certify that I, William Collins have this day made over my rights, title and interest in a fishing boat occupied last summer by Patrick Rylry unto Luke Collins for a certain sum due to the said Luke Collins from me as for account furnished, until the said sum shall be liquidated and said. Given under my hand at Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland this 30th day of November 1819.

(Signed) William Collins³²⁹

[8] Know all men by these presents that I, Patrick Power now residing at Placentia due acknowledge to owe and now do stand indebted to Luke Collins of said place, in the sum of Thirty Three Pounds four shillings and eight pence Stirling, in part of payment of said debt I do so promise to cut this coming winter for the said Luke Collins a quantity of stage stuff to say three hundred Longins & one hundred shores and whatever other stuff I may be enabled to cut, for which the said Luke Collins is to allow me for at the market or harbour price, he the said Luke Collins first advancing me in Goods to the amount of three pounds stirling for which he is to charge me at the harbour of market price. I am also to a first as usual, his men in getting the said stuff handed at his own place. Given under my hand at Placentia this 10th day of December One Thousand eight Hundred & twenty.

(Signed) Patrick (his mark) POWER

Witness (Signed) Josiah Blackburn
(JP)³³⁰

[9] Know all men by these present that I, William Piddle, lately of Halifax, Nova Scotia for and in consideration of the sum of fifty pounds sterling, ten pounds whereof to me in land paid the accept of which I so ..nly acknowledge by Luke Collins, inhabitant of Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland have granted, bargained and sold and by these present both grant bargain & sell unto the said Luke Collins his Executors and Administrators all that house and Plantation being and situate at the Southern part of the town of Placentia aforesaid now occupied by William Miller and land on that side of Lands of Plantation and on the North by the Common Pathway leading from the Gut to the Beach of Placentia aforesaid constainty in breadth nearly North & South direction sixty feet, and in length being nearly East & ninety three feet the foregoing extent and bearings of the said House of Plantation a parcell of ground being taken as accurate as possible to prevent any future disputes respecting the boundings thereof - To have and to hold all and singular the said House and Plantation.

So granted bargained and sold to the said Luke Collins his Executors & Administrators forever freely quietly & praciably [sic] to possess in three months from the sale then if without any distance, plain or hinderance of any person for me or in my name can claim or challenge the same hereafter and the said William Piddle for myself my Executors or Administrators, covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Luke Collins his Executors & Administrators, that U have in myself full power and authority lawfully to grant bargain and sell the aforesaid premises unto the said Luke Collins his Executors and Administrators in manners aforesaid -----

The remainder of the purchase money being forty pounds sterling is to be paid to me the said William Piddle or any person that I may appoint to receive the same on my producing the papers and Deed of Gift granted me by John Miller for the aforesaid House and Plantation (illegible) of Placentia dreard and also cause then to be delivered to the said Luke Collins his Excutors & Administrators according to Law, and I the said William Piddle so bind myself my Executors and Administrators in the sum of Twenty Pounds Stirling if I fail in producing and giving up the aforesaid papers in six months from the date hereof or fail in any wise in performing what is already written.

In Witness, where I (illegible) said William Piddle so here unto set my hand and seal at Placentia aforesaid this 18th day of September One Thousand Eight Hundred and Six.

Signed Willm Piddle

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us where no stamp taken is used

Signed Robt (Bottar) Junr

Signed Josh Blackburn³³¹

The Footpath

An odd dispute involving Luke and a number of other men in the community began in the winter of 1818-1819 when Luke apparently cut some spars and dragged them out of the forest using a path on land owned by Cornelius Hawkins. Hawkins alleged that this action destroyed the path and demanded compensation when the surrogate arrived. The case began at the end of September 1819 but continued for several years:

[1] Sep 30, 1819

Corns Hawkins vs Luke Collins

This was an action against Defd for having spoil'd a path made by Plf by drawing spars throu it during last winter.

The necessary witness not being present the Case was deferred until the following day.

Wm Nugent Glascock³³²

[2] Oct 1, 1819

Corns Hawkins vs Luke Collins

At a Surrogate Court continued by adjournment Friday the 1st of Oct 1819

Opening Court in usual form

Plf appeared in Court to have his action against Defd decided for having spoil'd his path by drawing wood thro' it during the last Winter and thereby preventing Plf from conveying wood which he cut during the Winter to the water side.

It appears that Stephn Flinn, Thomas Miller and Robt Patterson has also drawn wood throu the aforesaid path.

Decreed that Luke Collins, Stephn Flinn, Thomas Miller and Robert Patterson do haul the wood cut by Plf to the water side the ensuing winter.

Wm Nugent Glascock Surrogate³³³

[3] May 30, 1820

Corns Hawkins vs Luke Collins, S Flinn, Thos Miller & Robt Patterson

Plf lodged a complaint of Defendants not compl'g with a decree of Capt Glascock to draw wood cut by Plf last winter on the records 1 October 1819. The evidence to prove that Defds had complied therewith being at sea - deferred till next court.

Wm Minchin Surrogate³³⁴

[4] Jun 13, 1821

Corns Hawkins vs Luke Collins & 3 others

Plf compained in Court that Mr Luke Collins had not complied with Surrogate Glascock's decree in hauling what wood down to waters edge, cut by Plff in the year 1818 in the winter.

It was proven in Court that none of the parties had injured this mans path except Plaintiff cut during the time the Defendants were hauling on the said Path

William Minchin
Surrogate³³⁵

[5] Jun 22, 1821

Corns Hawkins vs Luke Collins, Stepn Flinn, Robt Patterson & Thos Miller

Plaintiff brought an action against Defendants for spoiling a path of his & not complying with Surrogate Glascock decree of 10 October 1819 and the wood not being hauled out agreeable thereto.

The parties being again duly heard the Plaintiff and Deft both prayed a Jury which being duly empanelled & sworn to try whether the Plaintiff had a right to damages or not.

The evidence being examined by the Jury and Court the Jury retired to the Jury room and after a deliberate consideration returned the following verdict.

“We the undersigned Jurors called in a case depending between Corns Hawkins Plaintiff and Luke Collins Deft and three others do award the Plaintiff the sum of £10.0.0 and Mr Collins to have stuff inside & out.

(Signed) W G Bradshaw Foreman

Thos Morris	Richd Forresdale
Nichl Roach	Edmd Walsh
Thos Blanch	Saml Slattery
Wm Cooke	Bartm Mcgrath
John Blanch	Frans Furlong
Walter Flinn	

“A True Copy”

William Minchin Surrogate

Josiah Blackburn Justice Peace

An order was issued that Corns Hawkins do show Luke Collins the wood in question and judgement given accordingly

William Minchin Surrogate

Josiah Blackburn Justice Peace³³⁶

The School Board

Luke also served on the Placentia District school board in 1840. This was during the brief period when a non-denominational board was in operation following the establishment of school boards in 1836. The following is from Michael McCarthy's *History of St. Mary's 1597-1949*.³³⁷

In 1840, the school board was in financial difficulty and on October 24th of that year, the executive of the board, composed of Rev. P. Nowlan, James Murphy, John Riley, Thomas Miller, Richard McCrath, Luke Collins and W. J. Bradshaw, met and finding that they had only 41 pounds 11/10d remaining, voted to cut the teacher's salaries by 10 pounds. The teacher at this time at St. Mary's was Mr. Curtis. Our first detailed report on the education facilities at St. Mary's is for the year 1845, when Mr. Nugent the government school inspector visited the community.

Later Life

The 1849 *Church Society Report* records that Luke gave one pound to them. He is one of

three contributors to the Society from Placentia, the other two being members of the Bradshaw family.³³⁸ In 1851 he petitioned the government in St. John's as follows:³³⁹

Petition from Clerk of the Peace, Placentia

Mr. Shea presented a Petition from Luke Collins, Clerk of the Peace, of Placentia, and the same was received and read, setting forth, - That he had served as Deputy Sheriff and Clerk of the Peace for fifty years; that on the establishment of the Circuit Courts in the island, he was deprived of the office of Deputy Sheriff without receiving any compensation for his loss; and praying that his long services may be considered, and an annual salary allowed him equal in amount to that of the Clerk of the Peace at Ferryland.

The petition was deferred. It appears that Luke remained deputy sherrif until 1850 for he was still responsible for repairs at the Placentia gaol in that year.³⁴⁰ We have no information regarding the death of Luke but Barnable says that he worked in the various roles of "constable, sheriff, jailer and Clerk of the Peace" for forty years starting in 1810.³⁴¹ Margaret, who died on February 24, 1862, must have converted to Catholicism at some point, for she is buried in Mount Carmel Cemetery.³⁴²

Samuel and Sarah Doyle

Samuel, the son of Luke and Margaret, was born about 1816 according to the age given on his tombstone at Mount Carmel Cemetery.³⁴³ As a young man, Samuel converted to Roman Catholicism. The records at Sacred Heart Parish indicate that he was brought into the Church on April 4, 1837.³⁴⁴

He married Sarah Doyle on November 11, 1849 at Placentia, Newfoundland.³⁴⁵ Samuel and Sarah had the following children: William (year of birth unknown), Andrew (1861), Edward (1862), Esther M. (1863), Frances (1866), Anne Mary (1870) and Margaret Mary (1872).³⁴⁶ There may have been one other daughter as Andrew's obituary below says he had five sisters. We cannot yet account for the ten year gap between the 1849 marriage and the first children.

According to his obituary, Samuel began work as the gaoler at Placentia about 1852.³⁴⁷ In *Hutchinson's* 1864 directory for Newfoundland, Samuel is listed as living in Placentia and working as the town gaoler.³⁴⁸ The St. John's newspaper the *Newfoundlander* announced the following in January 1866:³⁴⁹

By Authority. - His Excellency in Council, has also been pleased to appoint Messrs. Francis Mooney and Samuel Collins to be Members of the Roman Catholic Board of Education at Great Placentia, in the room of the late Messrs. Patrick Power and Michael Sinnott, deceased. Secretary's Office, 23rd Jan., 1866.

He also appears in *Lovell's* 1871 directory.³⁵⁰

"Government Positions and General Information"

Gaols

Placentia--

Samuel Collins

Samuel and Sarah's children prospered. William was for a time a constable at Fort Townsend in St. John's, Newfoundland.³⁵¹ He married Mary Anne Maher on October 23, 1883 at St. John the Baptist, St. John's, Newfoundland.³⁵² The few details we have for Andrew are related below. He does not seem to have married. Edward married Catherine (Katie) Shaw in Placentia on November 20, 1889.³⁵³ Esther married James Michael Lannon on October 19, 1885.³⁵⁴ Frances married William Carroll on November 15, 1890 at Placentia.³⁵⁵ Anne married John Nash of Branch in 1894 in Placentia.³⁵⁶

Samuel died in 1892. The following is a short obituary in the St. John's *Evening Telegram*:³⁵⁷

Died at Gt. Placentia on the 12th inst. Samuel Collins in the 75th year of his age, leaving a widow, and three sons and four daughters to mourn their sad loss. Deceased faithfully discharged the duty of H.M.^o gaoler for forty years at Placentia.

According to his tombstone Samuel actually died on June 11, 1892.³⁵⁸ He is buried in Mount Carmel Cemetery. Sarah lived on to 1914.³⁵⁹

Mary Sofia and James Culleton

We have very little information on Mary Sofia, Luke and Margaret's second child. She was probably born in November or December of 1825. She was baptised on Dec 29, 1825.³⁶⁰ She became a Catholic a year and a half before her brother on October 29, 1835. She married James Culleton.³⁶¹

Andrew Collins

Andrew, the second son of Samuel, also served as the gaoler at Placentia for some time before his death in June 1909.³⁶² The following is his brief obituary in the *St. John's Daily News* of June 9, 1909:³⁶³

Placentia News

The death of Mr. Andrew Collins, his majesty's gaoler of this town, was a great surprise to everyone. Mr. Collins was in the best of health till Sunday, when he was taken suddenly ill.

The best medical aid was in attendance but of no avail, and Thursday morning he passed into that sleep which knows no waking. He leaves behind him a mother, two brothers and five sisters to mourn their loss.

“Out of a life of commotion,
Tempest swept off as the ocean.

^o H.M. for “Her Majesty's”

Dark with the wrecks drifting, o'er.
Into a land calm and quiet,
Never a storm cometh nigh it.
 Never a wreck on its shore.”

VII

The Family of Joseph Collins and Ann Brett

Joseph was the youngest son of William and Ruth Collins. From his tombstone, we learn that he must have been born about 1787.³⁶⁴ We know little of him but we have two tidbits from the Placentia Court Records. His name appears on a grant for a public house licence on July 10, 1821³⁶⁵ and two days later we find the following.³⁶⁶

Jul 12, 1821

Joseph Collins was granted a License to keep a Public House by giving security instead of Brett who was admonished on the 20th June 1821 as Brett appeared not to be a householder

William Minchin Surrogate

Josiah Blackburn Justice Peace

His daughter's obituary, reproduced below, claims he was also a constable.

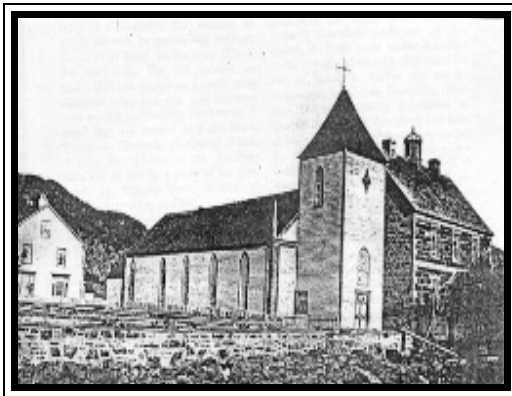
Marriage and Family

Joseph married Ann Brett.³⁶⁷ We know the name of only one child of this marriage, their daughter Margaret Collins. She was born about 1827 or 1828.³⁶⁸ There was at least one other daughter.

Return to Rome

Joseph is the first member of the family we know of who converted from Church of England, the faith of his parents, back to the Roman Catholicism of his ancestors. Perhaps this occurred when he married but we should not be so cynical as to believe that it was a matter of convenience. Placentia's Catholic priests converted many Church of England adherents at this time much to the alarm, as we have seen above, of Protestant parishioners and ministers. From being part of the Protestant minority which once had preferential treatment in Newfoundland, Joseph Collins become part of the sometimes despised Catholic majority in that part of the

colony. None of his siblings became Catholic and his brother-in-law, John Evans, was a Church of England minister. Nevertheless, things were changing in Placentia. The migratory fishery was ending with fewer and fewer Protestant men coming from England to fish around Placentia. The military establishment left in 1811 taking with it the Church of England based military-religious ceremonies. The Protestant community continued to shrink and Placentia took on its present association as an overwhelmingly Catholic community.



Old Catholic Church 1830 to 1880's

The conversion back to Catholicism after two hundred and fifty years could not have been easy. Until 1784 it was technically illegal to say Mass or for

a priest to offer any of the sacraments of the Church to her people.³⁶⁹ Many priests worked secretly, however, among the Irish.³⁷⁰ Catholics were not able to fill any official roles in government and were considered potentially disloyal by many Protestants. Parliament in Westminster eventually passed a bill removing most legal and political restrictions on Catholics in the United Kingdom in 1829. It was not clear whether this applied to Newfoundland and the colonial office only removed the final restrictions in Newfoundland in 1832. Joseph could not have served as a constable if he had converted to Catholicism before 1832.

Death

Joseph died on August 1, 1860.³⁷¹ He is buried at Mount Carmel Cemetery and his tombstone reads, "Sacred to the memory of Joseph Collins who died Aug. 1st. 1860. Aged 72 years."³⁷²

Placentia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Fishery returns for 1836, 1845, 1857 and 1869 give us some idea of what Placentia was like during Joseph's adulthood. They report the following: number of houses - 41 (1836), 65 (1845); population - 343 (1836), 485 (1845), 582 (1857) and 399 (1869); Catholics 328 (1836), 457 (1845), 577 (1857) and 367 (1869); Protestant Episcopalians (i.e., Church of England) - 15 (1836), 28 (1845), 5 (1857) and 0 (1869). The returns divided the fishing vessels based in a harbour into three categories. In 1836, Placentia had 8 of the smaller, none of the moderate and 2 of the large. By 1845 all the small ships have vanished, one is medium and there are no fewer than 25 large ships. The return of 1857 indicates that there are two churches, one Catholic and one Anglican and one school.³⁷³

Margaret and William O'Reilly

Margaret, daughter of Joseph and Ann, married William O'Reilly, son of John O'Reilly and Mary Whalen on January 28, 1848 at Sacred Heart.³⁷⁴ Fr. F.W. Forristal officiated. They had the following children together: Martin, Mary, Joseph, John, Ambrose, Charles, William J. Aloysius and Anne.³⁷⁵ Margaret died 30 Oct 1908.³⁷⁶ After her husband's death, she relocated to St. George's on Newfoundland's west coast. We possess two obituaries for her. The following comes from the *Western Star* which was then printed in Birchy Cove (later Curling) on the Humber Arm:³⁷⁷

The Passing Beyond of a good Woman

At St. George's on October 30, there died Margaret relict of the late William O'Rielly, fortified by the last rites of Holy Mother Church, of which she was an exemplary member. Deceased was the only surviving daughter of Joseph Collins constable, of Placentia and Anne Brett. She was of her father's side a descendent of the old English Collins family, and on her mother's of the sturdy race who fought so valiantly at Vinegar Hill. It was a proverb at Placentia "offend Mrs. O'Rielly and you had her praise;" and if it is a characteristic of the lady to never cause pain or give offence, then Mrs. O'Rielly was a lady in the highest sense of the word. In her home at Placentia, Sunday evenings witnessed a gathering of the immediate neighbors, not to discuss politics or the shortcomings of the absent, but to aid in the spread of devotion to the Adorable Heart of Jesus. This gathering consisted of about twenty members, each of whom received a prayer and a pious practice for the week. Deceased was buried at Sandy Point and had an

unusually large funeral, which was attended by a Guard of Honor from the Star of the Sea Society and sixteen pall bearers; and, blessed by the prayers of the Church, all that was mortal of Margaret O'Rielly was laid to rest, to await the summons, " Arise ye dead, and come to judgement."

The *Evening Telegram*, a St. John's newspaper, tells a little more:³⁷⁸

There passed peacefully away on Friday, the 30th ult., Margaret, relict of the late Wm. O'Reilly, planter, of Placentia. Deceased came from one of the most respected and oldest families in the Ancient capital, and was known in her youth as "Handsome Margaret Collins". She was aunt to the Collinses and O'Reillys of Placentia, and to the business men of the latter name in St. John's. She was the mother of nine children. Three sons and two daughters survive her. Two sons and one daughter live at St. George's, one son in St. John's and one daughter in Boston. Two of her sons are in Government employ; one as inspector of revenue protection, the other, with whom she lived and from whose home she was buried, is Sub-Collector of Customs at St. George's. Deceased was in her 81st year, and died a most holy death.

VIII

Joseph Edmund Collins

Early Life

Joseph Edmund Collins was the eldest son of William Joseph Collins and Eleanor O'Reilly. Like his great-uncle Edward Collins, RN, Joseph Edmund burned brightly for only a short period of time and also like Edward he spent most of his life away from Newfoundland. His life includes some significant triumphs but shows an inability to stick with any one occupation for very long. His wanderlust through many careers eventually transformed itself into a life of writing which passed quickly through many phases. Some feel his most enduring effect was to bring together two of the so-called Confederation poets. He preferred to go by Edmund and this treatment will respect that choice. Much of what we know about him comes from the work of M. Brook Taylor and Bentley who have written extensively on Canadian literature.

Edmund was born on October 22, 1855 in Placentia.³⁷⁹ His birth family has not yet been fully reconstructed. He had a younger brother, Aloysius who died at eleven months³⁸⁰ but we do not know when this occurred but likely while Edmund was still quite small. He also had one other brother, William, nearly ten years his junior and four sisters: Ruth (b.1860), Agnes (1861), Ellen Rosaline (b.1862) and Hannah (b.1866).³⁸¹ Details of this birth family's life can be found in Chapter V. According to his article in *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, Edmund was educated "by private tuition at Placentia and subsequently at St. John's".³⁸² His biographer in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, however, claims he had no formal education.³⁸³ Someone, however, taught him to do much more than basic reading and writing. He seems to have been largely a self-educated man, expanding his knowledge through extensive reading and practical experience. Around 1872, he was a member of "the mounted police force" at St. John's.³⁸⁴ It is unclear what this means as the only force was the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary. He was only about seventeen or eighteen at this time.

The Law and Teaching

Edmund remained with the force only about a year or two and then he moved to New Brunswick in 1874³⁸⁵ or 1875.³⁸⁶ He was now nineteen and started working at the office of Allen & Wilson in Fredericton as a "student-of-law".³⁸⁷ Soon he abandoned this and took up teaching.³⁸⁸ We do not know where he taught but it was likely in Fredericton. The school years 1875-1876 and 1876-1877 are the most probable semesters. These forays into very different vocations allowed Edmund to acquire both information and skills he used later in life. Just when he developed an interest in politics and literature is not known but as a law student he would have gained insights into the mind of politicians and lawmakers. As a teacher, he would have learned the difficulties in and a joy of transmitting a love of learning and in particular a love of literature. It is easy to see how a desire to influence the body politic combined with a desire to teach a wider audience led to his next career.

No photograph exists of Edmund and even physical descriptions are rare. John Coldwell Adams in his article "Roberts, Lampman, and Edmund Collins" in *The Sir Charles G. D. Roberts Symposium* (1984) describes Edmund as "a chubby, hot-headed Newfoundlander who looked (and sometimes acted) like the stage-comedy version of an Irishman."³⁸⁹ We don't know his source for this description.

Editor of the Fredericton *Morning Star*

In 1878, Edmund became the founder and first editor and publisher of the Fredericton *Morning Star* newspaper.³⁹⁰ One would have expected a stint with another paper before this leap into publishing but we have found no evidence of this. There are, however, a number of lacunae in Edmund's life, blank spaces which could contain experiences important in explaining the course of his life. Fredericton was the capital of New Brunswick with a substantial population and two weekly newspapers of its own. Publication of the *Morning Star* began on October 10, 1878.³⁹¹ The office was located in the Wiley Building on Queen Street.³⁹² Subscriptions were \$2.50 per annum "payable in advance". Although considered more of a Liberal than a Conservative, from the beginning Edmund indicated that his paper would "support the liberal-conservative party."³⁹³ This was the party of Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, whose administrations lasted from July 1867 to November 1873 and again from October 1878 to June 1891. Editorially, Edmund supported Macdonald's National Policy.³⁹⁴

The political situation in British North America was complicated during much of Edmund's life and various factions had widely different views of what should become of the land. In 1867, when Edmund was only eleven, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada (a colony consisting of the later Ontario and Quebec) united to form the Dominion of Canada. Edmund's native Newfoundland rejected confederation in a bitter election held in 1869. Edmund was then at a very impressionable age and would have watched the debate with interest. Perhaps this is what sparked his first interest in not only politics but the future of British North America and even the Empire. His home of Placentia was, as indicated previously, a heavily Catholic town and many Newfoundland Catholics were opposed to confederation fearing a loss of rights. In the same year, Rupert's Land, the vast territories held in the west and north by the Hudson Bay Company, was sold to Canada expanding the Dominion's size many times. British Columbia joined confederation in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Two rebellions occurred in the west in 1869-1870 and again in 1885. Edmund's later work shows that all of this was of great interest to him and, although Newfoundland refused to participate, Edmund chose to link his future to the new country in no uncertain terms. Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy, which envisioned a Canada loyal to Great Britain yet taking care of her own affairs, appealed to Edmund. That is what he pledged his paper to support. Macdonald was a major influence on Edmund.³⁹⁵

Unfortunately, the papers first three issues have been lost. The first surviving issue is that of October 10, 1878 (Volume I, Issue 4).³⁹⁶ The paper's 'Prospectus', however, was reprinted in the first few issues and it runs as follows:³⁹⁷

The die is cast! We have launched our barque! May our voyage be a successful one! We to-day present our first born - the MORNING STAR - to the public. May they receive it with the good wishes for us that we have for them in making the offering.

THE MORNING STAR

is destined to fill a long vacant place in the city. Everybody here must know that the

CAPITAL CITY OF THE PROVINCE

should not be left to the tender mercies of two weeklies. These papers never could fill that void which we now propose to fill.

No doubt much is expected of us on our first appearance, some people expect to see us flaunt in silks, while others expect to see every "item" knock someone down. They will be disappointed. Under the ragged coat often palpitates a noble heart - excuse our appearance if we look somewhat shabby at first - and we come not to knock down, but to

build up. The easy way, like the old man who commenced pelting grass, we shall try, till a desperate case compels us to give harder knocks. It is only when badly angered we will bring a millstone on a misquitoe's back. Some people - of course there are busy-bodies everywhere - are itching to know what the

POLITICS OF THE PAPER ARE.

Our politics, dear friends, we create for ourselves. Rest assured our paper shall not, like a cur, creep, and lick and fawn, and wag its tail or its tongue, that dame Lucre may follow. No[.] We shall set up no man as idol; to none shall we "creek the pregnant hinges of the knee" from Sir John Macdonald to Mr. Fraser, from Mr. Fraser to nobody. We shall not shape our policy after a flock of clamorers, be they Government or Opposition, for when these fellows' stomachs are filled, they, as a rule, subside like gormandized gulls. Our policy shall be

A POLICY OF PRINCIPLE!

And we don't care who upholds that policy, we are with them. But let nobody be deluded into believing that if we stick to our party when on the road of political rectitude, we are going to follow it into every dirty slough. No. When we approach a dirty neighbourhood, we act the part of the coward and return to our own broad platform.

We shall not define just now what the particulars of our policy are, but suffice it to say, that as far as the Great Disposer has given us what He has not given many of our politicians, we shall use the same towards ameliorating the people's condition, towards battering down those walls that divide one paltry clique from the other, in trying to bring discordant elements into harmony, and in trying to rout once and for ever from the field those clamoring crows whose sole object is to fill themselves.

THE MORNING STAR

we hope to make an

EXCELLENT FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

No slang or degrading literature shall find a place in its columns no ..ew of rampant scribblers shall practice on its pages. It shall be devoted to choice literature, important and reliable information, and several departments we hope to make in times, specially suited to

OUR YOUNG READERS

We shall have it circulated all over the Province, yea beyond it.

The same issue goes on to announce that the paper will be tri-weekly, published on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings. Then a weekly edition, large in size and adapted for those outside the city and "containing considerable original matter", would be published Saturday evenings.³⁹⁸ Edmund then ends this section saying:³⁹⁹

And now the tale is told. We hope to be long in the field, and if ever we get into a contest, we hope to show our wounds on the *front*. If we go down, it will not be without a hard struggle. Gnats cannot affect us, nor sneering opposition take a feather out of us. The heart, strength and respectability of the community are on our side, and we cannot but win. We have full confidence in the public, and, to be candid, no small amount of confidence in ourselves.

We have been in the dark long, but this issue of the

MORNING STAR

- bright herald - announces approaching day. The dark shadows of night flee before its piercing twinkle, and a new flood of light bursts upon us. May it ever be a *true* light, shewing things as they are. May we ever stick fast to our motto.

Before our pen shall Error fly,
And Truth the vacant place supply.

The paper was true to its prospectus carrying a variety of articles. Amongst much political news and social happens, Edmund inserted world news such as the war in Afghanistan then ragging and articles reprinted from other sources. His native Newfoundland figured repeatedly in short articles. His editorials were mostly political in nature but he also took on “Degrading Literature” (October 19, 1879) and education at various times. He also included poetry (e.g. A Carte de Visite by R.K. Munkittrick in the December 5, 1878 issue) and short stories (e.g. The Treasure Cave, A Tale of Golden Bay N.F. in the October 19, 1878 issue whose author is not identified and may be Edmund himself).

The following three articles on three very different topics are presented here to show Edmund’s editorial style and his personal interests and feelings. An article appearing in April 24, 1879 gives insight into Edmund’s feelings regarding immigration in the wake of attempts to limit Asian immigration by the federal government:⁴⁰⁰

God’s World

We are of the same opinion as the “Globe”^p. The Chinaman ought to have a clear stage and no gain. If they can outdo the hardy sons of the north, let the fact be proven. If they can do the same amount of work as ourselves, in a given time and live on thin air or rice during the operation, the experiment is worthy of consideration.

If this be a free country to which all are invited without discrimination, why exclude the Chinese? From our earliest youth we have heard and read of Chinese walls and Japanese ex[c]lusion, and the only reason we have ever seen, assigned, was their ignorance of European and American civilization. Have we gone back on our professions of the past? Are none to be admitted to our shores, unless those of a certain country and a certain class? The Chinese may be excluded to-day, whose lot, it shall be asked to-morrow, none can tell.

Our boast has hitherto been, that we had only to put our foot on British soil, to declare ourselves free and emancipated citizens of the world in which we live, for a short time in our transit to another, in which we are led to believe that there will be no discrimination between Mongolian, Caucasian and all others, Canadian not expected - we might perhaps say Canada not excluded; for such is the confusion and disorder in our New Dominion just now, that we are justified in the conclusion; that occupied as they are now, that we are justified in the conclusion; that occupied as they are with the things of earth - goat’s wool, by the way that they have no time to think of death, much less of Heaven. Our Dominion Parliament have not apparently lost sight of Heaven, yet they are on the high way to it; unless our senses deceive us.

^p The Toronto *Globe*.

The next article appeared in the November 8, 1879 edition. Edmund is reacting to a speech given or article written by some New Brunswick Protestant ministers which contained some inflammatory material regarding Catholicism:⁴⁰¹

AWFUL.

What horrid people we Catholics are, if we must believe those pious and holy men, the Rev. Messrs. Turner and Colpitts! And yet, strange to say, we are multiplying every day. The cuckle must, we suppose, be allowed to remain until harvest time, but the good seed should not be destroyed - Messrs. Turner and Colpitts.

Go ahead, gentlemen, go right for that old ship that has been battling with the winds and waves of this world for the last eighteen hundred years and more. Swamp her, sink her, if you can and then the world will enjoy peace and happiness. There will be no sentinel on its ramparts to tell it of the enemy's approach. Nothing to disturb our daily indulgence and midnight revelry. The traditions of the past which so annoy us will be obliterated, and there will be naught to put us out.

We should like to have the photograph of these rev. gentlemen. They must very much resemble their Divine Master, particularly in humility, meekness, and, above all, charity. Woodstock and its surroundings must be a blessed country, although some are leaving it, the papers say. They must belong to the tribe of Gad, and have never experienced the influence and enjoyed the dogmatic declarations of the Rev. Messrs. Turner and Colpitts, and we might say the generosity and beneficence [sic] of that most unselfish man - the Hon. Mr. Lindsay, M.L.C. "O Lord, are these the fencibles!" as Sir John Harvey once said when he saw the coast guards of Newfoundland.

There must always, though, we suppose, be something to "raise the wind." We have seen no "surprise parties" in the papers of late, but they *have* been fruitful sources. Thanks are due the Rev. Mr. Colpitts and his Reverend brother Turner; and it would be a pity to give Hon. friend Lindsay, M.L.C. the go by. They are nice men, one and all of them - holy men, walking in the footsteps of their "Divine Master," and teaching the people the way to Heaven by word and example. "O, ye hypocrites!" Ye say one thing and do another.

We must apologize to our readers for spending amunition [sic] on brothers Colpitts and Turner. We should not do so, certainly, but that there are deluded people by the hundred, who not alone listen to the nonsense they talk, but groan "Amen." It would be absurd, though, to argue with men, who, by their speeches, show they know as little about history as they do about charity. We have read historians of different creeds, aye, and what is related by the cynic Hume and the unbeliever Gibbon; but they all admit that what we know of the past, all we have in literature that is worth knowing, came down to us through the Ark of the Catholic faith. When the barbaric Goths and Vandals trampled down the splendor of ages, and tried to stamp out literature and moral religion there was one flame they could not quench. It had been kindled by the Author of Truth, and it contained the essence of all that was good. That lamp burned and never grew dim, even when all the world beside was dark. Around this lamp gathered the knowledge of the past and all the jewels it produced. Had that lamp gone out where would be that knowledge, that literature of which Messrs. Turner and Colpitts speak? We must confess that it is with some misgivings we bring the question of religion into print; for it has proven but too often that the more the discussion on it, the more confusion has arisen. But we cannot stand by and listen to ignorant men, who know nothing of the history of their own religion, much less of that which they vilify and bay at, talk nonsensical lies to gullible

people. Men of education and mind are seldom guilty of bigotry; though they may have strong views on this side or on that. Ignorance is the mother of bigotry and fanaticism; it is the foundation upon which rest the theories of such men as Messrs. Colpitts and Turner. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should yelp at the Catholic Church.

Finally, we present the editorial of January 27, 1880 in response to the New Brunswick Temperance movement.⁴⁰²

TIME IS A GREAT VINDICATOR.

It is only two years ago since a demagogue named Banks McKenzie came to this city. He took the place quite by storm. The City Hall was too small for the throngs who gathered to hear his vulgar zeal. Fanatics howled night and day that the great deliverer of the people had come. Every man and woman, every brute and human, had on a piece of blue ribbon; the dogs carried it around their necks, the old maids tied it round "the silver threads among the gold;" horses flaunted it gaily from their head stalls. The grocer or the store keeper who did not wear blue ribbon was a marked man. No matter how truly the blue was worn about the heart, no matter how true one was to his principles of total abstinence, if he did not wear the blue ribbon outwardly he was jeered and hissed at by the fanatical multitude. Aye, hypocrites, do you think we have sat here for the past year and not seen and taken note of all this? We have seen your castles built upon the sands of fanaticism first undermine and decay, then totter and eventually tumble about your ears. Long ago we told the fate of this mighty fabric, told why it would fall, and how its destruction would be wrought. But perhaps your memories are short, and we shall remind you.

Do you remember two years ago, when a poor and friendless individual named Collins stood up and declared that before many years rolled their cycles there would be not a shred of blue ribbon to be seen on dog, or man, or woman? Did he not compare the movement to the spasmodic effort of the Geyser that raises its fantastic form high up to the admiration of all, then totters and falls?

Do you remember when you made it dangerous for him to walk the streets without going armed as one goes among a lot of brigands? Do you mind the time you stood upon your public platforms and threatened to ride him on a rail? When the sheriff of the County of York, when the spiteful professor of the University, Mr. Foster, all came out to blackguard and vilify him? If you forget this, the writer doesn't, and it shall be a long time before he can.

And what was this for? For simply telling the truth: for pointing out what the end would be: a result as sure to follow as the dissolution of the gourd that in one short night reaches its growth - and on the morrow dies. Because then he told the truth, because he spoke the convictions that are given man to be spoken on such occasion, he was called a public enemy, the enemy of all moral progress. There were times when hearing this he felt as if he would as like have his existence terminated on the spot as not; but he felt that he was not the only one whom the world had persecuted for speaking the truth: and found consolation in what *Time* would reveal. Time has revealed it; and brought it consolation.

Yes it has given him a grim delight to sit month after month and see what he wrote in the *St. John Freeman* two years ago fulfill itself to the letter. There is no more blue ribbon, there are no more mass meetings - the great bubble has burst - the storm has spent itself. But what have we? If there were no evil in the train of this fanaticism but the fact that it had passed away without having done good or evil, we should have had little

to condemn, and less to talk about now. But a great evil has taken place. There is just as much liquor sold in Fredericton to-day, as when we had a licence law, but the city is cheated out of its legitimate revenues. No end of litigation has arisen, the law remains a dead letter, and he who can buy a keg of rum may sell it. The drunkard's howl pierces the night air as it did before the days of McKenzie: the wife goes supperless to bed, and the little ones cry for something to eat, just as they did before the days of McKenzie. Bloodshot eyes go to work in the morning, black hands deal the greasy pack far beyond the bounds of midnight, and among all sparkles the decanter, just as it did before the days of McKenzie. For every hogshead of rum drank here before the day McKenzie set up his first howl. There are 63 gallons drank now; for every gallon then, there are 4 quarts now. But then the city made those who sold liquor pay for it [sic] and, if the trade was bad, some of the profits of the trade were good - or such as went to the city treasury. Now it is [sic] different. Dens here and dens there - dens everywhere sell rum, just as much rum as ever, and so the city is cheated. That is what Mr. D. Banks McKenzie has done for us and this is what his followers have done. Who was right? O let the facts answer.

The December 5, 1878 issue betrayed a radical change. The advertisements disappear from the front page which became column after column of dense text. Edmund explains the changes as follows:⁴⁰³

We today present what we hope will prove a very readable number of the STAR, and henceforth it shall contain as much reading matter as to-day. Why we are able to make such a sudden and marked improvement in our paper, we don't think the public has any special right to know, but we may say that very much is due to the reliable and efficient workmen that we have been fortunate enough to procure the services of at last. We feel assured that our paper will have no superior in the Province. But let it speak for itself.

According to the New Brunswick Provincial Archives, the paper ran under the banner *Morning Star* until at least June 26, 1879⁴⁰⁴ but a survey of the surviving copies of the paper shows that April 23, 1879 was the last issue.⁴⁰⁵ This was Volume I, issue 83. The paper then seems to have stopped publication for some months. Likely Edmund was not making a profit.

When the paper reappeared, its name had been changed simply to *The Star*. This was August 12, 1879 and it identifies itself as Volume II, issue 84.⁴⁰⁶ The look was different with advertisements returning to the front page and the royal arms appearing on the banner between the title. The most interesting addition, however, is the identification of J.E. Collins as editor but Jas. H. Crocket as publisher. The office is now in the upstairs of the Sterling Building on the corner of Queen and Regent Streets,⁴⁰⁷ two blocks from the Provincial Legislature in one direction and St. Dunstan's Cathedral in another. During its second manifestation, Edmund was charging for advertising as follows: a full column for one year was \$100, half column \$50, quarter \$25, four inches \$15 and "A Card" \$12. Subscriptions for a year were unchanged at \$2.50 per annum "payable in advance".⁴⁰⁸ Publication continued until at least July 29, 1880.⁴⁰⁹ Edmund would change the name twice more. Besides Canadian politics, Edmund devoted a considerable amount of space to Ireland's Land War which had erupted in earnest in 1879. New Brunswick had a significant Irish population wishing to know about the goings on back home.⁴¹⁰ Edmund himself, of course, was half Irish in descent.

We have a wonderful insight into Edmund's life at this time from a document reprinted in the *St. John Progress* in 1891. Its author, unfortunately, is unknown but it was not written by

someone totally enamoured of Edmund:⁴¹¹

[He] was a newspaper man and a good one at that. He never failed to make a story interesting, but his great fault was a spirit of exaggeration that he never attempted to, or, at least, did not, restrain. He was thoroughly fearless and no man knew when the *Evening Star* came out whether he would figure in its columns as a pillar of the church and a good Christian, or a forger, a wife-beater, and anything else that was bad. Collins' fearlessness was his strong point, but he usually lacked the facts. He was never sure when he loitered on his evening stroll whether some insulted pugilistic citizen would not take into his head to measure him on the sidewalk and decorate his countenance with the latest mixture of black and blue. Horse whips he cared nothing for, and, to do him justice, he was quite indifferent to knuckles. The *Star* sold better the next night for the fracas of the previous evening and the editor was tough. Wearying, however, of repeated assaults, Collins bought a six-shooter, which he located in his pants pocket, and one day when Mr. Sullivan's brawny fists became acquainted with his physiognomy, Mr. Collins prevented a recurrence of the assault by looking calmly into the eyes of Mr. Sullivan over the sight of his shooting iron. This suspended hostilities for a time, but the fracas continued later in the police court, where Collins charged Sullivan with assault, and Sullivan laid information against him for carrying firearms. The magistrate found an opportunity to add to the revenue of the department of justice from both parties.

Normally a newspaper's operations are divided into three parts. The editor deals with the news, the actual material to be printed. The business manager deals with advertising and selling the papers themselves and the print manager is in charge of the physical production of the paper. The publisher is over all of these people. A smaller paper must combine these positions to some degree. It appears that Edmund was both the publisher and editor of the *Star* in its various incarnations. Likely Edmund wrote much of the copy himself and certainly the editorials and many of the reviews of books and poems. He borrowed from other printed sources (other newspapers and magazines) which was a common practice at the time. He likely also drummed up advertising. We do not know how the paper was actually printed. Did he own a printing press? Did he himself do the tedious work of placing each letter in place backwards to produce several pages up to three times a week? Or did a local print shop provide its services? Even for a small paper it seems impossible that he could have done this alone but we know nothing about employees he may have had under him. Did someone finance the initial investment of capital to get the paper started? We do not know this either. During the time *The Star* was printed it had competition from a number of other local papers many of which opened and folded within a year.⁴¹²

Marriage and Family

Around this time he met eighteen year old Gertrude Anna Murphy, the daughter of Jasper Nugent Murphy.⁴¹³ Her family was from Fredericton. Although locals thought that Edmund had his eye on another girl, Edmund and Gertrude caused a minor scandal. Once again the anonymous article in the *Progress* enlightens us:⁴¹⁴

Their marriage was somewhat romantic and afforded the good people of Fredericton a splendid opportunity for what they dearly love - a nine days' talk.... This, though by the way, goes to show what kind of figure Collins cut in Fredericton, where he became acquainted with Mrs. Collins. Society folded the fearless journalist in her arms.

He had the *entree* to all the best houses, danced and flirted with all the prettiest girls, and ended it by marrying one of the most beautiful of them.

The gossips had, with their usual insight, given Collins to another girl, to whom they said he was engaged, and the present Mrs. Collins had not the full and free permission of her legal guardians to further enthrall the susceptible journalist. She, however, was not a girl easily stopped, and with the assistance of a friend old enough to give her better counsel, she left the parental roof in a fit of anger, and found shelter at a friend's, a few miles from the city. Collins found out where she was, and followed her. The days spent at Springhill were quite eventful, inasmuch as there the rash and youthful pair concluded to stem all opposition and get married. Mrs. Collins was a Protestant and Collins a Catholic but what mattered that they loved each other! She rejected the faith of her ancestors and joined the church of her lover, and one dark night the pair drove into the capital and were made man and wife in St. Dunstan's chapel. They returned to the country, and Collins told the people in the *Star*, the next day, that he was married.

Society was shocked. The aristocrats wrapped themselves in their mantles and disclaimed any knowledge of the affair. Condolences poured in upon the bride's relatives and Collins - he was too bad for any mention.

Social ostracism did not trouble the young couple and Collins continued to say what he pleased and take the results. He was as bright as a dollar, a good companion, liked even by those who disapproved of his course...

Edmund and Gertrude married on July 23, 1880 at St. Dunstan's in Fredericton.⁴¹⁵ The witnesses, otherwise unknown to us, were Timothy O'Connor, Sarah Allen, W. Delaney Allen and James B. ---- (his surname is unreadable in the records).⁴¹⁶ Gertrude gave birth to a son and a daughter in the next few years but both died in infancy.⁴¹⁷ We do not have their names, dates or places of birth but they were dead by 1886 so Chatham and Toronto are the most likely spots. *The Star* had a small section on page three for births, marriages and deaths. Edmund, however, announced his wedding proudly on page two in the space immediately before his editorial. It reads:⁴¹⁸

MARRIED

AT ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH, on Friday evening last, the 23rd inst., at 9:30 o'clock, by Rev. J.C. McDevitt, MR. J.E. COLLINS, late of Newfoundland, to MISS GERTRUDE ANNA, second youngest daughter of the late Dr. Murphy, of this City. [*Newfoundland papers please copy*]

In the same edition where he announced his marriage, Edmund ran a small piece entitled "A Man's Own Business". He is clearly annoyed that the *Telegraph* has scooped his announcement that he was moving *The Star* to Chatham and renaming it *The North Star*. Edmund's sarcasm is at its best in this piece:⁴¹⁹

A man isn't supposed to know anything at all about his own business; but if he want[s] to find out just how it stands all he has to do is to go and enquire of any of his neighbors. We have always found this to be the case, and we know of nobody having a different experience. We are, therefore, glad to learn in to-day's *Telegraph* that the EVENING STAR - our own paper - is to become the NORTH STAR, and is to be

published in Chatham some time after Thursday next. We are glad to know the publication of the STAR here is to [be] suspended soon, because now we will be able to make provision for such a contingency. We regret, however, the Telegraph did not announce the fact a month ago, and we would be better prepared still for any such change. Owing to a change of book-keepers our ledger and day book are bungled up. We would be thankful if the *Telegraph* in its next issue would just state how our affairs stand, and what is the exact amount of our assets and liabilities. We wish, also it would state how much paper we have on hand here, and when our note in the British North America Bank for the same will fall due. It is better to be prepared for those things.

We sent a lot of clothes to our washerwoman to-day: we really do not know how many pieces. We wish the *Telegraph* would give a list of how many handkerchiefs and how many shirts there were in the lot. Could the *Telegraph* inform us how many pairs of socks the Editor of this paper owns? He really forgets himself and any little bit of kindly information on the subject, he would graciously receive from the contemporary of his paper. Of course the Telegraph made the announcement we speak of, feeling it would be indelicate to allow us to make it first, in the event of any such change being about to take place. We duly appreciate the politeness and courtesy of our contemporary.

Immediately following this article is this blunt reminder:⁴²⁰

TO OUR DEBTORS

To this large if not respectable class we have a few words to say. If your accounts with this paper are not promptly paid, you will be sued.

The next issue, that of July 29, was the finale. This was the 183rd paper for which Edmund had served as editor. He wrote a long piece in the place reserved for the regular editorial:⁴²¹

THE STAR

The issue of the STAR before the public now is the last that will appear in Fredericton[.] Our eyes are turned in another direction, where we fancy we see wider fields and richer pastures.

We may inform our readers it is not our intention the STAR shall die; we merely change it to where it can draw more nutrition. Hard times do not compel the change; neither do the forebodings of difficulty in sustaining the paper here suggest it. We have toiled hard, while worthless fellows have been drinking rum, to support our paper, and we have succeeded honorably. The same toil and the same attention to duty, did we wish to remain here, would ensure a lease of life to our paper, just as long as we chosed [sic] to continue it.

We did not choose to do so, but to launch our barque on another sea with fairer prospects. The world is wide, and while throughout it are many busy men it yet affords more room for human action than here. God made Fredericton - man has had little to do with it. A fairer spot the sun does not shine upon - and a lovelier place for picnics and for parties we have never heard or know of, than here. Should the day ever come when the goods of life shall have so accumulated upon our hands as to afford us a few thousand to

spare, we shall visit here when autumn turns the trees to gold, and camp out. Fredericton as an autumn camping ground, is the loveliest spot in America.

In leaving Fredericton it by no means follows we shall forget the charming little city from which we drew such warm and generous support. It shall always remain associated with some of our fondest memories, and time nor place shall ever blot it from our mind. It is a base heart who forgets the day he came a stranger to a strange land, the welcome and the helping hand extended to him in the hour of his need. We once stood here as a stranger and we found these friends. Let us here acknowledge it. The kindly voices and the friendly pressure we shall remember as long as we live; and we now say for Fredericton that we found within its limits more noble souls, people of greater hearts, than we ever knew outside it. Every city has its "scrubs," - so, too, has Fredericton; but the blister on them all is no mar to the beauty of the whole. We are leaving our friends with many regrets. Some of them we have stayed here long enough to see reap the reward of their worthiness; the others are - in worldly comfort, and Heaven grants them peace with what they possess.

Beyond these again we have very many friends; men whose liberality and openhandedness in business dealings, we acknowledge from our hearts. Take our advertising list and you find upon it all the respectable business men in the city. A scrub or two from personal and religious considerations did never patronize us. There is hardly a Baptist on our books. But no matter for these.

In October 1878, the STAR was born up town, in an old garret belonging to one Robert Wiley. About half the town had stock in it, - and each stockholder wanted to have his ideas in the editorials. We once asked an ignorant stockholder to parse "cat," and we would surrender to him the right of private judgment. He refused to parse the word - as he didn't know how. With such a tail to our paper it was no wonder it was called a comet; with such a reputation, it was no wonder at the earliest opportunity we cut off the tail, and controlled and owned the paper ourselves.

Unshackled, and imbued with the germs of a new and better life, it strode out fearlessly on the journalistic path. How it has done its duty since, the public are able to judge as well as we. Various questions have arisen from time to time since then requiring vigorous treatment. We have never shirked the responsibility of taking every question by the throat, and have never given to a morbid community a homeopathic dose when we saw that a larger was needed. We opposed Dr Dow's perfidy on election matters, and the results verified our charges. We opposed the wearing of blue ribbon by dogs and horses, and predicted the collapse of the movement; the result has verified our prediction. We have always opposed everything we conceived to have an immoral tendency - such, for example, as the spread of obscene papers, and the discourses of men like D. Banks McKenzie and Neal Dow. We have never admired the Baptists as a denomination, nor have we professed any great friendship for the Methodists. The Church of England people, also dissenters, we have considered an improvement on the foregoing sects, for the reason that they are generally better educated, and therefore entitled to a little more deference. This we gave them.

We have opposed the Communism rampant at the Council, and though every article we wrote against this unprincipled body was an attack on our own bread and butter, we did not desist till we had annihilated all hopes of the return of that body to power at next election.

On the Parliament Building question, we exhibited but a small percentage of the old woman we hope. We think our defense of Fredericton in this matter, has been appreciated even by our enemies. No matter, however, whether it has or not.

We have had as we said before many friends in this little city: we had and have now a few enemies. But if we had no friends we would have no enemies, and if we had no enemies we would have no friends. We would be like chips and porridge. The man who runs about, like the Fisher boys do, with a newspaper [sic] article in his hand before he publishes it, asking if it will give offence, is sure to please nobody in the end but to disgust all. We would rather to-morrow have half the community deadly enemies of ours, than to have the whole community indifferent to us. History teaches us that any man worthy of a name in her annals has had his enemies, just as surely as he has had his warm friends. And craving pardon for the comparison, Pope was always hunted by a malignant and stupid crew, whom he crucified in his "Dunciad;" and Byron had to flee the country from men whose sons now put up a public monument to his memory. We would right here in this very place publish the names of the motley half dozen who have proved enemies of ours, but they are not worth it. They were as maggots whenever they crossed our track and never succeeded in putting a farthing out of our way, of plucking one feather from our reputation.

Perhaps we should close our long article, and say the saddest words, "Good-bye." Still we would linger. It is impossible we could have lived here for two years and better, and received the support and the kindness of so many people, without feeling ourselves bound to them by ties that now come so hard in breaking - perhaps for ever. But such is it, and so it must be. The parting is of our own choosing and for the better let us trust. We have tried to do our duty here, in the sphere in which we moved: if we have failed the failure is the mistake of the head, not the perversity of the heart. If ever we have given undeserved pain, we regret it most heartily and here apologize for it. If ever we have let a wrong go unrequited, or failed to extract a tooth for a tooth or to take measure for measure we shall repent of the same all the days of our life. But our little barque is waiting, and in fancy we see it linger by the shore, so we must be going. And now farewell. We shall never forget dear old Fredericton, for all that it holds which is lovely and good. The picture of our two years sojourn here, shall be framed in our memory. Time may see the little barque in which we have set out, waited by the breeze of circumstance to far distant shores, but we shall never be so far that our hearts shall not travel back again to the dear and good friends we have left behind us - And so -

"Here's a sigh for those we love,
And a smile for those we hate,
But whatever sky's above
Here's a heart for any fate."

Edmund follows his farewell with a note saying that he intends to take the "very large" subscription list of the *Star* with him to Chatham and continue to send issues to those addresses.⁴²² We learn later that the list consisted of 1400 subscribers.⁴²³

Editor of the Chatham *North Star*

Edmund packed up the *Star*. Perhaps the gossip and family pressure had made Fredericton too hot after all. The couple moved to Chatham, New Brunswick in the Summer of 1880. Our anonymous source from the *Progress* continues:⁴²⁴

... when a short time later he left Fredericton, having failed to make the *Star* a financial

success, he left many regretful friends and was accompanied not only by a beautiful wife but plenty of good wishes. He went to Chatham and after a rather uneventful career on a paper there - the *North Star* - ...

Edmund launched a new paper, the *North Star*. He was both proprietor and editor once again.⁴²⁵ Actually, Edmund seemed to have thought of this paper as a continuation of the Fredericton paper judging from the volume and issue numbers. It had only a three issues under this title in early September 1880 (Volume II, numbers 185, 186 and 187). The following are selections taken from the very long Prospectus which appeared for several issues on page one:⁴²⁶

PROSPECTUS.

This is the STAR. We have no apology for it. It must speak for itself.

And now our mission. There is an ideal press before whose shrine we bow: what that ideal is, we would have our readers know. It is that press which knows no private interest or party weal that stands in the way of the public good. It is that press which marches on in advance of the people, thinking for the masses and moulding public opinion. It is not a press which lags in the rear, till the strongest proclaim their shibboleth, and then take up the chorus. The most sacred institution in any land is an intelligent, moral and free press, that sets up for its motto that written by Judge Story - a press

- 'Unawed by influence and unbridle by gain.'

...

The duties and the responsibilities of the press are great and grave. Questions often arise suddenly that the public mind does not take the trouble to consider, but the newspaper editor must always be prepared to show some clue to the mystery or to put some interpretation upon the most involved circumstances. He must think more hastily than other men, and reach conclusions faster - then if his judgment be faulty, the public, which in the end is always right, will detect his shortcomings. The duty of thinking for one's self is important enough, and the man who is able to do so is generally above the common; but how much more important is the duty of him who thinks for the thousands and fashions their opinions after his own. If the sun be eclipsed the earth will be darkened; if he whose doctrines may become the rule of the state should spread abroad insidious teachings through the press, many of the thousands who look upon him as a teacher will catch the infection.

The press is the first and greatest born of a free people. Before the days of the press superstition and ignorance held sway over men's minds, tyranny lorded it over the land and bad kings sent innocent men to the block for a miserable whim. But when the press once began to breathe the spirit of the people through its columns, tyranny faltered and autocrats and evil combinations trembled before it.

...

In countries blessed with the glorious boon of liberty, the press is to-day the greatest power upon the face of the earth, and there is no man, no matter how high his station, that does not bend his knee before it. With such a conception of the press, and of the duties of those who control the press, we give his paper to our readers. And if we have faithfully portrayed our ideal newspaper, and the duties of a proper editor we have stolen a march on our readers and given them our prospectus.

...

First of all we shall support the liberal conservative party because we believe their policy for Canada in her present condition is good. The moment we think the interests of the Country are subordinated to the interests of the ruling party, that moment we cut the tie that binds us and call for better men.

...

We shall always to the utmost of our power oppose any measure having a tendency towards annexation or secession; and with equal force shall we oppose any steps towards the disintegration of the Dominion, by a repeal of the union.

Great minds within our Dominion, bursting with loyalty, think we are too far from the throne to be happy, and are looking to the day which will see a Federation of the Empire. This is a no party idea, and among the Liberals we believe Mr Blake is its greatest champion. Matters of this kind, like the establishment of the fulcrum at some point outside the world, whereon an Archimedes might place a lever and overturn our planet; the conversion of the Sahara into an inland sea, and kindred other mighty enterprises we leave to others professing ourselves unable to deal with them.

...

We shall always deal with public men, upon their public record, save where private dealings crop out in public doings, or where the one is inseparable from the other. Then we know no man as we know no mercy. We believe there is no greater poltroon than the coward who sits at the editorial desk and is afraid to speak his mind. If we are only to get bill heads and dodgers to print by smothering our convictions then we shall be pleased to starve. Yet we also know of some men presiding over newspapers who are nothing if not abusive [sic]; and who unfortunately often please and carry the crowd as does the clever ruffian on the street corner, who is overflowing with words and fertile in low smart retort. These vulgar persons degrade the press to the level of those to whom they cater. Our face shall always be set against such characters.

The new format was a twice weekly paper, published on Wednesday and Saturday. Then a weekly was issued on Mondays which was a larger paper. The semi-weekly subscription for a year was two dollars and the weekly paper for a year one dollar.⁴²⁷ The issue of September 15, 1880 shows a name change. Edmund has reverted back to *The Star* using the same banner as he used for so many issues in Fredericton complete with royal arms.⁴²⁸ Within the paper, however, the editorial section is headed with the words *The North Star* until well into 1881. The office was also willing to undertake other types of printing including posters (hand bills, show bills, dodgers, programmes), blanks (mortgages, bills of sale, current sales, law cases, deeds, bonds, bills of lading, clearances, insurances blanks, banking forms, invoices, shipping blanks) and cards (business cards, visiting cards, address cards, wedding cards, mourning cards) and other things such as circulars, bill heads, letter heads, note heads, price lists, receipt books, notes, cheques, orders, labels, tags.⁴²⁹ It was Edmund's intention that the paper be sold in Chatham, Newcastle, Bathurst and "lesser towns of the North" as well as on steamboats and railways.⁴³⁰

The edition of December 15, 1880 gives us an editorial which examines the effect *The Star* has had so far in its new location:

THE STAR

We need not tell our readers how the STAR has "got ahead" since we established

it in Chatham. When it first appeared it met an eager reception. Never since its first issue has the interest in it diminished. In it the people get all the local news in readable paragraphs and the news of the world in short pithy bits. And getting it twice a week, it is fresh and interesting to them. The day of the weekly paper, save for far off country places, like the day of the wooden wheel, the wind-mill and the ox-team, has passed away. Here and there some stupid old weekly, neither blood in it, is seen languishing along but that is all. In this age of the world, when electric telegraphs flash the news of the world around the globe in three minutes, it is quite too long for townspeople to have to wait a week after an occurrence to learn about it.

This is why our semi-weekly, full freighted with the latest news, local and outside, meets such an eager reception twice a week. Since striking off our first issue, we have not had half a dozen papers over, and the edition is a pretty large one - besides supplying Chatham, going every evening to Newcastle, and a large bundle to Fredericton.

The success of the WEEKLY STAR is no less marked. It contains all the matter of the other two issues, more than is given in any weekly paper outside of St. John. We have canvassed very little for the WEEKLY STAR yet the large list with which we commenced has more than doubled within three months. Most people who read the STAR once, like to read it the second time - and in this way each week now we get from 6 to 20 subscribers[.] A number of clubs have been formed through the country, and they are making us the most satisfactory returns.

We have said we began with a large list. By this list we mean the names of the persons who subscribed to the Frederic[ton] STAR. The best proof of the regard our readers have for the kind of newspaper we publish, we may just state by saying that every one of our Fredericton STAR subscribers has stood by us and now takes the NORTH STAR!

The style of the newspaper was very similar to that of Fredericton with an emphasis on politics mixed with some educational and religious commentary. There is local news and events and intermittent articles on Newfoundland news or news from the Maritime provinces. Poetry and fictional stories also continue. There are a fair number of letters to the editor to be found often followed by comments from the editor.

Edmund appears with Gertrude in the 1881 Census of Canada. They are listed as living in Chatham itself. Edmund is shown as Joseph E. Collins, 25, editor and publisher, of English ethnicity, born in Newfoundland, Catholic. Gertrude is only 19, born in New Brunswick, of English ethnicity, Catholic. They have a woman with the surname McKenzie living with them. She is 36, of Scottish origin, Catholic and listed under occupation as a "servant". This doesn't necessarily mean their servant. She could have been a servant elsewhere but boarding with Edmund and his wife.⁴³¹

The numbering of the paper undergoes an odd transformation in May 1881. The edition of May 14, 1881 is Volume II, No. 256. This is the two hundred and fifty-sixth paper Edmund edited with continuous counting from Volume I, No. 1 way back in 1878. Suddenly, with the edition of May 18, 1881, we find we are reading Volume III No. 86. This numbering continues until September 3, 1881 with Volume III, No. 113. Some issues have been lost but the next surviving edition is September 14, 1881 with Volume IV, No. 12. The final edition which has survived (which may be the final edition of the paper) is Volume IV, No. 30 of November 23, 1881.⁴³² Edmund's last issue, however, was probably that of October 19. The next issue no longer gives his name as the editor.⁴³³ He makes his short good-bye in the edition of October 26.⁴³⁴

CUTTING THE EDITORIAL CORD.

To the Editor of the STAR,

Dear Sir: - Allow me to announce to your readers that I no longer have a responsible editorial connexion with the STAR. I cannot make this announcement without expressing the wish that the STAR may go on vigorously in the future as it has in the past; that the end for which it was created will be accomplished and that it may never show any quarter till the mushroom enemy is bitterly and hopelessly routed.

I remain with the best wishes,

Yours respectfully,

J.E. COLLINS.

P.S. - I observe since I left Chatham Mr. Snowball's^a mule has begun to kick in every direction. Let the mule be careful. There is - I hope- a spare corner in the STAR, and there are pens ink and paper in Toronto. I need only add I kept the mule in dread of kicking while I was in Chatham, and I intend keeping it under the same restraint while in Toronto.

J.E.C.

The paper did not long last the departure of its founder to Toronto for a position with a newspaper there. We do not know who the new editor was. He is never identified and one suspects that the transition was not a smooth one to a new editor. Likely a care-taking editor was appointed. There are only three more issues after Edmund's departure which survive, numbering Volume IV, No.24, 25 and 30. This means at least seven more issues were published. As mentioned above, the last we know of was dated November 23, 1881. It betrays nothing in its contents to indicate that the paper intended to cease publication.

Charles George Douglas Roberts

Around this time, Edmund came to influence the first of several young writers with the power of his ideas and to encourage them in their own writings. Edmund is, in fact, credited with bringing together several members of a group later called the Confederation poets. The group is generally recognised as composed of six men, all born in the 1860's, the decade of the birth of the Dominion. In particular, Collins influenced Charles George Douglas Roberts and slightly later Archibald Lampman. Collins was not much older than these two men but his editorial experience, political convictions, fiery spirit and constant call to improve their writing pushed these men to try to create a legitimate Canadian literature.

The first appearance of Roberts in the pages of the *Fredericton Star* occurred on November 8, 1879.⁴³⁵ A lengthy review of Roberts' "An Ode to Drowsiness" occupies half a column with commentary broken up with quotes. "The poem is a very beautiful one," Edmund says, "and we recommend it to our readers. The book is at McMurray & Tenety's, who handed us a copy."⁴³⁶

Edmund may have first met Roberts in Fredericton as he was a relation of Edmund's new bride.⁴³⁷ It was in Chatham, however, that their friendship really developed. M. Brook Taylor explains:⁴³⁸

^a Edmund devoted a great deal of space criticising 'Mr. Snowball' in previous issues.

In Chatham, Collins's enthusiasm and natural brilliance caught the imagination of his wife's second cousin, the young schoolteacher and fledgling poet Charles George Douglas Roberts. Around campfire and sitting-room Collins pushed Roberts to greater effort as a poet and greater commitment as a nationalist, and he saw the publication of Roberts's *Orion, and other poems* in the autumn of 1880 as the breakthrough necessary to the creation of a Canadian literature.

Roberts was the son of a Church of England clergyman who had grown up in the New Brunswick countryside around the Tantramar River and fallen deeply in love with it. When he was a teenager he moved into Fredericton when his father was given a new parish there. Already having received a good education from this father, he now expanded it at Fredericton Collegiate School and then later at the University of New Brunswick. He became good friends here with his cousin, Bliss Carmen, another member of the Confederation Poets. After graduating in 1879, he took a post as headmaster at the Grammar School in Chatham. He married in 1880 to Mary Isobel Fenetry. E.M. Pomeroy, Roberts' biographer, adds that Edmund and Roberts were "most intimate friends in Chatham" and had "many canoeing trips together" as well.⁴³⁹

In the Autumn of 1880, Roberts had his first book of poetry published. He was only twenty years old. John Coldwell Adams believes that Roberts had turned to Edmund for "encouragement and advice" while writing it.⁴⁴⁰ The book was entitled *Orion, and Other Poems* and published by J.B. Lippincott & Company in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁴⁴¹ At this time, publication by an American or British newspaper, magazine, journal or book publisher placed a Canadian author well above his peers. Numerous books and articles in even well-established venues like the *Globe* in Toronto did not have the prestige or influence of a single article in a New York paper. Publishing locally in Canada was comparatively easy and this effected its status.⁴⁴² Roberts crashed onto the scene with an American publisher and made a noise doing it.

Orion, and Other Poems consists of a mixture of long and short poems on a variety of themes. Many deal with Greek mythology and others with the craft of poetry itself. There is also love and friendship, patriotism and landscapes. The first poem is entitled *Orion* and relates the Greek story of the mythical hunter. It runs 460 lines. Roberts' classical education shines throughout and his audience was also classically-trained and prepared to appreciate every nuance.

Bentley explains how the two men viewed their calling at this time:⁴⁴³

In the eyes of Roberts and the man who helped to propel him to national prominence in the early 1880's, Joseph Edmund Collins (1855-92), a grave danger to Canada's national and literary ambitions lay in the all-too-apparent possibility that Canadians would be satisfied by mediocre writing because it dealt with Canadian subjects and themes rather than demand of the country's poets and novelists work of sufficient workmanship and universality to compete with the best contemporary literature in English... Roberts and Collins set about promoting first Roberts himself, then Lampman, and eventually the other members of the Confederation group as the creators of poems whose excellence could not be disputed because it had been recognized internationally.

Collins saw *Orion, and Other Poems* as the milestone in establishing a Canadian literature which was as universal in themes and content as anything produced by the best English-language writers in Great Britain and the United States. This is the unique idea of Edmund and Roberts: a Canadian literature not bound by local Canadian issues designed solely for the local Canadian market.

Edmund was a very practical man. He felt that Roberts' collection was exceptional but that it needed to be vigorously promoted and he turned his talents to doing just that. The *Star* of October 6, 1880 reviewed the book:⁴⁴⁴

ORION

MR ROBERTS' CONTRIBUTION TO SONG

A man must serve his time to every trade

Save censure: critics all are ready-made.

In olden times, say when Jeoffrey was at the head of the "Edinburgh" it was something to be a critic, now it is nothing. In this age when writers are as numerous as the potato bug, critics may be named Legion. He who can successfully criticize a grilae [sic] regulation or a stump speech of a county councillor, can also of course criticize a poem, and he can judge the same upon the canons of art, though he has never learnt the difference twixt a dactyl and a spondee, or learnt how to scan a line by finger or eye. "Smartness" in writing and a natural gift of gab does well enough dealing with the smelt fishery or some other subject not bounded by the rules of art, and in such writing the illiterate penster appears to as much advantage as the scholar; but in criticizing a poem abounding in allusions to the siege of Troy or the wanderings of Æneis, the knack of writing smart things will never supply the ignorance of the rules upon which poetry must be judged, or of the incident or incidents which may be the ground work of the poem. When an illiterate Yankee once visited the picture gallery at Florence, everything he saw brought the same exclamation "Isn't it just lovely," and when he saw the tortures of Laocoon made immortal in marble he exclaimed "O! But doesn't he feel bad!"

However we cant refuse in the world, or stamp our presumption; for despite it all we may say

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

Mr. Roberts must pardon us for our rather lengthy prologue, and now with his permission a word on the little volume before us. First and foremost [sic] it is a credit to the printers, Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia. The paper used is the best, the typographical appearance and the binding are to a high standard. The book is offered for one dollar. It contains a number of poems, many of which have appeared in Scribner, in the Canadian News—one appeared in the Fredericton Star—ballad to the Kingfisher. The first poem, and properly the best in the book is ORION.

[Here Edmund inserts a long description of the myths involving Orion]

This beautiful poem is written in heroic verse—the iambic pentameter. The action of the poem begins on the eve when the stately Orion claimed his bride of King Chios her father. This scene is described true to very nature by our young poet, commencing thus:

"Two mighty arms of thunder cloven rock
Stretched ever westward to the setting sun
And took into their ancient scarred embrace
A laughing valley and a crooning bay.["]

And

"Amidst the slope
Three sacred laurels drooped their dark-green boughs,

About a high-piled altar.”

It was here Oenopian swayed his sceptre o’er the “dwellers in the steep shored Chios.” The king stood praying looking out upon the deep, and his servants prepared a sacrifice to Apollo. The victim was -

[“] a tawny wolf

Blood-stained, fast bound in pliant withes

* * * * *

His red tongue lolling from his fanged jaws

His eyes inflamed.[”]

Meanwhile Orion appears upon the scene. The very description of his garb and mien is enough to give our young poet a life-long reputation.

“Along the shore came one who seemed to wear

The grandeur of the mountains for a robe,

The torrents strength for girdle, and for crown

The seas calm, for dread fury capable.”

We cannot go through the entire poem with the space at our command; follow our young poet in his description of the sleeping hunter and the wicked king who sees the poison poured upon the sleeper’s eye-balls; or how seemed the king when he saw that the dreadful deed was done:

“But the king laughed - not loud - and drew his cloak

Closer about him, and went up the beach

And they two with him.”

For simplicity which goes to the very heart, this is outdone in any poem we have ever read. We fancy we see the the king, as the fogs roll landward in that dark night fold his cloak tighter about him - we fancy we see that chuckle so well expressed - “not loud.”

And the painting of the waker’s agony, the great hunter[’]s sight gone, and how he laments - his creeping for a man to help him to carry out the command of the maidens -

“Then get thee up to the hills and then

shall behold the MORNING;”

and how he found the man

“and him bade

Of courtesy to be to him for eyes.”

Notice how well this is put:

- “To be to him for eyes -”

the man who bears the blind hunter up the hills.

MR. ROBERTS’ LYRICS

Several who have written excellent blank verse, like a Akenside for example, failed completely when they smote the lyre. In writing blank verse the metre and the sense are

only to be kept in mind, in composing lyric song the rhyme and reason, with the metre make a triple task. But Mr. Roberts has shown himself equal to this, - indeed since the appearance of Memnon and the Ballad to a Kingfisher, his abilities in this direction have been widely acknowledged. There breathes a warm living spirit through all of Mr. Roberts minor poems, and added to this the art in his compositions faultless. We think we have seen in one critique that Mr. Roberts pays too much attention to art. Well, we know Pope made his verses mathematically perfect, and that Akenside whittled at the "pleasures of the imagination." till he nearly spoiled them, yet we must remember what Johnson said of Shakespeare's work -

"Though the poets matter nature be
His art doth give the fashion."

We think this a beauty in Mr. Roberts' poems rather than a defect, and we hope he will still continue to study nature cultivate art. If he do we have not fear for him. We give now a few lines from the beautiful sonnet, "Invocation of the spirit of song;" as a gem of melody -

"Surely I have seen the majesty and wonder
Beauty might and splendor of the soul of song
Surely I have felt the spells that lift asunder
Soul from body, when lips faint and thought is strong."

Sweeter verses than these we have never read. In another issue we shall have a word on other poems in the book, and also a word of advice to the Laureate of Westmorland.

In November, Edmund ran extracts from the book in a further attempt to promote it.⁴⁴⁵

The next March, Edmund read two essays by Nicholas Davin. One in particular, entitled 'Great Speeches' may be the source for Collins more explicit promotion of Canadian literature.⁴⁴⁶ While Edmund had long supported Macdonald's National Policy which saw a future Canada as taking care of all her own affairs, the combination of literature and politics became more explicit after reading Davin in *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly Magazine*. This author exhorted young Canadians (in the words of Bentley) to "make their history and landscape their own through the power of 'imagination' and then, after lamenting the Canadian tendency to withhold praise from Canada's writers until they have been endorsed outside the country, proceeds to proclaim Louis-Honore Frechette... 'our first national poet'".⁴⁴⁷ Edmund felt that Roberts could claim that title at least for English Canada.

Davin's second essay rejected Imperial federation and American annexation and called for a republican Canada.⁴⁴⁸ Edmund reviewed Davin's second article entitled 'The Future of Canada' in the May 4, 7 and 11 editions of the *Star*.⁴⁴⁹ Bentley suggests that Collins and Roberts now committed themselves to the creation of a Canadian audience for Canadian literature and the cultivation of a new generation which could appreciate and produce Canadian literature.⁴⁵⁰ These objectives looked toward an independent Canada which could only gain her consciousness through Canadian literature. This does not mean that the works of Edmund or the Confederation poets such as Roberts were mere instruments of their political ambitions. These men wanted a first-class Canadian literature which all the world would recognise and in no way saw their work as tracts of a political nature. What they were aiming at was something much more subtle and important. Edmund wanted Canada quickened by invoking something of which the young nation could be proud and would be worthy to be the very soul holding the nation together.

In order to achieve their objectives, however, Edmund probably felt that his position in

Chatham was not going to provide the influence necessary. In the Fall of 1881, Edmund edited his last edition of the *Star* and continued his newspaper career in Ontario.

Editor at the Toronto *Globe*

In October 1881 Edmund and Gertrude moved to Toronto.⁴⁵¹ He took a job as city editor at the Toronto *Globe*, the forerunner of the present *Globe and Mail*.⁴⁵² We have no information about his activities at the paper but Edmund was only one of several editors in this much larger paper. As city editor he was responsible for news stories with appeal to the people of Toronto. This was a much more restrictive soapbox for Edmund. He had no way to promote this political or literary agenda.⁴⁵³ It was not long, however, before Edmund made the acquaintance of two men. The first was a young student at Trinity College in Toronto. This was Archibald Lampman, another poetic genius who would produce much fine poetry over the next two decades. Lampman had been born in 1861 at Morpeth, Canada West. Collins encouraged Lampman in his writing and developed for a time into a kind of mentor.

The second man Edmund met was Goldwin Smith, an British expatriate and classically-trained, former professor of history at Oxford. He had retired to Canada and entered into journalism. Collins was friendly enough with Smith to be invited to dine at the latter's home, known as the Grange, where they likely spoke about the creation of a new 'literary monthly'.⁴⁵⁴ Smith did not share Edmund's political views on the future of the country. In fact, the pragmatic Smith saw annexation by the United States as the inevitable outcome of Confederation because economic forces would show Canadians that their standard of living would be higher if they joined the union.⁴⁵⁵

At some point, Collins must have introduced Roberts and Lampman to each other. Bentley proposes several dates but none can be proven at this point.⁴⁵⁶ In January, 1882 Roberts left Chatham and had become headmaster at York Street School in Fredericton⁴⁵⁷ but it is probable that Edmund was already trying to lure his friend to Toronto. We have a letter of Roberts to Lampman dated September 23, 1882 (while Edmund was staying with Lampman in Orangeville)⁴⁵⁸ which shows the bond which was developing between the three men :⁴⁵⁹

Fredericton, N.B

Sept. 23rd, 1882

My dear Mr. Lampman,

As you have Collins with you, perhaps it is unnecessary for me to extend my apologies for not having written sooner. He was abusing me a few weeks ago for neglecting him, - a case which he might have known could only occur under great pressure, absolute compulsion in fact - so I explained to him how my time had been laboriously and distractingly occupied ... Collins appears to be able to make a living wholly by his pen - his apprenticeship in journalism standing him in good stead - but most of the rest of us of the literary guild must make literature only our staff, not our crutch, as yet....

I suppose, from your intimacy with Collins, that you are one of us right through, a Canadian Republican! We want to get together literary and independent Young Canada, and to spread our doctrines with untiring hands. Does anything of this sort occupy [a] large share in the space you and Collins devote to castle building, in evenings over your pipes and rye? I hope on those occasions you always remember my spirit is hovering over you, sniffing (I suppose that's the best my spirit could do with it) the pale amber liquor, and applauding vigorously every seditious utterance! I am anxious indeed to get to

Toronto to live, where I would straightaway begin to put into execution many schemes. I hope under those circumstances the close duet of C and I would become an equally inseparable trio, yourself making the third of the triumvirate.

I don't wonder you found Collins a rather difficult [sic] acquaintance from most of your former who "liked poetry." I am thankful to say lots of people like poetry, and read it with a considerable degree of pleasure at times, and really perceive a great deal of beauty of it [sic]. But those who love poetry are *rara avis* [sic], few and very far between; and they are essentially in some degree poets themselves, - have the creative instinct. Thus C has that deep and subtle sympathy, that intuitive perception, and vividness of imagination, which convince me that he must have the capacity for creative work of the highest class; though he has not yet found time [to] exert his powers on a suitable theme, being always engaged in a loose, random work. Now I earnestly hope he may set himself to the making of some enduring stuff.

According to Carl Y. Connor in his *Archibald Lampman: Canadian Poet of Nature* (1929) the triumvirate "sometimes visited Toronto friends, who were greatly entertained by the animated talk, ... their eager interest in the new poetry, Roberts's for Canadian journalism and arguments about the conflict of science and religion in the days when Darwin and Huxley were so much read and when doubt and skepticism seemed in the very air." Such meeting must have occurred on Lampman's visits to Toronto for he moved to Ottawa permanently in January 1883.⁴⁶⁰

In a letter from Lampman to his friend John Ritchie dated January 19, 1883, we see part of the mentoring process.⁴⁶¹

I have grown wonderfully prolific of verse since I came here. I sent two winter poems to Collins and have almost done polishing three more - all of them of some length.

Bentley goes so far as to say that Lampman "relied heavily on Collins for advice and encouragement at that time".⁴⁶²

In February 1883, the Trinity College paper *Rouge et Noir* had an anonymous review of Roberts' *Orion, and Other Poems*. From its language and style, Bentley believes (and Kilpatrick agrees) that this was almost certainly the work of Edmund.⁴⁶³ In this following passage, we see some of Edmund's chief ideas:⁴⁶⁴

We verily believe had Mathew Arnold, or Tennyson, been born in Toronto, or the City of Fredericton, they might have sung their souls away, and not a corporal's guard of the public have heard of them through the Canadian press. For ourselves, we have read the leading poets of our age with some attention, and no little reverence, and we do not hesitate to put the author of "Orion" on the same seat with Mathew Arnold and the other great singers and writers of the day. And though a good many miles separate us from Mr. Roberts, the thrill of pride is not less in us; because he is of ourselves—a Canadian.

Meanwhile, Edmund had ceased to be an editor at the *Globe*. Once again, we lack details regarding when this happened and how it happened. What we do know is that Edmund had been gathering together material for two historical works and had secured a publisher, or perhaps had been commissioned by a publisher to produce them.

Historical Works

Since the editorship at *The Globe* had lasted no longer than his time with the newspapers in New Brunswick, Edmund turned to freelance writing. He must have begun collecting information for his first book in 1882. This was to be a biography of Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald. Edmund secured as his publisher George Maclean Rose of Toronto. Rose, originally from Scotland, had a long history in the Canadian publishing industry both in Quebec and Ontario. All of Edmund's books were published by him. Edmund acknowledges a debt to Graeme Mercer Adam in his preface below and Bentley feels that Edmund's chapter on literature in the work was influenced by Adam's 'Outline of Canadian Literature' in Henry Winthrop's *History of Canada* (1876).⁴⁶⁵

Even before publication, the triumvirate's machinery was promoting it. Roberts received an advanced copy of the first seven chapters and wrote a glowing, lengthy review for the St. John *Daily Telegraph*.⁴⁶⁶

Through the courtesy of the publishers, Messrs. Hunter, Rose & Co., have come to hand the early chapters of a work which must prove of deep interest to the Canadian public. It is entitled the "Life and Times of the Right Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald," etc., and is by Mr. J.E. Collins, of Toronto; it will be looked upon probably as a counterblast to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie's life of the Hon. George Brown. The table of contents indicates that the volume will contain in the neighborhood of forty-five chapters, and will cover everything of direct importance to Canada that has occurred within the last forty years. It is printed in large type, on heavy tinted paper; and with its liberal margin and careful press-work presents a handsome appearance. We should congratulate ourselves that the art of book-making in Canada has made such rapid strides of late. Our books of a few years back show but meanly alongside of those now issued from our presses.

So begins the rather long review in which Roberts fully returns to Edmund the favour of promoting his own work. Lampman also published an advanced review of the tome in June 1883.⁴⁶⁷

Having read through more than once with great delight the proof-sheets of the Life and Times of Sir John A. Macdonald, by Mr. J. E. Collins, of Toronto, published by the Rose Company, I should like here to give some slight descriptions of it—no severe and critical review—but a few rambling observations, which may serve to give my readers a general idea of a very able and delightful work. To begin with it is not so much a biography of the great conservative leader as it is a rapid and sketchy history of his times, written in a very clear, nervous, English style, not too crowded with rugged dates and facts, but abounding in vivid picturesque descriptions of scene and event, strong downright painting of character, powerful imagery and apt illustrations. Mr. Collins has done all that a wide acquaintance with general literature and a teeming fancy of his own can do to give interest to a subject which does not afford much to excite the imagination. The calm and peaceful flow of events in our time and country does not offer a very promising field for the power of an imaginative historian and considerable art is required to make such an attempt acceptable to the general unpolitical reader. Ours is too happy a country to have a history.

Advertisements for the book are to be found in Goldwin's literary journal *Bystander* in

both April and July. We learn from a letter of Roberts to George Stewart dated November 19, 1883 that there was some minor problem: "J.E.C. sends his kindest regards, & thanks you very much for your willingness to review his advance sheets. He says there is a delay at the publishing house, but soon thing[s] will move on again, & he will send you the very first sheets issued."⁴⁶⁸ Stewart was at this time the editor of the *Quebec Daily Chronicle*.⁴⁶⁹

Life and Times of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c, Premier of the Dominion of Canada was the second volume of Rose's National Series. It is a very large work of 692 pages with illustrations. It is divided into twenty-four chapters with two appendices.⁴⁷⁰ Its dedication was to Goldwin Smith with his permission.⁴⁷¹ It reads: "For Professor Goldwin Smith, LL.D, D.C.L, the exponent of a wholesome and enduring public morality The friend and leader of the higher literature and opinion, who has placed his adorning talents at the service of our country, I, as a Canadian, dedicate this volume. The Author."

This was the first biography of a Canadian prime minister and all the more challenging to write as Sir John A. Macdonald had been returned to a second term and his career was still unfolding. According to Bentley, it "made a stir in political and literary circles".⁴⁷²

Some small appreciation for Edmund's style may be gained by including the first paragraph of the book:⁴⁷³

In the summer of 1820, a vessel neared the coast of Canada, and among the many anxious eyes that saw for the first time the blue, hazy hills of the new land wherein they were to try their fortunes, was a small family group, one of which was a bright-eyed little boy of five years old, with a merry face and a wealth of dark curly hair. That were a prophet with a keen insight, indeed, into the great, dark future who could foretell that the child who clung to his mother's arm and looked gleefully toward the shore was one day to rise to a place of the highest distinction in this strange land and become the most conspicuous figure in her history. At this time the mother country was full of wonderful stories concerning Canada; how men going thither without a shilling in their pocket grew rich in half a dozen years; that land pregnant with all the luxurious things of the earth was to be had for the taking and that much of what was needed sprang spontaneously out of the soil. If the winter's frosts and snows were mentioned it was but to give an added beauty to the picture; for the listener saw wide blue-glinting lakes and frozen winding streams over which the skater skimmed; and adown the snow-clad slopes came gleeful parties with ringing laughter and merry songs, upon their sleds. Above all, there blew over this fresh, fair land the breeze of liberty; here every man was equal, and the position of the father was not a ladder by which his son rose to place above worthier men. It was no wonder, then, that the old land where the tyrant Custom had so long oppressed and galled the people, opened her loins and sent out the flow which so rapidly converted our vast wildernesses into thriving agricultural districts.

The Preface is dated at Toronto, May 24, 1883:⁴⁷⁴

No canvass of the country has been made for opinions to put in this book. We have approached our subject in cold blood, banishing sympathy from our heart; neither have we experienced the slightest tinge of remorse for the pain that we must have frequently occasioned through these pages. The historian or the surgeon with a soft heart is not of much benefit to his race. This book may seem to have taken a party trend. Perhaps it has. But the trend was with the Reformer till he turned Tory, and then with the Conservative who had turned Liberal. We most unhesitatingly give our preference to the Conservatives

now because of their more vigorous and liberal policy; though we should have for that political body a vastly increased admiration, did it accept Mr. Blake's doctrine concerning treaty-making, and commit itself to an extinction of that legislative scarecrow, the Senate. This volume has been written hastily, so that several clerical errors have crept in; but the *opinion* of the book must be taken exactly as it is found on the page. Let us express our gratitude to Mr. G. Mercer Adam for information, guidance and numerous hints while at our work and for his revision of the sheets as they went through the press; but this assistance, it is proper to say, was purely of a literary nature, and he is in no way responsible for the opinions in the book. Mr. Adam, with the modesty which is only equalled by his courtesy and merit, desired, in consequence of his connection with the sheets, that no mention should be made of him, save casually, in our chapter upon Canadian literature; but we have not allowed this to interfere with a sense of duty. We are under obligations to Mr. J. Watson, of the legislative library, for attention and courtesy while making research among the very limited collection of documents in that institution.

We have no apology whatever to offer for the book. It must now fight its own way.

Chapter XXIII of the work is a critique of Canadian literature. It is sixty-two pages long of which fifteen are devoted to Roberts.⁴⁷⁵ The following is an example of this portion of the work which again shows Edmund's promotion of his friend:⁴⁷⁶

How Mr. Roberts would adorn one of our university chairs of English literature! Surely, if his services are available, Trinity, which has awakened from her sleep and feels a new life and impulse in her veins, and decided to endow a literature chair, might seek his services. He would, in such a place, draw all the aspiring and better ones among our young men around him; or might not our more comprehensive institution, University College, add to its excellent faculty this adorning star of native talent, this example of Canadian possibility?

Lampman's review mentioned above said the following about this chapter:⁴⁷⁷

A great part of the chapter is devoted to glowing and masterly examination of the works of the two first of Canadian singers, Robert and Fréchette, in his unbounded admiration of whom we entirely agree. In this chapter will be found what charms us most, the author's perfect and loving patriotism - patriotism, as we understand it, devoted wholly to Canada no longer as a child in leading strings, but as the apportioned home of a people who have accumulated a peculiar feeling and character of their own, who are in truth rapidly becoming one of the distinct upon earth, self-dependent, jealous of their manhood.

M. Brook Taylor's analysis of the book written a century later runs as follows:⁴⁷⁸

Too partisan and too little researched to survive as a reference, the biography nevertheless has lasting importance because of the penultimate chapter on "Thought and literature" - one of the first significant attempts to draw attention to the country's new

generation of authors, of whom Roberts was named the exemplar.”

The biography of the prime minister was followed by *A sketch of the life of Lord Lansdowne* the same year. This much shorter biography was combined with *The Haunted Hotel* by Wilkie Collins in a publication by Rose. The two works combined are 57 pages.⁴⁷⁹ We have not yet seen a copy of this curious book.

The next year, *Canada under the Administration of Lord Lorne* was published. This work was again published by Rose Publishing Co. and printed and bound by Hunter, Rose & Co. in Toronto. It was also large at 567 pages with illustrations and an index. This was volume three of Rose’s Canadian National Series. Unlike the Macdonald book, Edmund does not promote Canadian independence and only mentions Roberts in passing in two places (p.355 and 356).⁴⁸⁰ It was dedicated to Graeme Mercer Adam:⁴⁸¹

MR. GRAEME MERCER ADAM
gave to me, with generous kindness,
INDESPENSIBLE HELP WHEN I WAS ENTERING THE CALLING OF LITERATURE,
and to convey some token of my personal
GRATITUDE,
as well as to bear testimony to his untiring zeal in
striving to forward the cause of our wretched Canadian literature,
I DEDICATE TO HIM
this volume.
THE AUTHOR

The preface runs as follows.⁴⁸²

I have not withheld approval from Lord Lorne through these pages wherever I believed that he was entitled to approbation; but no one must regard as toleration of the office, occasional admiration of the officer. If in his personal responsibility the Governor-General does well, he merits our approval and regard, and it would be unjust to lay upon his shoulders the reproaches which belong to a system of which he is only the creature. I need hardly say here - for I reiterate the sentiment in my pages - that it is the duty of every thinking Canadian who has an atom of self-respect to join hands and strive without pause or faltering till foreign importation to the office of our governorship has come to an end. So long, however, as we are satisfied with the domineering superstition, so long would it be a great pity that the desirable change should come.

As for the political opinions expressed in this book, I have only to say that anyone who could give his allegiance to party, in view of the many cases of public infamy that have recently come to light, must either lack a perception of right, or be himself dishonourable. Our system of government - and this is a sad admission for a Canadian who has no interest in either side to make - has now become the most painful spectacle known to us. The fetters which bind our parties grow stronger; and from day to day the partizan teaches himself to look less beyond the circle that bounds him. It is in deference to the needs of such a hard-and-fast combination that men stoop to actions which, if done in private life, would bring upon them the reproach and scorn of every upright man. In the preface of a book is not the place where these pitiable occurrences could be discussed

with satisfaction, but, as a case in point, let me refer to that most odious plot to defeat the Ontario Ministry disclosed in Toronto a few days ago. Deeper and deeper are we sinking in the mire of public evil-doing; within the parties that we have there is to be seen no hope; and the few honest men that we possess among the politicians have lost heart. Most of the elders among our public men have become hardened in offence, seeking only to forward personal ends, careful only to conceal their methods; and the rectitude which the younger ones exhibit diminishes from year to year by force of the influences surrounding them and by the inexorableness with which the leaders demand allegiance. If there are among us, then, any men who sincerely love their country they must see that the time is now come for them to enter the field and stem the forces that have degraded, and that threaten to overwhelm, the public life of the country. In a Third Party alone is their salvation: not a third party upon a sheet of foolscap, or in the ante-room of a lecture hall, but in a party led by a body of strong, honest patriotic men, who are conversant with the evil methods which party has made its own, who will appeal to the intelligence and the moral sense of the country, and who will organize themselves in every Province of the Dominion. If such a combination come forward, depend upon it they shall not long lack a powerful following. Men too long galled by the party bridle, and grown sick of the mire in which their masters have for so many years compelled them to walk, will leave the traces; opinion which refuses fealty to either side will now surround them with enthusiasm, and there will be found in the next parliament a body of representatives sitting between the two factions potent enough to thwart any evil projected by the stronger, and that will in the near future see disappear from the scenes of a school of politicians which, notwithstanding its abilities and its service to Canada, has long degraded public life, and exercised the power in its hands to further personal and unworthy ends.

I ought not to close without expressing my obligations to Mr. Henry J. Morgan for the value that has been to me that most excellent year-book of his, the Dominion Annual Register, in recording and discussing the political and social events of Lord Lorne's administration.

THE AUTHOR

TORONTO, 20th April, 1884.

An anonymous review appeared in the *Toronto Mail* in July 1884.⁴⁸³

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD LORNE

Lord Lorne's administration in Canada was worthy of permanent record and elaborate criticism. We have before us a volume which undertakes the work. It is "Canada Under the Administration of Lord Lorne" by Mr. J.E. Collins (Rose Publishing Company, Toronto), a handsome volume, creditable, let us say once for all, to the art of the publishers. Mr. Collins is known, and, we hope, well known, as the author of "The Life and Times of Sir John Macdonald," a book which, with some obvious and perhaps inevitable imperfections, will remain, we judge, in Sir John Macdonald's life-time, as the most readable account of his career. Having trained himself to the study of political affairs by the preparation of the life of the Premier, Mr. Collins came to the task of preparing his account of the administration of Lord Lorne with practised faculties.

The characteristics of Mr. Collins' style are its originality and its audacity. He copies nobody's style; he has one of his own, not yet completely formed. The time has

not arrived when the reader of any given sentence will be able to say, That is the style of Mr. Collins; but that time will arrive surely, if he will study to form his style. In the meantime his books are eminently readable. The only dull things in them are the official documents. And these are necessary for the completeness of his task. The reader is not deterred but relieved to get a bit of humour in the midst of a political disquisition, a bright patch of description, say of the waving marsh lands of Tantramar in summer, or the bright, leaping, rippling or deep and still and dark trout streams of Metapedia or Restigouche, after the dull reading of a municipal address. The description of the “‘president’ who speaks for a secretary, a three-legged, table and a battered paraffine lamp,” is excellent in its way. So also is the picture of a trout stream: “Green, with a warm tone of amber, and exquisitely pure, the river darts and eddies past its rocks, not distant the cast of a hackle; and every dusky pool or congregation of foam-bubbles exerts an alluring spell on the twitching wrist of an angler. It is very well known that there, in the gloom, beyond that deposit of gleaming white pebbles, lurks a salmon; it is certain that in those cool waters great trout wait greedy for the fly.” So much for Mr. Collins’ originality and freshness of style.

Next for his audacity. He is very audacious. He expresses startling opinions with an evident relish for them. And he indulges in unorthodox opinions in a way that induces us to warn him against a weakening of taste. These audacities are dangerous. They commit a young writer to opinions he only half entertains; and the experienced writer or reader cannot help saying What a lot of opinions this young man will have to alter - “wait till he comes to forty year.” Inaccuracy is apt to attend on audacity. There were no guns fired from York Redoubt, for instance, on the occasion of the landing of the Princess; there was no “snow” at Ottawa, for it rained “like cats and dogs,” for the present writer was very wet with the downpour. There was no loud cry over the “foreign prelate” clause in the oath; the Archbishop of Halifax simply refrained from being present at the occasion; all that Mr. Collins says on the subject is clever, but not in good taste. Christianity, “the true faith of a Christian,” is not an irrelevant affair.

The criticism of the Governor-General’s oath to duly and “impartially administer justice,” is not discriminating. It is made without due consideration of the checks and balances of constitutional government. If the Governor-General took it into his head to act on his own impulses he might err much more fatally than in obeying the advice of his Ministers. The description of the Newcastle folk as “simple-hearted people” strikes us as comic, considering the keenness of that sophisticated tribe in the horse-trade, and their skill in corkscrews and draw-poker. There is an ostentatious scorn for aldermanic literature in the glaring omission of all the “addresses” - we can personally account for half a dozen of those addresses; particularly neat things.

On more serious topics Mr. Collins is daring also. He thinks the present system of Education is as “superior to the system which it supplanted, as the railway train is to the stage coach.” Yet he admits that the system is not “thorough.” A more fatal objection could hardly be urged; the age of the great scholars, like the age of the great poets, is behind us; their system was thorough. The pages on Lord Dufferin are also full of epigrams, but are not just. Lord Dufferin met and braved and overcame the hurricane of insult to which he was exposed in 1873. He met it with consummate courage. He overcame it with consummate skill. Yet he acted entirely within the limits of law and was justified under the drylight of legal criticism applied by the law officers of the Crown. To say that the Letellier squall would have overwhelmed him is to invite overwhelming reply. Lord Lorne, by no means so robust a man as Lord Dufferin, came out of the Letellier affair unruffled and unhurt. Our Governors-General must always be looked on as Imperial officers with an Imperial mission, and with reasonable personal ambitions beyond the scope of their duties here. To accuse them of improper motives in

fulfilling the first and pursuing the latter is simply wasting paper and ink. Lord Dufferin fostered in Canada strong Imperial sentiments; that was part of his duty to the Crown. He held the balance evenly between contending parties, and may be said to have saved the Dominion from disruption; that was the whole of his duty to Canada. We will have other occasions of reviewing, hastily, but not indifferently, Mr. Collins' exceedingly readable volume.

Norah Story in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* says that the biographies of Sir John A. Macdonald and Lord Lorne "have the merit of preserving contemporary detail."⁴⁸⁴

The Week

Goldwin Smith was already producing a publication named *Bystander* and decided to launch a more ambitious "Independent Journal of Literature, Politics and Criticism." He offered the position of editor to Edmund in May 1883 but Edmund turned it down citing his work load (presumably his historical writing).⁴⁸⁵ Instead, Edmund convinced Smith to hire Roberts for the job.⁴⁸⁶ This would involve his old friend moving to Toronto which was exactly where he needed to be - the centre of English-Canadian literature. Roberts took a leave of absence from his school in Fredericton in June and transferred his wife and son to Ontario. Roberts, whose only experience at this type of work came that summer, was surprised by the amount of work it involved. He arrived with his wife and child in September 1883 and a few months later moved into 471 Ontario Street on the corner of James Avenue.⁴⁸⁷ To save money, Edmund and Gertrude moved in with them before Christmas.⁴⁸⁸

Roberts' first issue of *The Week* arrived on December 6, 1883 and included a nearly 2000 word piece by Edmund entitled "International Copyright"⁴⁸⁹ which Bentley describes as a "trenchantly ironic analysis".⁴⁹⁰ Two portions are reproduced below:

The laws of nations upon Copyright, so far, bears the impress of a parentage that was blind to the fact that neither oceans nor political lines can intellectually divorce a group of nations speaking the same language, and wedded to a common literature. The literature and thought of a group of countries, having but one language for all, in making their great cycles, will not be thwarted by political barriers. The literature of such a language is a confederation unto itself; it ignores the division of monarchies and democracies, and distance its greatest enemy to unity has been conquered by steam. We have no longer a British and an American literature, but a great republic of English letters, belonging not less distinctively as a possession and as a characteristic of thought and culture to the New World than to Great Britain, the homestead of our Cis-Atlantic people and speech.

Further on in the piece, Edmund reveals his feelings regarding the loss of income experienced by writers:

It is the trade of some to write books, and their livelihood is derived from a sale of their works: the publisher who, because unforbidden by his nation's law, takes these books without making some recompense to their author is neither an honourable nor an honest man. It is about as just and as high-minded as if, instead of stealing books, he waited upon the quay till a ship laden with merchandise from an alien port cast anchor, and that then, fearing no molestation from his country's laws, he boarded that vessel, seized the cargo—which belonged to some one in the foreign country—and sold it over the land for his own profit. There is, unfortunately, a strange lack of united action among authors in seeking for international copyright.

Collins goes on to carefully explain how under existing laws passed in London, Canadian writers have few rights outside of Canada and may have their work reproduced in Great Britain without compensation. This is an example of the type of abuse Edmund would see ended by a truly independent Canada.

In the same year, Bentley believes that Collins, or Roberts or both men penned the literary survey in *The Dominion Annual Register and Review for... 1883*.⁴⁹¹ The same article in the 1884 version (published 1885) was also by Edmund.⁴⁹²

Roberts did not service for long as editor of *The Week*. E.M. Pomeroy claims that this was due to "divergent views".⁴⁹³ Certainly Roberts' Canadian nationalism conflicted with Smith's annexation ideas. The triumvirate lost an important platform when Roberts' stepped aside. Nonetheless, Edmund did get another long essay published in this journal in the August 1884 edition.⁴⁹⁴

A NUMBER of writers in our newspapers and periodicals glibly speak of "Canadian Literature" as if we really did have a literature that might be said to be Canadian. There is no Australian Literature, no Heligoland Literature, no Rock-of-Gibraltar Literature: neither is there a Canadian Literature. A number of books have been written by English-speaking colonists here, but the majority of them have the tone of the kitchen of the empire: the histories are the record of happenings which are regarded only with respect to their relation to the Motherland; the fiction and belles-lettres, generally, have the limits of the municipality and the flavour of the log-hut. I suppose some will call this "an attack on Canadian Literature," but it is really nothing of the kind: to say anything else would be inaccurate, to expect anything better, absurd. We are yet only the pioneers of the future Canada; our wealthy classes are not yet born; and a people who have their sleeves rolled up could be no more expected to read than to produce polite literature. I suppose that, in a sort of way, with respect to flavour and local colour, we would soon have a Canadian Literature if Canada were a nation in the harmony of her provinces as well as in name. We are not now united, except by legislative cords that cut into the flesh of one another, for we are all pulling in different ways: so that if we did speak of a literature we would be obliged to subdivide the term and say, "a New Brunswick Literature," "a Nova Scotia Literature," "a British Columbia Literature."

Louis Riel, the Rebel Chief

Edmund soon turned his hand to a series of novels. It is likely that he needed to write these works in order to pay the bills at home. Taylor also claims that he had "tired of political biographies."⁴⁹⁵ The first of his novels was published in 1884 by Rose and was entitled *The Story of a Greenland Girl*. We have no information on this book.

In 1885, Edmund produced *The Story of Louis Riel, the Rebel Chief*. This was the year of the second Riel Rebellion and it seems that Rose wanted to get a book out quickly recounting the main events: the insurrection, the battles, the capture of Riel and his execution. Edmund wrote the work rapidly probably drawing on newspaper accounts for he is unlikely to have had time to access anything official. This work is problematic. A glance at the work would make one think it gives a historical account of the life of Louis Riel. It is obvious, however, that Edmund used his literary talents to enhance descriptions of land and people. This work was accepted, nevertheless, as factual by many of its buyers.

As Norah Story reveals, "In 1885, he caused a sensation when he declared in *The Story of Louis Riel* that Riel had ordered Thomas SCOTT to be shot because they were rivals in love."⁴⁹⁶ This was not, however, the author's intention as Edmund himself explained in a note inserted in one of his later books:⁴⁹⁷

I beg likewise to say a word with respect to the book known as "The Story of Louis Riel."

That volume has been quoted as history; but it is largely fiction. There is no historic truth in the story therein written by me that Louis Riel conceived a passion for a beautiful girl named Marie; and that he put Thomas Scott to death, because the maiden gave her heart to that young white man. I have seen the story printed again and again as truth; but there is in it not one word of truth. This much I am glad to be able to say in justice to the memory of the miserable man, who has suffered a just penalty for his transgressions. I never intended that the work in question should be taken as history; and I should have made that point clear in an introduction, bearing my name, but that I was unwilling to take responsibility for the literary slovenliness, which was unavoidable through my haste in writing, and through Mr. D. A. Rose's hurry in publishing, the work. It occupied me only seventeen days; and I did not see my proofs.

Once more: one of the leading characters in that book, Mr. Charles Mair, is most unjustly treated. Him I held as one of the prime agents in the rebellion of 1869; but nothing could be further from the fact. His pen and his voice had always advocated justice and generosity towards the Indians and the Metis. As to his sentiments respecting the Indians, I need but refer to the drama of his "Tecumseh," which Canadians have received with such enthusiasm.

It appears that Edmund was experimenting in this work with a mixture of historical fact and dramatisation without going all the way into producing a historical novel. The result, as indicated above, had confused some people resulting in them taking fiction for fact. Edmund laments that he was unable to include a disclaimer or explanation in the original work. The hurry in producing the book was the result, no doubt, of Daniel Rose's (brother of George Maclean Rose) desire to produce a timely volume. An appendix at the end gives details of Riel's trial and execution. Other indications of the speed at which the work was produced include Edmund's own admission that it was written in only seventeen days, lacks a preface and that the proofs were unseen by the author. That Edmund's own name does not appear on the title page seems to have been at his own request, for he felt the book needed more editing.

The Story of Louis Riel, the Rebel Chief, however, has proven perhaps to be the most enduring of Edmund's works. It was reprinted in 1970 and 1984 as part of Coles Canadiana Series. Taylor criticises the book for "overt racism" probably due to Edmund's use of terms like "half-breed". Certainly, the work does not display any extreme position and the usage was common during Edmund's time without necessarily conveying a hint about the author's personal feelings.

The year 1886 was also a very busy one for Edmund and his friends. Lothrop of Boston published Roberts' *In Divers Tones*, another volume of poetry, and he dedicated it to Edmund:⁴⁹⁸

To My Friend,

EDMUND COLLINS

In divers tones I sing,
And pray you, Friend, give ear!
My medley of song I bring
You, who can rightly hear.

Themes gathered far and near,
Thoughts from my heart that spring,
In divers tones I sing,
And pray you, Friend, give ear!

Here's many a serious thing--
 You'll know if it's sincere.
 Where the light laughter ring
 You may detect a tear.
 In divers tones I sing,
 And pray you, Friend, give ear!

Edmund had a short story published in the American publication *Wide Awake* in February 1886. The reviewer in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* opined: "The most exciting story in this number is "Saved by a Kite," by Edmund Collins, the scene of which is the rocky coast of Newfoundland."⁴⁹⁹ This is the only one of many stories where Edmund wrote about his native land. We do not have a copy of the story. He also contributed to the first edition of *Man: A Home Magazine* (formerly the *Sanitary Journal*) which was dedicated to 'Literature, Popular-Science, Public and Private Hygiene, Social and Domestic Economy.' This issue contained Edmund's biography on Sir William Dawson (1820-99). It was penned under the pseudonym "Gamma". We do not have a copy of this article.⁵⁰⁰

Annette, The Metis Spy

Annette, The Metis Spy; A Heroine of the N.W. Rebellion was Edmund's second novel. It was published by Rose Publishing Company in Toronto in 1886.⁵⁰¹ It is worth providing here an example of his narrative. The first lines of the book run as follow:⁵⁰²

CHAPTER I.

LE CHEF FALLS IN LOVE WITH THE HALF-BREED MAIDEN.

The sun was hanging low in the clear blue over the prairie, as two riders hurried their ponies along a blind trail toward a distant range of purple hills that lay like sleepy watchers along the banks of the Red River.

The beasts must have ridden far, for their flanks were white with foam, and their riders were splashed with froth and mud,

"The day is nearly done, mon ami," said one, stretching out his arm and measuring the height of the sun from the horizon. "How red it is; and mark these blood-stains upon its face! It gives warning to the tyrants who oppress these fair plains; but they cannot read the signs."

There was not a motion anywhere in all the heavens, and the only sound that broke the stillness was the dull trample of the ponies' hoofs upon the sod. On either side was the wide level prairie, covered with thick, tall grass, through which blazed the purple, crimson and garnet blooms, of vetch and wild pease. The tiger lily, too, rose here and there like a sturdy queen of beauty with its great terra cotta petals, specked with umber-brown. Here and there, also, upon the mellow level, stood a clump of poplars or white oaks--prim like virgins without suitors, with their robes drawn close about them; but when over the unmeasured plain the wind blew, they bowed their heads gracefully, as a company of eastern girls when the king commands.

The dedication is to an old friend:⁵⁰³

To my friend, Archibald Lampman, whose beautiful and unaffected genius men will some day be delighted to honour, with unvarying and unextinguishable love, I dedicate this volume. The Author

At the end of the novel, Edmund includes a few words to his readers of the type he would have liked to have included in *Riel*.⁵⁰⁴

Notes

The preceding story lays no claim to value or accuracy in its descriptions of the North-West Territories. I have never seen that portion of our country; and to endeavour to describe faithfully a region of which I have only a hearsay knowledge would be foolish.

I have, therefore, arranged the geography of the Territories to suit my own conveniences. I speak of places that no one, will be able to find upon maps of the present or of the future. Wherever I want a valley or a swamp, I put the same; and I have taken the same liberty with respect to hills or waterfalls, The birds, and in some instances the plants and flowers of the prairies, I have also made to order.

I present some fiction in my story, and a large array of fact. I do not feel bound, however, to state which is the fact, and which the fiction.

I have not aimed at dramatic excellence in this book. Change of scene, incident and colour are the points which I had in view. There is not any sham sentiment in the book.

I have introduced a few passages, with little change from a small volume, entitled "The Story of Louis Riel." These passages in no way effect the current of my story; but as I thought that they had some merit, I had no compunction in diverting them to present uses. The most notable authors have done this sort of thing; and chief amongst them I may mention Thackeray.

In 1886, this book was available in "uniform" cloth for 50¢ or in the Rose Pocket Library addition for 30¢.⁵⁰⁵ Bentley says the following about this book: "Today, Collins is all but unknown to Canadian literary circles except as the author of a contrived romance risibly entitled *Annette, the Metis Spy: A Heroine of the N.W. Rebellion*."⁵⁰⁶ A short story is appended to the end of the novel called Nancy The Light-Keeper's Daughter.

Four Canadian Highwaymen

Edmund's next novel was entitled *The Four Canadian Highwaymen, or, The Robbers of Markham Swamp*. Once again Rose was the publisher. The opening lines give us another good example of Edmund's ability to describe a natural environment. It begins:⁵⁰⁷

CHAPTER I.

THE PRETTY ASTER AND MR. HAM

It was the autumn of the year, and the dress of the Canadian woods at that season, forty years ago, differed little from the gaudy garbs of now. Near a small village not far from the town of Little York, I choose as the place for the opening of this true story.

The maple, of all the trees in the forest, was the only one so far frost-smitten and sun-struck. The harvests had been gathered, and the only tenants of the fields were flocks of pigeons that came to feed among the stubble; for many a ripe ear fell from the heads in the tying of the sheaves; many a shower of the golden grain had fallen as the load, drawn by slow oxen, lurched and swayed along the uneven ground.

Nestling in a grove of primeval pines that sentinelled the placid, shining waters of the Don stood a low, wide-eaved cottage. It was completely clad in ivy; and upon the eastern side there was a dull copper tinge through the matted masses of the Virginia creeper.

The preface of the work seems to be a reaction to the shift in Edmund's prose from political biography to fiction:⁵⁰⁸

Preface

The following story is founded on fact, everybody about this part of Canada who is not

deaf having heard of the gang at Markham Swamp. I have no doubt that some of my friends who are in the habit of considering themselves “literary,” will speak with despair and disparagement of myself when they read the title of this book. They will call it “blood and thunder,” and will see that I am on my way to the dogs.

Well, these people are my friends after all, and I shall not open a quarrel with them. For they themselves have tempted the public with stupid books and essays; and they failed in finding buyers. Therefore they have demonstrated for me that a stupid book doesn’t pay; and I will not, even for my best friend, write anything but what the people will buy from me. I am not a Fellow of the R.S.C.[†], and if I produced anything dreary I could not look for the solace of having that discerning association clap their hands while I read my manuscript[.]

As to my subject being blood and thunder, as some of the litterateurs will describe it, I have only to say that the author of *Hard Cash* wrote more than a dozen short stories laid upon lines similar to mine. A young man fighting for a place in literature, and for bread and butter at the same time, need not blush at being censured for adopting a literary field in which Charles Reade spent so many years of his life.

By-and-by, when I drive a gilded chariot, and can afford to wait for books with quieter titles and more dramatic worth to bring me their slow earnings, I shall be presumptuous enough to set such a star before my ambition as the masters of English fiction followed.

E.C.

Toronto, 1st August, 1886.

This book was available in “uniform” cloth for 50¢ or in the Rose Pocket Library edition for 25¢.⁵⁰⁹

New York City

In the Fall of 1886, Edmund decided to pull up stakes in Toronto and he and Gertrude headed for New York City. He likely had a job lined up for almost immediately we find that he was appointed editor of a new weekly journal entitled *The Epoch*. In the first issue, dated February 11, 1887, Edmund made sure that Roberts’ *In Divers Tones* was rated along side American authors.⁵¹⁰ The April issue contained a review of the same work.⁵¹¹

During his time in New York, he continued promoting his vision of Canada. Not long after his arrival, Edmund made a speech to the Canadian Club of New York on November 4, 1886. This organisation was founded in 1885 to help expatriate Canadians. The *New York Times* reported on the occasion:⁵¹²

THE FUTURE OF CANADA.

“The Future of Canada” was the title of a paper read before the members of the Canadian Club, at No. 12 East Twenty-ninth-street, last night by Edmund Collins. Sir Roderick Cameron presided. Mr. Collins saw one of three things for Canada’s future - federation, annexation, or national independence. He thought federation would be unwise, and that annexation with the United States would be undesirable. National independence was, in his opinion, best for Canada’s future. He said England would make little objection, and would say nothing were Canada to announce that she desired to stand alone. Mr. Collins said Canada ought to have national independence, so that she could take her place among the nations. Before anything could be done with Canada, however, her political atmosphere must be purified. Politics in Canada, as in the United States, were games

[†] The Royal Society of Canada, founded in 1882.

which offered to ability success without honor. There was a good opportunity for young men to purify the politics of Canada. After Mr. Collins had read his paper there was music and dancing.

The actual text of the speech is as follows:⁵¹³

THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA
by Edmund Collins
An Address delivered before the Canadian Club of New York

Some of the greatest historians of the olden times, for the purpose of illustrating a nation's greatness, would only take into account the number of her spear's [sic] on the land, and of her galleys on the sea: and it must be confessed that, even in this age of industry and peace, we are not a little proud of our battalions and of the thunder of our turret guns.

In dealing with Canada, we have more substantial elements to fire our eloquence: we have her boundless acres, her limitless forests, and the exhaustless treasures of her mines and seas. Under the Confederation immense strides have been made in national development, and this I think ought to be a guarantee for the future.

But, after all, there are several gentlemen in Canada, who are not satisfied with the Union.^s Indeed, at very frequent intervals, some patriot who has failed in the pulpit or at the bar, who has brought a country school into disrepute, or added to the population of a graveyard, arises among his countrymen, and declares that the Confederation must be smashed. The intensity of his eloquence on such an occasion will be commensurate with his wants. If he is able to scrape along at all, he will not be very fierce, and will receive no great attention: but if there is neither brief, nor school, nor pulpit, nor consumptive in sight, he rises to the very highest pitch of patriotism, and some admiring organ of public opinion puts an "extra" at his disposal. If, in the experience of Dr. Johnson, "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel." in ours, treason is the first refuge of a patriot.

I presume that those who hear me are not unaware that Nova Scotia has lately passed resolutions affirming a desire for separation, and there is a rumor in the air that New Brunswick wants to get adrift. I do not believe that these ideas will prevail: but they have undermined faith in the solidity of the Union, and Castle Garden receives the immigrant. It is no harm, however, to sin against the State. If you libel an individual, or decry his enterprise, the law will look after the matter; but assail the country whose institutions protect, and whose kindly breast sustains, and the Governor will select you as his chief adviser or his Secretary of State. For my part, instead of providing cabinet offices, I should prepare the cat and the pillory.

It may not be interesting, if not precisely cheerful, to enquire about the fate likely in store for the provinces who seek separation, in the event of the possibility of their release. In spite of the wealth which they boast of, to me they seem to stand up on the very verge of pauperdom. Enjoying the felicity of independence and isolation, each one would be a Lazarus at the gates of the Empire. We know very well that the expense of house-keeping, in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick, is greater than either province is able to bear; and either one or the other is always found at Ottawa, with a threat or a prayer upon her lips, asking for still "better terms." Let us suppose one of these provinces cast adrift. Her only sources of income would be the proceeds from the sale and lease of

^s Among the men Edmund is alluding to is William Steven Fielding who won the 1886 Nova Scotia election promising to take the province out of Confederation.

her timber and mineral lands, and the toll of the custom-houses.

To-day Nova Scotia is almost completely stripped of her forest, and the area of woodland in New Brunswick is rapidly diminishing; and if there is but little income from the mines for the individual, there would be less for the public treasuries. The ship-yards are idle, and must remain so from now until the end of time; nor is there any industry in sight or in the distant future. Under the terms of confederation a sum of 80 cents per head is set apart from the Dominion treasury, and to hope that this amount could be made up under the régime of divorce, from the little provincial custom-houses, is mere delusion. For the lack of responsible guarantee, the obligations of these provinces would go begging in the money market. Capital and immigration would pass by their doors, and they would become the paupers of the Empire.

It is the custom, among certain people in the East, when famine afflicts the land, to enter the temples and belabor with clubs their favorite idols. As the timber becomes scarce, and revenue falls off, these good people by the sea wax fierce in their denunciation of taxes, as if the most weighty and unjustifiable tax of all, that on coal, were not merely maintained as a sop to them.

However, it may be said, once for all, that Nova Scotia and her sister will be saved from themselves. For there is no road leading out of the Union.

If, in discussing the prospects of Canada in general, I may be allowed to confine a few more observations to the maritime provinces, I should say that I believe their manifest local destiny to be maritime union. To superintend about a million and a half of public business, they have three petit kings, three houses of Commons, and at least two houses of Lords: while in number the judges and chief justices, to borrow a fantastic comparison, are as the stars of the heaven. But let alone the fact that each province requires a legislature, a governor, a cabinet and a standing army of officials, to transact half a million dollars of business, there must needs be in addition the pomp and circumstance of presenting arms, firing salutes and decking out in uniforms and cocked-hats.

I have heard many speeches delivered from those very provincial thrones at the opening of the legislature, and have noted some of their items. There is always a paragraph having reference to Providence and the harvests; and this seems to be quite fitting, for the harvests are about the only matter in their political economy in which the hand of Providence is to be seen. In New Brunswick, I once listened to one of those pretentious speeches from the throne wherein this passage occurred, the most important one of the whole communication: "During the year, my Government has given attention to the affairs of the husbandman, and the improvement of stock; and to this end have effected the importation of a superior breed of sheep." I turned to the itemized public accounts and found that the numerical strength of the importation consisted in six animals. Imagine putting on a cocked-hat and a sword to announce that a Government had brought in Canada six ewes and rams.

To sum up the matter, one capable business man could, without governor or cabinet, without volunteer or the firing of rusty cannon, effectually transact the whole affairs of the three petty provinces by the sea. I think, therefore, that the conclusion any sensible man would arrive at in this connection would be that these provinces ought and must rid themselves by fully one-half of their present expensive administration. This can be accomplish by a maritime union, which would give for the three provinces one lieutenant-governor, one legislature and but one army of official dependents instead of three.

An outsider listening to one of the maritime statesmen would assuredly hear him talk of retrenchment; hear him cipher how much the Lieutenant-Governor squanders in paint and coal-oil, and naturally would ask himself why in thunder no mention is made of

the larger items? He would scarcely hear a word about maritime union, because maritime union would be the death of fully one-third of the professional politicians. But, suppose this part of the difficulty removed, there would still be in the background the burning question: "Which province is to have the seat of government?" Nova Scotia would rather pay two dollars in civil expenditure, where only one is needed than that "The Island" or New Brunswick should be able to say that she was the home of the government. It will be seen, therefore, that so long as the question remains in its present shape, the three pinched provinces will go on maintaining their overwhelming system of magnificence and expenditures.

There is, I think, one way out of the difficulty, and although I have elsewhere, indicated the way, I may be permitted to once more refer to it. A few years ago, when a teacher made application for a school in a back district, the great difficulty in his way was the question of where to board. The thought that one settler should monopolize the honor and the profit of his domiciliation was in itself odious, and the matter was finally settled by his consenting to "board round the deestrick." Are we to infer from this, that if the government of these three little united provinces would consent to "board round the deestrick," the greatest obstacle to maritime union would be removed.

Before discussing the government alternatives left to Canada, we must preface our remarks by stating that the political atmosphere should first be made purer if we desire to contemplate with pride the future of the country. There are now in public life in Canada some good men; men who earnestly strive to use their talent for the general good: but, after all, such worthy ones are few. For the greater part, politics are in Canada what they are in the United States, one of the lowest of all the games offers success to ability devoid of honor. The best men, and the most thoughtful among them in either country, are not to be found in political life; such men shrink from the ordeal which is treating at the bar, or foremost on the turf or lucky in the gambling pool. As a rule too, these men are without means and of no social standing; they are devoid of education and of the knowledge indispensable to competently help in the making of laws. If a man enters public life without fortune and stripped of all honorable ambition, it is deadly certain that his chief aim is to further his own interests. Given an unscrupulous politician at the head of government, and he will buy these men as a butcher buys a flock of sheep.

It is true that these men give a semblance of patriotism to their movements by allying themselves with a party; but this party has become a machine, and the harm that the machine does to public interests and public morals is greater even than could be accomplished by loose fish who held themselves aloof from either side. I take it for granted that there is a splendid opportunity in store for young men in Canada, provided they stand aloof of the machines and take as their watchword, not Protection or Free-Trade, but the purification of public life. I say the young men, because the older ones have already suffered themselves to be bound to the wheel, and to the end will go sinning for the party rather than bring upon their brilliant names the reproach of "turncoat." I affirm, without dread of refutation, that our country is worse now, and not better, for her politicians.

The Confederation is made up of interests more or less divergent, and of aims more or less conflicting; there is a slight antagonism of religion, and there is fierce conflict of races. The best and the noblest deed patriotism could perform would be to restore harmony to that part of the instrument which is jangled and out-of-tune; to seek and close up the joints in the Confederation; to demonstrate that the interest of the many ought to prevail over that of the few; that Canada is the country of the Gaul as well as of the Celt and the Saxon; and, finally, that the triumph of the country as a whole, in civilization and prosperity, is of far greater moment than the success or the aims of a section, a creed, or a race. Mr. Goldwin Smith describes the French province as a wedge

driven between the Eastern and Western sections of the Union; but even this tenacious and exclusive nationality would in time blend into its surroundings if the politicians did not rekindle the old feuds periodically and were not continually unearthing for new discords. I do not think, however, that there is much room for anticipating that this province will readily submit to the logic of environment; if there were, such a hope dwindles down to mere nothingness when we find that the execution of a man convicted of treason and murder furnishing a new source of discord and isolation.

Before dismissing this chapter of my subject, I beg to point out one condition under which much could be done to improve political morals and draw men of character and fitness into public life. I think the honor of a seat in the legislature should be of itself a sufficient reward to the legislator. In England this is the rule, and instances like our own Pacific scandal, or the many frauds that blot political history in the United States is unheard of.

In our country, as in the States, a man imagines that an evil political deed brings no personal taint; until men are made to feel a reproach upon their public honor as keenly as a wound, the life of the legislator can not be an honest one, his calling an honorable calling. Honor is everything to most of the men who served in Westminster, and for honor alone do they seek the place: their fortune puts them above the debasing influence money exercises, there we hear nothing of the sin so familiar to our own ears.

I am aware that it would be a grave injustice to the people of a young country to place its representation and its law-making power solely into the hands of those who could afford to serve without salary; for, at such a stage in a nation's life, every Cincinnatus handles his own plough. But the distribution of wealth is now wide enough to make the compensation one of honor; and wherever honor is the sole reward the best men only strives for the place. Admitting even that the twenty New York aldermen who perpetrated, in the early morning, the foulest act known to municipal history, were not needy, we must concede on the other hand that they were the product of what is worst and dishonorable in the wards; if a higher standard of representation had obtained, candidatures as theirs would have been out of the question.

And now, I shall endeavor to briefly discuss the three alternatives which the future holds for Canada: -

First - Federation with the Empire.

Second - Annexation to the United States, and

Third - The formation of an independent nationality.

Federation is a vast scheme; nothing will so capture and dazzle a small mind as an omnipotent question. I may state, for the benefit of those who may have forgotten the fact, that the first public man of note in Canada to advocate Federation, was Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt; - but, looking over the files of old Canadian papers, I find that this same gentleman was at one time the leader of a movement in Montreal to bring about annexation. But, such as the idea is, I have to deny credit for its origination with Sir Alexander, or for that matter with politicians. It was conceived by Mr. Justin McCarthy, who deals in some very splendid kite-flying in the closing portion of the history of *Our Own Times*. But Mr. McCarthy derived the inspiration from Tennyson, who, as everyone acquainted with *Lecksley Hall* knows, tells us of a time when the war drum shall throb no longer.

“And the battle flags be furled,
In the parliament of man, the Federation of the World.”

I wonder that somebody has not overtopped Lord Tennyson and taken in the moon. Sir John MacDonald, on account of whom I have been blamed for having overpraised him in my books, has latterly favored the idea: but Sir John is now nearly

seventy-two, and a medical friend of mine, Dr. Ferguson, informs me, upon his professional reputation, that atrophy of the brain begins a little after fifty. Moreover, it must be remembered what influence an extra decoration, if it takes the form of a star or a pretty ribbon, has upon the understanding of men.

What puzzles me is how men like Sir John and Sir Alexander, so thorough in their examination of questions, and so sound in judgment, should have failed to find three or four objections to this project, any one of which is fatal. For instance, the fundamental notion in the scheme is the equality of the several portions of the Empire: but, if the existing Imperial constitution were to be preserved, this would mean colonial representation in the House of Lords as well as in the Commons. Colonial soil does not produce, that I am aware, peers of the realm; and the principle of entail and primogeniture is lacking to propagate the dignity and the status of a transplanted peerage. Imagine my grandson, the third Lord Collins of Canada, exercising his noble energies in sweeping chimneys!

Then, as to our concern in affairs of the Empire.

In the prestige and the power of Great Britain, we all glory, and the throbs of transport felt at the heart of the motherland thrills the colonists to the finger tips; but for all this we are not prepared to give our last man and our last shilling, as Sir George said we were; nor, for that matter, any man or any shilling, in erecting scientific frontiers^t, in making disastrous excursions through the Kyber pass^u, or shooting blacks in Ashantee^v. The British tax-payer may be persuaded that to bear the brunt of this class of undertaking is proper for him because they maintain and augment the potency of the British name; but the Canadian tax-payer does not want, and will not bear, any share in such burdens. It would be only folly to expect otherwise, and this feature of the question is not worthy of further discussion.

Having disposed of these two barriers, let us picture to ourselves a contingent of representatives from Canada crossing the seas to discuss at Westminster whether a projected railroad bridge in Ontario should cross Swan's Creek or Duck's Puddle, and how much compensation deacon Estabrook's widow should receive for the slaughter of her cow or her husband by a government engine. Imagine the widow setting out from her farm to cross the wintry ocean in order to establish her claim before listening England!

I suppose the question of divorce would be taken from the fond hands of the Ottawa senators to the House of Lords; and what a glorious occupation it would be for the Howards and the Stanleys to sit and hear the petition and the evidence of Martha Smith, and decide whether, after all, it was not best to turn the said Martha loose again into the matrimonial market.

Some one, among those present, will probably say that the Parliament of the Empire would have cognizance of only such questions as treaties, but three or four treaties in a life-time are about the number that past history has produced.

Let me repeat that there is still a mightier question behind all this: it is found in the position that the heart of the Empire would occupy in relation to its outskirts. I am aware that our statesmen leave India out of the programme; but, at the risk of repeating an old joke, I will affirm that this is likely leaving Hamlet out of the play. Yet, even in doing this, I can, without danger of incurring the self-reproach of wildness, permit my

^t A reference to the British desire to establish defensible colonial borders.

^u A reference to the Second Afghan War, 1878-80

^v A reference to the uprising of the Ashantee under King Kalkali in Ghana in 1873-4.

imagination to travel to a time when the population of Canada alone will exceed that of the Imperial Island; so, when the representatives of goodly Canada would move into the house at Westminster, you would have the spectacle which Dundreary^w has best described, that of the tail wagging the dog.

Let those who smile remember that a federation on the mighty plan suggested is not a compact made for the span of a statesman's life, but a constitution fashioned to endure as long as the power and the glory of the British Empire last.

For these reasons and for a score of other good ones, I do not deem the scheme of federation to be either wise or practicable. It is a splendid subject to talk about, and, after all, it would be a pity to deny politicians the opportunity of discussing something grand now and again.

The second alternative is Annexation, and upon this I shall not waste many words. At the outset, allow me to remark that I can conceive of little in national ambition higher than a desire to form a portion of the mightiest Republic that the world has ever seen: but, with Canada, annexation would not mean alliance, it would simply mean absorption. Canadian individuality of course would cease, while the material condition of the people would not be improved. This, however, is a question about which we can only vaguely surmise. But I think that those who, like ourselves, have had an opportunity of comparing certain republican institutions with corresponding ones under English monarchy, can have no difficulty in giving the preference to those of the latter.

I shall not dwell upon the spectacle of the ermine trailed through the party mire, for I should have to speak with some bitterness. I contend that the administration of justice in this country is not, nor can it be held above suspicion; for, it is not likely that the judge upon the bench can ignore the men who gave him his eminence; he would be more than human if he were able to forget those who can at a stated time, give him that eminence again.

Nor would I, without a struggle, surrender the mild, I might say fictitious, kingly prerogative for that of the veto - which may be as arbitrary and capricious as the dictum of a Roman Emperor. If the veto is never arbitrary and never capricious, the man is to be thanked and not the constitution.

It would be well too, for those who contemplate the grandeur of a political brotherhood extending from the Isthmus of Panama to the land of the Esquimaux, to ponder whether or not there may be somewhere a breaking point in national expansion. Lastly, I do not think that our political vocabulary would gain much in elegance by the addition of such candidates as the "Mugwump"^x and the "Bloody Shirt."^y

But, whether there be any force or not in my objections, I think that I am not over bold in affirming that our people do not desire annexation and never will accept it. Finally comes the proposal of national independence.

^w Lord Dundreary is a fictional character first introduced in the play *Our American Cousin* in 1861. The character was a buffoonish aristocrat famed for his colourful images and malapropisms.

^x A reference to some Republican Party candidates in the 1884 election who chose reform over party loyalty especially on patronage issues.

^y Benjamin Franklin Butler's used a bloody shirt as a prop during a speech to the US House of Representatives. The term "waving a bloody shirt" then passing into the American political vocabulary referring to a politician who uses the sacrifice of martyrs to raise emotions.

At the risk of shocking some of my hearers, I will state as my belief that national independence is the more natural and logical future of Canada. I think it just as natural and just as logical that, in good time, the Dominion should end its connection with the cherished motherland, as it is for the boy, attaining man's estate, to leave his father's house and, single-handed, achieve his own fortune. But, come independence when it may, there will be no reddening of the land and no serious turmoil.

Mr. Gladstone^z stated his belief, less than three years ago, that if Canadians were to inform the mother country of their desire and readiness to stand alone, Great Britain would not say "No." After all, it will not be necessary to kill my friend Colonel Dennison or any of the U.E. Loyalists^{aa} who carry the integrity of Canada upon the blade of their sword.

To put in a plea for Canadian independence, of course you are called upon to state the gains, and you are handed a bill of costs. Upon the list of gains I shall put first what some may count as nought, and that is sentiment: take sentiment out of the breast of man and he becomes a sordid grubber for his bread.

Independence would stimulate national ambition; it would give Canada a status in the eyes of the world, and divert immigration to her fertile lands. Furthermore, it would give her the power to make and fashion treaties in accord with her commercial needs, and give her a place among nations.

Higher aims would prevail in the political sphere, and as a consequence ambition would be more lofty. In a word, it would give that for which some of the noblest men that ever lived, fought and bled and laid down their lives. I do not care to deal in heroics, but if the position of the guardian be higher than that of the ward, I take it that the standing of the independent state is superior to that of the dependent one. I do not see how there can be any dispute on this score.

Some will say: "Granted, but your independent Dominion will be a mere weakling among nations." And others may ask: "What can she do against hostile guns? What is to hinder the Republic at her side from swallowing her up?" I deny that she will be a weakling. Her population is greater now, and her defenses are stronger than were those of the American colonies at the time of their revolt. Her population is greater than any one of nearly a dozen independent European kingdoms, and she has a wider area of fertile land than any country on the face of the earth. Alone, the valley of Saskatchewan, according to scientific computation, is capable of sustaining 800,000,000 souls. And along these boundless stretches of fertile wheat-land, herds and flocks live, without housing, through the winter season. In short, the capabilities of this country, about whose future the misinformed have doubts, are so great that an adequate recital of them would be simply amazing.

Let us now consider the dangers of an attack by hostile powers. In spite of all what pessimists may say, this is an age of peace not of war: nations are not growing more warlike but more peaceful. We have reached at last the age of commerce, and to-day the battle is that of the ploughshare and not of the sabre. I do not think we need fear to see any grapeshot sent across the Niagara, for our friends the Americans are quite too busy making money to embark into such a profitless occupation. They have given us abundant proof that war is not upon their programme; for they maintain no mighty fleet nor grinding army, but only ships and muskets enough to serve as a police force on land and

^z Prime Minister of England for much of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

^{aa} Descendants of those American colonists who remained loyal to the crown at the time of the American War of Independence, many of whom settled in British North America.

sea. Moreover, they remember that the Canadian volunteers knew how to fight as early as 1812, and they have not forgotten some of the lessons we taught them at Chrysler's farm, Chateauguay, and Queenston Heights^{bb}.

Looking into the future, I perceive my country spanning this broad continent, her bosom throbbing with life and great plenty. Upon the pages of her history I can read the record of her achievements, it is worthy of a land with so rich an inheritance. I see her artists kneel for inspiration before her majestic and lovely landscapes, while able pens are moulding the traditions and legends with which the land is so richly strewn into an imperishable literature, encompassing history, romance and song.

Later on I imagine that I see a people - intelligent, thrifty and well-ordered - who, with a roll of drum and the joyous waving of flags, celebrate the centennial anniversary of the birth of Canada; and I hear statesmen alluding to this nineteenth year of the Confederation, as the one which saw unworthy men strive to sever the ties of the sisterhood. Later on still, it seems as if I heard them relate with pride that in spite of these men's treason, the loyalty and faith of the people remained unshaken; that they went on adding and building, striving and achieving, until they crowned their work with a nationhood that in the eyes of civilized mankind stood second to none in prosperity, intelligence and general contentment.

Edmund also wrote an article on poetic events in the last few years in an edition of the *Halifax Critic*, dated June 1887, for the Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee.⁵¹⁴ It runs as follows:

CANADIAN VERSE

By Edmund Collins, Editor of the New York "Epoch."

Before M. Frechette came home from France, bearing the laurel crown for *Les Fleurs Boreales* and *Les Oiseaux de Neige*, people smiled when anybody spoke of "Canadian poetry." Academies are not the best judges of verse, but it seems to me that the Hundred Immortals of the French Academy certainly showed the right kind of perception when they discovered the "genuine thing" in M. Frechette's verse. They found, they said, culture, imagination, ease and the singing impulse; but, in addition to all these qualities, they recognized the presence of "something else" which they could not define or fathom. That something was the local flavor, the aroma of the flowers unknown to French nostrils; the music of birds and breezes never even heard in the fair land of France. So they put the crown upon his head, and he returned to Canada.

Then, of course, the good people of Canada took up the question of native verse, and declared that there must be "something in it" after all. They found that M. Frechette was not the only songster even on the banks of the St. Lawrence. M. Pamphile Le May had a note and an impulse of his own; M. Pouisson trilled his Canadian song; and many others of less power were found to be singing in the French-Canadian choir; ...

Then it was a young English-Canadian came before them with a volume of verse and asked their attention. The poet was Charles G.D. Roberts, and his book was "Orion and Other Poems." After reading this volume the people found that a rival had arisen for M. Frechette. Roberts had not struck as many chords as the French poet had done: his muse was not so diaphonous, his fancies were not so numerous; but his work had more of that quality which endures and takes hold of the thought of men.

Roberts' verse was stronger; its pulse was fuller; the heart in it was larger; its music was more even, and more sonorous and vibrant. Its color was richer too, and it was

^{bb} All British victories in Upper and Lower Canada in of the War of 1812.

truer; its outline was surer and decisive; and the imagination had stronger wings. Frechette's work was the more popular; Roberts did not write for popularity. He worked for his Art and his Ideals. His book did not make its way rapidly, but it made it surely.

Roberts, however, was not alone. Mrs. McLean published a book which she named "the coming of the Princess," and the delight which her volume afforded was almost constant from the line

"A little bird woke singing in the night."

to the end of the volume.

Mr. C.P. Murphy was not born in Canada, but the best years of his life were spent there. He associated himself with Dr. Chandler in the publication of a work which, if I remember the title correctly, was called "Lyrics, Sonnets and Songs." But it matters little about the name. There was evidence in this of what Mulvany might have done under more fortunate starts. But for all his lyric gifts Mulvany was a sloven; he lacked the capacity "for taking trouble," and his work was woefully uneven. But his note was as true as the song of the bobolink.

Miss Machar has written some charming things, but her piety and her didacticism have ruined her as a poet. I do not object to religion and piety, but I think that if one or the other dominates a poet that that poet should write hymns.

Charles Heavysege was a poet, and if his poem "Saul" had culture to the same degree as it exhibits genius it would have lived. But even the amazing imagination and the towering genius of Dore cannot save his pictures. They lack what Heavysege's verse lacks.

Charles Mair has written the finest drama ever produced in Canada, but it remains to be seen whether Canadiasn will "let it die" or not.

John Read is a very cultivated poet, but I find him, often, lacking in strength. Nevertheless, he has done some work which is entitled to a high place.

Charles Sangster stands probably lowest among the Canadian poets of repute; yet he is one of the very best known of them all. I find his verses in nearly all of the school books. Mr. Sangster, however, has written some very sweet verse; indeed, I might say that some of it is very musical. His chief fault is his fluency.

I have in this brief paper addressed myself only to the chief ones among those who have published their verse in book form. Canada has many other singers of excellent promise; indeed I have one in mind whose work is full of noble promise.

I am proud, as a Canadian, of the reception which has been given in the United States to Mr. Roberts' latest book, "In Divers Tones." one of the leading literary papers in New York has declared that it stands among the best books of verse printed for the last twenty years in the English language, and that it is an honor to our New World literature. The other leading literary papers have likewise received it in terms of the highest commendation.

On May 5, 1888, the first issue of a new newspaper appeared in Saint John, New Brunswick.⁵¹⁵ It was entitled *Progress* and was published by Edward S. Carter, who had married Robert's sister-in-law, Alice Fenety.⁵¹⁶ From a letter of Roberts to Carter dated May 9, 1888, it appears Roberts was preparing to write a review for the paper's literary column: "Hope this scrap on Wide Awake is in time, - only got yr letter last night, & wrote the notice at once. I opined you wanted special stress laid on Collins's paper, which is fine. Shall have a review for you next week - some American criticism - Stedman & Scudder; would have had it this week but for extra pressure."⁵¹⁷ Collins's article was entitled 'A Night in Beaver Town' which appeared in the May 1888 edition of *Wide Awake*, an American publication.⁵¹⁸ Roberts' review appeared in the May 12, 1888 *Progress*::⁵¹⁹

Wide Awake for May has great freshness and variety. Edmund Collins's "A Night in A Beaver Town," brief as it is, is something quite out of the beaten track. It has the charm of mystery and remoteness which so clings about Newfoundland, where the scene is laid, and the story is told with life and enthusiasm, such as are too often lacking in our somewhat jaded magazine writers. Mr. Collins's contributions to magazine literature are like a breath of salt air driven inland.

The New Brunswick Civil Registration shows that a second girl was born to Edmund Collins and Annie Murphy on February 1, 1888 in Carelton, New Brunswick.⁵²⁰ Apparently Gertrude was going by Annie at this time. As with the earlier two babies we have no name - this time the child was registered without a name. Perhaps a pregnant Gertrude left New York to have the baby closer to family in Canada. We have no further information on this child and no death record has been found. There are two references to Edmund in the *St. John Progress* in the Fall of 1888. Both are in articles by Roberts in a column he wrote for the paper entitled "World of Books". The one for September 23, 1888, reads:⁵²¹

Mr. Edmund Collins, who has been so favorably known as assistant editor of the *Epoch*, has been made the American agent of the "Editors' Literary Syndicate." This is one of the oldest and best established of the foreign syndicates. At its head are Sir W.C. Lenny & Co., proprietors of the *Weekly Telegraph*, and having at its command a large capital. The syndicate is better known here through its control of all Miss Braddon's novels, Hawley Smart's and the more important works of fiction. That matter is now to be offered in this country, and the syndicate now proposes to buy American fiction and to offer it with the English matter. It is an important and significant move. Mr. Collins is a Canadian of accomplished literary taste, and received his journalistic training with Prof. Goldwin Smith on the *Week*. For the present he will remain with the *Epoch*.

Collins continued as editor of the *Epoch* for over two years leaving in 1889.⁵²² Returning once again to the letter in the *St. John Progress* of September 14, 1889 mentioned above, the end of his editorship is related:⁵²³

After a varied career in Toronto, he resolved to try a still wider field and more congenial spirits in New York. He went there, and for some time was editor of the bright weekly, the *Epoch*. He had almost absolute control of this promising paper, and it would have been well had he had the entire control. The owner, however, interfered one day with the editorial management and Collins, with his usual hot-headedness, stepped down and out. Since then, it is said, he has had an offer to go to the antipodes to do some literary work, but PROGRESS is not aware whether he has accepted it or not.

Edmund never went to the tropics. Unfortunately, he had by this time begun drinking heavily⁵²⁴ and this became worse over time. Adams believes that Edmund began drinking heavily after the death of his children.⁵²⁵ By 1889 his life was, in fact, falling apart. Gertrude appears to have left him by the Autumn of 1889. Again the *Progress* article informs us:⁵²⁶

Mrs. Collins has been summering in this city, the guest of friends whom she can count by the score throughout the province. She is still a beautiful woman, and it is said is remarkably like Mrs. Langtry in countenance, figure and style. She will be in New York in a few days, when the divorce proceedings will be begun.

We do not yet have any of the documentation for this action. A letter from Roberts to Bliss Carman of February 14, 1890 seems to indicate that Gertrude remained in New York.⁵²⁷

Edmund continued to write, however. He began moving from one rented room to another. He lived off the charity of his friends. Finally, Bliss Carman, who it might be recalled was Roberts' cousin, and who had moved to New York in 1890,⁵²⁸ took him in.⁵²⁹ Roberts' letters to Carman show that he was hoping for Edmund to advance his writing with places like *Harper's*⁵³⁰ and asked Carman in April and May to get Edmund to write to him.⁵³¹

That summer, Edmund left New York for a vacation at Roberts' home, Kingscroft, in Nova Scotia where his friend was teaching. Roberts welcomed "Dear Old Kobins", his pet-name for Edmund.⁵³² The spacious lawns were often used as a campground and Edmund pitched a tent for himself.⁵³³ Again from Roberts' letters to Carman we learn some small details of this time: "We are enjoying greatly the visit of Kobins - who is working finely & gathering health" (July 16)⁵³⁴ "Dear Kobins sleepeth here, & eateth at *Hotel de Mearns*!" (August 17)⁵³⁵ and "I am looking forward eagerly to thy coming - as also is Kobins" (September 21).⁵³⁶ This is the first indication we have that Edmund's health was failing. Although he apparently had a fine summer, Edmund managed to rack up debts to the amount of fifty dollars which he never paid and also damaged his friendship with Roberts. We do not know what happened but likely this was all due to alcohol. Roberts paid his debts⁵³⁷ but the two were distanced. Edmund returned to New York in October.⁵³⁸ On November 1, 1890, Roberts sent another letter to Carman in New York:⁵³⁹

Dearest Old Man,

Verily, I have been looking long for a line from thee. In revenge for thy not writing, I enclose a sonnet appropriate to the season & just perpetuated. If thou lik'st it not, I pray thee return it with speed to me, that I may sell the same while it be timely. Show it also, prithee, to dear Kobins, to whom I am sending a bit of a lyric cuffed the other day. I am sending said lyric to Harper's, ...

In 1891, Edmund's first book was reissued as *Canada's Patriot Statesman : the Life and Career of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald* by Rose Publishing Company. This is the year Sir John A. Macdonald died. It appears the Rose Company contracted Graeme Mercer Adam to revised and update the work. Adam (1839-1912) was long the editor of the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* published in Toronto. He was also the author of numerous books.⁵⁴⁰ As noted above, he helped with the original production. Likely Edmund was by this time incapable of revising the work himself. *The Times* of London carried an advertisement for this second edition (price 16s) on February 22, 1892⁵⁴¹ and three days later a short review can be found under "Books of the Week":⁵⁴²

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, by G. Mercer Adam (Sampson Low, Marston, and Company) is a book which may perhaps best be described as a stupendous obituary notice. It is a compilation stated on the title-page to be "based on the work of Edmund Collins, revised, with additions to date." It will furnish much valuable material to the future biographer of the great Canadian Premier, and in the meanwhile it will perhaps more than satisfy the curiosity of his contemporaries.

On March 17, 1891, Roberts wrote to Carman: "So, Collins hath vamoosed, as Nan tells me! Why, whence, & whither? If thou gettest hold of him again, give him my love."⁵⁴³ Perhaps this means that Collins was no longer living with Carman? Carman received a letter on May 7 where Roberts quotes Edmund: "Now the book is done, & I am setting myself to rest & recuperate for a week or two. Then - to work again at something else; for as Kobins saith, "men must work & women must sweep. Give him my love, & gently suggest the propriety of him

writing to me.”⁵⁴⁴ On July 20, 1891 another letter, apparently in reply to one Carman sent, says: “Glad Collins progresseth. Love to him.”⁵⁴⁵ A letter of Edmund’s to Lampman dated August 27, 1891 has survived. Bentley believes it shows a growing rift between Edmund’s vision and that of Lampman and Roberts.⁵⁴⁶ One portion reads as follows:⁵⁴⁷

I am still opposed to the use which you [Lampman] and Roberts put the sonnet... A descriptive sonnet may be beautiful but in my judgment there is no reason why a mere piece of description should be made fourteen lines any more than ten, twelve, sixteen, eighteen or one hundred. I know you will forgive me for taking the liberty of saying this when you reflect on our conversations on this subject years ago... There is a reaction against mere form - and form and mannerism are ... about [all] that the modern school can display - and so ridiculous has the ordinary magazine poetry become in the eyes of discriminating people that it has become the stock subject for ... funny men all over the country and they are not fools and at *Harper’s* and other prominent places they have practically ceased to buy verse because when most of it appears it is only made fun of. Now as I consider you all round the best poet that we have in Canada and I think without any superior living except among men of a half a century standing I put my views in plain language. The more I write the more I learn that simplicity is essential to the highest art and the abominable vagaries of Italian verse are the very opposite of simplicity... It is where you are simple that you are strong and that you have found the place that you occupy in our letters’

Again a letter from Roberts to Carman dated August 30, 1891 provides us with a view of what Roberts thought of Edmund:⁵⁴⁸

That editorial was vigorous & effective, Old Man; & I rejoice to see thee take a hand at such work. But, - word of caution! Do not prognosticate or diagnose so confidently, for there is too great a chance of being mistaken. In the present case methinks I trace some prophesying to Kobins, - & I think they will prove erroneous. He is not so clear in his reading of the stars as he imagines himself to be.

Death

Edmund appears to have been with Carman until he moved into hospital probably in early 1892.⁵⁴⁹ An anonymous letter appeared the February 20, 1892 edition of the *St. John Progress*. Roberts came to believe that Edmund wrote it and he may well have. If so, it was the last piece of his writing published before his death. In it the author claims to be a person in a position to know the industry. It attacks exactly the type of self-promotion Edmund, Roberts, Lampman and Carman had practiced for years:⁵⁵⁰

They travel mainly on the friendly criticism of each other in periodicals to which they may have access, either as contributors or as ‘associate’ editors. For the most part their work, especially their verse, has no market value and has generally been published in high quarters like *Century* and *Harper’s* only through a personal ‘pull’... These are the men that received the greatest share of attention from Mr. Harte (in ‘Canadian Writers of To-day’). Mr. Harte...wrote a request to every Canadian poet or writer he knew, and requested each one to write out a short account of his life and work... Such articles as [his] are disgraceful and probably you are aware even more than I of the extent to which fictitious reputations are being built up out of nothing.

Edmund had not sent Harte a summary of his work and life and had not been mentioned in his

book.⁵⁵¹ Perhaps Edmund found this a bitter sting in the closing days of his life.

Bentley says: "Soon Collins was to become a pitiful shadow of his loyal, inspiring, and crafty self."⁵⁵² His last address was 213 West 17th Street, New York City. From here he was admitted to St. Vincent's Hospital where he died on the twenty-third of February, 1892.⁵⁵³ His death certificate states his cause of death as "Chief Cause: Alcoholism and Gastritis; Contributing Cause: Asthma". A brief notice of his death was printed in the *New York Times*:⁵⁵⁴

Edmund Collins, a well-known journalist and writer, died in his thirty-eighth year, in this city last Tuesday. He was a Canadian by birth. He was the author of several historical works, the principal of which were: "The Life and Times of Sir John Macdonald," "Canada under Lord Lorne," and "Canadian Biography." He came to this city in 1886, and was editor of the Epoch, the new literary paper, until 1889, when he took charge of a newspaper syndicate. The past two years he has done general literary work.

On February 27, 1892 Roberts wrote to Bliss Carmen:⁵⁵⁵

I was profoundly surprised, and to a certain extent grieved, by the news of poor Collins' death. I remember the old regard, - which had not, however, been really the same for years, though up to a year and a half ago I had not acknowledged the fact to myself. My profound distrust of him had absolutely killed my affection for him. It is the Collins of years ago that I shall try to remember. Yes, I saw that unhappy letter in Progress, and instantly detected C's hand in it. Whom was he hitting at?

... 'tis like thee, Old Man, to offer to go halves with me in regard to C's bills here. I shall see what can be done. I only feel responsible to Crandall & Mrs Mearns, & I shall make some compromise with them. Then I will talk to thee again about it, mayhap; but if I take any help from thee in the matter it will be sheer gift from thee to me, as thou hast no more reason to pay anything on them than the man in the moon would have, as far as C is concerned.

The following is Edmund's obituary from the Toronto *Globe*:⁵⁵⁶

JOSEPH EDMUND COLLINS
DEATH IN NEW YORK OF WELL-KNOWN CANADIAN JOURNALIST AND WRITER -
BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS CAREER

Word has been received of the death in New York of Mr. Joseph Edmund Collins on the 23rd ult. The deceased, who was a journalist and writer of much ability, and well known in Toronto, was born at Placentia, Newfoundland, in 1855. In 1874 he came to Canada and studied law in Fredericton. A little later he entered upon a journalistic career and established The Fredericton Star newspaper, of which he was editor for a time, subsequently starting the Chatham, N.B., Star.

In the summer of 1881 he removed to Toronto and accepted a position on THE GLOBE, where he remained about a year. He then wrote "The Life and Times of Sir John Macdonald," "Canada Under the Administration of Lord Lorne," "A Sketch of the Life of Lord Landsdowne," and other works, and also contributed to the leading Canadian literary periodicals, to The Century, Wide Awake, St. Nicholas, Frank Leslie's publications, Outing, Forest and Stream, and several other American and English publications.

Removing subsequently to New York he was for two years editor of The Epoch, and became a contributor of stories, mostly of adventure, to The Youth's Companion, Harper's Young People, Harper's Weekly and other papers. He had recently been an extensive writer for the newspaper syndicates, and his work was much sought for by

publishers of The Boys' Own Paper and other English publications for the young. He married in 1880 Gertrude Anna, sixth daughter of the later Dr. Jasper Nugent Murphy of Fredericton, N.B., by whom he had one son and one daughter, both of whom predeceased him.

A few days later, Lampman devoted a portion of his column "At the Mermaid Inn" in the *Globe* to Edmund.⁵⁵⁷

Many Canadians were deeply affected by the news recently received of the death of Mr. Joseph Edmund Collins at New York. The New York Critic referred to him as a man "of strong individuality and considerable ability." As a journalistic statement, cold and brief, this was accurate enough, Mr. Collins was a man whose personality will always be vividly remembered by everyone who was brought into contact with him, and I think that his ability might be regarded as potentially more considerable. He was an instance of how in a raw and uncultured society like ours a great deal of genuine original talent may be dissipated and wasted through the pressure of sordid conditions, and the absence of bracing, intellectual influences. In Mr. Collins there was a genuine streak of genius. He had an exceedingly rare faculty of appreciation as regards the true and the good in literature, and especially in poetry. He was one of only two or three good readers of verse whom I have ever met with. His genuine delight in fine literary work, and his boundless enthusiasm for it were a source of refreshment and help to all who were a source of refreshment and help to all who were much in his company. The fact that Mr. Collins never attained real excellence in his own efforts of the pen was no doubt owing to the circumstances of his early life, the utter want of proper education and discipline, his long journalistic experience which was deadly to the literary gift, the society into which he was thrown, and the perpetual struggle he was obliged to maintain for self-support. All three ex[c]uses have no doubt been the ruin of many another goodly talent in Canada.

There are two or three - perhaps more - young writers, whose names are now well known in the Dominion, who remember Collins with an especial feeling of tenderness, gratitude and almost reverence. To his helpful enthusiasm, his kindly praise, his eager excitement, they owe the courage and self-confidence which enabled them to take the first daring step in the difficult and unpromising path of literature, Collins was almost the literary father of some of the young men who are now winning fame among us. There are only a few people who know what Joseph Edmund Collins has done in this way for our literature, and perhaps all that he had done will never be known. The few who were his nearest friends - and one of the nearest was myself - will always tenderly remember his passionate generosity, his contagious humo[u]r, his gift of story-telling and all the strange whims of his emphatic personality. L.

We have one final obituary, this from the St. John *Progress*, which devoted nearly a whole column of the second page to an article on Edmund by an anonymous author. Very likely it is Roberts who knew him so well. It contains some details not mentioned above about Edmund's work history. It reads:⁵⁵⁸

EDMUND COLLINS' WORK

An Historian, Journalist, And Story Writer

A Former Fredericton Man, Biographer of Sir John A. Macdonald - His life in Canada and the United States - Some of his Literary Work

Edmund Collins died in New York city on February 23. He was born in Newfoundland, and during the sixteen years past he achieved distinction as a literary man, not only in

this country but in England, where his historical works especially have made him well known. He began his career in the province of New Brunswick, and as a journalist he wielded a pen that, though sometimes at fault, was bold and fearless, as readers of the Fredericton *Star* may remember. He merited sometimes the terms he himself often jocosely applied to Andrew Lang, of "Animosity Andy." But his acrimony was not ill-natured, as his enemies have testified. It used to be said that it was no use to attempt to answer Collins as he could say worse things in return. The *Star* was transferred to Chatham and soon afterwards he went to Toronto where he became a close friend of Goldwin Smith and a frequent guest at "The Grange." In 1882 and 1883 he was employed as a special writer on the *Globe*.

He became the biographer of Sir John Macdonald and the history of his life which he wrote is really the history of Canada itself. This was his greatest work to which he used to turn with a certain pride. Sir John placed at his disposal all the records of the government and offered him every facility for carrying on the work and the result is that although a personal friend of Macdonald and an avowed Conservative himself he followed the pathway of truth as few other men would have done, arraigning friend and foe alike. Today, in the Parliament of Canada, when a point of history arises the question is asked, "What does Collins say about it?" His style is free and lively, and he was said to have had the faculty of imbuing with life the musty bones of dry historical fact.

The new "Life of Sir John Macdonald" bearing on the cover the name of G. Mercer Adams, is mainly Collins'. No one, of course, would insinuate that the distinguished historian would wish to take credit for that he did not do, or deprive his predecessor of that which he earned, but the gentleman, having performed scarcely more than the work of an editor, has upon cover, title page, and elsewhere so successfully assumed the credit for whatever is of real value in the work, viz: historical accuracy that the reader is left in serious doubt that the name of Collins is worth mentioning at all in connection therewith. To such an extent may a known personal failing lead the 'calm judgment' of even the truthful writer of history.

His next work of importance was *Canada Under Lord Lorne*, which he wrote under Lord Lorne himself, with whom he cemented a warm, personal friendship that continued after the arrival of Lord Landsdowne at Rideau Hall. These two books earned him a reputation not only a home, but wherever Canada was known.

He went to New York about six years ago, conducted the *Epoch*, Seligmans' paper, for the first two years of its existence, and was editor of the *Dry Goods Chronicle* for a year.

Giving up his editorial work, he devoted himself mainly to writing of stories mostly about adventure. He cultivated a style of perfect simplicity, believing that nearly always whatever was worth saying could be told in such a way that a child might understand it. He was a constant writer for *Harper's Young People*, *St. Nicholas*, *The Youth's Companion*, *The Boys' Own* and others. He wrote for *Harper's Weekly* and other periodicals of a more mature nature, but his best work was that which he wrote for boys and girls. He was one of the New York *Herald's* special writers. Of late he had been writing largely for newspaper syndicates and some of his stories have appeared from time to time in *PROGRESS*.

His early life was spent in Newfoundland and Labrador and those wild northern coasts with their sea birds, rocks and icebergs furnished him with the material and inspiration for his best work. His themes were mostly Canadian, yet in New York he also entered successfully into competition with the best writers upon their own ground. He always took a keen interest in Canadian affairs, yet had none of the narrow provincialism of some who are content to be Canadian and nothing else besides.

The deceased writer came from an old English family to which belonged Collins

of dictionary fame and Wilkie Collins, the novelist. His grandfather was one of the earlier governors of Newfoundland, administering the affairs of the island from the deck of his ship and he was also a cousin of Col. Freemantle of the Coldstream guards and of Sir William Blake, lately governor of Jamaica.^{cc}

Edmund was buried in Maple Grove Cemetery, Queens, New York on February 25.⁵⁵⁹ His parents, both still alive at the time of his death, his brother Aloysius and Edmund himself are, however, commemorated on a tombstone at Mount Carmel Cemetery in Placentia.⁵⁶⁰

Edmund's Legacy

Edmund's legacy is difficult to determine. His role in the formation of the Confederation Group of Canadian poets has become well-established thanks to the work of writers such as Taylor, Adams and Bentley. Bentley certainly credits Edmund both with bringing the first members of the Confederation Group together and, starting with the 'anonymous' letter in *Progress* in February 1892, its end.⁵⁶¹ Of those he inspired, Lampman died only a few years later but Roberts and Carman lived well into the next century. Roberts was eventually knighted.

Which of Edmund's works proved to be his most important? Bentley claims that Edmund is known mostly for *Annette, the Metis Spy*. His work on Riel has probably been reprinted the most. His life of Sir John A. Macdonald, however, is likely his most important work because of its chapter of Canadian literature. Edmund would probably be very pleased that his serious non-fiction work has proved most valuable to the future. As for his politics, Canada eventually moved down the path of complete independence, the course Edmund long advocated. Roberts was the only one of triumvirate, however, to see this finally achieved by the Statue of Westminster in 1931.

Taylor sums up Edmund's career thus: "Collin's enthusiasm for and love of literature was boundless. While he was never able to translate this energy into work of lasting significance, he did, for a brief and happy moment, stimulate and bring together two of the finest poets Canada was to produce in the 19th century."

^{cc} This entire final paragraph is likely based on what Edmund himself claimed about his ancestry. These men are William Collins, born in Glasgow in 1819 and founder of the publishing house. The governor likely refers to Governor Goodall, a story previously debunked in Chapter 2 of this history. Wilkie Collins, born in London in 1824, is the author of numerous novels still in print today. Col Freemantle should read Fremantle. He was General Sir Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, born in 1835, of the British Army made famous by a tour with the Confederate forces in the American Civil War. Sir William Blake should read Sir Henry Blake, born in Ireland in 1840, served as governor of Newfoundland from 1887-1889 and then Jamaica from 1889-1896. There is no evidence of any family connection to any of these people.

IX The Children of James Collins and Eliza O'Reilly

Most of the Collins descendants in Placentia today and by far the greatest number of Collins descendants this author has been in contact with come from the children of James Collins and Eliza O'Reilly. It is disappointing, therefore, that we have not been able to gather sufficient information on many of them. Nevertheless, an attempt is made here to provide a window into the lives of some of their children. James and Eliza and their children saw many changes in the town of Placentia as its population stabilised in the late Nineteenth Century.

Lovell's 1871 *Directory of Newfoundland* describes Placentia as it was as this generation was still fairly young:⁵⁶²

Placentia - A town of the east side of Placentia Bay, and the capital of the district of Placentia, is one of the oldest towns in the colony; it was settled by the French in 1626 and strongly fortified. It successfully resisted an attack made upon it by the English Squadrons [a]nd was held by the French as a continual menace to English supremacy in this island. The town is built for the most part upon a low beach, which is sometimes covered by water. A little to the south of the town is a large hill with a remarkable cliff on the middle of the beach. The harbour is very fine and large. It has two arms, the North East and South East, along the shores is a considerable population engaged in farming and salmon fishing. the scenery of these arms is very beautiful. The fishing from Placentia is mostly carried on in large boats. It is a port of entry, and a post town and is the packet station for the mail boat plying in Placentia Bay and for the Overland [sic] Western postal route. The Circuit Court holds a session here every autumn, and a magistrate holds court daily. A fine road connects it with St. John's, from which it is distant 80 miles. Mail fortnightly. Population 400.

This generation also saw old Catholic church, built around the time of Prince William Henry replaced with the present Sacred Heart constructed between 1888 and 1893.

The Three Teachers

Three of the daughters of James Collins and Eliza O'Reilly were, according to family lore, teachers who served on the west coast of Newfoundland.⁵⁶³ Although the first schools established after a 1836 law creating district school boards were non-sectarian and required a fee for each student, this system ended in 1845 when two denominational boards were created for Placentia District.⁵⁶⁴ The eldest daughters, Ann and Esther, would have attended the local Catholic elementary school for a few years but almost certainly transferred to the new school opened by the Presentation sisters.⁵⁶⁵ This was an all-girls school and concentrated on reading, writing and arithmetic. Theresa was born over a decade later than Esther and would have had all her education with the good sisters.

It was also the Presentation sisters who trained female Catholic teachers.⁵⁶⁶ Candidates were brought to St. John's and worked in convent schools there.⁵⁶⁷ The local district school boards selected and sent the candidates.⁵⁶⁸ The young women were trained in the system developed in the Central National School in Baldwin Gardens, England which prepared the teachers "to instruct large groups of pupils with the assistance of monitors or older and more advanced pupils."⁵⁶⁹ The Presentation Convent did not charge for the training of teachers.⁵⁷⁰ Some money was provided, however, by the government for teacher training and an act of 1876 increased this amount. Eighty-dollars was set for the board, training and lodging of female teachers.⁵⁷¹ Ann and Esther may have already completed their training by this time, however. The act made a requirement that candidates be examined before being accepted. Training was from one to three years at which time a certificate was issued. Teachers were ranked First, Second or Third grade.⁵⁷² This was the system Theresa would have gone through. The teachers

learned proficiency in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar (including analysis of sentences), history (British including colonial matters), geography (definitions, Newfoundland, Canada), Algebra and Euclidean Geometry.⁵⁷³ Female teachers were not required to pass examinations in Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Practical Mathematics (probably because they would not teach these in the elementary levels) but were “required to be able to give practical instruction in domestic economy, needlework, knitting and netting.”⁵⁷⁴

Once placed, these new teachers were often sent out to small communities. Esther taught in Codroy on the southwest coast of Newfoundland and Theresa and Ann in the Bay of Islands. These would have been Catholic multi-grade elementary schools. Annual inspections rated the teachers’ performances and the state of the school. Teachers could take examinations to move up a grade. An act of 1887 provided a bonus of \$20, \$12 and \$6 annually to teachers of the First, Second and Third Grades respectively.⁵⁷⁵ Esther married in 1886 and so never obtained these bonuses. Theresa and Ann could have, however. They may also have participated in the pension system for teachers established in 1890. Theresa married in 1897 ending her career but Ann does not seem to have married and may have continued teaching until retirement.

Anne

Anne may have been the oldest in the family. She was born in 1852.⁵⁷⁶ She never married.⁵⁷⁷ Anne could have started teaching as early as 1870. The first piece of documentary evidence we have for her career, however, comes from a reference in Father Michael Brosnan’s *Pioneer History of Saint George’s Diocese, Newfoundland*.⁵⁷⁸

In the Bay of Islands I find that the undermentioned were paid salaries for teaching school there for the school years 1882-3:

Corner Brook	Anne Collins
-----	Miss Rose O’Reilly
-----	Mr. McKenzie

At the Bay of Islands, too, I noticed that [Monsignor Thomas Sears] established something in the way of a lending library. The books being sent in rotation to the different teachers who were responsible for their safety.

A few years later, about 1890, we find she has moved a few miles further down the bay to Petries.⁵⁷⁹

It was not long before the vigorous Father [Andrew] Sears began work on the building to become known at St. Patrick’s Hall. As soon as the roof was on, classes moved in. Students of those days tell of winds coming through the half-finished walls and of efforts made to keep the wood fires going. The teacher at that time was Miss Anne Collins of Placentia. In addition to teaching the basics, Miss Collins found time to teach sewing, fancy needlework, drawing and painting.

Some time in this decade, after perhaps over twenty years of teaching, Anne “retired” by becoming Father Sear’s homekeeper. According to her obituary below, this occurred by 1894. Anne continued to be active in making crafts. Further evidence of her talents is found in the *Western Star* of January 11, 1905 which reported:⁵⁸⁰ “A Miss Collins sold paintings at St. Patrick’s Hall.”⁵⁸¹ This must have been a nice time for Anne. She was surrounded for at least a decade by her two sisters and their growing families. When Monsignor Sears was transferred to Grand River in the Codroy Valley in 1911, Anne went with him. She was going to be missed, however, as the following two newspaper entries show. Ann was head of the local Sodality of

Mary, an organisation of Sacred Heart Parish. The *Western Star* of October 4, 1911 reported:⁵⁸²

ADDRESS

To the much-esteemed Directress of the Sodality,

Dear Miss Collins,

It is with feelings of deepest sorrow that we the Aspirants and Children of Mary of the Bay of Islands, assemble to-day to wish you God-Speed.

For us, your departure from amongst us gives us a pang of sorrow second only to that which we have felt since hearing of the removal of our beloved Pastor, Mgr. Sears.

Your friendship and help the people of Bay of Islands generally, will sadly miss [sic], but we, the members of the Sodality will assuredly feel a void in our lives when deprived of the well directed advice, the kindly note of warning, and, above all, the bright smile of encouragement with which you always greet any effort of ours to do the right.

As a slight token of affection which we have ever felt for you our Directress, we beg you to accept our little gift rich only in good wishes which accompany it.

That God may long spare you to do much amongst the people by whom you will be surrounded in future is the fervent prayer of each and every member of the Sodality.

REPLY

Dear Sisters and Children

From my hear[t] of hearts I thank you. We must not feel sad at our parting you know all is arranged by our heavenly Father, to-day he presents us the Cross to-morrow it will be some blessing.

Be Children of Mary in all things, show by your lives that you are trying to walk in the footsteps of the all beautiful "Lily of Israel." Our Divine Lord was the first to honour her, he performed his first miracle at her request, he gave her to all, through St. John at the foot of the Cross, as mother. A few miles will divide us dear children but in spirit we can meet and be united before God's altar, at which phich [sic] place ever pray for your Directress,

ANNIE COLLINS

Anne appears in the 1921 Census of Newfoundland as the housekeeper of Monsignor Andrew Sears at Grand River on Bay St. George.⁵⁸³ She is listed as single.⁵⁸⁴ By January 1944, Anne was ninety-one and still acting as Monsignor Sears' housekeeper. Then the monsignor himself fell ill. This famous church builder of the west coast of Newfoundland was eighty-one. According to her obituary, Ann was apparently taken from the rectory to her niece's home in Searston when the monsignor grew critical.⁵⁸⁵ He died on January 20, 1944. She died on January 26, 1944.⁵⁸⁶ The following is her obituary from the *Western Star*:⁵⁸⁷

Obituary

Miss Ann Collins

News was received here this week of the passing of Miss Ann Collins, housekeeper for the late Monsignor Sears for the past fifty years, whose death occurred at the home of her niece on Wednesday morning, Jan. 26, following an illness of some weeks. Death was due to influenza, which was aggravated by the shock of the Monsignor's death less than a week before her passing.

The late Miss Collins, who was in her ninety-second year was a native of Placentia. In her early years she was a very successful school teacher, and she retired from that profession to become housekeeper for the late Monsignor Sears, who then was pastor in Bay of Islands. When he was transferred to Grand River, Miss Collins went

with him and she had been living in Codroy Valley until the time of her death. When the Monsignor's illness reached a critical stage, she was removed to the home of her niece where the end came.

She is survived by three brothers, James, John and Ignatius Collins in Placentia, one sister, Mrs. Maurice Hayes, Petries, and several nephews and nieces. Reverend William Collins, P.P.^{dd}, Trepassey, is a nephew as also is James A. Collins, of the staff of the Clarke Steamship Company Limited, Corner Brook.

The funeral took place at Searston at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon, and the remains were laid to rest in St. Ann's Cemetery, Searston.

The niece to which this obituary refers is Margaret Mary Joseph Collins, daughter of Michael J. Collins and Annie Howlett. There was a follow up article to this under the heading "Notes from Our Correspondents - Codroy Valley":

The death of Miss Anne Collins occurred [sic] at the home of her neice [sic] Mrs. Frank McIsaac, at Searston. The deceased came here with the late Monsignor Sears as housekeeper many years ago. His passing was no doubt a severe shock to the old lady as she only outlived him by a few days. Miss Collins was a very talented lady and prior to coming here she was engaged for many years as school teacher. For a long life of piety and faithfulness to duty, she has quietly gone forward to receive her crown of glory.

She is buried at Searston in the Codroy Valley. Her tombstone reads: "In loving memory of Ann, born at Placentia 1852 and died at Searston 1944."⁵⁸⁸

Esther

Esther was born around 1856. She married Captain Paul Young in Codroy, Newfoundland in 1886. They had five boys together: William Joseph Palmer (1887), James Augustine (1889), Leo Aloysius (1891), Emmanuel Joseph (1894) and Sebastian Paul (1897). All were born in Codroy. The family moved to Petries around 1899. Leo died in 1906.

In February 1875 Esther wrote out in handsome script some of her favourite prayers in a little booklet. Once again the religious devotion of the family shines through. These prayers included: "To the Blessed Virgin", "Seven Visits to the B[lessed] S[acrament] in hono[u]r of the seven times our Lord shed his most P[recious] B[lood]", "A Morning Oblation to St. Joseph", "For the Souls in Purgatory", "To the B[lessed] V[irgin] M[ary], Prayer of St. Aloysius to the B[lessed] V[irgin]" and "To St. Aloysius".⁵⁸⁹

Sebastian became a teacher like his mother. James immigrated to Georgia in the United States. William served in the First World War with the Canadian Army and Sebastian with the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. Sebastian was wounded in the back and right hand on September 28, 1918 near Ypres⁵⁹⁰ but went on to win a Rhodes scholarship in 1921. Still later he became a doctor. Esther died December 13, 1916 at Petries and is buried at Mount Cecilia Cemetery there. She has no obituary.

Captain Paul passed on on March 16, 1929.⁵⁹¹ Details of his life help us understand Esther's life better. The following is his obituary in the *Western Star*:⁵⁹²

Death of Captain Paul Young

On Saturday evening last the sad announcement was flashed over the wires from Frenchman's cove that Capt. Paul Young had passed away. He had gone there that afternoon to lookover his motorboat; and upon alighting from the sleigh was stricken with

^{dd} William Pius Collins mentioned below.

hemorrhage of the brain, expiring some six hours later. Capt. Young was born at Codroy 67 years ago, and was a son of James Young, master mariner of that place. The deceased in his younger days prosecuted the cod and sealing fisheries from Codroy, and for several years was a successful master of his own vessel. About 25 years ago Capt. Young came to Bay of Islands and settled at Petries. He engaged in the coastwise trade between Newfoundland and Canadian ports, and also prosecuted the Bay of Islands herring fishery. During the past four years he was the chief pilot for ships entering Bay of Islands, which duty he very acceptably performed. Capt. Young was three times married. His first wife (Miss Collins) died in 1916; his second wife (Annie McDonald) died in 1921, his third wife (Mary Power) survives him in Petries and to her the loss is a very serious one. There are also living four sons: William at Curling, Emmanuel at Petries, James at Georgia, U.S.A. and Dr. Sib at New Germany, N.S. Two sisters Mrs. Thomas in Boston and Mrs. Brinkman in Victoria, B.C. Few men were better known or more highly respected in Bay of Islands than Capt. Paul Young. His funeral took place yesterday from his residence to the Church of the Sacred Heart, where the obsequies were conducted by Rev. Fr. Brosnan.

Theresa

Theresa was born in 1876. She married Maurice Hayes at Sacred Heart Church in Petries in 1896. The entry in Sacred Heart's parish register is a good example of the survival of Latin in local church records:⁵⁹³

Name	Date	From Where	Parents
Hayes Mauritium	May 17 1896	Mt. Cecilia	Joannes & Marie Boland
Collins Theresa		Placentia	Jacobi & Elizabeth Rielly

They had a large family together: Flora Anne (1898), Mary Ann (1898), Eileen (1899), Rose M. (1903), Francis Joseph (1906), Elizabeth (1908), Ester (1909) and Anna (1914). Her husband Maurice died on December 13, 1944. The following is his obituary from the *Western Star*:⁵⁹⁴

Obituary Maurice Hayes

The death occurred at his home in Petries at 7.30, Wednesday, December 13, of Maurice Hayes, aged 68. He leaves to mourn, his wife and five daughters, Mrs. Stanley Doucette of Los Angeles, California; Mrs. J.M. Donovan, Lynn, Mass.; Mrs. Louis Rumbolt of Corner Brook; Mrs. Frank Breen of Corner Brook; and Mrs. Ralph Sparkes of Whitbourne; and one son, Frank, at home.

The funeral will take place on Friday morning from the Church of the Sacred Heart, interment will be at Mount Cecilia Cemetery.

Theresa passed on September 8, 1952. There is no obituary for Theresa. Both Maurice and Theresa are buried at Mount Cecilia Cemetery in Petries.⁵⁹⁵

Margaret

Margaret's birth year is also unknown. She married William Joseph Brown, son of Philip Brown. He was born c.1843 in Sound Island, Newfoundland.⁵⁹⁶ They had five children: Leo, Frederick (1883), William P., Eliza Anne (1886) and Isabel Mary (1890).⁵⁹⁷ We do not have her date of death. He died May 4, 1910 in Paradise, Newfoundland.⁵⁹⁸

Eliza Anne became postmistress in Curling on the Bay of Islands. She replaced a Miss Boland.⁵⁹⁹ Eliza married Thomas Hayes.

Bridget

We have very little information on Bridget. She was born about 1882 and married George Kelly on June 11, 1913. She died in 1922.

Joseph

Joseph was born about 1850.⁶⁰⁰ He married Catherine Doody on January 6, 1884 at Sacred Heart in Placentia.⁶⁰¹ At the time of their wedding, she was twenty-eight years old⁶⁰² making her birth around 1856 but the Census of 1921 claims she was born in May 1863.⁶⁰³ Joseph appears as a fisherman in both the 1898 and 1904 *McAlpine's* directories.⁶⁰⁴ They had six children: Elizabeth Mary (1885), Bridget Agnes (1887), Anne (1889), James (1891), Frederick (1894) and Theresa Mary (1898). All were born at Placentia.⁶⁰⁵⁶⁰⁶

Michael

Michael was born c. 1858.⁶⁰⁷ He was involved early in life in developing a copper mine in Bett's Cove in Notre Dame Bay in the late 1870's. The following description of the operation comes from the article on that settlement in the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*:⁶⁰⁸

The settlement remained a small fishing village until 1874, when a large mass of copper ore (chalcopyrite) was discovered in the vicinity, and a mining concern known as the Bett's Cove Mining Company began sinking shafts and building a small town around the mine. The population of the settlement increased following this, as a large number of miners were brought to the area. A hospital, three churches, wharves, two schools, a smelter, many houses, and company business buildings were subsequently erected. Intensive mining ensued, with a reported 95,000 tons being shipped from the mine in the next four years, making it one of the most important mines in Newfoundland at that time. By 1884 the settlement was one of the largest in western Notre Dame Bay, with a population of 318.

In 1885 the mining operation at the community came to an abrupt end owing to a combination of two factors: a decrease in the price of copper and the caving in of a mine bluff. After having shipped a total of 130,682 tons of copper ore and regulus and 2,450 tons of iron pyrites during the mine's eleven year's existence, the company decided to cease work. Shortly afterwards the community was deserted.

Returning to Placentia, Michael married Annie Howlett in 1884. She was born in August 1866 in Tor Cove, Newfoundland.⁶⁰⁹ They had the following children: David Alexander (1885), James Joseph (1887), Leo Joseph (1889), Mary (1890), Amanda Mary (1891), Margaret Mary Joseph (1892), Ernest Joseph Collins (1894), Martin Bertram Howlett (1896), Arthur Michael Joseph (1898), Michael Raymond (1902), Mary Theresa (1902), Eileen Mary (1904), Andrea (no date) and Ray (1901).

McAlpine's 1898 directory lists Michael as a fisherman⁶¹⁰ but by 1904 he is a wharfinger.⁶¹¹ A wharfinger is an owner or manager of a wharf. Michael died on March 17, 1914 of pernicious aenemia.⁶¹² His obituary appeared in the *St. John's Daily News* on March 19, 1914.⁶¹³

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL MOURNS ONE OF ITS FIRST CITIZENS

The Late Michael Collins

There passed away to the Great Beyond last night at Placentia, in his 55th year, Michael J. Collins, late postmaster of that town, a position which he occupied for a number of years to the credit of himself and entire satisfaction to the public.

At an early age Mr. Collins engaged in mining, being amongst the pioneers who

developed the great copper deposits of Bett's Cove and Little Bay, in Notre Dame Bay. This was in the late 70's and early 80's, and many a good story was told by the deceased of hair-breadth escapes, and hardships endured during the early days of those rough mines.

After accumulating considerable money, Mr. Collins came back to Placentia, and engaged in the Bank Fishery and other enterprises, never losing an opportunity to earn an honest dollar, or doing a good turn for a neighbour, the grandest trait of a noble character.

He took an active part in all public questions, and a leading interest in what effected his native town. While being looked on as a hard fighter, he was recognized and respected by all as the soul of honour. The deceased was almost a life-long member of the Star Association^{ee} of Placentia. He was an exemplary citizen, an affectionate husband and father, and leaves to mourn their great loss three daughters, five brothers and three sisters, to all of whom is extended the sincere sympathy of a life-long

FRIEND

St. John's, Mar. 18, 1914

(In which sympathy all who knew the late Mr. Collins unite - ED.)

His daughter Margaret Mary Joseph moved to the Codroy Valley by 1921.⁶¹⁴ She married Frank McIsaac, son of Duncan and Eva McIsaac, in Codroy on July 3, 1922.⁶¹⁵ They appear in the 1935 Census with the following children: Colin (c.1928), Reg (c.1930), Bertram (c.1932) and Eileen Mary (c.1934).⁶¹⁶ Colin died in 1939 at the age of ten.⁶¹⁷ Eileen Mary entered the Sisters of the Order of the Presentation and remained with them until her death. She was teaching in Placentia in the late 1950's and early 1960's.⁶¹⁸

Michael's son Martin joined the Royal Newfoundland Regiment during the First World War. He was killed on October 9, 1917. Martin (known as 'Bert') is commemorated on the Beaumont-Hamel war memorial. The following is a description of the activities of the regiment at the time he was killed:⁶¹⁹

The Newfoundland Regiment was not through with Ypres. On October 9, 1917 the 29th Division was one of 13 Divisions that took part in the Battle of Poelcapelle. The attack took place over a 10 km front with the 29th Division assaulting on the left flank of the offensive. By this time conditions on the battlefield had deteriorated further, but none-the-less the Newfoundlanders and their British comrades advanced two km through knee-deep mud. Fierce German counter-attacks drove them back 200 metres, but they held on to most of their gains. Once again it was the 29th Division that provided the only victory on another day of disaster. This success only added more laurels to the reputation of the "incomparable" 29th Division. October 9, 1917 resulted in another 127 men of the Newfoundland Regiment being killed or wounded.

The following is Martin's army will:⁶²⁰

Newfoundland Contingent. Copy of Will of No. 913, M.B. Collins. In the event of my death I give the whole of my effects to my mother Mrs. M. J. Collins, Placentia Newfoundland. Certified True Copy. Newfoundland Contingent. H.A. Timewell Major. Chief paymaster & Officer I/C Records.

And the probate for the will.⁶²¹

^{ee} The Star of the Sea Association.

Correct William F. Lloyd
Registrar of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland.
[Listed in the margin next to this will the following]
Fiat
March 3/19
Johnson J.
adm CTA
granted
Anne J. Collins
March 3/19
Estate sworn
at \$300.^{ff}

John William

Beyond his baptism on December 15, 1860 at Sacred Heart Parish in Placentia,⁶²² we have no information regarding John William.

James

James H. was born in Placentia on December 16, 1862.⁶²³ He was baptised that same day by Fr. E. Condon.⁶²⁴ He married Mary Ellen Baron on June 7, 1890.⁶²⁵ She was born in Placentia in 1863.⁶²⁶ Their children were: Mary Esther (1886), Matthew Aloysius (1895), Elizabeth (1896), Mary Victoria (1897), James (1899), Clem Anthony (1900) and James (1906).

McAlpine's 1898 directory calls him a fisherman⁶²⁷ and in 1904 "His Majesty's Customs".⁶²⁸

James and family suffered an terrible loss in as related in the *Evening Telegram*, St. John's on Wed. Mar. 6, 1907:

SAD ACCIDENT AT PLACENTIA

It is with feeling of sadness I have to write of the death by drowning yesterday of Clement, the seven year old son of Mary and James W. COLLINS, H. M. C. Although the deceased was of such tender years, and has only exchanged this vale of tears for never ending happiness, still the circumstances attending his death have cast a gloom over the place.

Our darling Clem, the sunshine of our home, full of life and glee, had just finished dinner and before going to afternoon school with a number of other boys, went out skating on the Swans, opposite his house. Some men were hauling wood, and Clem got on one of the slides to get a ride. Near the land and within a few yards of his parents house, one side of the slide went through the ice and the wood toppled over, and in less time it takes to tell, poor little Clem was precipitated under the ice into eternity. A number of men were immediately on the scene, but long before the body was recovered the spirit had fled. To the sorrowing parents bereft of their dear little one, we tender our sincere sympathies.

The report from the St. John's *Daily News* in 1907 identifies James as a tidewater.⁶²⁹ James lost his wife on March 31, 1932. James himself died on May 30, 1950.

His son Matthew Aloysius served in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in the First World War. He joined in 1915.⁶³⁰ His service number was 710. His granddaughter, Sandra

^{ff} This amount is difficult to read and may not be entirely accurate.

Collins, compiled the following brief history of Matthew:⁶³¹

He was one of a party of Nfld. soldiers who defended Caribou Hill with great gallantry in Gallipoli in 1915. On the Western front in 1916 he was cited for bravery in action at Guedecourt, France Oct 12 and decorated with the Military Medal. He was wounded four times. Before the end of hostilities, he was promoted to Sergeant. Shortly after his return home in 1919 Mr. Collins entered the employ of the Anglo Newfoundland Development Company and worked for some time at Grand Falls. He later entered the business field and conducted a general store in his native town. Subsequently joining the Newfoundland Customs Department, he worked at Placentia, Botwood and St. John's. He retired from the Customs in 1941 to work in the supply department at the United States Naval Station at Argentia.

Matthew wrote the following letter from France dated April 9, 1917. This day marks the beginning of the Battle of Arras. Perhaps the Newfoundlanders knew it was a good time to write home before their regiment, as part of the 29th Division, headed into battle at Monchy on the 12th.⁶³² The letter reads thus :⁶³³

Martin Grace, Martin Kent, Tom Ryan, and L. Fewer are well; Jack Collins, N. Carrigan and Jim Mooney are well also. Bert Collins^{eg} and Tom Kelly and Jack Whalen, D. Furlong and J. Walsh are still in England. I think all our Battalion are getting leave. I think there will be about fifty men go at a time. It is around here you can see the effects of the war. You would not see a man in civilian's clothes if you walked for a month, and the women are doing all their work. The women do all the farm work, drive the horses, just the same as the men, and we were at several places where they had women conductors on the train cars. They also have woman looking after the electric lights and all these jobs men do in peace times. I heard we were going as a pioneer Battalion. The general picked us on account of our good work at Cape Helles. There was a roadway there leading to the firing line and they had to have it closed for the evacuation, and the royal engineers worked at it for a fortnight and gave it up as impossible, and our raiment took it up and did it in three days. It got flooded after that big storm, and we had to clear it up. If we are a pioneer Battalion it is a great honour, because they generally call a pioneer Battalion the brains of the British army. The 7th of April was my birthday: I was 21 years old.

He married Mary Mooney on January 5, 1922.⁶³⁴ She died in 1951.⁶³⁵ He survived until 1966.⁶³⁶

Alexander

Alexander James Collins was born in July 1864.⁶³⁷ He was sometimes known as Lan.⁶³⁸ He was baptised on July 24, 1864⁶³⁹ and married Sarah Browne on November 1, 1891. Both events occurred at Sacred Heart Church in Placentia. Sarah was born in October 1866 in Paradise, Newfoundland.⁶⁴⁰

McAlpine's 1898 Directory gives Alexander's occupation as "Lobster Packer"⁶⁴¹ and in 1904 he is a clerk.⁶⁴² Alexander and Sarah had the following children: Reginald Gerard (1900), Mary (1898), Margaret Ann (1898) and Alice Theresa (1904).⁶⁴³ Mary and Margaret Ann were twins but Mary died two days after her birth. Alice Theresa died in 1909 at the age of four. Alexander himself died on November 20, 1940 in Placentia, Newfoundland,⁶⁴⁴ of pneumonia.⁶⁴⁵

^{eg} This is Martin, son of Michael, killed later in the year as mentioned above.

Sarah lived on another decade passing away on May 2, 1950 in Placentia.

Their son, Reginald joined the Royal Newfoundland Regiment during the First World War. He attained the rank of corporal and his service number was 3854.⁶⁴⁶ We have no other information on his war service.

Austin

Austin was born in June 1866. This is based on his baptism at Sacred Heart on July 27, 1866⁶⁴⁷ and the 1921 Census of Newfoundland. He married Mary Grant at Sacred Heart in Placentia on November 10, 1895.⁶⁴⁸ We do not know of any issue from this marriage. She appears to have died shortly after this. He married again on January 16, 1898 to Mary Frances Greene. She was born Oct 1865 in Placentia⁶⁴⁹ and was the daughter of Robert Greene and Mary Blanche (Robert descends from the Pointe Verde Greene family).⁶⁵⁰ We know of no issue from this marriage either.

Austin is listed as a fisherman in *McAlpine's 1898 Directory*.⁶⁵¹ The 1904 directory lists him as a freighter.⁶⁵² Austin's second wife died on March 23, 1929.⁶⁵³ He himself had already passed on on October 30, 1923.⁶⁵⁴

Ignatius

Ignatius Collins was born July 30, 1868 in Placentia⁶⁵⁵ and baptised at Sacred Heart Church the next day by Fr. E. Condon.⁶⁵⁶ His godparents were James McIlery and Catherine Handrick.⁶⁵⁷ He married Annie O'Keefe on January 7, 1899 in Sacred Heart, Placentia, daughter of Patrick O'Keefe.⁶⁵⁸ She was born June 16, 1875 in South East Placentia, Newfoundland.⁶⁵⁹ Ignatius and Annie had the following children: Genevieve (1900), James Aloysius (1902), Patrick Lionel (1905), Mary Margaret (1907), Edward Michael (1909), Eliza (1910), Elizabeth Mary (1913), Joseph Michael (1914), Theresa Mary (1916) and Rita Mary Gerard (1919).⁶⁶⁰ *McAlpine's 1898 Directory* lists him as a fisherman⁶⁶¹ and the 1904 version as a clerk.⁶⁶² The 1921 Census gives him as a shopkeeper.⁶⁶³

Genevieve was born on October 14, 1900 at Placentia.⁶⁶⁴ She died at St. John's having never married.⁶⁶⁵ James Aloysius Collins was born in December 1902 at Placentia.⁶⁶⁶ The 1921 Census shows that he was a teller at the Royal Bank of Canada.⁶⁶⁷ He married Kathleen Clara Sheehan (b.1913). In 1944, he was working for Clarke Steamship Company Limited⁶⁶⁸ with his cousin William Young.⁶⁶⁹ He died at Corner Brook.⁶⁷⁰ Edward was a member of the Newfoundland Militia during the Second World War.⁶⁷¹ The two Elizabeths died in infancy.⁶⁷²

Ignatius lost Annie sometime before the 1945 Census.⁶⁷³ He is listed as a widow in this census. Ignatius himself died on March 1, 1951. He was buried at Mount Carmel Cemetery. Most of his obituary is reproduced below:⁶⁷⁴

On March 1st there passed away peacefully after but a few days illness, Ignatius Collins of Placentia, in his 83rd year. Mr. Collins was the last of seven brothers of the Collins family and has but one surviving sister, Mrs. Maurice Hayes now residing in Curling. The Collins name has always been synonymous and closely linked with the early years of Placentia and even more closely allied with the early years of Placentia's great mercantile industry. A few, there are yet, who still recall the great pioneer spirit and zeal of the Collins brothers in the days when Placentia ranked foremost in the fishing industry of the country. Each at one time or another owned or commanded large vessels that fished both from the Grand Banks and the Gloucester fishing grounds. Unfortunately perhaps those boom days in old Placentia have now long faded into the past - the younger generation having directed their ambitions to a somewhat different world of endeavour.

When but a middle age man, Mr. Collins entered into a business of his own and for many years conducted a wholesale business in the Star Store. Later he accepted a position with

H.M. Customs until his retirement. Finally at the age of seventy-three he worked assiduously [at] the U.S. Base at Argentia for seven years, during which time he made many friends, young and old, and established an all-time record for attendance and punctuality.

In the political and social life of Placentia he always played an important part. His advice and counsel on matters of importance were constantly sought and highly regarded. His deep interest in the welfare of Placentia and the country as a whole was most pronounced. For many years he was president of the Star of the Sea Association and of which he later was an honorary member. By his passing Placentia has truly lost a worthy and respected man.

John

John was born in February 1871 in Placentia.⁶⁷⁵ He was baptised by Father James Walsh on February 5.⁶⁷⁶ He is listed as a fisherman in 1898⁶⁷⁷, a seaman in 1904⁶⁷⁸ and a Mail Officer in 1921.⁶⁷⁹ He married Ellen Griffin on January 13, 1902. She was born in nearby Dunville in November 1876.⁶⁸⁰ They had seven children together: Irene (1902), William Pius John (1904), Patricia (1906), Kathleen (1908), Matthew (1908), Eleanor (1912) and Benedict (1917).⁶⁸¹ Ellen passed on almost two years later on 1943.⁶⁸² John died on April 25, 1947.⁶⁸³ He is buried at Mount Carmel Cemetery.⁶⁸⁴

William Pius John became a priest. He served in Placentia, St. John's and Long Habour.⁶⁸⁵ He died on December 10, 1967.⁶⁸⁶

Leo

Beyond his name, we have no information regarding Leo.

X Conclusion

This is not the end of the history of the Collins family in Placentia. There are numerous avenues open to improving our understanding of the family. There are a number of researchers gathering the genealogical records to produce as full and as accurate a family tree as possible. Those efforts are continuous and require constant updating as new information becomes available about earlier generations or unrecorded branches report in or new descendants are born.

There is a need to investigate further available historical records including court and military records especially those from Placentia. Such records often record minor details which will give us a better insight into the life of our Collins family in the past. Although this history has made great use of them already, many more documents in the *Outgoing Correspondence* collection and the *Colonial Office Records* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on microfilm in both St. John's and to a lesser degree in Corner Brook need to be examined. We need to examine any records which may be available regarding the employment of Collins in education, particularly in the 1870's to 1890's. Additional information on our only priest, William Pius Collins is needed. The First World War records of Martin Collins and his cousins can be obtained and will provide information on their recruitment, training and activities in Belgium and France. The divorce action of Joseph Edmund Collins must have generated some documents which may give an insight into his life and perhaps give us the names of his children. Finally, we need to begin to probe into Dorsetshire's parish records particularly those around Sturminster Newton.

A more technical and expensive pursuit might be to launch a yDNA project on the Collins' line. Such a test would provide information on the "deep ancestry" of the direct male line of Collins. We might learn if the direct male ancestor was more likely a Saxon or a Celt and it would fit us into the phylogenetic tree developed in the last few years showing the descent of the first *homo sapiens* as they emerged out of Africa.

The Collins of Placentia have a long and fascinating history in Newfoundland. They began as farmers in southwest England and learned how to sail and fish in the cold waters of the North Atlantic. They worshipped their God in little wooden churches, baptised their children and buried their dead. They fought Napoleon and felt anxiety as French men-of-war cruised off shore. They beat back the Kaiser and lost children doing so. They generously raised large families despite the hardships involved. They fought floods, taught in classrooms, salted fish, delivered mail, checked customs, ran shops and even guarded prisoners in jail. The Collins are a microcosm of Newfoundland history. This successful family has spread out far and wide today but still maintains a core of people in its old home town of Placentia.

Appendix I The Other Collins Families of Placentia

We have limited information on other Collins families in Placentia and area. Some are of Irish origin and many were originally centred on a community a few miles away from Placentia called South East Placentia.

[1] The family of John Collins and Agnes Green of Bond Path, South East Placentia: John and Agnes were married at Placentia in 1849. They had four children baptised at Sacred Heart: Mary (1861), Edward (1864), Thomas (1870) and Thomas (1873). They also had John and Samuel. Mary married James O'Brien, a game warden.⁶⁸⁷ They are listed in the 1935 census with their daughter Annie. Edward and the first Thomas probably died young. The second Thomas married Hannah Furlong in 1898 and had the following children: Frederick (1899), Sarah (1902), Alphonsus (1903), Patrick (1904), Ethel (1906), Cyril (1911) and Bridget (1913).⁶⁸⁸ Cyril and Bridget appear with their parents in the 1935 census. John married Mary Kelly who had the following children baptised in Placentia: Francis (1888, later married Mary Tarbett), David Mary (1890), James (1891), Ellen (1895) and Violet Mary (1899, later married John Gale). Samuel married Julia O'Rourke. Their marriage did not occur at Sacred Heart Parish in Placentia (meaning Julia was probably not from Placentia) but four of their children were baptised there - Selina Mary (1892), Charles Henry Joseph (1894), Mary Frances (1896) and Mary Agnes (1898).⁶⁸⁹ Charles' family appears in the 1935 and 1945 censuses in South East Placentia. He married Agnes Tobin and they had at least fifteen children. One son, Anthony (Tony), was a country music singer. He married Margaret Downey and one of their children is the well-known Newfoundland internationally recognised singer and composer, Kevin Collins of Placentia. Carmel Coley, a great-great granddaughter of John and Agnes through their son Thomas, has conducted research into this Collins family.

[3] The Commonwealth War Graves Commission index says that a John Joseph Collins of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was killed on June 17, 1917, age 25. This puts his year of birth in 1891 or 1892. His parents are listed as John and Mary Collins. The Nominal Roll of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment confirms he was from Placentia.

[4] The family of William Collins and Sarah appears in the 1935 census. He would have been born about 1884. They have four children in 1935, Margret, Ellen, Ronald and Rose.

[5] A Margaret Collins, widow age 78, appears as the lone occupant of her household in South East Placentia in the 1935 Census.

[6] The family of Edward Collins and Alice appears in South East Placentia in the 1945 Census. He would have been born around 1895. They have six children. This is perhaps the Edward who served in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment (service number 2991) from "South East Arm Placentia."⁶⁹⁰ An Edward Collins, 24 years old of Placentia, is also found on the passenger list of the *Rosalind*, from St. John's to New York in September 1920.⁶⁹¹ Alice was from Ireland and arrived in Newfoundland as a warbride.⁶⁹²

[7] A Mary Collins, widow age 75, appears as the lone occupant of her household in South East Placentia in the 1945 Census.

[8] A Collins family located Jersey Side, slightly to the north of Placentia proper, consisted of John Collins and Elizabeth Bruce married at Sacred Heart on January 12, 1888. They had the following children baptised there: Francis (1890), Francis Peter (1892), John Joseph (1894),

Cyril Joseph (1899) and James Joseph (1897). James Joseph of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was killed on April 14, 1917 when the 29th Division went into Monchy during the Battle of Arras.

[9] A James Collins, manager of the Royal Bank, unmarried, made up a will in 1922 which was witnessed by Ernest and Edward Collins.⁶⁹³ It was probated in 1923 and is available at <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Wills/collins-james-12-357.shtml>.

Appendix II Pilot's Account of Rev. John Evans

In an appendix to Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* is a paper entitled *A History of the Churches in Newfoundland*. It contains several articles by different writers on the various denominations. The article on the Church of England is written by Rev. W. Pilot in 1895. He relates the following details concerning John Evans' time in Placentia:⁶⁹⁴

Mr. Evans speaks, in 1790, of the civility and attention shown him by the principal inhabitants, one Mr. Waldron, at no little inconvenience to himself, placing a boat at his disposal and accompanying him in his missionary excursion. His visits to Burin were highly appreciated. Here he procured from the Governor a grant of land for building a church, and established a school under a Mr. Sanders, who discharged his duties with great attention and diligence, to whom the Society made an allowance of £15 a year. He also made excursions into Fortune Bay, which then had a population of about a thousand settlers, extending the knowledge of God, as he says, among a people who had hitherto lived in lamentable ignorance and darkness, and content to endure risk, fatigue, and hardship, if so be he might answer the end of his mission. On one of these voyages- "voyages of discovery" the apostle of fishermen, Bishop Feild, used in later years to call them - he was shipwrecked, and to the surprise of all who knew the coast, he managed to escape to shore, having lost everything except what he had on. After ten years of labour such as this, Mr. Evans left the mission of Placentia, since which, no resident of the Church of England has been stationed there.

Appendix III The Other Edward Collins, RN

While investigating the life of Edward Collins (1778-1811) we discovered a second Edward whose career paralleled our Edward's in its earliest course. Likely this second, unrelated Edward was a few years younger but they were very much of an age. Since these two men had to be disentangled for the purposes of this research, it seems reasonable to provide some basic details we discovered on the second Edward so that future researchers are not starting from scratch. From Adm 107/24 (Admiralty Office Records) we have the information on the ships he served in prior to his commission. There were far fewer than our Edward:

Ships	Entry	Quality	Discharge	Time
Ganges	655320	Capt Ser ^t	9 April 94	3 weeks 4 days
Ganges	655345	Midshipman	23 May 97	3 y 1 m 2 w 2 d
Revolutionnaire	656485	Able seaman	31 May 97	1 w 1 d
Revolutionnaire	656493	Midshipman	31 Jan 98	8 m 3 w

Revolutionnaire	1 Feb 1798	Able seaman	22 Dec 98	11 m 2 w 3 d
Revolutionnaire	23 Dec 1798	Midshipman	18 Dec 99	12 m 3 w 4 d
Cambridge	19 Dec 1799	Midshipman	18 Mar 1800	3 m 6 d

The following article is from William R O'Byrne's *A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Comprising the Life and Services of Every Living Officer in Her Majesty's Navy, from the Rank of Admiral of the Fleet to that of Lieutenant, Inclusive*. London, England: John Murray, 1849, p.217:

COLLINS (COMMANDER, 1814. F-P., 16; H-P., 37.)

EDWARD COLLINS entered the Navy, 16 March, 1794, as Midshipman, on board the GANGES 74, Capts. Wm Truscott, Lancelot Skynner, Fras. Laforey, and Robert M'Douall; under the first of whom he was wounded, while assisting at the capture, 30 Oct. following, of the French 24-gun ship *Le Jacobin*. On his return from the West Indies in May, 1797, where he had served on shore at the reduction of Ste. Lucie, he cruized for three years on the Home station in the REVOLUTIONAIRE 38, Capts. Fras. Cole and Thos. Twysden. He then, for a few months, joined, as a Supernumerary, the CAMBRIDGE 80, flag-ship at Plymouth of Sir Thos. Pasley; and after an equally brief servitude in the AGINCOURT 64, bearing the flag at Newfoundland of Sir Chas. Morice Pole, was confirmed a Lieutenant, 1 Dec. 1800, in the CONCORDE 36, Capt. Robert Barton. Having been paid off early in 1802, Mr. Collins was next appointed, 3 May 1803, to the PHOENIX 36, Capt. Thos. Baker, on the coast of Spain; subsequently to which he served, from 20 Feb. 1805 to 16 May, 1806, as Flag-Lieutenant to Sir Thos. Graves, in the FOUDDROYANT 80. He again officiated in a similar capacity under Sir Edw. Buller, in the RESOLUE, at Portsmouth, from 30 Nov. 1809, to 1 Nov. 1813; and assuming, in Jan. 1814, the like post on board the PORCUPINE 22, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Chas. Vinicombe Penrose, took a conspicuous part in the various operations then in progress on the north coast of Spain. He further held the acting command in the Gironde, for a short time, of the MARTIAL sloop; and was officially promoted to the rank he now holds 15 June 1814. Since that period Commander Collins has been on half-pay.

It is interesting to note that this Edward Collins spent time on the Newfoundland station under Governor Pole and then later served on a ship with Sir Thomas Graves. Pole was the governor immediately following Waldegrave who brought down Reverend John Evans and Graves the man who gave a grant of land at the Brulé to Samuel Goodall and under whom our Edward served in 1803.

Appendix IV The O'Reilly Family of Placentia

Another prominent family at Placentia since the late 1700's was the O'Reilly's. The Collins married into this family a number of times and it is worth recording how the family's were related and briefly some prominent men in the community the Collins wound up being related to through both blood and marriage.

This family begins with John O'Reilly and Mary Whalen who had the following children: Thomas (c.1807), John (c.1809), Agnes, Edward, Ellen, Frances, Margaret, May Ann, Patrick, Garrett (c.1817), William (1820), Elizabeth (1832). Three members of this family married into our Collins family. Thomas O'Reilly married Ruth Collins, daughter of John Collins (c.1798-1884) in 1837 and his sister, Elizabeth, married Ruth's brother, James, in 1851. Furthermore,

Thomas' brother, William, married Margaret Collins, daughter of Joseph Collins and Anne Brett, in 1848. Margaret was a first cousin once removed of Ruth and James.

Many Collins and the O'Reillys of the next generation, therefore, pointed back to both Collins and O'Reilly ancestors in Placentia. Others could point to a connection to their kin by marriage. This interconnectedness perhaps helped William Joseph Collins land his job as lighthouse keeper at Cape St. Mary. His predecessor was his cousin Margaret's brother-in-law's.⁶⁹⁵ Among the most important members of this family was Thomas O'Reilly, member of the House of Assembly. Although he was not of Collins descendant, he was the grandson of John O'Reilly and Mary Whalen through their son John. The following is his entry in the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*.⁶⁹⁶

O'REILLY, THOMAS (1839?-1897). Politician; magistrates. Born Placentia. Educated St Bonaventure's College. O'Reilly was a teacher and a trader at Placentia before being elected in 1865 as a Conservative representing Placentia and St. Mary's. In 1869 he ran as a Confederate in Placentia and St. Mary's, but he and his running mates (including Ambrose Shea) were soundly defeated by anti-confederates, including Charles F. Bennett. O'Reilly was appointed magistrate at Placentia in 1877 and remained in that position for nearly 20 years. In 1878 he founded the local branch of the Star of the Sea and was elected its president every year until his death.

There were also two priests in this O'Reilly family, John A. O'Reilly, perhaps the son of Thomas of the above article, and Joseph A. O'Reilly, who was also an author. He wrote a novel, *The Last Sentinel of Castle Hill* (1916), set in Placentia.⁶⁹⁷

Appendix V H.M.S. Foudroyant by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Who says the Nation's purse is lean,
Who fears for claim or bond or debt,
When all the glories that have been
Are scheduled as a cash asset?
If times are bleak and trade is slack,
If coal and cotton fail at last,
We've something left to barter yet --
Our glorious past.

There's many a crypt in which lies hid
The dust of statesman or of king;
There's Shakespeare's home to raise a bid,
And Milton's house its price would bring.
What for the sword that Cromwell drew?
What for Prince Edward's coat of mail?
What for our Saxon Alfred's tomb?
They're all for sale!

And stone and marble may be sold
Which serve no present daily need;
There's Edward's Windsor, labelled old,
And Wolsey's palace, guaranteed.
St. Clement Danes and fifty fanes,

The Tower and the Temple grounds;
How much for these?

Just price them, please, In British pounds.
You hucksters, have you still to learn,
The things which money will not buy?
Can you not read that, cold and stern
As we may be, there still does lie
Deep in our hearts a hungry love
For what concerns our island story?
We sell our work -- perchance our lives,
But not our glory.

Go barter to the knacker's yard
The steed that has outlived its time!
Send hungry to the pauper ward
The man who served you in his prime!
But when you touch the Nation's store,
Be broad your mind and tight your grip.
Take heed! And bring us back once more
Our Nelson's ship.

And if no mooring can be found
In all our harbours near or far,
Then tow the old three-decker round
To where the deep-sea soundings are;
There, with her pennon flying clear,
And with her ensign lashed peak high,
Sink her a thousand fathoms sheer.
There let her lie!

Appendix VI

“Repenting at Leisure”

The following is the full, uninterrupted text of the article on the front page of the St. John, New Brunswick *Progress*, September 14, 1889 entitled “Repenting at Leisure”:

REPENTING AT LEISURE

Mr. And Mrs. Joseph Collins Will Obtain A Divorce

**The Story of a Romantic Fredericton Marriage and What Preceded and Followed it -
Collins as a Journalist There - His Subsequent Canadian and American Career**

A couple well known in New Brunswick, some time residents of Fredericton, St. John, Chatham, Toronto and now New York have agreed to try the efficacy of the divorce laws of that state and begin life again apart from each other's companionship. There are very few of *PROGRESS'* readers who are not interested in the news that Mr. And Mrs. Collins have come to this decision.

Their marriage was somewhat romantic and afforded the good people of Fredericton a splendid opportunity for what they dearly love - a nine days' talk. Collins was a newspaper man and a good one at that. He never failed to make a story interesting, but his great fault was a spirit of exaggeration that he never attempted to, or, at least, did not, restrain. He was thoroughly fearless and no man knew when the *Evening Star* came out whether he would figure in its columns as a pillar of the church and a good Christian, or a forger, a wife-beater, and anything else that was bad. Collins' fearlessness was his strong point, but he usually lacked the facts. He was never sure when he loitered on his evening stroll whether some insulted pugilistic citizen would not take into his head to measure him on the sidewalk and decorate his countenance with the latest mixture of black and blue. Horse whips he cared nothing for, and, to do him justice, he was quite indifferent to knuckles. The *Star* sold better the next night for the fracas of the previous evening and the editor was tough. Wearying, however, of repeated assaults, Collins bought a six-shooter, which he located in his pants pocket, and one day when Mr. Sullivan's brawny fists became acquainted with his physiognomy, Mr. Collins prevented a recurrence of the assault by looking calmly into the eyes of Mr. Sullivan over the sight of his shooting iron. This suspended hostilities for a time, but the fracas continued later in the police court, where Collins charged Sullivan with assault, and Sullivan laid information against him for carrying firearms. The magistrate found an opportunity to add to the revenue of the department of justice from both parties.

This, though by the way, goes to show what kind of figure Collins cut in Fredericton, where he became acquainted with Mrs. Collins. Society folded the fearless journalist in her arms. He had the *entree* to all the best houses, danced and flirted with all the prettiest girls, and ended it by marrying one of the most beautiful of them.

The gossips had, with their usual insight, given Collins to another girl, to whom they said he was engaged, and the present Mrs. Collins had not the full and free permission of her legal guardians to further enthrall the susceptible journalist. She, however, was not a girl easily stopped, and with the assistance of a friend old enough to give her better counsel, she left the parental roof in a fit of anger, and found shelter at a friend's, a few miles from the city. Collins found out where she was, and followed her. The days spent at Springhill were quite eventful, inasmuch as there the rash and youthful pair concluded to stem all opposition and get married. Mrs. Collins was a Protestant and Collins a Catholic but what mattered that they loved each other! She rejected the faith of her ancestors and joined the church of her lover, and one dark night the pair drove into the capital and were made man and wife in St. Dunstan's chapel. They returned to the country, and Collins told the people in the *Star*, the next day, that he was married.

Society was shocked. The aristocrats wrapped themselves in their mantles and disclaimed any knowledge of the affair. Condolences poured in upon the bride's relatives and Collins - he was too bad for any mention.

Social ostracism did not trouble the young couple and Collins continued to say what he pleased and take the results. He was as bright as a dollar, a good companion, liked even by those who disapproved of his course and, when a short time later he left Fredericton, having failed to make the *Star* a financial success, he left many regretful

friends and was accompanied not only by a beautiful wife but plenty of good wishes. He went to Chatham and after a rather uneventful career on a paper there - the *North Star* - proceeded to upper Canada resolved to try what he could do in a larger field. Mrs. Collins accompanied him. Perhaps his greatest hit was his *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald* - a work which possessed considerable merit and sold so well that the author and publisher found profit and satisfaction in it.

After a varied career in Toronto, he resolved to try a still wider field and more congenial spirits in New York. He went there, and for some time was editor of the bright weekly, the *Epoch*. He had almost absolute control of this promising paper, and it would have been well had he had the entire control. The owner, however, interfered one day with the editorial management and Collins, with his usual hot-headedness, stepped down and out. Since then, it is said, he has had an offer to go to the antipodes to do some literary work, but *PROGRESS* is not aware whether he has accepted it or not.

Mrs. Collins has been summering in this city, the guest of friends whom she can count by the score throughout the province. She is still a beautiful woman, and it is said is remarkably like Mrs. Langtry in countenance, figure and style. She will be in New York in a few days, when the divorce proceedings will be begun.

Bibliography

- Adams, John Coldwell”Roberts, Lampman, and Edmund Collins” *The Sir Charles G. D. Roberts Symposium* Ed. By Glenn Clever. Reappraisals: Canadian Writers 10, University of Ottawa Press, Ottawa, 1984.
- Adams, John Coldwell *Sir Charles God Damn The Life of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts* University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1986.
- Admiralty Office Records* (Adm), National Archives (United Kingdom).
- Annual Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, various years.
- Barnable, Gerald *A Brief Outline of the Judicial History of Placentia*, at <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/placentia/hist.htm>
- Barnable, Gerald *Under the Clock: a legal history of the “Ancient Capital”* (Privately Published), Placentia, 2002.
- Bentley, D.M.R. *The Confederation Group of Canadian Poets, 1880-1897* University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2004?
- Brosnan, Very Reverend Michael *Pioneer History of St. George’s Diocese, Newfoundland*, Western Publishing Company, 1948.
- Byrne, Cyril J. (Editor) *Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters* Jesperson Press, St. John’s, 1984.
- Cambro-Briton, The*, Volume One. Sept 1819 - Aug 1820, London, 1820.
- Christian Remembrancer, The*, January-December 1819. London.
- Christie, Norm E. *The Newfoundlanders in the Great War - The Western Front, 1916-1918*, Volume X of the *For King and Empire* series, CEF Books, Ottawa, 2003.
- Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Foreign Parts 1701-1892* Published by the Society’s Office, London, 1893.
- “Collins, Joseph Edmund”, *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, George MacLean Rose editor, Rose Publishing Company, Toronto, 1886.
- Collins, Joseph Edmund, *The Administration of Lord Lorne* Rose Publishing Company Toronto 1884
- Collins, Joseph Edmund, *Annette, The Metis Spy; A Heroine of the N.W. Rebellion* Rose Publishing Company, Toronto 1886.
- Collins, Joseph Edmund *The Four Canadian Highwaymen or The Robbers of Markham Swamp*, Rose Publishing Company, Toronto 1886.
- Collins, Joseph Edmund, “International Copyright” *The Week*, December 6, 1883.
- Collins, Joseph Edmund, *Life and Times of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c, Premier of the Dominion of Canada*. Toronto: Rose, 1883.
- Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660-1815, The*, Volume One.
- Connor, Carl Y. *Archibald Lampman: Canadian Poet of Nature* Louis Carrier, Montreal, 1929.
- Dictionary of National Biography*, (DNB) various volumes.
- Dinn, Sister Mary James *Foundation of the Presentation Congregation in Newfoundland* St. John’s, 1975.
- Evening Telegram*, St. John’s, Newfoundland, various issues.
- Handcock, W. Gordon *Soe Long as there comes noe women Origins of English Settlement in*

Newfoundland Breakwater Books St. John's, 1989.

Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodge *A Dictionary of Surnames* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989.

Henderson, Robert *His Majesty's 40th Regiment of Foot in North America 1717-1764* at <http://www.militaryheritage.com/40th.htm>.

Hogan, Sister M. Williamina *Pathways of Mercy in Newfoundland* Harry Cuff Publications, St. John's, 1986.

Howarth, David *British Sea Power How Britain Became Sovereign of the Seas* Robinson, London, 2003.

Howley, James P. *Reminiscences of Forty-two Years of Exploration and Survey in and about Newfoundland, 1868—1910*, unpublished manuscript.

James, William *The Naval History of Great Britain* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to his Majesty, 1837.

Journal of the House of Assembly, St. John's, various issues.

Keough, Willeen *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon: 1750-1860*, Unpublished Ph.d Thesis, 2001.

Lane, Gordon *Unpublished Research Notes*

Lavery, Brian Nelson's Navy The Ships, Men and Organisation 1793-1815 Naval Institute Press, London, 1989

Lannon, Donny *Unpublished Research Notes*

Lovell's 1871 Directory of Newfoundland, reprinted by the Genealogical Research Library, London, Ontario, 1984.

MacKay, Ruth *Unpublished Research Notes*

MacLeod, Malcolm, "Lighthouses" *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume III.

McCarthy, Michael "A History of Plaisance and Placentia 1501-1970" in *Winning Essays in the Newfoundland Government Sponsored Competition for the Encouragement of Arts and Letters, Etc.*, St. John's, 1973.

McCarthy, Mike *The Irish in Newfoundland 1600-1900* Creative Publishers St. John's, 1999.

Morning Star, also *Star* and *Evening Star*, Fredericton then Chatham, New Brunswick, various issues.

Nominal Roll of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in the First World War at

http://ngb.chebucto.org/NFREG/Nominal_roll.

O'Byrne, William R. *British Naval Biographical Dictionary, 1849 Comprising the Life and Services of Every Living Officer in Her Majesty's Navy, from the Rank of Admiral of the Fleet to that of Lieutenant, Inclusive*. London: John Murray, 1849.

Pacey, Desmond *Ten Canadian Poets A Group of Biographical and Critical Essays* Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1966.

Pilot, Rev. W. "The Church of England in Newfoundland" in Appendix "A History of the Churches in Newfoundland" in D.W. Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland*, MacMillan and Co., London, 1895.

Placentia Court Records, [volumes 1 and 2], Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

"Placentia" *Decks Awash* Volume 17 No. 3 May-June 1988.

- Pomeroy, E.M. *Sir Charles G.D. Roberts: a Biography* Ryerson, Toronto 1943.
- Prowse D.W. *A History of Newfoundland*, MacMilan and Co., London, 1895.
- Reaney, P.H. *A Dictionary of English Surnames* Routledge and Kegan, London, 1961.
- Reaney, P.H. (Revised by R.M. Wilson) *A Dictionary of English Surnames* Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Roberts, Charles G.D. *Orion, and Other Poems*, Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1880.
- Roberts, Charles G.D. *Orion, and Other Poems*, Edited by Ross S. Kilpatrick, Canadian Poetry Press, London, 1999.
- Rollman, Hans *Prince William Henry in Newfoundland*,
<http://www.mun.ca/rels/ang/texts/pwh.htm>, no date.
- Rowe, Frederick W. *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1964.
- St. John's Daily News*, St. John's, Newfoundland, various issues.
- Saunders & Sweetman Letters, 1788-1804*, MF - 161A, MF - 161B, Maritime History Archive, St. John's, Newfoundland
- Story, Norah "Collins, Joseph Edmund" *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1967.
- Taylor, M. Brook, "Collins, Joseph Edmund." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. 12: 204-205.
- Tellevik, Anna *Unpublished Research Notes*
- Thomas, Aaron *The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas Able Seaman in H.M.S. Boston* (Edited by Jean M. Murray), Longmans Canada Ltd, 1968.
- Tracey, Nicholas (editor) *The Naval Chronicle The Contemporary Record of the Royal Navy at War* Volumes I -V Chatham Books, London, 1998.
- Western Star*, Curling and later Corner Brook, various issues
- Wix, Edward *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionaries Journal* Smith Elder and Company, London, 1836.
- Wright Rev G.N. and John Watkins, LLD, *The Life and Reign of William the Fourth*, published by Fisher, Son & Jackson Volume 1, London, 1837.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the following people for their help in researching this history:

Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, Ottawa
Paul Benyon, Naval Researcher
Ferris Hodgett Library, Sir Wilfred Grenfell College, Memorial University of Newfoundland,
Corner Brook, Newfoundland
Henry Garrod Bradford, Family History Researcher, England
Joe Brazil, Family History Researcher
Ken Flynn, Placentia Area Historical Society
Kevin Collins, Placentia, Newfoundland
Deborah L. Jeans, St. John's, Newfoundland, professional researcher
Gordon Lane, Family History Researcher
Donny Lannon, Family History Researcher
Julia Mathieson, Diocesan Archivist (Anglican), St. John's, Newfoundland
Maritime History Archive, St. John's, Newfoundland
Jerry O'Brien, St. Dunstan's Parish, Fredericton, New Brunswick
Robert O'Hara, Military Researcher, London, England
Ruth MacKay, Family History Researcher, North Saanich, British Columbia
Albert Parker, Family History Researcher
Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, Newfoundland
Anna Tellevik, Family History Researcher, Sidney, British Columbia
Town of Placentia, Newfoundland
Brenda Young, Family History Researcher
John Patrick Young, Curling, Newfoundland
Ward Greene, Family History Researcher, Australia
Mary Collins (Walsh), St. John's, Newfoundland

Endnotes

1. Reaney (1997), p.150.
2. Handcock, p.79.
3. Handcock, p.80.
4. *Cyclopedia* "Collins, Joseph Edmund", p.538.
5. Hanks, p.217.
6. Reaney (1961), p.139.
7. CO 194/6, folio 90-1.
8. CO 194/6, folio 90-1.
9. 'America and West Indies: September 1711, 1-13', Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: 1711-1712, volume 26 (1925), pp. 83-106. URL: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=73880>.
10. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 18 p.323-4.
11. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 18 p.324.
12. *Classified*, p.92. The footnote refers to the Journal of the Proceedings of the Society, V.6, p.191 and the Annual Report of the Society 1734, p.62-63.
13. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 1 p.24-25.
14. CO 194/8, folio 58-9.
15. CO 194/8, folio 60-79.
16. CO 194/8, folio 144.
17. CO 194/8, folio 281.
18. "Medley, Henry" ENL, Volume 3, p.500.
19. CO 194/12, folio 51-52.
20. CO 194/12, folio 73.
21. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 1, p.25.
22. CO 194/12, folio 119.

23. CO 194/12, folio 187.
24. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 1 p.219-220.
25. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 1, p.210-215.
26. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 2, p.333.
27. McCarthy, Appendix.
28. PANL GN 2/1/A, Volume 18, p.324.
29. "Goodall, Samuel Granston" DNB, Volume VIII, p.117.
30. His year of birth has been calculated from this age at death as recorded on his tombstone at the Church of England cemetery in Placentia.
31. Henderson, no pagination.
32. Henderson, no pagination.
33. Henderson, no pagination.
34. PANL, GN 2/1/A, Volume 18, p.324.
35. PROB 11/1288, Will of William Collins, 1795.
36. Head, p.3.
37. Head, p.141.
38. Head, p.5.
39. Head, p.5.
40. Head, p.6.
41. Prowse, p.315.
42. Prowse, p.315.
43. PANL GN 2/1/A, Volume 4, p.111.
44. *Saunders & Sweetman Letters*, 1788-1804.
45. Dated September 25, 1775; quoted in *Decks Awash*, p.7.

46. PANL GN 2/1/A, Volume 7, p.180 and p.17 (Reverse).
47. Ziegler, p.57.
48. Placentia Surrogate Court Records, Volumes 2 and 3. Courtesy of Earl Williams.
49. Placentia Surrogate Court Records, Volumes 2 and 3. Courtesy of Earl Williams.
50. As quoted in Prowse, p. 366.
51. Rollman, no pagination. He cites Surrogate Court Records, Placentia, Vol. 2(6 Aug. 1786), 206; Log of the Pegasus, vide 7 August 1786; PWH to King, 21 Sept. 1786, Later Correspondence of George III, 249, which links the swearing of allegiance with the previous riot.
52. Placentia Surrogate Court Records, Volumes 2 and 3. Courtesy of Earl Williams.
53. Placentia Surrogate Court Records, Volumes 2 and 3. Courtesy of Earl Williams.
54. In a letter to the editor in the newspaper file at the Placentia Library archives. Miss A. Collins was in Searston, Newfoundland. Date unknown.
55. *Annual Report 1792*, p.38.
56. Thomas, p.97-98.
57. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Prob 11/1288.
58. Handcock, p.186-7.
59. Keough, p.614-616.
60. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 15, p.406.
61. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 page 9.
62. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 page 12.
63. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.260.
64. CO 194/44 folio 217-220.
65. GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.21.
66. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823, p.174.
67. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823, p.177.

68. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823, p.193.

69. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823, p.194.

70. PROB 11/1288, Will of William Collins, 1795.

71. References to his wife first appear in 1794. See PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.270-1. However, his daughter Mary seems to have been born about 1791. See Census of England, 1841, HO107, Piece 1449, Folio 5, Page 13. This census often rounds off the ages for adults.

72. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.319.

73. *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* May 17, 1810

74. This birth year is obtained from her age at death based on her obituary reproduced below.

75. Pilot, p.21.

76. Pilot, p.21.

77. Pilot, p.21. This may have been St. Mary's at Talbenny near Haverfordwest. A John Evans served as curate here from August 30, 1788 and was replaced in 1791. The frequency of the name John Evans makes it difficult to determine. If this is the same man, his appears in the Clergy of the Church of England database with ID 129647.

78. *Classified*, p.857.

79. Pilot, p.21. There was a John Evans, curate, at Narberth near Haverford West from 1785 to 1790 (Clergy of the Church of England Database ID 129647). His name, however, is so common in that part of Wales that it is nearly impossible to determine with certainty which John Evans is which.

80. *Classified*, p.837.

81. *Annual Report 1786*, p.54-58.

82. *Annual Report 1790*, p.36-37.

83. Pilot, p.22.

84. *Annual Report 1792*, p. 36.

85. *Annual Report 1792*, p.38.

86. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.103.

87. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.104.
88. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.105.
89. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.105.
90. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.112.
91. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.146-147.
92. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.183.
93. *Annual Report 1793*, p.39.
94. *Annual Report 1794*, p.39.
95. Based on the age of their daughter, Mary, in the Census of England, 1841, HO107, Piece 1449, Folio 5, Page 13.
96. Census of England, 1841, HO107, Piece 1449, Folio 5, Page 13.
97. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.270-1.
98. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 12, p.319.
99. *Annual Report 1795*, p.39.
100. *Annual Report 1796*, p.39.
101. *Annual Report 1797*, p.33.
102. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14 p.295.
103. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.112-113.
104. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.153ff.
105. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.159.
106. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.165-6 and CO 194/40 folio 49.
107. *Annual Report 1798*, p.34.
108. *Annual Report 1792*, p. 30, *Annual Report 1793*, p. 34, *Annual Report 1794*, p. 32, *Annual Report 1795*, p. 33, *Annual Report 1796*, p.32, *Annual Report 1797*, p. 27, *Annual Report 1798*, p. 27-28.

109. *Annual Report 1799*, p.37.
110. Byrne, p.91.
111. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.297.
112. PANL GN2/1/A Volume 14, p.269.
113. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.287.
114. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.342.
115. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 14, p.382.
116. PANL GN2/1/A Volume 15, p.93.
117. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 15, p.94-5.
118. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 15, p.97.
119. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 15, p.125-126.
120. PANL GN/2/1/A Volume 15, p.265-6.
121. PANL GN/2/1/A Volume 15, p.266.
122. PANL GN/2/1/A Volume 15, p.406-7.
123. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 15, p.422-3.
124. McCarthy, *Placentia*, p.58.
125. *Saunders & Sweetman Letters*, 1788-1804.
126. Clergy of the Church of England Database. His identification number is 129667.
127. *Memorials of John Bowen, Late Bishop of Sierra Leone*, p. 5.
128. *Memorials of John Bowen, Late Bishop of Sierra Leone*, p.4.
129. Census of England, 1851, HO107 Piece 2282 Folio 396 Page 13.
130. Civil Registration Death Index, Apr-Jun 1909 Haverfordwest Volume 11a Page 669.
131. Census of England, 1851, HO107 Piece 2282 Folio 396 Page 13.

132. *The Cambro-Briton*, Volume One, p.160. *The Christian Remembrance* is likely the source of the *Cambro Briton* entry. It reads on p.718: “Died, lately near Narleth [sic], the Rev. John Evans, curate of Newton and Llysyfran, and who was for several years at St. John’s, Newfoundland.”

133. National Archives (UK), ADM 107/23 pages 445 (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates: 1799)

134. Wright, p.146-147.

135. Prowse, p.366.

136. Prowse, p.366.

137. This article is in the possession of Rita Jacobs (née Collins) of Corner Brook.

138. Ziegler, p.59-60.

139. Ziegler, p.58.

140. Ziegler, p.59.

141. *The Royal St. Vincent Gazette and General Advertiser* of November 11, 1786

142. Lavery, p.204-211.

143. Ziegler, p.69.

144. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

145. Rodger, p.364.

146. Lavery, p. 41.

147. Lavery, p.49.

148. Lavery, p.90.

149. This entire account is based on Keats’ entry in the Dictionary of National Biography.

150. *The Times*, Tuesday, Nov 15, 1791; pg. 3; Issue 2181; col D.

151. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

152. *The Times*, Tuesday, January 10, 1792: pg. 3; Issue 2199, Col D.

153. Lavery, p.116.
154. *The Times*, Friday, November 16, 1792; p.2; Issue 2466; col B.
155. Rodgers, p.426.
156. *The Times*, Wednesday, January 16, 1793; pg.2; Issue 2518; col. B.
157. *The Times*, Saturday, Mar. 30, 1793; Issue 2572; Col C.
158. Lavery, p.245.
159. Lavery, p.246.
160. Lavery, p.231.
161. Lavery, p.233.
162. Lavery, p.231.
163. Laver, p.46.
164. Laver, p.41.
165. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
166. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
167. Laver, p.328.
168. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
169. Quoted in Laver, p.90.
170. Laver, p.90.
171. Laver, p.93.
172. Laver, p.105.
173. Howarth, p.314.
174. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

175. Laver, p.41.
176. Laver, p.56.
177. Laver, p.328.
178. Rodger, p.429.
179. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
180. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
181. Laver, p.41.
182. Laver, p. 328.
183. Rodger, p.429-430.
184. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
185. Laver, p.41.
186. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
187. Laver, p.328.
188. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).
189. Laver, p.113.
190. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799)..
191. Laver, p.112-113. Adm 51/1153 and Adm 36/13174 were used to create this passage.
192. Rodger, p.433.
193. *The Times*, Tuesday, September 9, 1794; pg.4; Issue 940909; col B.
194. *The Times*, Tuesday, January 6, 1795, pg. 4; Issue 950196; col C.
195. Rodger, p.432.

196. Rodger, p.432.

197. *The Times*, Monday, March 9, 1795, pg. 2; Issue 950309; col B. This was a reprint from the *Gazette*.

198. Rodger, p.432.

199. Rodger, p.462.

200. "Biographical Memoir of Sir John Borlase Warren" in *The Naval Chronicle*, Volume I, p.133.

201. *The Times*, Saturday, October 10, 1795; pg. 3; Issue 3419; col. C.

202. *The Times*, Friday, August 12, 1796; pg. 2; Issue 3660; col. C.

203. *The Times*, Saturday, August 13, 1796, pg. 3, Issue 3661; col. D.

204. James, p.343-5.

205. Rodger, p.436.

206. Rodger, p.436.

207. Rodger, p.436.

208. Rodger, p.437.

209. Rodger, p.437.

210. *The Times*, Tuesday, Jan 03, 1797; pg. 2; Issue 3783; col D.

211. *The Times*, Friday, Jan 06, 1797; pg. 4; Issue 5786; col A.

212. *The Times*, Saturday, June 25, 1796, pg. 3; Issue 3621; col. C.

213. *The Times*, Friday, Jan 27, 1797; pg. 3; Issue 3804; col A.

214. Rodger, p.438.

215. *The Times*, Friday, April 14, 1797; pg.3; Issue 3869; col. A.

216. Rodger, p.441.

217. *The Times*, Wednesday, May 10, 1797; pg.4; Issue 3891; col A.

218. *The Times*, Saturday, Jun 10, 1797; pg. 3; Issue 3917; col A.

219. DNB, Volume X, p.117.

220. *The Times*, Wednesday, June 14, 1797; pg.3; Issue 3920; col A.

221. *The Times*, Thursday, June 15, 1797; pg.2; Issue 3921; col. D.

222. *The Times*, Monday, Jul 10, 1797; pg. 2; Issue 3942; col A.

223. *The Times*, Thursday, Aug 03, 1797; pg. 2; Issue 3963; col D.

224. Rodger, p.457.

225. *The Times*, Friday, Apr 27, 1798; pg. 3; Issue 4181; col B.

226. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

227. Laver, p.328.

228. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

229. Laver, p.250.

230. Rodger, p.455.

231. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

232. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

233. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

234. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

235. Laver, p.46.

236. Laver, p.41.

237. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates:1799).

238. Laver, p.22.

239. National Archives (UK), Adm 107/23 page 444. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates: 1799).

240. National Archives (UK), Adm 107/23 page 446 (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates: 1799).

241. Lavery, p.93.

242. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/97 page 91. (Navy Board: Passing Certificates, Examination Results, and Certificates of Service: Lieutenants' Passing Certificates: 1799).

243. Lavery, p.94.

244. Rodger, p.464.

245. National Archives (UK), ADM 6/27 (Admiralty: Service Records, Registers, Returns and Certificates: Commission and Warrant Book: 1799-1801 July).

246. Lavery, p.97.

247. Lavery, p.96.

248. Lavery, p.104.

249. Lavery, p.108.

250. Lavery, p.41.

251. *The Times*, Wednesday, April 1, 1801; pg. 2; Issue 5068, col. B. It is a reprint from the *London Gazette* of March 31, 1801.

252. *The Times*, Monday, March 30, 1801: pg. 2; Issue 5066; col C.

253. *The Times*, Saturday, September 5, 1801: pg. 3; Issue 5204; col C.

254. *The Times*, Monday, September 7, 1801: pg. 3; Issue 5205; col D.

255. *The Times*, Monday, September 14, 1801: pg. 3; Issue 5211; col C.

256. *The Times*, Tuesday, September 14, 1802: pg. 3; Issue 5514; col B.

257. *The Times*, Thursday, September 16, 1802: pg. 3; Issue 5516; col B.

258. Lavery, p.99.

259. Lavery, p.12.

260. National Archives (UK), Adm 35/640, no pagination.
261. National Archives (UK), Adm 6/28, p.158.
262. O'Byrne, p.574-575.
263. *Commissioned Sea Officers*, Volume Two, no pagination but it is in alphabetical order
264. National Archives (UK), Adm 35/640, no pagination.
265. *The Times*, Wednesday, October 12, 1803; pg.4; Issue 5838; col A.
266. *The Times*, Friday, November 11, 1803: pg.3 ; Issue 5864; col A.
267. *The Times*, Saturday, November 26, 1803: pg. 3; Issue 5877; col D.
268. *The Times*, Thursday, December 1, 1803: pg.4 ; Issue 5881; col A.
269. *The Times*, Thursday, January 26, 1804: pg. 2; Issue 5929; col E.
270. *The Times*, Friday, January 27, 1804: pg. 2; Issue 5930; col E.
271. *The Times*, Wednesday, February 1, 1804: pg. 2; Issue 5934; col F.
272. National Archives (UK), Adm 35/640, no pagination.
273. <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/placentia/pwhenry.htm>
274. Barnable, *Under the Clock*, p.15.
275. *Commissioned Sea Officers*, Volume One, no pagination but it is in alphabetical order.
276. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
277. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823, p.92.
278. Lovell, p.63.
279. McCarthy, *Irish*, p.194-195.
280. This is based on his age on his tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia,
281. His tombstone in Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia.
282. MacLeod, p.302.
283. Lovell.

- 284. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1885, Appendix, p.495
- 285. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1888, Appendix, p.803.
- 286. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1893, Appendix, p.148.
- 287. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
- 288. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, File P8/A/15 R. C. Placentia.
- 289. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 290. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 291. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 292. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 293. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 294. McAlpine's 1894-7 Directory of Newfoundland.
- 295. "Fisheries", *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume II, p.146.
- 296. *Newfoundland Wills Book* volume 7 page 560 probate year 1906.
- 297. *Deck Awash*, May-June 1988, p.9.
- 298. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, Appendix, p.252.
- 299. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 300. Tombstone, Mount Pleasant Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 301. Research of Joseph Brazil.
- 302. Research of Joseph Brazil.
- 303. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 17 p.97-98.
- 304. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 17, p.168.
- 305. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 17, p.272-3.
- 306. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 17, p.274-6.
- 307. McCarthy, p.59.

308. Wix, p. 34-35.
309. McCarthy, p.59.
310. McCarthy, p.59.
311. McCarthy, p.59.
312. Based on the 1851 petition he presented which is quoted below.
313. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 19 Rev, p.160.
314. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 20, p.196.
315. *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser*, Jan 9, 1812.
316. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 21, p.212.
317. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 22, p.318.
318. PANL GN 2/1/A Volume 26, p.377-8.
319. PANL GN 5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p. 151.
320. *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* May 17, 1810
321. Research of Ruth MacKay, 2006.
322. Barnable, *Judicial History*, no pagination.
323. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p. 61.
324. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.120.
325. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.153.
326. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.204.
327. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.207.
328. PANL GN5/1/0/1Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.207.
329. PANL GN5/1/C/4 Estate Placentia (within box 18 of GN5/1/0/1 Placentia Court 1818-1823) p.9.
330. PANL GN5/1/C/4 Estate Placentia (within box 18 of GN5/1/0/1 Placentia Court 1818-1823) p.10.

331. PANL GN5/1/C/4 Estate Placentia (within box 18 of GN5/1/0/1 Placentia Court 1818-1823) p.11-13.

332. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.45.

333. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.48.

334. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.78.

335. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p. 119.

336. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p. 134.

337. McCarthy, *St. Mary's*, no pagination.

338. Summary of subscribers found at http://ngb.chebucto.org/Church_Rpt/R1849/grtplac.htm.

339. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, p.114-115.

340. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, Appendix, p.17.

341. Barnable, *Under the Clock*, p.17.

342. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.

343. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.

344. Parish Register, Sacred Heart, Placentia, Newfoundland.

345. Research of Donny Lannon, 2006.

346. All but William appear in the Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.

347. *Evening Telegram*, St. John's, June 13, 1892.

348. Hutchinson's *Newfoundland Directory* for 1864-5, p.264.

349. Newfoundland, Thursday, January 25, 1866.

350. Lovell, p.112.

351. Parish Register, St. John the Baptist, St. John's, Newfoundland.

352. Parish Register, St. John the Baptist, St. John's, Newfoundland.

353. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.

- 354. Research of Donny Lannon, 2006.
- 355. Research of Ruth MacKay, 2006.
- 356. Research of Ruth MacKay, 2006.
- 357. *Evening Telegram*, St. John's, June 13, 1892.
- 358. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 359. Research of Donny Lannon, 2006.
- 360. Research of Ruth McKay, 2006.
- 361. Research of Ruth McKay, 2006.
- 362. Barnable, *Under the Clock*, p.17.
- 363. St. John's *Daily News*, June 9, 1909, p.7.
- 364. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 365. Research of Joseph Brazil.
- 366. PANL GN5/1/0/1 Box 18 Placentia Court 1818-1823 p.163.
- 367. Research of Joseph Brazil.
- 368. Obituary in the *Evening Telegram*, November 8, 1908.
- 369. McCarthy, *Placentia*, p.85.
- 370. McCarthy, *Placentia*, p.85.
- 371. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 372. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 373. All this information from the Census and Fisheries Returns for the years indicated.
- 374. Research of Brenda Young.
- 375. Research of Joseph Brazil.
- 376. *Western Star*, November 11, 1908.
- 377. *Western Star*, November 11, 1908.

378. *Evening Telegram*, Nov 9, 1908.
379. Taylor, p.205.
380. Aloysius is commemorated on the same tombstone as Edmund in Placentia, Newfoundland.
381. Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
382. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
383. Taylor, p.204-5.
384. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
385. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
386. Bentley *Confederation*, p.25.
387. *Cyclopedia*, *Collins*, p.538.
388. Taylor, p.204-5.
389. Adams, "Roberts", p.5.
390. Bentley, *Confederation*, p.25.
391. New Brunswick Provincial Archives, newspaper archive.
392. *The Morning Star*, Thursday, April 3, 1879, pg. 1.
393. Bentley, *Confederation*, p.305 n3. Bentley here quotes the prospectus for the *North Star* and *Star* papers.
394. Bentley, p.26.
395. Taylor, p.205.
396. National Library of Canada, microfilm 3 3286 51408 6251.
397. *The Morning Star*, October 10, 1878, pg.1.
398. *The Morning Star*, October 10, 1878, pg.1.
399. *The Morning Star*, October 10, 1878, pg.1.
400. *The Morning Star*, Thursday, April 24, 1879, pg.2.

401. *The Morning Star*, November 8, 1879, pg. 2.
402. *The Morning Star*, January 27, 1880, pg.2.
403. *The Morning Star*, December 5, 1878, pg.2.
404. New Brunswick Provincial Archives, newspaper archive.
405. *The Morning Star*, April 23, 1879, pg.1.
406. *The Star*, August 12, 1879 , pg. 1.
407. *The Star*, August 12, 1879, pg.2.
408. *The Star*, August 12, 1879, pg.2.
409. New Brunswick Provincial Archives, newspaper archive.
410. Bentley, p.37.
411. “Repenting at Leisure”, St. John *Progress*, September 14, 1889, p.1, Col. 1.
412. New Brunswick Provincial Archives, newspaper archive.
413. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
414. “Repenting at Leisure”, St. John *Progress*, September 14, 1889, p.1, Col. 1.
415. St. Dunstan’s Parish Records, Book V, p.245, marriage #13.
416. St. Dunstan’s Parish Records, Book V, p.245, marriage #13.
417. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.
418. *The Star*, July 27, 1880, pg. 2.
419. *The Star*, July 27, 1880, pg. 2.
420. *The Star*, July 27, 1880, pg. 2.
421. *The Star*, July 29, 1880, pg. 2.
422. *The Star*, July 29, 1880, pg. 2.
423. *The North Star*, September 4, 1880, pg.4.
424. “Repenting at Leisure”, St. John *Progress*, September 14, 1889, p.1, Col. 1.

- 425. *The North Star*, September 4, 1880, pg.1.
- 426. *The North Star*, September 4, 1880, pg.1.
- 427. *The North Star*, September 4, 1880, pg.4.
- 428. *The Star*, September 15, 1880, pg.1.
- 429. *The Star*, September 4, 1880, p.4.
- 430. *The Star*, September 4, 1880, p.4.
- 431. National Archive of Canada, film C-13186, District 35; Sub-district J; Division 2; Page Number 94; Household Number 429. This is the only Canadian census Edmund appears in.
- 432. New Brunswick Provincial Archives, newspaper archive.
- 433. *The Star*, October 22, 1881, pg.2.
- 434. Bentley, p.25.
- 435. *The Star*, November 8, 1879, pg.3.
- 436. *The Star*, November 8, 1879, pg.3.
- 437. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.22.
- 438. Taylor, p.204-5.
- 439. Pomeroy, p.37.
- 440. Adams, "Roberts", p.8.
- 441. Roberts, *Orion*, title page.
- 442. Cogswell, p.193.
- 443. Bentley, p.16-17.
- 444. *The Star*, October 6, 1880, pg.3.
- 445. Bentley, p.27.
- 446. Bentley, p.26-27.
- 447. Bentley, p.27.

448. Bentley, p.27.

449. Bentley, p.27.

450. Bentley, p.31-32.

451. Bentley, p.33.

452. *Cyclopedia*, p.538.

453. Bentley, p.43.

454. Bentley, p.45, quoting a lost letter of Lampman's dated August 22, 1882 which is partially preserved in *Archibald Lampman: Canadian Poet of Nature* published in 1929 by Carl Y. Connor.

455. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.32.

456. Bentley, p.308, n 13.

457. Bentley, p.308, n 13.

458. Bentley, p.35.

459. Roberts, *Collected*, p.28-30.

460. Bentley, p.308, n 13.

461. Pacey, p.118.

462. Bentley, p.47.

463. Bentley, p.13 and Kilpatrick, p.xi..

464. *Rouge et Noir*, February 1883.

465. Bentley, p.56.

466. St. John *Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 1883.

467. *Canadian Illustrated News*, June 30, 1883.

468. Roberts, *Collected*, p. 37.

469. Editor's note in Roberts, *Collected*, p.37.

470. Collins, *Macdonald*, p. ix-xii.

- 471. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.30.
- 472. Bentley, p.46.
- 473. Collins, *Macdonald*, p.17-18.
- 474. Collins, *Macdonald*, p.vii-viii.
- 475. Bentley, p.43. Adams p.28 says the chapter is sixty-three pages of which seventeen were devoted to Roberts.
- 476. Collins, *Macdonald*, p.479-480.
- 477. *Canadian Illustrated News*, June 30, 1883.
- 478. Taylor, p.205.
- 479. National Library of Canada website.
- 480. Bentley, p.44.
- 481. Collins, *Administration*, p. vii.
- 482. Collins, *Administration*, p. ix-xi.
- 483. The Toronto *Mail*, July 1884.
- 484. Story, p.181.
- 485. Bentley, p.45.
- 486. Bentley, p.45.
- 487. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.30. The address is mentioned in Roberts letter to Bliss Carman dated December 3, 1883 at Roberts, *Collected*, p.37.
- 488. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.30 and Pomeroy, p.49.
- 489. Collins, "International".
- 490. Bentley, p.46.
- 491. Bentley, p.315, n 40.
- 492. Bentley, p.369.
- 493. Pomeroy, p.51.

494. Collins "English-Canadian Literature", *The Week*, August 28, 1884.
495. Taylor, p.205.
496. Story, p.181.
497. Collins, *Annette*, p.142-3.
498. Roberts, *In Divers Tones*.
499. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 7, 1886, p.11.
500. Bentley, p.178-9.
501. Collins, *Annette*, title page.
502. Collins, *Annette*, 9.
503. Collins, *Annette*, p.6.
504. Collins, *Annette*, p.142-3.
505. Collins, *Annette*, p.159.
506. Bentley, p.24.
507. Collins, *Four Canadian*, p.9.
508. Collins, *Four Canadian*, p.v - vi.
509. Collins, *Annette*, p.159.
510. Taylor, p.205.
511. Bentley, p.54.
512. *New York Times*, Friday, November 5, 1886, pg. 8.
513. Available at
http://openlibrary.org/books/OL18818932M/The_future_of_the_Dominion_of_Canada
514. Bentley, p.54.
515. Editor's note in Roberts, *Collected*, p.75.
516. Editor's note in Roberts, *Collected*, p.75.

- 517. Roberts, *Collected*, p.75.
- 518. Editor's note in Roberts, *Collected*, p.75.
- 519. St. John *Progress*, May 12, 1888, p.6, Col. 6.
- 520. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, online Vital Statistics at <http://archives.gnb.ca>.
- 521. St. John *Progress*, Saturday, September 23, 1888, p.6, Col. 2.
- 522. Taylor, p.205.
- 523. "Repenting at Leisure", St. John *Progress*, September 14, 1889, p.1, Col. 1.
- 524. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.49.
- 525. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.49.
- 526. "Repenting at Leisure", St. John *Progress*, September 14, 1889, p.1, Col. 1.
- 527. Roberts, *Collected*, p.116.
- 528. Taylor, p.205.
- 529. Taylor, p.205.
- 530. Roberts, *Collected*, p.117.
- 531. Roberts, *Collected*, p.119 and 120.
- 532. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.49.
- 533. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.49.
- 534. Roberts, *Collected*, p.121.
- 535. Roberts, *Collected*, p.123.
- 536. Roberts, *Collected*, p.124.
- 537. Adams, *Sir Charles*, p.49.
- 538. Taylor, p.205.
- 539. Roberts, *Collected*, p.126.
- 540. DCB, "Mercer".

- 541. *The Times*, Monday, Feb 22, 1892 pg.8 Issue 33567 col B.
- 542. *The Times*, Thursday, Feb 25, 1892 pg.4 Issue 33570 col A.
- 543. Roberts, *Collected*, p.131.
- 544. Roberts, *Collected*, p.133.
- 545. Roberts, *Collected*, p.134.
- 546. Bentley, p.121 and 330, n12.
- 547. Bentley, p.330, n12.
- 548. Roberts, *Collected*, p.135.
- 549. Taylor, p.205.
- 550. St. John *Progress*, February 20, 1892, p.4 as quoted in Bentley, p.289.
- 551. Bentley, p.290.
- 552. Bentley, p.54.
- 553. Taylor, p.204-5.
- 554. *New York Times*, February 26, 1892, pg.2.
- 555. Roberts, *Collected*, p.143.
- 556. *Toronto Globe*, Wednesday, March 2, 1892, pg. 5; col. 1 and 2.
- 557. *Toronto Globe*, Saturday, March 19, 1892, pg. 9; col. 1 and 2.
- 558. St. John *Progress*, Saturday, March 5, 1892, pg. 2; col. 2.
- 559. Death Certificate of Joseph Edmund Collins.
- 560. Tombstone in Mount Pleasant Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 561. Bentley, p.290.
- 562. Lovell, p.63.
- 563. Interview, with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
- 564. Murphy, p.101.

- 565. Murphy, p.104.
- 566. Rowe, p.118.
- 567. Rowe, p.119.
- 568. Rowe, p.119.
- 569. Dinn, p.25.
- 570. Rowe, p.119.
- 571. Rowe, p.121.
- 572. Rowe, p.121.
- 573. Rowe, p.122-4.
- 574. Rowe, p.124.
- 575. Rowe, p.125.
- 576. Census of Newfoundland 1921, Grand River - South, Bay St. George District gives July 1848. Her tombstone says 1852. Her 1944 obituary says she was ninety-one, giving us 1852 or 1853.
- 577. Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
- 578. Brosnan, p.108.
- 579. Hogan, p.265.
- 580. *Western Star*, Curling, Newfoundland, January 11, 1905.
- 581. Interview with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
- 582. *Western Star*, Curling, Newfoundland, October 4, 1911.
- 583. Census of Newfoundland 1921, Grand River - South, Bay St. George District.
- 584. Census of Newfoundland 1921, Grand River - South, Bay St. George District.
- 585. *Western Star*, Corner Brook, Newfoundland, January 22, 1944, p.1.
- 586. *Western Star*, Corner Brook, Newfoundland, January 29, 1944, p.4.
- 587. *Western Star*, Corner Brook, Newfoundland, January 29, 1944, p.4.

- 588. Tombstone - St. Ann's Cemetery (R.C.) Searston, Newfoundland.
- 589. The Prayer Book of Esther Collins in possession of the author.
- 590. Military Records of Sebastian Young, RNR.
- 591. Tombstone, Mt. Cecilia Cemetery, Curling, Newfoundland.
- 592. *Western Star*, Curling, March 29, 1929.
- 593. Parish Register, Sacred Heart Parish, Curling, Newfoundland.
- 594. *Western Star*, Corner Brook, Newfoundland, December 16, 1944, p.4.
- 595. Tombstone, Mount Cecilia Cemetery, Curling, Newfoundland.
- 596. Research of Brenda Young, 1999.
- 597. Research of Brenda Young, 1999.
- 598. Research of Brenda Young, 1999.
- 599. *Western Star*, Curling, Newfoundland, September 26, 1906, pg.4.
- 600. This is based on the age given on his Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 601. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 602. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 603. Census of Newfoundland 1921.
- 604. 1890 and 1904 *McAlpine's* directories under Placentia.
- 605. All dates based on the Parish Register, of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 606. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland, Canada.
- 607. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 608. "Bett's Cove", *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume I, p.186-7.
- 609. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*.
- 610. *McApline's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland*.

611. *McAlpine's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland.*
612. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
613. *St. John's Daily News*, March 19, 1914, p.5.
614. Parish Register, St. Ann's, Searston, Newfoundland. She appears as a witness at the wedding of Thomas Doyle and Annie O'Reilly that year.
615. Parish Register, St. Ann's, Searston, Newfoundland.
616. Parish Register, St. Ann's, Searston, Newfoundland.
617. Tombstone, St. Ann's, Searston, Newfoundland.
618. Tidbits of History "Laval School" Placentia, Newfoundland.
619. *The Newfoundlanders in the Great War* King and Empire Series No.10, p.65.
620. Newfoundland Will Books vol 11 page 291 probate year 1919.
621. Newfoundland Will Books vol 11 page 291 probate year 1919.
622. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
623. *Newfoundland Vital Statistics - Department of Health*, Microfilm 115, Based on an affidavit made November 26, 1938.
624. *Newfoundland Vital Statistics - Department of Health*, Microfilm #115.
625. Research of Gordon Lane, 1999.
626. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
627. *McAlpine's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland.*
628. *McApline's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland.*
629. *St. John's Daily News*, March 4, 1907.
630. Research of Sandra Collins.
631. Research of Sandra Collins. The follow account can be found at <http://ngb.chebucto.org/NFREG/Additions/collins710.shtml>.
632. Christie, p.54.

- 633. Tid Bits of Placentia at http://ngb.chebucto.org/MList/ngb_info/200507/3472.html.
- 634. Research of Sandra Collins.
- 635. Research of Sandra Collins.
- 636. Research of Gordon Lane, 1999.
- 637. (1) Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia; (2) *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia. This census says July 1865.
- 638. Interview, with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
- 639. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 640. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia.
- 641. *McAlpine's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland*.
- 642. *McAlpine's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland*.
- 643. All dates based on the Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 644. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland, Canada.
- 645. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 646. Nominal Roll of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in the First World War at http://ngb.chebucto.org/NFREG/Nominal_roll.
- 647. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 648. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 649. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
- 650. Research of Ward Greene.
- 651. *McAlpine's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland*.
- 652. *McAlpine's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland*.
- 653. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 654. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.

655. (1) Baptismal Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia; (2) *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, This source says July 1869.
656. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, File P8/A/15 R. C. Placentia.
657. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, File P8/A/15 R. C. Placentia.
658. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia..
659. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
660. Interview with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1999.
661. *McAlpine's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland*.
662. *McAlpine's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland*.
663. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
664. Research of Gordon Lane, 1999.
665. Interview, with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
666. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
667. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia..
668. Obituary of his aunt, Anne Collins, *Western Star*, January 29, 1944, p.4.
669. Interview with John Patrick Young, son of William Young, July 28, 2006.
670. Interview, with Rita Collins (Jacobs), 1991.
671. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
672. For the first: Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland; for the second: Research of Gordon Lane, 1999.
673. *Census of Newfoundland, 1945*, District of Placentia.
674. This obituary is in the possession of his daughter Rita. Its source is not known but internal clues make the author suspect the *Western Star*, Corner Brook, Newfoundland.
675. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia.
676. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, File P8/A/15 R. C. Placentia.

- 677. McAlpine's 1898 Directory of Newfoundland.
- 678. McAlpine's 1904 Directory of Newfoundland.
- 679. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia.
- 680. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia.
- 681. *Census of Newfoundland 1921*, District of Placentia.
- 682. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 683. Research of Gordon Lane, 1999.
- 684. Tombstone, Mount Carmel Cemetery, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 685. This information was obtain from the list of Newfoundland priests at Newfoundland Catholics website at <http://www.newfoundlandcatholic.com/Priests%20of%20NFLD.htm>.
- 686. Newfoundland Catholics Website,
<http://www.newfoundlandcatholic.com/Priests%20of%20NFLD.htm>.
- 687. Research of Mary Collins (Walsh).
- 688. Research of Ward Greene.
- 689. Parish Register of Sacred Heart Parish, Placentia, Newfoundland.
- 690. Nominal Roll of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in the First World War at http://ngb.chebucto.org/NFREG/Nominal_roll.
- 691. Ship Manifest for "Rosalind" at <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Passenger/rosalind-sep9-1920.shtml>
- 692. Research of Mary Collins (Walsh).
- 693. *Newfoundland Will Books* volume 12 page 357 probate year 1923.
- 694. Pilot, p.22.
- 695. Howley, p.10 identifies John O'Reilly as the first lighthouse keeper.
- 696. "O'Reilly, Thomas" *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume IV, p.179.
- 697. "O'Reilly, Joseph A." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume IV, p.178-179.