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FRONT COVER: "2000 Coming Around the Corner". The arrival of the new year 2000, the last year of the millennium, is symbolized by this photo of Montreal street car No. 2000 rounding the curve at Place d'Armes on June 11 1957, only eleven days before the line was abandoned. Car 2000 was built by Canadian Car and Foundry in 1929, and was scrapped in 1959.
Photo by Fred Angus

BELOW: Locomotive "Samson" of the Albion Colliery in Nova Scotia, with the railway's small coach, photographed at some unknown date before 1885. This early engine, built by Timothy Hackworth in England in 1838, has some very unusual features, most notable of which are the vertical cylinders as well as the firebox and tender being at the front of the boiler. The latter arrangement was necessary because of the single return flue, but must have been awkward for the fireman. The engineer stood in the usual place on the footplate, but had no cab for shelter. "Samson" was in service from 1839 until about 1885, and was little altered in almost fifty years of service.

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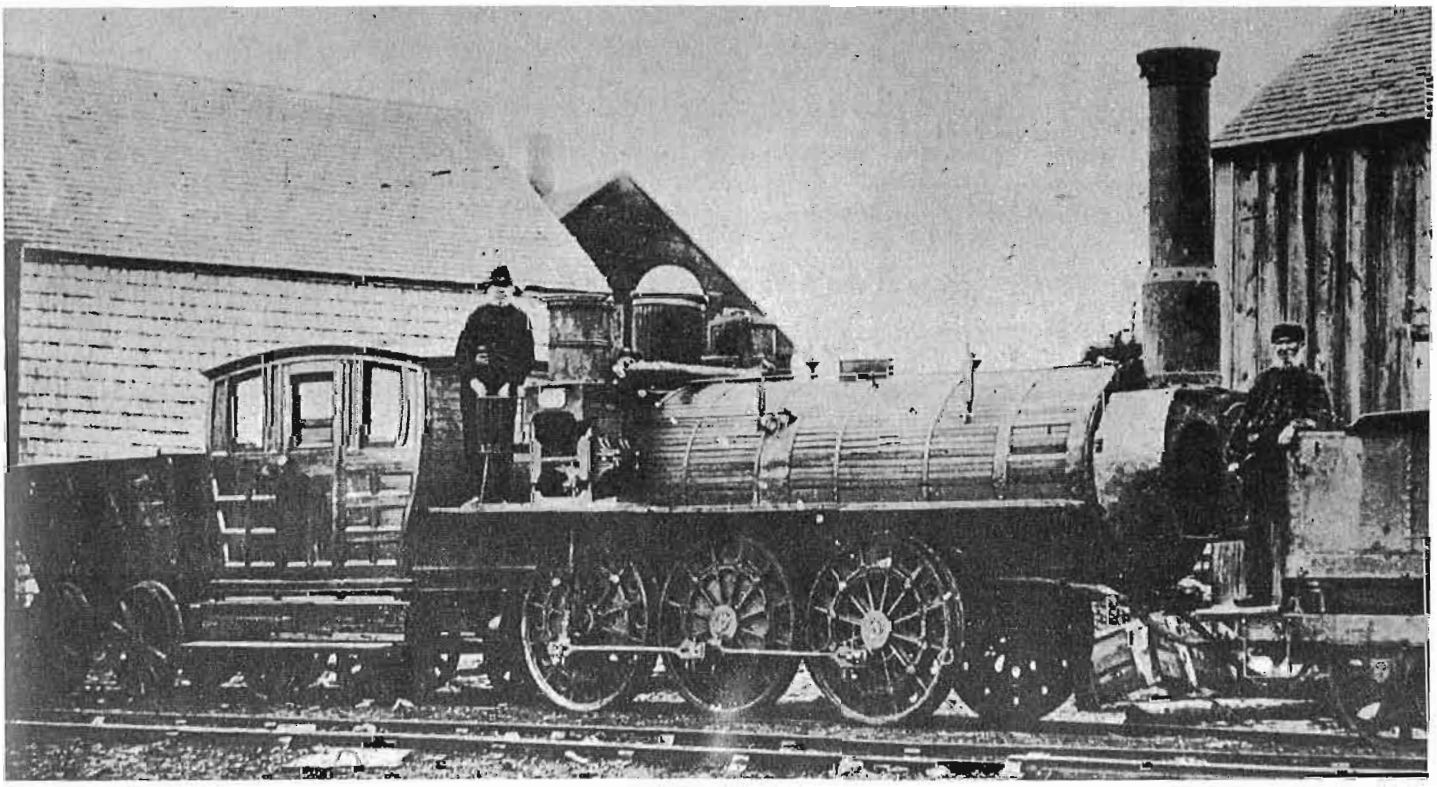

The Albion Railway of 1839-40

Some British Roots of Canada's First Industrial Railway

by Herb MacDonald

Presented At: The First International Early Railways Conference, North-East of England History Institute, University of Durham, Durham, UK, 10-13 September, 1998.

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This paper comes out of work in progress for an MBA thesis for St. Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. While I have received much assistance in Nova Scotia and beyond in North America from many not noted here, gratitude must be expressed to many staff members at the Durham and Northumberland County Record Offices, the Ken Hoole Study Centre, Darlington, and the Timothy Hackworth Museum, Shildon, for assistance with research in England. I must also acknowledge my debts to Michael Bailey of the Manchester Museum of Science and Technology, Andy Guy of the North of England Open Air Museum, Beamish, and Fred Gamst of the University of Massachusetts for their extensive and invaluable support.

INTRODUCTION

Diffusion of railway technology to North America took many forms ranging from movement of engineers and engineering expertise across the Atlantic to North American use of British inventions and purchase of British equipment. As indicated by the research of Fred Gamst[1] and others, early North American railways had fundamental links to the evolution of railways in Britain. On a small scale and in an isolated location, Nova Scotia's first tramways and railway illustrate this technological diffusion and the focus of this paper will be on linkages those lines, particularly the railway, had with Britain.

Unlike most of North America's first lines, however, the Albion Mines Railway was neither a means for an established port or commercial centre to capture trade of a hinterland[2] nor a link in a water route like Canada's first railway, the Champlain and St. Lawrence. The Albion line was a colliery road to move coal to wharfside. As a result, its evolution parallels the history of early railways in the coalfields of Britain more closely than most early Canadian and American lines.

THE PICTOU COAL FIELD AND THE GENERAL MINING ASSOCIATION

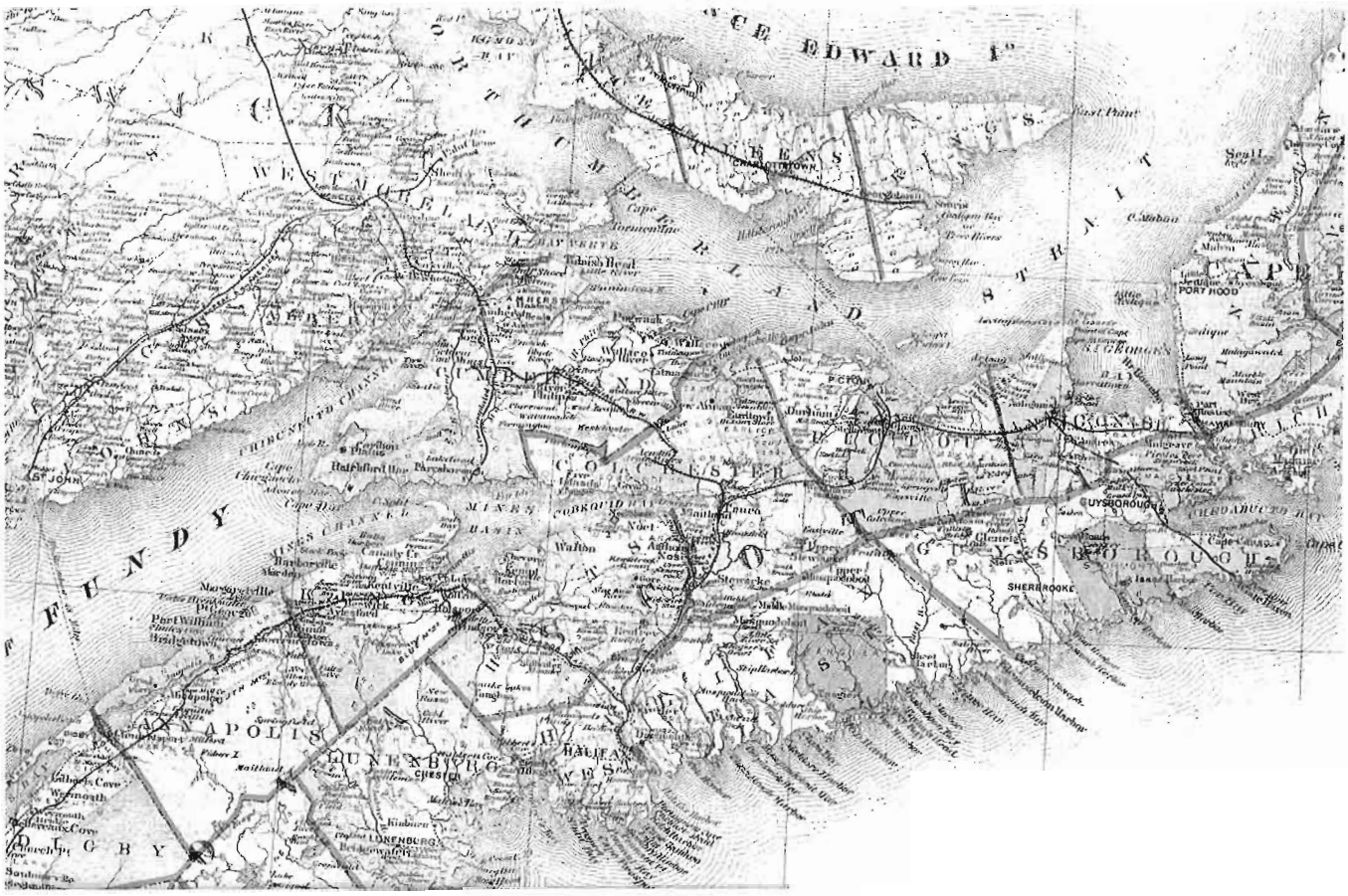
Coal was discovered in northern Nova Scotia's Pictou County shortly before 1800 and mining began by 1807. But there, as on Cape Breton Island, where coal had first been raised under the French regime, initial activity was very limited. During the two decades before the 1827 arrival of the London-based General Mining Association (GMA), annual output in Pictou County did not exceed 1500 chaldrons, [chaldron implies Newcastle measure of 53 cwt unless noted] some of which went to local buyers and the remainder to Halifax, the colonial capital. The first Pictou County mine was located about one quarter mile distant from the East River, about a mile upstream from tidewater. Adjacent to the pit, however, the river was not deep enough to accommodate ocean-going vessels. Carts were used to move coal to the riverbank and small barges carried it downstream for transfer to ships[3]. This transport method was also used initially by the GMA but its limitations soon led to the introduction of a tramway and then a locomotive-powered railway which opened in 1840. [Unless they carry different meanings within a quotation, this paper uses railway to indicate the use of locomotives and tramway to indicate an absence of locomotives on a line.]

The links between that GMA railway and northern England go through 28 Ludgate Hill in London, a few steps from St. Paul's and the address of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell (RB&R), a notable firm of silver and goldsmiths. This firm's history is revealed in a manuscript[4] written in the mid 1840s by George Fox who worked for RB&R from 1806 to 1843. Royal patronage generated substantial profits for the firm, and led to development of an international network of agencies and suppliers, and the production of work in silver and gold that merits artistic attention today[5].

In the 1820s, RB&R became involved in London's financial market, in a speculative boom with a strong Latin American component[6]. They established several companies in 1825 including the General South American Mining Association (GSAMA) set up to mine gemstones in Colombia and Brazil. "South American" was dropped from this firm's name in 1829 by which time its focus had shifted to Nova Scotia[7].

At this time, RB&R were also grappling with the collection of overdue accounts. The Duke of York was one notable customer with tastes which ran beyond his income and whose patronage extended totals in the Accounts Receivable ledger. To convert the Duke's notes into a tangible asset, an agreement was reached in 1826 giving RB&R a sublease of Nova Scotia's mineral rights which the Duke held by Royal grant[8]. The sublease was then transferred by RB&R to their mining subsidiary.

The GMA, based at 52 Old Broad Street in London, close to the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange, would be characterized by a desire to develop large-scale production for export markets in New England, a strong capital base, and



the application of their capital to use of modern technology. During its first 15 years, the firm invested over 150,000 pounds in Pictou County[9] which an estimated price index ratio of 55:1 converts into a current British value in excess of eight million pounds. Another context is provided by noting that the Nova Scotia government's operating expenditure total for 1835, the median point in that period, was just under 60,000 pounds[10].

In 1827, Richard Smith[11], a Staffordshire engineer, was hired and arrived with a workforce to begin GMA operations at the Pictou County site which he named Albion Mines. Smith introduced deep-seam mining to seek out thick and productive coal seams. In contrast to the shallow pre-1827 pits, by the late 1830s the GMA had shafts as deep as 450 feet[12]. A "bord and pillar" model was used underground to maximize output which reached 25,000 chaldrons by 1839. On the surface, productivity was promoted by the use of steam power. Stationary engines were introduced to drive pumps and winches, with the first winding engine in operation before the end of 1827[13]. There are conflicting claims but this may have been the first stationary steam engine used in Canada.

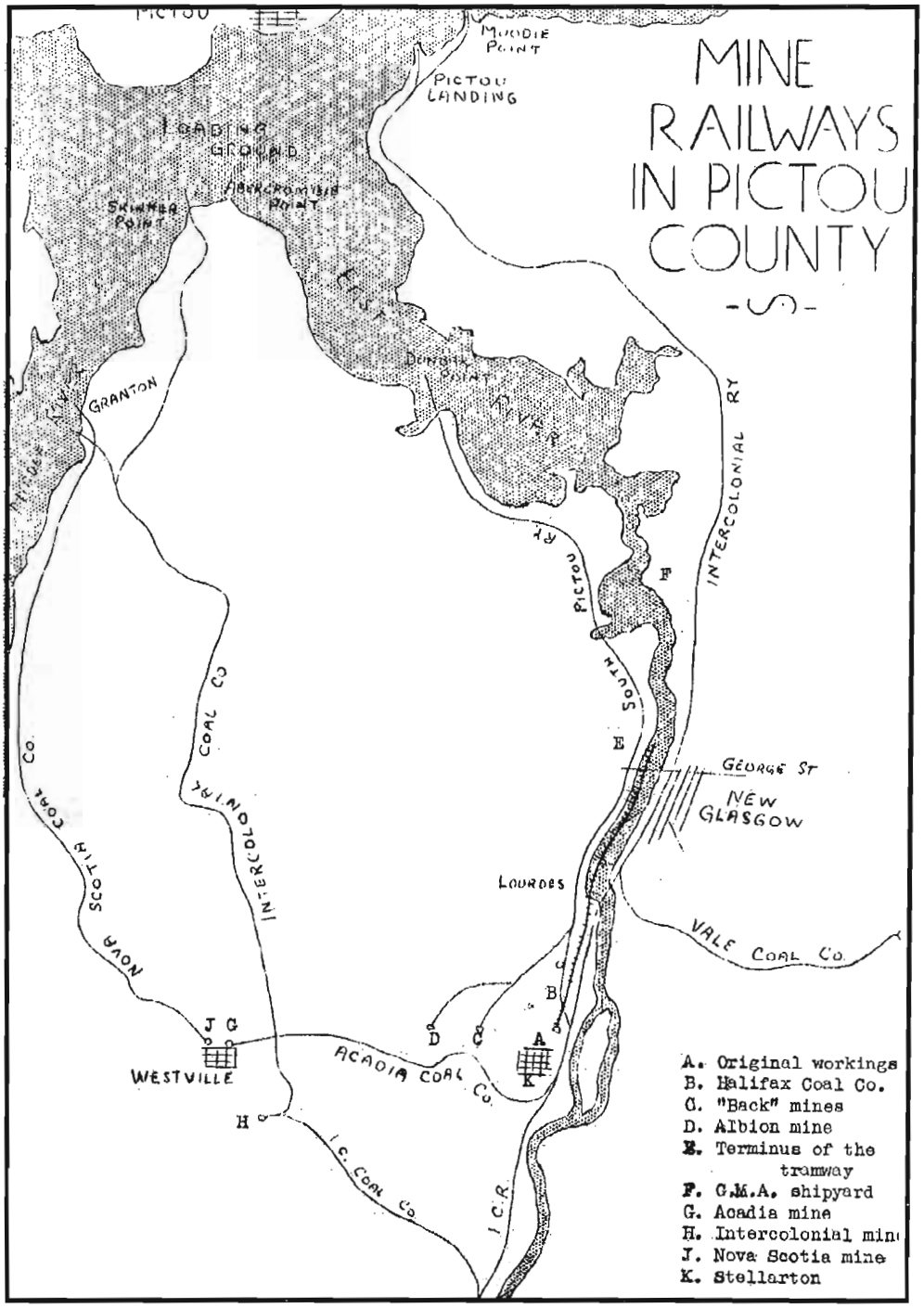
TOP: This map, printed in 1877, shows the area in Nova Scotia where the Albion Colliery railway ran.

ABOVE: An enlarged detail of the map, showing the track layout near Pictou in 1877. The Albion Colliery railway fairly closely paralled the Pictou branch of the Intercolonial, built years later.

Tackabury's Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, 1877.

A further indicator of the GMA's technological orientation was the immediate introduction of foundry capacity using British pig iron which was soon extended to include experiments in smelting local iron ore. By 1832, the foundry was assembling steam engines and advertising engine construction for external buyers. The firm had previously started manufacturing chain cables and brick for their own use and sale to the local market[14].

Related to the use of operating technology was the GMA policy of bringing in experienced British managers and skilled colliers and tradesmen. Willingness to pay higher wages to attract skilled labour brought criticisms from both contemporary sources and modern scholars. The firm also used leading figures including John Buddle and Thomas Telford as consultants on activity in Nova Scotia. As early as 1834, Buddle provided detailed sets of recommendations for underground operations and also for the construction of a railway at the GMA colliery in Cape Breton. He served later as the firm's link to Durham and Northumberland suppliers for the Albion Mines Railway project and will be referred to frequently in this paper.



This map, by Robert R. Brown, appeaerd in Bulletin No. 6 of the CRHA, in August, 1938.

THE EVOLUTION OF COAL TRANSPORT AT ALBION MINES, 1827-1837

The initial GMA goal was to improve water transport by clearing the river along with construction of larger barges[15] "capable of carrying 50 tons" and steamboats to use as tugs. In the *Colonial Patriot* of 14 August, 1830, "An Old Traveller" noted that "*had any one told me thirty or forty years ago, that I should live to see a steam-boat borne on the bosom of waters then washing the shores of a wilderness, I should have smiled at his predictions, and probably recommended a Strait Jacket; but I have lived to see it with my eyes.*"

The age of steam evolved quickly in Pictou County. Burning GMA coal from Albion Mines, the steamer *Royal William* sailed into the record book from Pictou for London in 1833 to become the first ship to cross the Atlantic under steam.

A deep-water wharf had been built in 1831 as a transfer point from barges to seagoing ships. It was replaced in 1838 with a 600 foot wharf described as the largest in Nova Scotia[16]. This wharf introduced containerized cargo-handling with an eighteen horsepower steam engine to move one-chaldron coal boxes which fitted inside the barges. These were equipped with trapdoors so they could be lifted, swung over a vessel's hold, and the coal dropped in one quick motion. The *Mechanic & Farmer* observed that thirty chaldrons "*can thus be transferred with safety and ease in an hour's time.*"

A painting depicting the sailing of the pioneer steamship "Royal William" from Pictou harbour on August 18, 1833 for England which she reached on September 6. This vessel, launched at Quebec on April 27, 1831, made the 1833 crossing under steam power, often considered to be the first transatlantic crossing under steam. However it was not uninterrupted, for she had to stop her engines every four days to clean the steam condensers. On this famous trip she burned coal from the Albion Colliery.

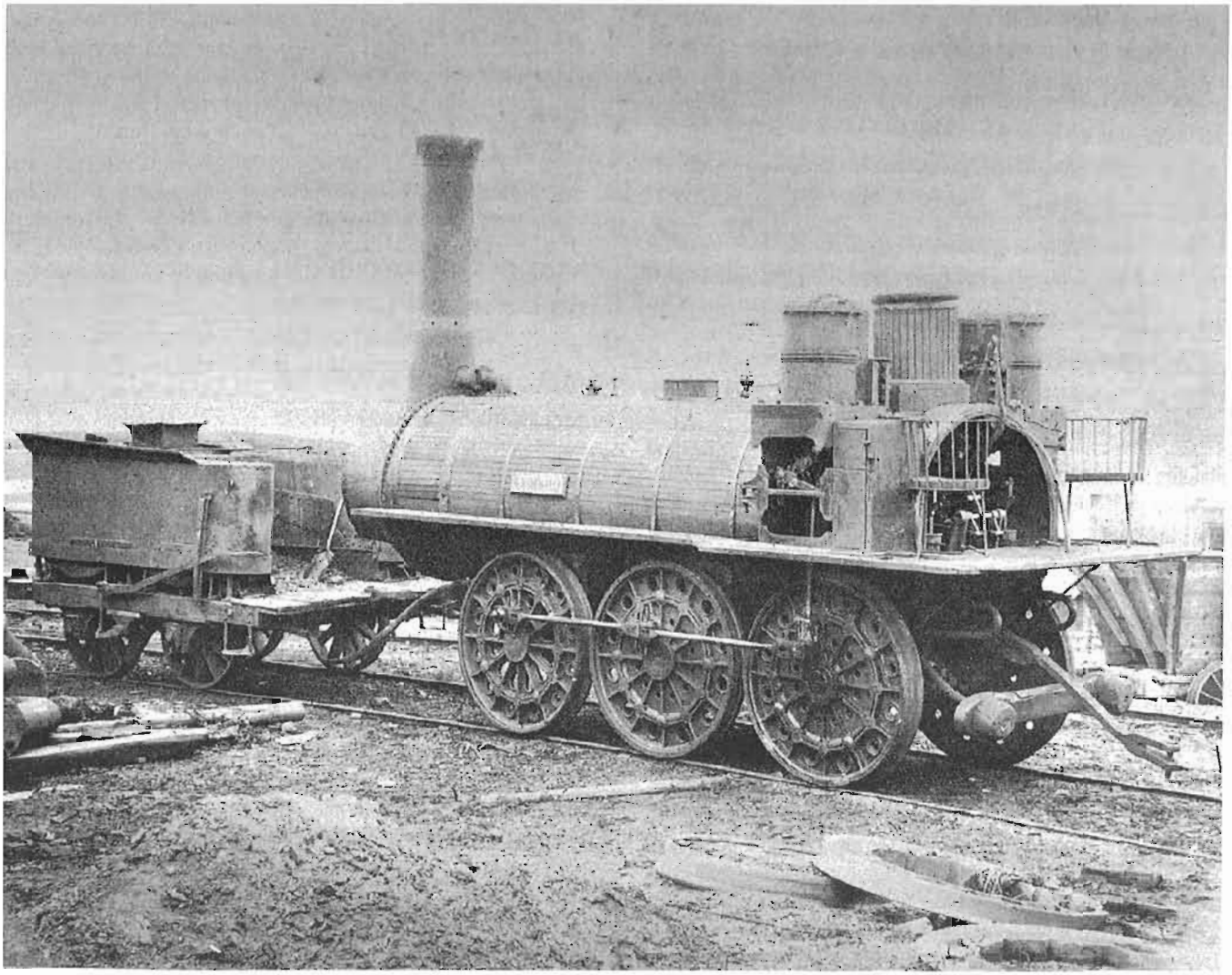
Upriver, wharves were built to load barges from a tramway that was under construction by 1830. The record of the tramway is fragmentary, contradictory, and complicated by later secondary references to a tramway dating from 1818, nine years before the GMA's arrival. However, a total absence of reference to a tramway before 1827 in surviving contemporary documents makes it appear that a pre-GMA tramway is a legend with its origins in an 1891 paper by Henry S. Poole[17].

For the years immediately after 1827, the record is vague. Several press reports[18] indicate a tramway was planned by the GMA on arrival. The *Novascotian* of 21 July, 1830 described a line under construction for "*about a mile and a half*" and noted that, "*Nearly the whole of this Railway has already been completed, all the iron materials for it having been cast at the Establishment. It is intended to run stout wooden cars upon it, which hold just a chaldron* [Winchester measure assumed], *and are constructed so as to empty their lading immediately into the boats.*"

Newspaper accounts like this provide a basis for Pictou County's claim for the manufacture of the first iron rails in North America, a claim which continues to be widely recognized[19] though there are conflicting references about whether the rails were made from locally smelted ore or British pig iron. However, one report[20] stated, less than five months after the GMA arrival in Pictou County, that, "*the materials for a rail-road are also in the possession of Mr. Smith at Pictou.*" If true, this raises the possibility the rails came from England. With such inconclusive evidence, a firm judgement can not made at this time about the origin of the tramway rails.

Precise dates for either the beginning of construction of the tramway or its opening are also uncertain though press reports indicate that by 1833, a line over one and one half miles long was in use[21] and by 1834, an additional mile was under construction. Over 140 Winchester chaldron carts were used. These were scrapped when the railway came into service in 1840[22].

By 1834, an additional three and one half miles of line had been surveyed to a deep-water wharf site, though construction was deferred. Two years later, the GMA obtained approval in the Nova Scotia Legislature of an Act giving the company powers for extensive work on the East River. But increasing opposition to the GMA's monopoly power led to inclusion in this Act of a clause[23] contesting the validity of the Duke's grant and, indirectly, the legality of the GMA's sublease. Though the Act was rejected by the British govermnent in August, 1836, the timing of this political problem coincided with a decision by the GMA to abandon use of the river as part of the coal transport system.



"Samson", the first locomotive on the Albion Colliery Railway, as it appeared in the 1880s, after being retired from service,

In 1830, The *Novascotian* of 21 July had observed, "*As the freight of the coal from the Boat landing to the vessels is the most expensive part of the business of transportation, ... if the Company would go to the expense of continuing the Rail Road ... so that the Vessels might come up and take in the coal without the agency of Boats, it would ultimately repay them amply.*" While the 1834 survey for tramway extension demonstrated consideration of this, the Pictou *Bee* of 28 September, 1836, provides the first record of a GMA decision to proceed, and of the model that would replace the use of barges.

The *Bee* reported that "*the Albion Mining Association have it in contemplation to extend the Railroad from its present termination below New Glasgow .. when Locomotive Engines will be employed in propelling the cars.*" This is the first post-1834 reference found to plans to extend or rebuild the line or use locomotives. Early in 1837, the *Bee*[24] carried the first in a series of tender calls for the railway. Apart from these, few sources survive to reveal the plans for the new line or document its construction. Much of what has survived is in British archival collections of Buddle's papers and sheds much light on British links to the railway[25].

THE ALBION MINES RAILWAY AND ITS BRITISH LINKS. 1838-1840

While the key decisions about the railway were certainly made in London, only one primary document from GMA headquarters outlining specifications has been found. A 22 February, 1838 letter from J.B.Foord, Secretary to the GMA Board, to George and John Rennie[26] invited a proposal from the Rennies for construction of three locomotives for Albion Mines (these being eventually built by Timothy Hackworth) and provides some details about GMA plans.

Those details were concise but are very important in confirming a number of things in keeping with a British railway model. The roadbed was to be "6 1/2 miles, nearly on a dead level" with the "fall being only 10 feet .. in favour of the load." Curves were to be very gradual, "the sharpest has a radius of 25 chains." The rails specified by Foord were heavy, "51 1/2 lbs per yard," as were the chairs at "20 lbs each," and the gauge was indicated as "4 feet 8 inches apart inside."

Unlike many British lines, the right of way was single track though construction charts indicate provision for five sidings where trains could pass. Another feature of British

construction that did not appear in Nova Scotia was the use of stone blocks to support chairs. Stone was considered for a short GMA tramway in Cape Breton[27] but apparently not used. The tender call for sleepers for the Albion Railway[28] specified "good sound Hemlock" known for resistance to rot.

The Pictou *Observer*'s account[29] of the railway's official opening reported the roadbed involved excavation of 400,000 cubic yards for cuts and fills and about twenty bridges, "*some of them built in a style of masonry that would reflect credit on any country.*" One stone bridge carried a railway siding until 1962. Some wooden bridges were relatively large, ranging from 100 to 1500 feet. The latter, "*erected on huge pile piers about 15 feet apart*" ran from the riverbank to the wharf which was initially equipped with three turntables also supplied by Hackworth[30].

Descriptions of the use of the wharf turntables and loading frames which carried coal cars out over the holds of vessels[31] reflect coal wharf operations in northern England at the time. A model for wharf activity is found in the 1834 report Buddle prepared with recommendations for the GMA railway in Cape Breton, copies of which have survived in both Nova Scotia and England[32].

The *Observer*'s opening day account also referred to the rails as "*all of malleable iron, and average about 100 tons to a mile. They all came out ready made from England, but the castings have been made, we believe, at the Albion Foundry.*" No evidence has been found to either support or explicitly contradict this reference to the chairs being cast at Albion Mines.

While no evidence has been located to identify the source of the rails, given Hackworth's involvement as supplier of the locomotives and turntables for Albion Mines, and the known Hackworth/Buddle links to Michael Longridge of the Bedlington Iron Works, it is tempting to speculate that Longridge may have been the source. While this is only speculation, it can be offered in association with the fact that *Vulcan*, the next locomotive to arrive after the Hackworths, was built by R.B.Longridge & Co.[33]. Evan Martin's work[34] on the Longridge firms does not record the GMA as a customer, however, and it is possible that *Vulcan* came to Nova Scotia in 1850 as a second-hand engine.

Six cross-section charts outlining construction progress during 1837 and 1838[35] indicate work was under way on many parts of the roadbed at the same time. As a result, the project was highly labour-intensive. The GMA reported a construction workforce of 296 at the end of September, 1838 when activity was likely close to its peak[36]. The cross-section charts also show that the roadbed was totally new. The railway did not incorporate any part of the original tramway line.

An 1842 GMA report to the Nova Scotia government[37] indicated 154 one-chaldron coal cars were then in service with wheel and axle sets and other iron on hand for close to 100 additional cars. References to loaded and empty trainload weights in Foord's letter to the Rennies indicate an expected net weight of about 2700 lb per car. Letters between Buddle and Foord from February through August, 1839 show an order for 180 sets of "waggon gear" was filled by Robert Rayne of Newcastle[38] and shipped from Newcastle in late August, 1839[39]. Construction of the rolling stock was obviously carried out at Albion Mines.

Rayne is also identified as a supplier of machinery and boiler parts for the GMA in Cape Breton[40] and there had been other links between Rayne and Buddle as well. At least two documents in the Buddle papers[41] deal with contracts filled by Rayne in 1838 for English collieries through Buddle.

The contract for the supply of locomotives was acquired by the Rennies who apparently subcontracted it to Timothy Hackworth. John Buddle acted as GMA liaison with Hackworth, and the surviving copy of the Foord-Rennie letter is one sent by Foord to Buddle for reference in dealings with Hackworth.

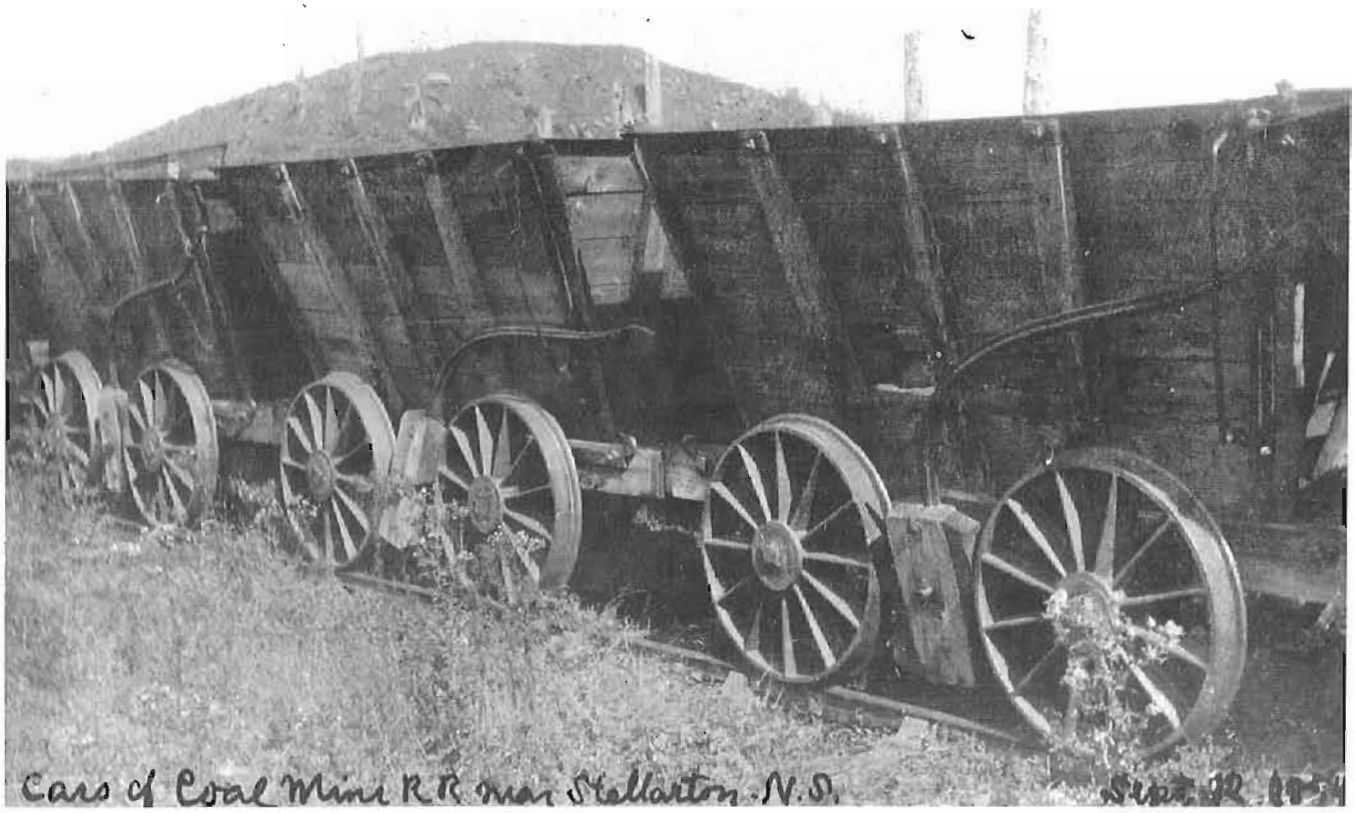
Foord's letter to the Rennies stated the GMA wanted "Three Locomotive Engines of the most approved description.." capable of hauling 150 tons gross at eight mph on the downriver run and the 50 tons of empty cars back to the mines at twelve mph. Given their destination, Foord said that coal rather than coke would be acceptable as fuel and "less injurious to the Furnace Bars and Tubes." Foord also noted that "the construction of the engines must be as simple as possible, all their parts plain, strong & substantial and in every respect suitable for the purpose of conveying coal." The simplicity, based on the fact that in 1838-39 the design was an obsolescent one, was probably to minimize difficulties in maintenance or repairs in an isolated location.

"One engine & tender", wrote Foord, "must be ready for shipment in August next, and the two others in April, 1839." The first locomotive built was *Samson* which still carries Hackworth's plate dated August, 1838. Hackworth did running trials on an unidentified locomotive for an outside contract in August, 1838[42]. Research by Michael Bailey on Hackworth's shop records has indicated[43] no other external contracts were ongoing so these tests were almost certainly on *Samson*.

By November of 1838, Hackworth was at work on the other two engines which would be named *Hercules* and, to no one's surprise, *John Buddle*. Buddle's diary for Sunday, 18 November, 1838[44], indicates a visit to Hackworth and noted progress with "*all the Work executed in a satisfactory manner.*" Running trials were carried out early in 1839 and the locomotives shipped from Newcastle on the brig *Ythan* (identified as "belonging to Mr Rayne") in mid-April[45].

The shipment of the locomotives provides another illustration of the connections at work in these and future contracts for Albion Mines. David Burn of "Busy Cottage Iron Works", Newcastle, supervised shipment of the engines for Nova Scotia[46]. Burn was apparently associated with Robert Rayne at this time and some years later, the firm "Rayne and Burn" was established. That name would appear on the builder's plate of at least one later locomotive brought to Albion Mines in 1854. As was the case with Rayne, Burn's connections to Buddle were not limited to contracts for Nova Scotia. In November of 1839, he provided quotes to Buddle for iron components for a local order being co-ordinated by Buddle[47].

Most accounts written since 1891 have suggested that *Samson* arrived before the other engines. As a result of Foord's original requirement date, presumably for use of a locomotive to support construction activity, and the confirmation of *Samson*'s road tests in August of 1838, Bailey and Glithero[48] accepted Autumn, 1838 for *Samson*'s arrival in Pictou County with a trial run being made there before year's end.



Some of the old coal cars of the Albion Colliery railway at Stellerton on September 12, 1894. By then most of the old equipment was retired. Locomotives "Samson" and "Albion" had gone to Chicago for the World's Columbian Exposition, and the rest was lying derelict awaiting the scrapper. Two of these wheel sets, which may date back as far as 1839, are at the Canadian Railway Museum, stored outside, their significence not fully appreciated.

National Archives of Canada, Merrilees Collection, photo No. PA-164709.

Evidence suggests, however, that *Samson* came with the two other locomotives. On Foord's letter to Buddle which dealt with *Ythan* charter[49], Buddle made a summary notation on the document showing it involved "a vessel to take out the 3 locomotives to Pictou." This is supported by a Pictou newspaper report[50] while the *Ythan* was at sea that there were "*three locomotive engines on their way from England for the rail road.*"

Other key points also come via John Buddle. He had arranged for John Stubbs, Hackworth's shop foreman[51], to go out "to fit up .. the three locomotives" in May of 1839. In a December, 1839 letter to Foord[52], Buddle reported a conversation with Stubbs, now back in England, noting that Stubbs "says there was not a Rail of the Way laid till the 1st of July". This provides a credible answer to a long-standing question and also indicates there would have been no reason for delivery of a locomotive earlier than May of 1839. It also establishes that, regardless of delivery dates, no railway right of way existed for running trials or use of either rolling stock or locomotives before July of 1839.

Buddle also recruited two locomotive engineers for Albion Mines[53]. He had some difficulty finding candidates and had to offer a wage of 3 pounds per week, a figure he indicated was high[54]. George Greathead appears to have been an employee of Hackworth's[55] but, save for his name in Buddle's financial records[56], nothing has been found about him in British or Nova Scotia sources. George Davidson, the other engineer, spent over half a century at Albion Mines and maintained a connection to *Samson* which lasted through that locomotive's appearance at major exhibitions in Chicago in 1883 and again in 1893.

When the line's first two and one half miles were officially opened on September 19, 1839, it followed the British pattern and was clearly designed to generate good will for the GMA through the biggest public celebration staged in Pictou County or possibly in Nova Scotia up to that time. With parades, rides on trains powered by *Hercules* and *Buddle*, a feast centered by "1100 Ibs of beef and mutton", music and dances, the day was summarized by an oft repeated statement in the *Mechanic & Farmer*[57] that "*there was not an unemployed fiddle or bagpipe from Cape John to the Garden of Eden*", - the extremities of the district. The paper noted that the only misadventure of the day involved a dog being run down by one of the locomotives and had the good taste not to draw comparisons with opening day on the Liverpool and Manchester [which had taken place in 1830, at which one of the guests of honour, William Huskisson, was run over and killed].

Locomotive "Pictou", identical to "Albion", on September 12, 1894. This engine was likely scrapped soon after the photo was taken. National Archives of Canada, Merrilees Collection, photo No. PA-164710.

The remaining four-mile section was completed and trains started running to the wharf in May, 1840[58]. The railway operated for the next fifty years with few changes except for rail upgrades and the addition of rolling stock and locomotives. Hackworth's engines all worked for over forty years and *Samson* was in use until 1885[59]. Since the railway was abandoned, it has become little more than a dim memory centered on the surviving locomotives, Hackworth's *Samson*, and Rayne & Burn's *Albion*[60] which came to Pictou County in 1854.

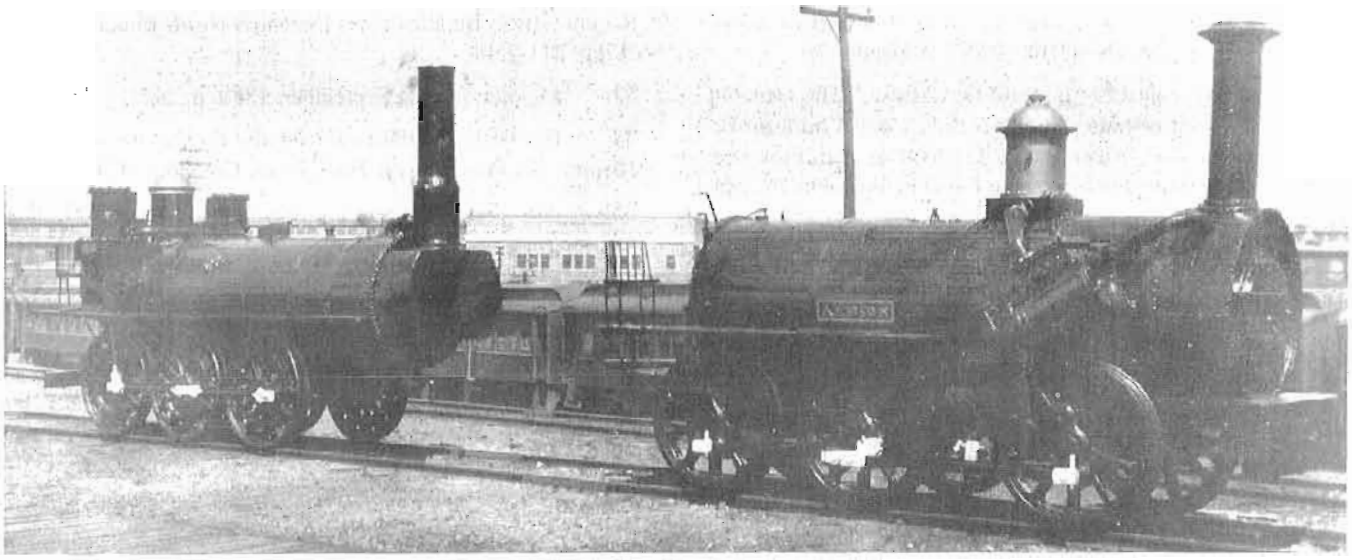
Within the last decade, a new provincial Museum of Industry has been opened at a site within a few yards of the original railway right of way. This facility has finally assured a proper display location for *Samson* and *Albion* and the conservation / restoration efforts on the locomotives, based on assessments carried out by Michael Bailey and John Glithero in 1992 (see their paper on the *Samson* project), have breathed new life into the legacy of the Albion line.

CONCLUSION

There are many unanswered questions about the Albion Railway in addition to those identified above. There are major gaps in our knowledge about construction activity or those who built the line. There are fragmentary details about the provision of public freight and passenger service but without the scope to assess the social and economic impacts of the railway on the community. It is equally difficult to assess the extent to which the line influenced the development of later railways in Nova Scotia. While there is some information about day to day operations, little is known about the crews who operated the line. Other unresolved questions have closer connections to England and several of the most pressing of these involve John Buddle.

Given Buddle's status as an industry consultant, it seems likely that his 1834 proposals for Cape Breton would also have been considered by the GMA Board in the context of later developments at Albion Mines. It also seems possible that those proposals could have influenced both the decision to construct a railway in Pictou County and the specifications for the project when it reached the implementation stage though, at this time, it is unknown if either was the case.

A third question centers on the supervision of construction of the railway. The *Observer*'s account of opening day indicated that construction "*has been conducted under the immediate supervision of Mr. Peter Crerar, whose practical skill*



"Samson" and "Albion" as they appeared in 1928, at the time of their return to Nova Scotia after a 35 year absence.

as a civil engineer is too well known to require mention." But later accounts of the extent of Crerar's role seem difficult to accept.

Patterson's history of Pictou County, written almost four decades after the opening of the railway, states[61] that Crerar's plans, as sent to London, led to the reconunendation by an unidentified British engineer who reviewed them that the GMA needed "*no better superintendent than the man who prepared them.*" A leap of faith is necessary to accept that the GMA would have taken such a recommendation literally and agreed to give full responsibility for a project expected to cost more than 50,000 pounds to someone who had never seen a railway. Patterson's version is simply not plausible but nevertheless has become an established part of the railway's "history" as recorded in Nova Scotia.

What seems more reasonable is that Crerar did the work on the ground in Pictou County while taking the advice of, and under the direction of, someone with engineering expertise known to the GMA, even if that individual was never on site in person. The *Observer*'s phrase "*under the immediate supervision*" may well refer to this kind of arrangement. Buddle's reports on Cape Breton record activity there by "D. Hoard" who reported directly to Buddle rather than to the GMA. The one surviving letter from Hoard[62] indicates he was on site in Cape Breton for at least three months in 1834. No evidence has been located to indicate this was the managerial model for construction of the Albion Railway, but this appears a more satisfactory explanation than the one to evolve from Patterson's account. And this suggests, as a hypothesis, that Buddle's role in the project may have been even more significant than that shown in the documents identified to date.

These and other unresolved questions may continue to be unanswered. Considerable GMA material exists from Cape Breton, but few company documents from Pictou County are found in Nova Scotia archives. More significantly, GMA records in London apparently did not survive the firm's 1901 dissolution. While the Buddle papers examined to date are a critical source to trace some core links between the Albion Railway and the British influences which shaped it, many challenges remain to invite future research in both Canada and Britain.

NOTES

1. see F.C. Gamst. "The Context and Significance of America's First Railroad," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 33, # 1, January, 1992, as well as his paper.

2. see J. E. Vance. *The North American Railroad.* Baltimore / London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995

3. Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS]: RG 1, vol. 458, #146; RG 1, vol. 458 1/2, 18; RG 1, vol. 463, # 41

4. Baker Library Business Archives, Harvard Business School: Fox manuscript; Industries, Oversized, c. 1; see also R. W. Lovett, "Rundell, Bridge and Rundell - An Early Company History", *The Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, vol. 23, # 3, 1949, for a detailed synopsis of the Fox manuscript

5. Illustrations of RB&R work for clients including the Royal Family appear in Celina Fox, ed. *London - World City - 1800—1840*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 494-503

6. see F. G. Dawson. *The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822-25 Loan Bubble*. New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 1990

7. see GMA Royal Charter of 1846, *Journals of Nova Scotia House of Assembly* [JHA], 1847, Appendix 28

8. Fox ms, cols 159-160; and D.A.Muise. "The General Mining Association and Nova Scotia's Coal," *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*, Autunm, 1983; Muise examines the documents regarding the agreement found in the Public Record Office

9. PANS: RG 1, vol. 463, # 43

10. JHA, 1836, Appendix 2, pp. 7-10

11. see R. P. Fereday. The Career of Richard Smith. MA Thesis, University of Keele, 1966

12. *Mechanic & Farmer*, 1 May, 1839

13. The *Novascotian*, 13 December, 1827

14. *Colonial Patriot*, 6 August, 1831; 4 August, 1832

15. *Mechanic & Farmer*, 17 June, 1840

16. *Mechanic & Farmer*, 1 May, 1839

17. The earliest reference to this 1818 tramway appears to be in H.S.Poole, "One of the Oldest Rail Roads in Canada," *Transactions of Canadian Society of Civil Engineers for 1890*. Montreal: Lovell, 1891; most recently, see M.R.Bailey and J.P.Glithero, *The Samson and Albion Locomotives.. An Assessment of Current Condition*. Stellarton, NS: Nova Scotia Museum of Industry, 1992, p. 14; and F. C. Gamst, ed. *Early American Railways*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 818

18. e.g. *Colonial Patriot*, 14 December, 1827

19. Gamst, 1997, p. 819

20. The *Novascotian*, 18 October, 1827

21. *Colonial Patriot*, 30 July, 1833

22. PANS: RG 1, vol. 463, #43

23. Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1836, Chapter 14

24. The *Bee*, 29 March, 1837

25. It must be noted that Bailey and Glithero, 1992, made use of some of the British archival material and that L. G. Charlton's paper, "Early British Locomotives For Nova Scotia". *Industrial Railway Record*, No. 83, December, 1979, provided an introductory assessment of the John Buddle papers in a Nova Scotia context. Unfortunately, Charlton's paper also incorporated a number of inaccuracies drawn from earlier secondary sources.

26. Durham County Record Office, Buddle Papers [hereafter Durham-Buddle]: NCB I/JB/1740

27. The *Cape-Bretonian*, 3 May, 1834

28. The *Bee*, 13 September, 1837

29. The *Observer*, 24 September, 1839

30. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1751, 1754, 1755

31. e.g. J. S. Buckingham. *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Other British Provinces in North America*. London: Fisher, Son & Co, 1843, p. 316

32. PANS: RG 21A, vol. 39, # 32; Northumberland County Record Office, Buddle Papers [hereafter North-Buddle]: BUD/19/pp. 211-230

33. *Engineering*, 24 September, 1880, p. 247

34. E. Martin. *Bedlington Iron and Engine Works: A New History*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1974

35. Nova Scotia Museum of Industry Collection, 197.30.3-197.30.8

36. JHA, 1839, Appendix 50, p. 86

37. PANS: RG 1, vol. 463, # 43

38. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1733-1735, 1752

39. North-Buddle: BUD/60/2/Folio 31

40. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1761

41. North-Buddle: BUD/24/pp. 70 and 83

42. Public Record Office: Rail/Stockton & Darlington Archives/ 667/1158

43. personal correspondence with the author, March, 1998

44. North-Buddle: BUD/48/10

45. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1735, 1737-39

46. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1738

47. North-Buddle: BUD/24/p. 75

48. Bailey and Glithero, 1992, p. 35

49. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1735

50. *Mechanic & Farmer*, 1 May, 1839

51. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1754

52. North-Buddle: Letterbook, 1839: BUD/60/3/#46

53. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1733, 1736

54. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1738

55. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1737

56. North-Buddle: Colliery Notes and Accounts, 1839: BUD/77/p 28

57. *Mechanic & Farmer,* 25 September, 1839

58. The *Observer*, 19 May, 1840

59. *Canadian Mining Manual for 1890-91*. Ottawa: 1890, p. 11

60. Bailey and Glithero, 1992, pp 19, 42-44, point out a number of reasons to suspect that *Albion* was made earlier than 1854 and not by Rayne and Burn. Mechanical considerations and the absence of a record for Rayne and Burn as locomotive manufacturers make it appear likely that *Albion* was a second-hand engine reconditioned by the Newcastle firm in 1854 before shipment to Nova Scotia.

61. G. Patterson. *A History of the County of Pictou*. Montreal: Dawson, 1877, p. 406

62. Durham-Buddle: NCB I/JB/1717

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First Rails in Atlantic Canada: The Evolution of a Legend

By Herb MacDonald

"In 1818, when coal mines were first opened on the East River of Pictou, a tram road was made from the pits to the head of the tide ..." [1]

With this beginning to a paper presented in Montreal in 1890, Henry S. Poole created a legend about the first use in Nova Scotia (or any of the Atlantic provinces) of rail-based transport. This study examines the diffusion of that legend through the popular and academic literature of early Canadian transportation history as it has appeared in Canada, the United States, and Britain over the past century. Utilizing primary Canadian and British sources, it also presents a case for the removal of the status often accorded the 1818 Pictou County tramway[2] as a landmark event in the history of transportation in Canada. Both of these must begin with consideration of the context where that first reference to the 1818 tramway appeared.

H.S. POOLE AND "ONE OF THE EARLIEST RAIL ROADS IN CANADA"

At the time Poole's paper was written, he was General Manager of the Acadia Coal Company in Stellarton[3], Nova Scotia and the senior local official for the dominant mining company in Pictou County. He had published works on geology, mining engineering, and the industrial history of the area, and was a prominent figure in the coal industry locally and nationally. His father, also Henry Poole, had been Agent for the General Mining Association [GMA] in Pictou County during the period 1840-1854. The elder Poole was in charge of GMA operations there when the Albion Railway, the first locomotive-powered railway in Nova Scotia and the second in Canada, came into full operation in 1840. This line, initially powered by three locomotives from the shops of Timothy Hackworth of Shildon, County Durham, England, was the focus of the younger Poole's paper. As a result of both his father's position during the 1840s, and his own role a half-century later, when Henry S. Poole put pen to paper, his words carried a cachet of authority which they sometimes did not deserve.

Poole's account is an important resource, made the more so because primary documentation and contemporary sources dealing with early rail transport in Nova Scotia are in frustratingly short supply. But Poole must be assessed in the light of the primary and contemporary sources which have survived. When examined in that context, he is found to be far from infallible.

Alongside his reference to a tramway dating from 1818, Poole also stated that it was in that year "... *when coal mines were first opened* ..." in the district. The historical record is not as extensive as we might wish but primary documents, which will be referred to in some detail below, indicate that mineral rights had been acquired from the colonial government and mining was under way at least as early as 1807. With his clearly erroneous date for the beginning of mining activity in Pictou County, Poole's credibility is weakened in the very first phrase of his paper.

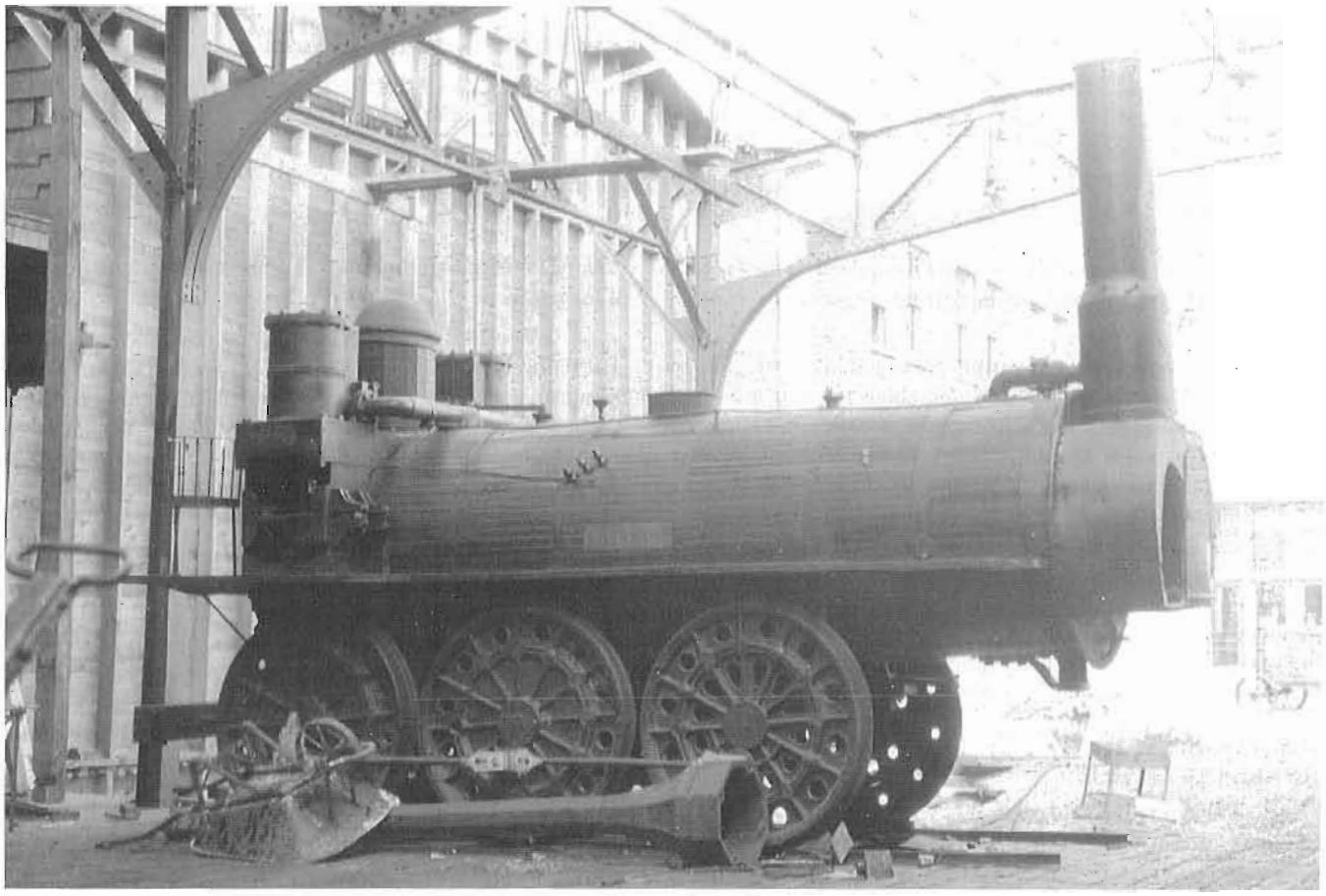
When dealing with a number of key points about his core subject matter, the Albion Railway, Poole further demonstrated that his command of what he presented as fact was not always secure. Referring to the locomotive-powered line, Poole stated, "*It was finished in 1838*", and went on to assert that, "*in that year the first locomotive ran over a rail road in Nova Scotia.*"[4]

Had a locomotive been assembled at either Albion Mines or the shipping wharf at the northern end of the railway at any time during 1838, surviving construction cross-sectional charts[5], which illustrate progress on the roadbed, show that not more than 1/2 mile of continuous right of way could have been in place anywhere along the line. In fact, evidence in a letter from John Buddle[6] to J.B. Foord of the General Mining Association, indicates that "*not a Rail of the Way was laid before the 1st of July*", 1839. Buddle's source was John Stubbs, an employee of Timothy Hackworth. Stubbs had been sent to Albion Mines in May of 1839 to "*fit up ... the three locomotives*"[7] for the new railway and would have had more than passing interest in the right of way on which the Hackworth locomotives would be used.

Despite the assertion made by Poole (and many others after 1890), there is no primary or contemporary evidence to document arrival of any locomotive(s) prior to May, 1839. There are, however, two important sources which point to May, 1839 as the arrival date for the three Hackworth engines. A February 27, 1839 letter from Foord to Buddle[8], referring to the ship *Ythan* which had been chartered to carry locomotives from the Tyne to Nova Scotia, has a summary notation in Buddle's hand indicating the charter was for "3 locomotives." While the *Ythan* was at sea[9], an account in a Pictou newspaper[10] refers to "three locomotives" being en route from England. These sources would seem to confirm that the three initial Albion Railway engines came on the same ship in May of 1839.

No evidence has been found from primary sources about any operation of the locomotives prior to the official opening of the railway on September 19, 1839. When this opening took place, local press reports[11] clearly indicate the line had then been completed less than half way from the Albion Mines pithead to the "Loading Ground" wharf, the northern terminus near the mouth of the East River. The railway was not operational the rest of the way to the wharf until the spring of the following year. The *Observer* of May 19, 1840, reported "*the first eventful journey from the Mines to the Loading Ground*" a few days after it took place.

Henry S. Poole's paper is a valuable resource despite the presence of inaccuracies such as those noted and others. But the absence of information about his sources and his



ABOVE: "Samson", probably in Halifax, soon after its return in 1928. OPPOSITE: "Albion" at the same location at the same time. Both photos from the collection of Donald Angus, likely acquired from John Loye.

potential for inaccuracy make it vital for his paper to be viewed with a critical eye, something which has generally not been applied. Instead, Poole has all too frequently been accepted as a definitive source rather than just one to be judged against other or earlier sources. As a result, many of his assertions which do not stand up to critical assessment have been widely incorporated into the post-1890 literature of the Albion Railway. Among these is the proposition that there had been an operating tramway before the arrival of the General Mining Association in 1827.

THE "1818 TRAMWAY" AND THE POST-POOLE LITERATURE

In 1896, five years after Poole's work appeared in print, Edwin Gilpin, Nova Scotia's Inspector of Mines, published a paper on the history of coal mining in Pictou County. After reviewing pre-GMA activity and the first years of GMA operations, Gilpin began a section on transportation in the Pictou coalfield with the following statement:

"*When the first attempt was made to work coal systematically in 1818, a rough tramway was built from the mines to a point on the East River a few hundred yards distant ... which could be reached by barges at high tide.*"[12]

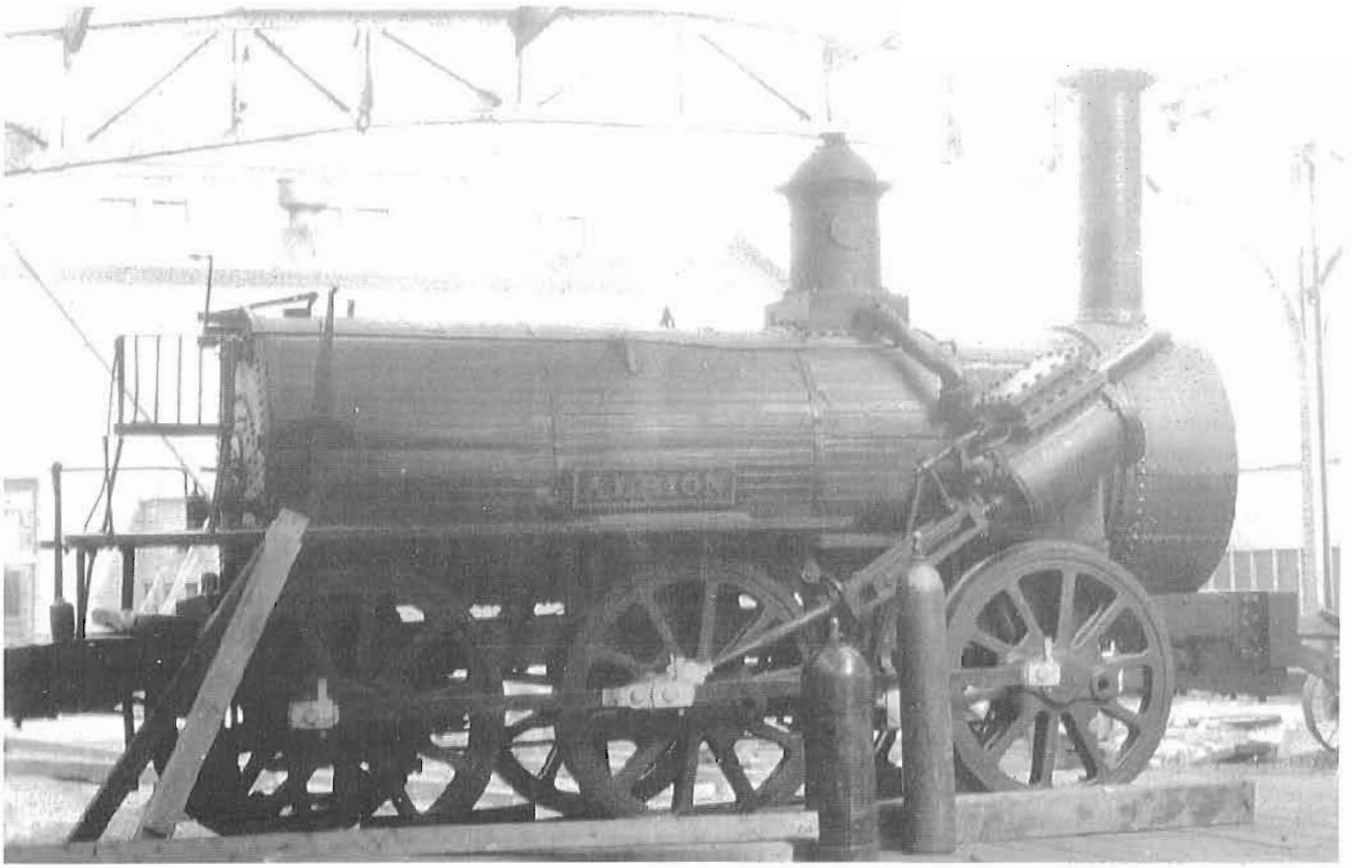
Had Gilpin's reference appeared before Poole's, it would have to be regarded much more seriously. As a result of his government position, Gilpin had access to government documents and historical records. He wrote and published widely, mostly on geology and mining engineering but with some overlaps into historic and economic aspects of the field. Unlike Poole, Gilpin generally documented his sources (though no footnotes appeared in this particular paper) and usually deserves high marks for accuracy.

But when his 1896 paper appeared, Gilpin would certainly have seen Poole's account. Gilpin also published in the *Transactions of the Society of Civil Engineers* and the two men would undoubtedly have met many times between 1890 and 1896 as a result of their respective positions. Given the timing, the absence of citations, and the parallel phrasing, one can only conclude that Gilpin's reference to the 1818 tramway came from his acceptance of Poole's statement as an accurate one.

After the publication of Gilpin's paper, almost three decades passed before the next reference to the 1818 tramway appeared. From Warren Anderson in 1924, we find Poole's words almost verbatim when Anderson wrote:

"*In 1818, when the coal mines at East River were opened, a tram road was built from the pithead to the head of the tide.*"[13]

No citations were provided by Anderson but his phrasing appears to be a direct rewrite of Poole.



In 1933, Robert Brown, who played a leading role in the establishment of the Canadian Railroad Historical Association, presented some "Additional Notes on the Early Locomotives in Nova Scotia" as a follow-up to Anderson's paper. Here he stated:

"The old horse operated tramway at the Albion Mine originally built in 1818 and rebuilt in 1829 was soon found to be inadequate, so in 1834 or thereabouts..."[14]

As with Anderson, there were no notes or sources and one can only conclude that Brown took his content from Anderson and/or Poole.

Most significant about Brown's 1933 reference to the 1818 tramway is that it was not carried forward to his later work dealing with Nova Scotia's transport history. This is most conspicuous in 1938[15] and 1949[16] papers that provided a detailed review of early tramways and railways in Canada. The absence of a pre-1827, ie pre-GMA, tramway there indicates that Brown had decided post-1933 that the case for the 1818 tramway could not be justified. This is confirmed in a later letter from Brown[17] which suggested that Poole's claim for a pre-GMA tramway was incorrect. Unfortunately this letter provided neither specific reasoning for this conclusion nor an indication of when Brown had changed his mind about the matter.

In 1933, the pre-GMA tramway made its first appearance in a book providing extensive coverage of the history of Canadian rail transport. Thompson and Edgar's survey of Canadian railway development included recognition of: "... *a tramroad built during 1818 to connect the coal mines of East River with tidewater ...*"[18] within a short account of the Albion Railway. Despite the assurance of the "*authors' determination to spare no effort in ascertaining the true facts*"[19], in addition to the 1818 tramway, they incorporated other inaccuracies regarding early events in Pictou County including, like Poole, reference to the arrival of Hackworth's three locomotives in 1838. Norman Thompson was identified as the "Canadian Representative of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society". This direct connection to the R&LHS and an acknowledgement to the Society's Bulletin leads one to conclude that the authors' reference to the 1818 tramway was based on the the paper by Anderson and possibly also that by Brown in 1933[20].

In 1960, in the introductory section of his official two-volume history of the Canadian National Railways, George Stevens included a short section on the Albion Railway which also began with a claim for the existence of a pre-GMA tramway. Stevens wrote:

"From 1818 onwards the early Pictou coal measures were worked by means of a tramway four miles in length, over which horse-drawn carts carried the coal to loading quays on Pictou Harbour."[21]

Stevens' page-long section on the Albion Railway was not documented in any way. It appears that he drew on a variety of common secondary sources but he also offered several distinctive inaccuracies. Among those were an 1828 date for the organization of the GMA, and an assertion that the Albion Railway was abandoned toward the end of the 19th Century because the pits it served were "worked out".

As a result, there is no basis for speculating about Stevens' source for his reference to the 1818 tramway. But it is there, along with other elements which are flatly contradicted by the primary documents. Stevens may well have felt the Albion Railway did not merit particularly careful attention within the context of his much wider subject matter and such an assertion would probably stand the test of argument. It is amusing, however, to find the 1818 tramway as well as other obvious problems of content dealing with early rail history in Pictou County coming from the pen of a professional historian who was born in a railway station at Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia,[22] only 40 miles from Stellarton.

With the publication of *The Pictonian Colliers* in 1960, James Cameron, a prominent local historian in Pictou County, made an important contribution to the history of his county and the coal industry in Nova Scotia. Cameron also accepted the story of the 1818 tramway without question although his account does differ in one respect from the standard post-Poole version. He provided a new element by appearing to allocate credit for the tramway to a specific individual when he wrote: "*By 1818 coal demand increased sufficiently to encourage construction of water shipping facilities. A tram road was constructed from John MacKay's pits one quarter mile in length to the head of tide water on the East River.*"[23]

John McKay is the earliest known holder of mining rights in Pictou County. However, in introducing MacKay [sic], Cameron's version has a major problem beyond his failure to document any connection between "MacKay" and the tramway. In 1818, John McKay no longer held the mining lease.[24] Cameron's content is interesting but does not offer anything to enhance the tramway's historical standing.

While all the references to the 1818 tramway noted to this point were by Canadians, the papers by Anderson and Brown were published in the United States and widely circulated there though the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society. The 1818 tramway, however, has also appeared in the work of a number of British and American writers.

The first identified British reference appeared in a paper by Kenneth Brown [no relation to Robert R, Brown] which appeared during the period 1928-1935[25]. Within an article about the Albion Railway locomotives, *Samson* and *Albion*, which had been returned to Nova Scotia in 1928, Kenneth Brown stated that the: "... *road on which Samson worked was originally opened in part in 1818 as a tramroad.*"

This reference is interesting because it is one of the very few to suggest that the railway right of way incorporated sections of any earlier tramway. This suggestion, however, is contradicted by primary sources. The railway construction cross-sections referred to above illustrate that the roadbed for the railway constructed in 1837-1840 followed a different route from the tramway built by the GMA after 1827.

The next identified British reference appeared in 1936 in a paper by G.R. Lockie. When referring to the engines built by Hackworth for the GMA, Lockie stated that the line on which they ran: "*had originally been opened as a horse tramroad in 1818 when the mines in question were first worked.*"[26]

More recently, Ian Bowman's 1978 paper noted that: "*As early as 1818 there was a horse-drawn railway from the Albion coal mines to the wharves of the East River at Pictou.*"[27]

Neither Lockie nor Bowman provided footnotes or indicators of the sources they used. In both accounts, however, the phrasing and the absence of content to suggest use of any primary sources tend to indicate that their 1818 tramway references ultimately came from Poole or a source based on Poole. Of the two, Lockie's reference to the 1818 tramway was the more significant because it became the basis for a quantum leap in the tramway's academic stature.

Michael Lewis' 1970 study of early British and continental waggonways has been widely recognized as the definitive work on the subject. Within this major study, Lewis also provided a concise survey of the application of the technology of the British waggonway in North America and, citing Lockie as source, made brief reference to the 1818 tramway.[28] This was the first of several instances of British and American scholars with significant reputations in the early history of rail transport accepting the evolving chain of secondary evidence about the tramway's existence.

In 1990, Michael Bailey and John Glithero, established authorities on early British locomotives, carried out an assessment of the condition of *Samson* and *Albion*, the surviving GMA locomotives in the collection of the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry in Stellarton. In one of their reports for the Museum, reference was made, citing Poole, to the 1818 tramway.[29] Communication by the author with Bailey and Glithero established that they had examined most of the post-Poole sources referred to above but were not aware of any earlier evidence to support the tramway's existence.

The most recent scholarly reference to the 1818 tramway is that by Frederick Gamst of the University of Massachusetts in his English-language edition of Franz Anton von Gerstner's monumental report on American railways based on an 1838-39 tour of the United States. In his extensive notes to this first English translation of von Gerstner's text, Gamst included an annotated list of the 20 earliest tram lines in North America, all dating before 1830. He accorded 7th place in the chronological sequence to the "East River line of 1818" which he describes as a "*short wooden railroad for hauling coal .. worked by horses.*"[30]

Gamst did not document his reference to the 1818 tramway but has indicated in personal correspondence with the author that it was based on his interpretation of Henry Poole's paper.

The emergence of this secondary record about the 1818 tram line, and the identification of it as one of the earliest in North America in major works of scholarship like Lewis' *Early Wooden Railways* and Gamst's edition of von Gerstner are invitations to the erection of commemorative plaques or stamps[31], or the construction of a working replica as an outdoor attraction at the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry in Stellarton, a facility located at almost the exact point where the tramway would have started - if it had really existed.

But the case for the tramway, based on these post-1890 secondary accounts, must be assessed in the light of both the limitations to that secondary evidence and the record of those primary and contemporary sources which have survived. Such an assessment casts considerable doubt on Henry Poole's tramway.

SIGNIFICENT MISSING REFERENCES TO THE 1818 TRAMWAY

Contrary evidence regarding the 1818 tramway is of an unusual nature, the essence of which is its absence. Unfortunately one does not normally encounter sources stating that something does not or did not exist. A case for non-existence must be made through the absence of reference in those locations where it should logically be found.

Had there been a tramway in Pictou County in 1818 or any time up to the arrival of the GMA in 1827, there are three pre-1890 secondary works where one would particularly expect to find reference to it. If found, those would be more significant than other undocumented references appearing 70 or more years after 1818. However, if absent, the absence of the references should merit an equally higher level of significance.

The first, chronologically, of these potential sources is Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* published in Halifax in 1829 by Joseph Howe. Lack of reference to the tramway here is important. This two volume work was designed to be, among other things, a major promotion piece to tout Nova Scotia's history, resources and development potential in Britain and the United States. Had there been a tramway in operation prior to 1827, it is difficult to believe that neither Haliburton nor his publisher knew of it or would not have included reference to it[32].

Haliburton indicated that Richard Smith, GMA Agent in Pictou County, 1827-1834, and Richard Brown, Smith's counterpart in Cape Breton, provided "*the whole of the information*"[33] in the nine-page chapter on mineral resources and mining in the province. This provides an even higher level of probability that a tramway acquired by the GMA in 1827 would have been noted as part of the account of the development of mining in Pictou County found in Haliburton's book.

Almost as close in time to 1818 were the Albion Mines components of Joseph Howe's "*Eastern Rambles*" of 1829-31. These "*Rambles*" were detailed accounts of eastern Nova Scotia based on Howe's travels in that part of the province and published in his newspaper. If the General Mining Association had acquired a tramway on their arrival in 1827, it should have been known to Howe, as noted above. Even if it was not deemed worthy of inclusion in Haliburton's book, it seems difficult to imagine why it would not have received at least passing reference in the "*Rambles*". Its absence is particularly noticeable in one of Howe's 1830 accounts[34] which described in some detail the tramway the GMA then had under construction at Albion Mines.

A third location where existence of a pre-GMA tramway might be expected to be noted is George Patterson's *History of Pictou County*[35] which appeared in 1877. Patterson's primary interests were religious affairs, personalities, and politics in roughly that order and he unfortunately paid relatively less attention to economic history. However, had there been a tradition of a tramway predating the GMA arrival in the county, one would think that Patterson would have been aware of it and included reference to it.

All surviving issues of pre-1850 Pictou County newspapers have been examined and no reference to a pre-GMA tramway has been located. This absence, however, is of less consequence for several reasons. The earliest paper in the district, the *Colonial Patriot*, did not appear until December, 1827 and a tramway that dated back to 1818 would have long since ceased to be newsworthy, assuming it would ever have been newsworthy. Local content was often neglected by the papers of this period and those published in Pictou County often had more news about Boston, London, and Edinburgh than about the local area. In addition, there are numerous missing issues from the papers which appeared between 1827 and the 1850s. As a result, the absence of any mention of a possible tramway from a minimum of a decade earlier in the surviving newspaper record is less significant than its absence in the sources noted immediately above.

THE SILENCE OF THE PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

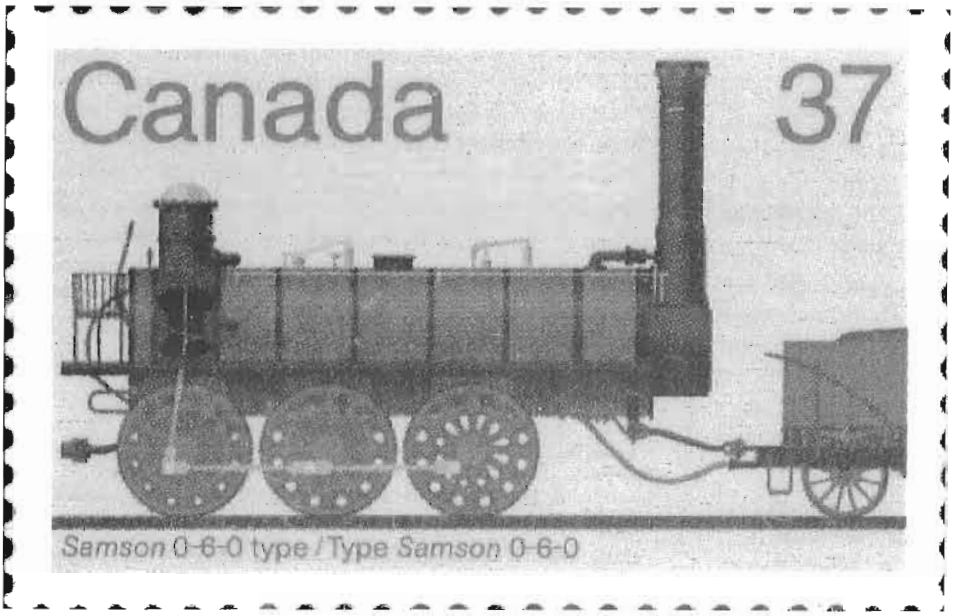
If the absence of reference to an 1818 tramway in Haliburton, Howe, or Patterson is significant, the absence of reference in primary source materials from the early years of the Pictou coalfield is even more important. Though the primary materials which have survived are far from a complete record, they do provide a cross section of detail from the years before the arrival of the GMA. For example, the documents record the sequence of the leaseholders over the period 1807-1827 and coal production volumes during this period. For some topics, however, the details are fragmentary, and for others like the 1818 tramway, they are non-existent.

These surviving documents in the Mines and Minerals papers of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia are particularly significant because a number of them do refer to coal transport and coalfield investments in Pictou County in the period up to 1827. These provide a context where one would most expect the tramway to be mentioned, if it had existed.

In a petition to Governor Dalhousie dated Sept 29, 1819, John McKay sought compensation for work done at the mine site during his years as leaseholder, 1807-1817. McKay stated he had: "*expended very large sums of money in sinking drains to carry off water from the Mines, and in making permanent Roads and Bridges from the Mines to the River.*"[36]

McKay put a value of "*upwards of Fifteen hundred pounds*" on "*Drains and Ditches, and making Roads and Bridges*". Given the objective of his petition, if McKay had made any investment in a tramway, it seems certain that it would have been noted here. This document also confirms that McKay's lease was turned over to Edward Mortimer in December, 1817, at which point McKay stated he had been in debtor's prison for "*upwards of twelve months,*" a point that speaks to the limits to McKay's assets and the profitability of his mining activity.

A sworn statement dated May 4, 1820 was presented by five of John McKay's supporters in a civil suit he launched against the Mortimer estate.[37] It outlined McKay's investments in "*boats, carts, dwelling houses and blacksmith shop.*" Another statement supporting McKay, from G. Cutler (McKay's clerk in 1816-1817), and sworn on May 2, 1820 referred to McKay making expenditures on "*drains, roads, bridges, etc. to enable the said mines*" to be worked.[38] Neither of these, like McKay's petition to Dalhousie, offers any indication of a tramway being built by McKay.



The "Samson" as seen on a Canadian stamp issued in October 1983; one of a series of stamps depicting historic Canadian locomotives.

Another document which came out of McKay's suit against the Mortimer estate is a statement by John Pagan, Mortimer's bookkeeper in 1818-1819, which was sworn on August 4, 1820.[39] This provided a brief account of the short Mortimer era. Pagan referred to Mortimer's not doing anything at the mine site until April, 1818, after which he made some improvements including "a new bridge" and a "road laid with timber" which sounds like a corduroy road but not a tramway.

A statement from Adam Carr (who obtained his sub-lease from Mortimer's successors in November, 1819 and worked it until after the arrival of GMA in 1827), sworn on August 4, 1820, stated that during 1819, as result of McKay's denial of transit rights over land he owned between the mine and the river, Mortimer had to haul coal "*through a cornfield for which licence he was obliged to pay.*"[40] This appears to further indicate that no tramway was in operation during the surmner of 1819, the last summer Mortimer's employees worked the mine.

In 1827, Adam Carr found himself under pressure to sell his sub-lease to the GMA. Carr petitioned Governor James Kempt[41] on July 3, 1827 seeking support from the government for the continuation of his sub-lease till mid-1828, the originally contracted date, and sought aid against GMA threats to "*undersell Your Petitioner in the Market*" which Carr indicated would ensure that "*Your Petitioner's ruin would be consummated*". Carr referred to his investments after 1819 in boats and construction of a wharf but says nothing at all about a tramway.

The final document that merits specific attention is an 1842 letter from Carr to George Wightman, the provincial engineer, replying to comments in a report on mining activity in Pictou County which Wightman prepared for the Nova Scotia government.[42] Carr's objective was to deny Wightman's claim that the government had paid for a wharf built by Carr. Carr went on to refer to activities during his tenure in some detail.

This letter dates from 15 years after Carr signed over his lease to the GMA when he, as phrased in his letter, "*was driven out by Richard Smith, after six month's hard warfare*". Carr noted that when he gave up, Smith "*took the tools from me and [I] received for coal boats & carts and with all the other implements*" slightly over 182 pounds. Though this letter was written well after the events in question, it has in Carr's own hand the greatest detail of what he did during his tenure. And here again, in a context where a tramway would be expected to appear, had one been constructed by Carr, we find no tramway. A horse gin mentioned here by Carr is the most sophisticated form of equipment noted in any of the documents dealing with mining activity prior to the arrival of the General Mining Association in 1827.

CONCLUSION

Given the fact that these surviving documents are conspicuously silent about a tramway prior to 1827, one must consider whether Poole meant what his paper literally stated in its published form. His 1818 tramway reference was followed in the latter part of his first paragraph by reference to the transfer of the property to the GMA in 1827. This sequence makes it appear that the "1818" was not a typographical error intended as 1828, ie. as a reference to GMA activity after 1827, but rather that Poole meant either 1818 or, at the very least, something before the arrival of the GMA.

The evidence, however, in all its forms appears to indicate that the 1818 tramway was either a figment of Poole's imagination or the product of a local legend. Absence of any pre-Poole reference in any source makes the "local legend" appear an unsatisfactory explanation. As a result, there is no alternative but to conclude that Poole was the original source of the story of the 1818 tramway.

There is an explanation for Poole's assertion regarding an 1818 tramway. In 1818, an Act was passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature "*to facilitate the opening and working His Majesty's Coal Mines...*". This statute included two references[43] to a "railway"[44] as one thing a leaseholder would be empowered to construct under the terms of a lease issued under the Act. Perhaps the 1818 statutory provision for tramway construction was transformed, for some unknown reason, into a belief on Poole's part that a tramway was actually built that year.

While the absence of any significant evidence for the existence of a tramway before the arrival of the General Mining Association in Pictou County in 1827 can never prove absolutely that one did not exist, that absence speaks in a very convincing way. What it says is that, after a century of status as a significant event in the history of transportation in Nova Scotia and Canada, it is time for Poole's 1818 tramway to be reclassified as a legend unless some primary evidence emerges to give it credence.

NOTES

1. Henry S. Poole. "One of the Earliest Rail Roads in Canada," *Transactions of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers for 1890*, vol IV, Montreal: Lovell, 1891, p 30

2. In this paper, "tramway" means a surface rail line with horse-drawn carts, synonomous with "waggonway" frequently used in the north of England. "Railway", unless otherwise noted, implies the use of locomotives.

3. Stellarton was the name adopted in 1870 for the community originally named Albion Mines upon the beginning of activity there by the London-based General Mining Association in 1827. Most subsequent references within this paper will be to the pre-1870 period and thus to the earlier name for the community.

4. Poole, p 30

5. Nova Scotia Museum of Industry, I97.30.3 - I97.30.8

6. Northumberland County Record Office, Buddle papers, BUD/60/3/# 46; December 29, 1839. Buddle was one of the most prominent figures in the coal trade in the north of England. He acted as a consultant to the GMA and also as liaison for the GMA with suppliers such as Hackworth in Durham and Northumberland. One of the three Hackworth engines which came to Nova Scotia in 1839 was named *John Buddle*.

7. Buddle to Foord, December 18, 1839, Durham County Record Office, Buddle papers, NCB I/JB/1754

8. Durham County Record Office, Buddle papers, NCB I/JB/1735

9. Buddle - Foord letters indicate the *Ythan* departed Newcastle in early April, 1839. Durham County Record Office, Buddle papers, NCB/I/JB/1737-1739

10. The *Mechanic & Farmer*, May 1, 1839; reprinted in The *Acadian Recorder* [Halifax, NS], May 11, 1839

11. The *Mechanic & Farmer*, September 25, 1839; The *Observer* [Pictou, NS], September 24, 1839

12. "Coal Mining in Pictou County", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1896*, Section IV, p 172

13. "The Nova Scotia Engines", *Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society*, # 7, 1924, p 7

14. "Additional Notes," *Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society*, # 31, 1933, p 21

15. "Railroads of the General Mining Association, Part I," *Bulletin of the Canadian Railroad Historical Association*, # 6, August, 1938

16. "Canada's Earliest Railways", *Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society*, # 78, 1949

17. Robert Brown to Bruce Jefferson, July 14, 1957, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS], Scotian Railway Society papers, RG 28S, vol 8, no 2, p 1024

18. Norman Thompson and J. H. Edgar. *Canadian Railway Development From The Earliest Times*, Toronto: Maemillan, 1933, p 9

19. Thompson and Edgar, p xiii

20. The exact relationship between the publication dates for Brown's 1933 paper and the Thompson & Edgar book has not been established.

21. *Canadian National Railways; vol 1, Years of Trial and Error*, Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1960, p 42

22. Bruce Jefferson to Michael Dwyer, September 2, 1958, Beaton Institute, University College of Cape Breton, Dwyer papers, MG 12/40, A28. Jefferson's account reported on a meeting with Stevens a few days earlier.

23. *The Pictonian Colliers*, Halifax: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1960, p 267

24. Details on mining operations prior to 1827 will be found below.

25. The original publication date in *The Locomotive* has not been established though the content indicates it was after June, 1928. The paper was reprinted, with credit to *The Locomotive*, under the title "Historic Railway Relics in Nova Scotia" in The *Chronicle* [Halifax, NS], November 25, 1935.

26. "Early Locomotives in Canada, " *The Railway Magazine*, Feb. 1936, p 112

27. "Railways in Nova Scotia", *Transport History*, vol 9, no 2, Autumn, 1978, p 110

28. *Early Wooden Railways*, London: Routledge, 1970, p 352

29. "*The Samson and Albion Locomotives: An Assessment of Current Condition*", Stellarton: Nova Scotia Museum of Industry, 1992, p 14

30. *Early American Railways*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, p 818

31. Hackworth's *Samson* was portrayed on a stamp issued by the Canadian post office in 1983. It is not unrelated to an underlying theme of this study to note that the official Canada Post philatelic bulletin [# 1983-10-03] stated that *Samson* came into service in 1838 [the wrong date] running from the "Frood mine" [misspelling the name of J.B. Foord after whom that shaft was named, and overlooking the fact that the Foord Colliery was not opened till 1867].

32. Haliburton was a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly and went on to a career on the Bench. Howe was just beginning a career in journalism which led to politics and a dominant role on the Nova Scotia stage over the next 40 years. There were probably no two men better informed about events throughout the province in the late 1820s, a fact which has a major bearing on the significance of the absence of reference to a pre-GMA tramway in Haliburton's book or Howe's Halifax newspaper, The *Novascotian*.

33. Haliburton, vol 1, p VIII

34. The *Novascotian*, July 21, 1830

35. *A History of the County of Pictou*, Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877

36. PANS, RG 1. vol 458 1/2, # 13

37. PANS, RG 1, vol 458 1/2, # 18

38. PANS, RG 1, vol 458 1/2, # 19

39. PANS, RG 1, vol 458 1/2, # 15

40. PANS, RG 1, vol 458 1/2, # 17

41. PANS, RG 1, vol 458, # 146

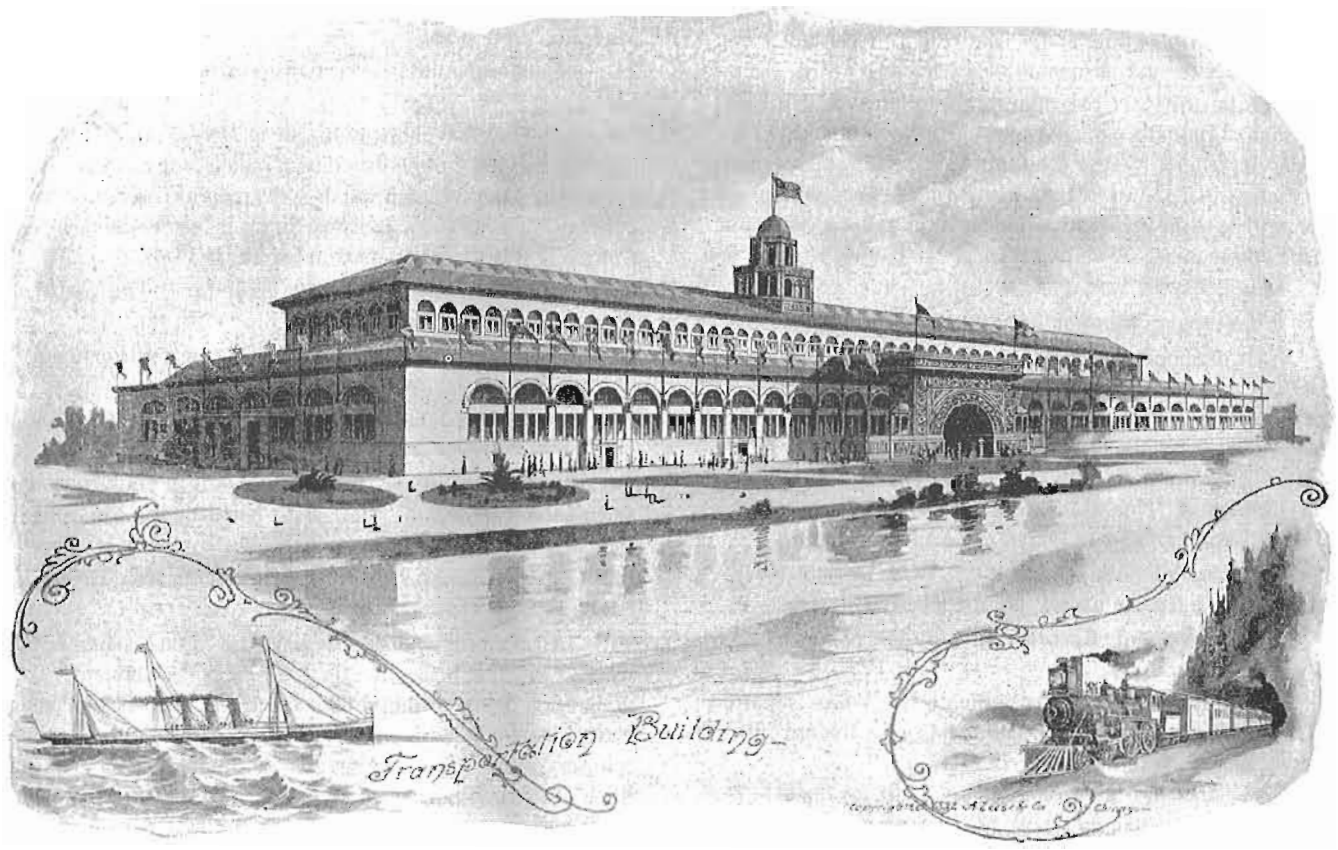
42. PANS, RG 1, vol 463, # 41

43. Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1818, Chapter XXII, clause 5, p 339, and clause 6, p 340

44. "Railway" here was clearly synonymous with "tramway" or the British "waggonway".

The Survival of the "*Samson*" and the "*Albion*"

by Fred Angus



The Transportation Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Here "Samson" and "Albion" were displayed as part of the exhibit of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The survival of two of the early engines of the Albion Colliery railway is one of those fortunate events that happens all too seldom in the history of railway preservation. When one considers how few pre-1850 locomotives have survived, even in England, one cannot help wondering how two locomotives, one twelve years older than the mid-century date and one only four years after it, are still in existence in Canada. Even more unbelievable, both locomotives have never undergone major rebuilding, and survive in something resembling "as built" condition. The major efforts at preserving significant railway equipment only began after World War II, yet here are two examples preserved more than fifty years earlier. The lack of incentive to preserve is exemplified by the fate of the Great Western (of England) broad gauge locomotives "*North Star*" (1837) and "*Lord of the Isles*" (1851) which were set aside for preservation in 1892, but broken up in 1906 due to lack of space, and lack of interest by any museum in England at that time. In Canada, the broad gauge Carillon and Grenville locomotives were scrapped after the line was abandoned in 1910, again due to lack of interest.

In America before 1900 there was one major railway that did have a sense of history and a desire to preserve some early equipment. This was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which had been chartered in 1827, the first major railway in the North American continent. In 1892 the B&O decided to set up a major exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition which was to be held the following year in Chicago. At that time some very old equipment was still in existence on the B&O, and representative pieces were refurbished and made ready for the fair. In some cases replicas were built to replace certain important items that had been gone for years. However the plans for the B&O's exhibit extended beyond its own lines, and included other items which illustrated the development of railways from the earliest times up to 1893. J.G. Pangborn of the B&O, who was responsible for setting up the exhibit, wrote a book called "The World's Rail Way", dated 1894 but actually issued in 1896. In this book he said:

"As the matter of representation at Chicago was dwelt upon in all its possibilities, the conclusion was finally reached that to comprehensively illustrate the inception and growth upon

a basis which would afford an intelligent study, the proper procedure would be the embracing of all important stages from the first thought, that of Sir Isaac Newton, in 1680, to the hundred-ton locomotive of modern times. This was a broad and liberal basis from which to view the situation, and it cannot be regarded as out of place to refer to the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio Company in what was actually accomplished gave less prominence to itself than to others when aggregating them in comparison with the number of its own examples shown. In other words, there was in reality more in the exhibit that did not directly pertain to the Baltimore and Ohio than did; but the importance and value of the whole was correspondingly greater in that selfishness did not govern. The exhibit was made with the realizing sense of the opportunity that reflected credit on the Company, and was in keeping with the breadth and spirit actuating the Exposition, in almost, if not all, its departments.... The space filled by this representation of evolution and development was something over thirty-six thousand square feet, the greatest area occupied by a single exhibit in the entire Exposition."

This attitude on the part of the B&O saved the "*Samson*" and "*Albion*", for they would have almost certainly been scrapped if they had not gone to the fair.

About this time the Albion Colliery railway had fallen into disuse, but some of the old equipment still survived, in a semi-derelict condition, in Nova Scotia. "*Samson*" appears to have been last used about 1884, and "*Albion*" was also retired. An 1894 photo shows that at least one other of the old locomotives, "*Pictou*" was still there in 1894, but it did not survive. The B&O learned about these old Nova Scotia locomotives (perhaps because "*Samson*" is reported to have visited the Chicago Railroad Fair in 1883), and in due course the company acquired "*Samson*", "*Albion*" and the director's car (now strangely called the "bridal carriage"). All three pieces of equipment were shipped, via Saint John N.B., and in due course arrived at the World's Fair in Chicago. According to Warren Anderson, in a 1924 article in Bulletin 7 of the R&LHS, veteran engineerGeorge Davidson was in charge of the locomotives during the move; he had come to Albion from England, and had run "*Samson*" from 1839 to 1882! At Chicago, these venerable locomotives and car became part of the B&O exhibit, and thereby escaped the scrapper.

Even in 1893, the "*Samson*" was considered to be a very old and unusual locomotive. It is described by Pangborn, in the same work cited above, as follows: "*The "Samson", built by Hackworth, and the first locomotive in Nova Scotia, is a six-wheeler, with all wheels coupled. The boiler is horizontal and has return tubes, the fire-box and smoke-stack being at the same end. The cylinders are double acting, located vertically above the back pair of driving wheels, and secured to the boiler. The piston-rods extend through the lower heads of the cylinders, and connect with a system of levers giving a parallel motion, and the connecting-rods are attached to the back drivers. The valves are worked by four eccentrics, two for each valve, placed on the back axle. The valve arrangement is very complicated and located in a recess in the back end of the boiler. At the front end of the engine an iron basket is hung, in which to burn fagots, to light the way at night.*"

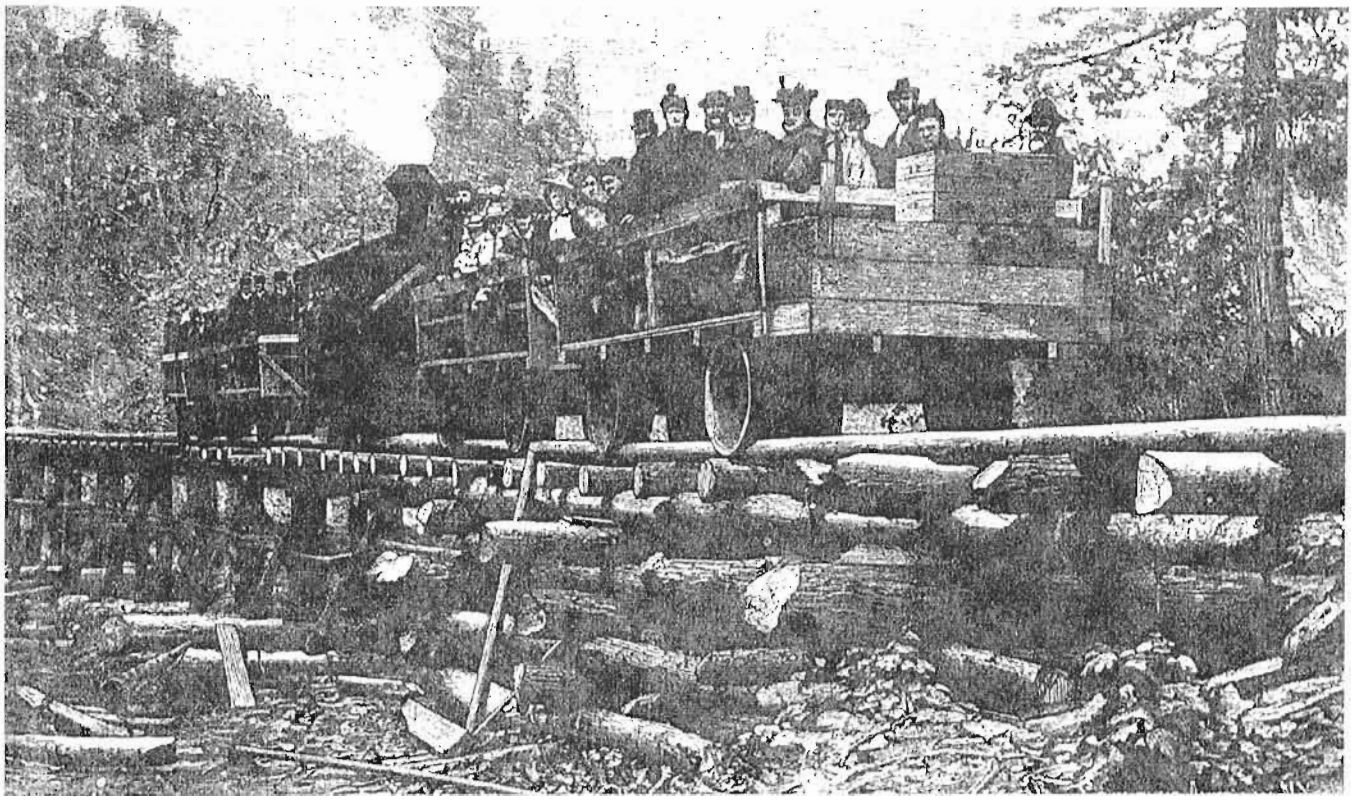
> The "Samson" had upright inverted cylinders at the trailing end of the engine 15 1/4 inches in diameter and a 16-inch stroke, Watt's parallel motion instead of crosshead and guides, six-coupled cast iron "plug" wheels 4 feet in diameter, and a wheel base of 8 feet 8 inches, boiler 13 feet 4 inches in length with a working pressure of 60 pounds, and a water capacity of 540 Imperial gallons. All gages [sic] were on the side of the boiler and the engineer had to leave his place to read them. The single return flue was of 3/8 inch plate, single riveted, 26 1/2 inches in diameter around fire and 18 inches where it entered the smokebox. The engines had no sandboxes, but instead carried two pails of sand and the sanding of the track done by hand. The tender was in front and the fireman alone attending to the fire. The driver was seated in an iron chair behind the engine and at the front was hung an iron basket filled with fire to light the way at night. The weight of engine was seventeen tons of 2,240 pounds, and it cost £2,140.... When the big wheels and all parts of the "Samson" had been assembled, it was gazed upon by an awe-strickened crowd, as few, if any, had ever seen a steam engine, and it looked little short of a miracle and wonderful in their eyes.... These old machines were well made, bv the fact that the original pins and brass bushings in the levers and stuffing boxes were still in place, and showed very little wear after nearly half a century of service.
>
> "The Nova Scotia Engines", R&LHS Bulletin No. 7, 1924.

At the conclusion of the fair, this equipment was retained by the B&O and placed in storage. It had been the desire of Pangborn and others that the B&O exhibit be kept intact and become a museum of railway development. However in the 1890s the time was not yet ripe for a railway museum, although much of the equipment was saved. Eventually it became the start of the B&O museum, now located in and around a historic roundhouse in Baltimore; one of the finest railway museums in the world. In the 1920s, some Canadian railway historians, like Anderson and Brown, wrote about the "*Samson*" and wondered what had become of it since 1893. Neither had seen it, for Anderson was not born until 1896, and Brown not until 1899. Then in 1927, the Baltimore & Ohio celebrated the 100th anniversary of its charter by a great railway pageant called "The Fair of the Iron Horse". "*Samson*" and "*Albion*" took part in that fair, their first public appearance in 34 years. Following this, there was a move to repatriate them to Nova Scotia, and on June 21, 1928 the B&O presented them to the Nova Scotia government, and they returned to Canada. The carriage remained with the B&O, and can be seen today, an exhibit in the museum in Baltimore.

"*Samson*" and "*Albion*" were exhibited for years in Halifax, and later were moved to New Glasgow. They are preserved today in the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry in Stellerton, within a short distance of the place where they worked so many years ago. They are by far the oldest locomotives in Canada; in fact "*Samson*" was built only two years after "*Dorchester*", Canada's first locomotive. Thanks to the far sightedness of the Baltimore & Ohio, more than one hundred years ago, these engines survive today, among the most significant of all relics of Canadian railway history.

A Primitive Railway in Nova Scotia

The following article, with photo, appeared in *Scientific American* for December 21, 1895. The article does not say where in Nova Scotia this, or the other two lines were located. A somewhat similar pole railway, in the Queen Charlotte Islands, is described on pages 50 and 51 of Canadian Rail No. 457, March-April 1997. Can anyone provide more information about this Nova Scotia line?



A POLE RAILWAY

We give a picture, from Black and White, of a pic-nic party celebrating the opening of a pole railway in the province of Nova Scotia. It is a novel line, thirteen miles in length, and is the third of its kind in the province. For the most part it is utilized in bringing the deposits of silica found in the lakes down the mountains to shipping ports. The way is of spruce poles. The engine has sufficient power to draw four empty cars up the heavy grade of the railway. By taxing the motor to its utmost, and by a liberal use of sand on the rails, eighty excursionists were taken up the incline on the occasion represented.

The pole railway is probably the most economical form of steam railway that has been produced. It is of American origin and has been in vogue in different parts of the country for the past quarter of a century. It is especially adapted for use in forest regions, where lumbering is the principal industry.

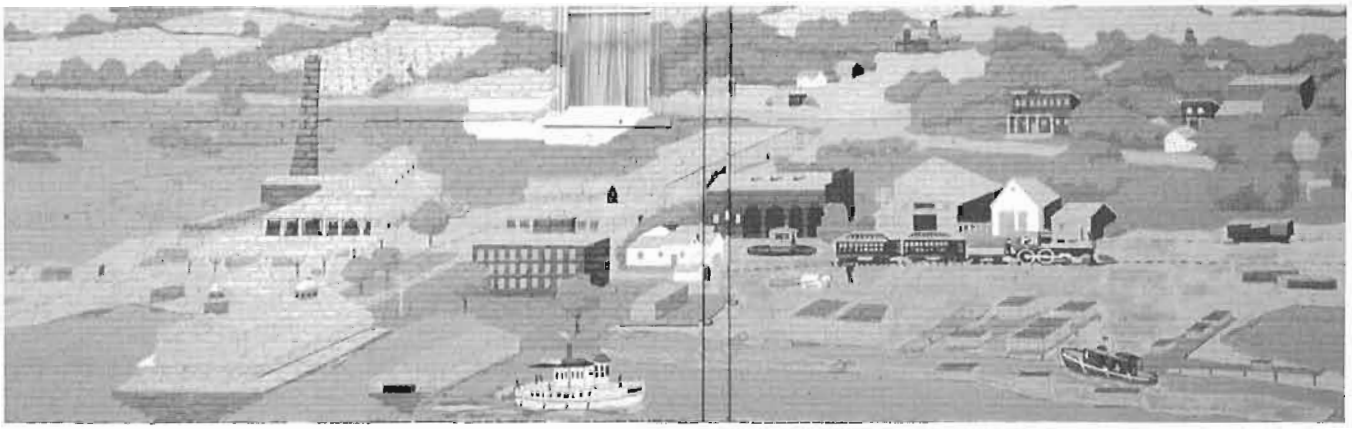
A first class, substantial road built of poles will cost anywhere from seventy-five to two hundred and fifty dollars per mile, according to local circumstances. The expense, of course, is greater when the road has to be carried across ravines, as indicated in our engraving. The poles employed for rails should not be less than nine inches in diameter at the smaller end, and should consist as far as possible of the heart, or they will decay before they wear out.

In the best roads, a bed is hollowed out in the butt end of the pole to receive the small end of the one adjoining, so as to make a secure junction. The bed is made about nine inches in length and deep enough to permit the smaller end to come up flush with the larger. The poles are simply laid on top of the ground, except where the surface is very uneven, dirt thrown on each side and trampled down to form a solid bed. After they are in place, they are slightly trimmed down with an adz. When a crook of any kind occurs in the poles, it is of course turned down in laying the track. No cross ties are necessary, as the locomotives and cars are so constructed that they exert no lateral pressure. After a few trains have passed over the road there is no fear of the poles becoming displaced. Curves are made up of a succession of short poles, care being taken that the joints come opposite to each other. The switching is readily accomplished in the ordinary way. When heavy grades are encountered, it is the practice in some localities to place the locomotive in the middle of the train, and at the particularly steep grades to cut away half the train, push up the other half, uncouple, and return for the remaining cars. In this manner, trains of six loaded cars have been taken over grades of 700 feet to the mile with the use of only one locomotive. The wheels of the cars and locomotives have very broad treads, deeply grooved, so as to fit the curvature of the poles.

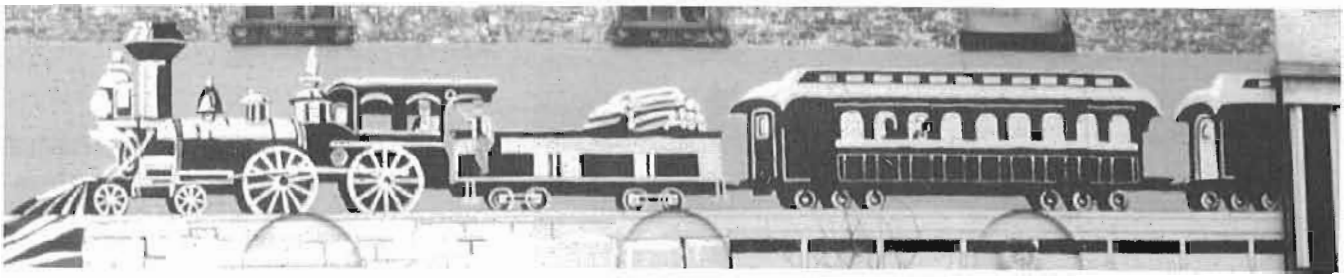
Our Gallery of Murals

(Continued)

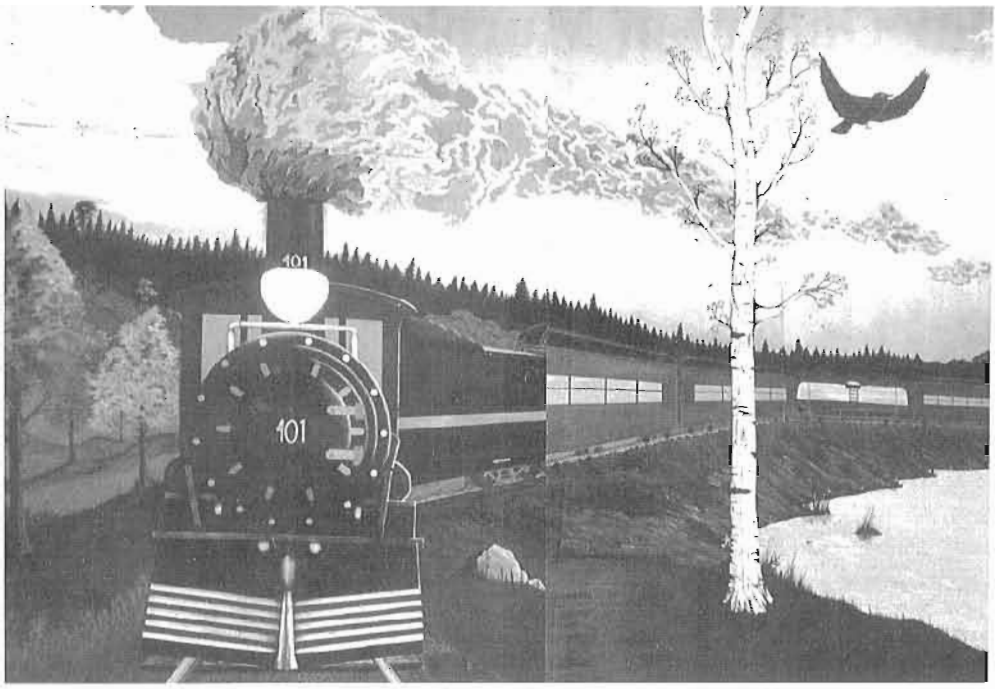
Continuing our popular series of railway murals in Canada, we present three more pages of these artistic works. We still have more on hand that will appear in future issues, but welcome more. Please keep sending them in.



TOP and ABOVE: This mural graces a wall in Deseronto, Ontario, and shows the town in the days of the railway, early in the century. The view immediately above is an enlargement of a portion of the mural, showing the train in more detail.
Photos by Fred Angus on August 29, 1999.

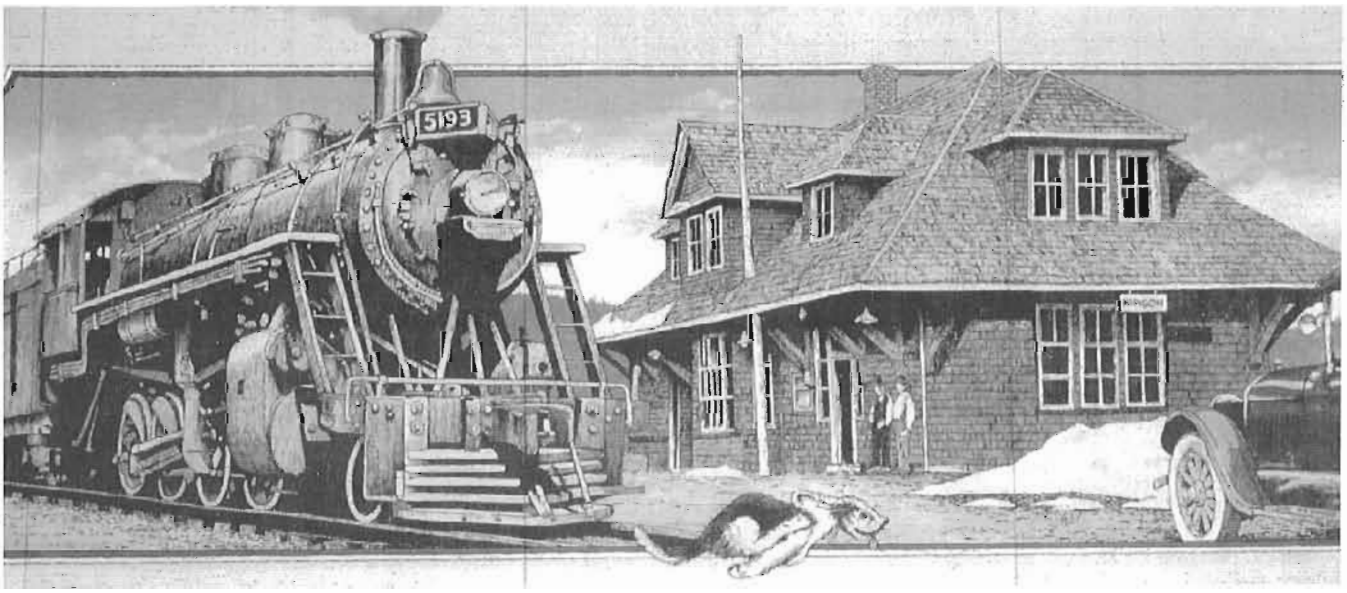


Another spectacular mural is this one in Napanee, Ontario, showing a Grand Trunk train crossing the bridge in that town sometime in the second half of the nineteenth century. Photo by Fred Angus, August 29, 1999.



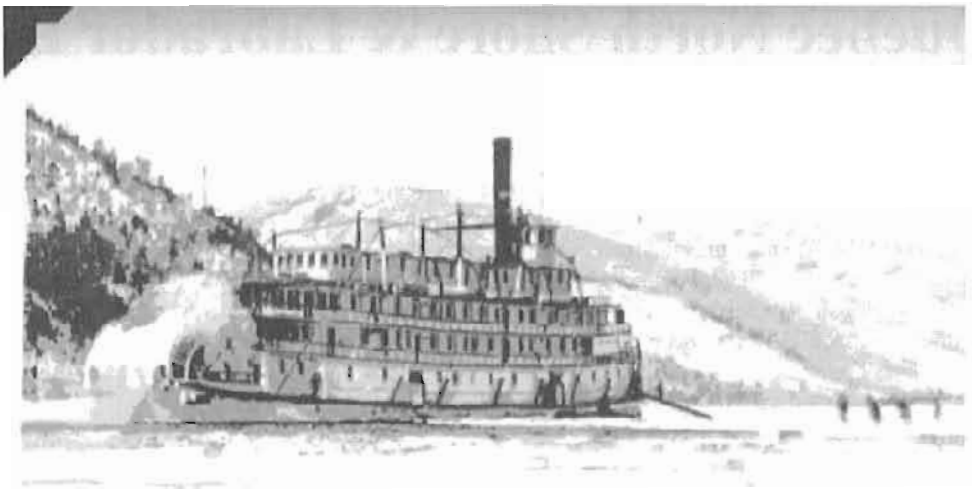
LEFT: This mural at Uxbridge, Ontario is near the station where one can board the York-Durham tourist railway.
Photo by Fred Angus, August 1, 1999.

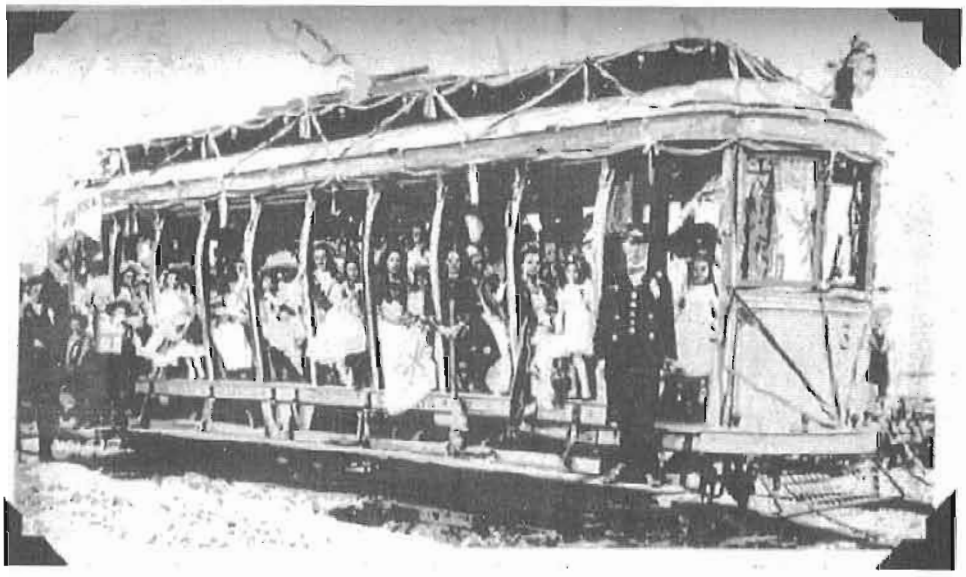
BELOW: In the town of Nipigon, Ontario on May 2 1999 was found this mural depicting the former CNR station along with what appears to be an oil-burning Western Canadian 2-8-0 with a 4-6-2's number! Perhaps it is modelled after a plinthed loco since the number plate is missing along with the engineer's door.
Photo by Bob Sandusky



LEFT: Not exactly a mural, but this sign outside a restaurant in Mattawa, Ontario refers to the very popular Timber Train, even though the latter is not steam-hauled.
Photo by Fred Angus, July 31, 1999

OPPOSITE PAGE: These three murals are all in Nelson B.C. They show a steamboat, a train, and a street car, all of which ran in the Nelson area. A revived street car line once again operates in Nelson, recalling the original line that operated for half a century between 1899 and 1949.
Photos by Fred Angus, July 7, 1999





The Quebec North Shore & Labrador Railway

by Fred Angus

In December 1999, Mark Gustafson and your editor took a trip on the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway. As most of our members have never ridden this line under winter conditions, we thought we would share our experiences. After a long bus ride from Quebec City to Sept Iles, we had the next day to rest before departing at 7:00 P.M. on December 14 for Labrador City. Arrival in Lab City was about 3:00 A.M. Atlantic time, but there was all the next day to recover. In the afternoon of December 16 we took the "shuttle train" to Ross Bay Junction where we connected with the weekly train to Schefferville which we reached late that night. After a night in the "Guest House", we departed Schefferville at 9:00 A.M. This was a nine-car train, and almost every seat was taken due to the pre-Christmas rush. We arrived at Sept Iles that night and the next day headed home after a truly memorable trip.

QNS&L

Passenger Train Schedule

Sept-Iles
Labrador City
Schefferville

For information and/or reservation

	Passenger General Information	Passengers Animals/Pass Reservation	Information Reservation Freight	Vehicle
Sept-Iles				
QNS&L Station (418) 968-7808	x	x		x
Vacances Inter inc (418) 962-9411	x		x	
Cabano Transport inc (418) 962-2961				
Maison du tourisme (418) 960-1238	x			
Labrador City				
QNS&L Station (709) 944-8205	x	x	x	x
Labrador W. tourism (709) 282-5327	x			
Schefferville				
QNS&L Station (418) 585-3608	x	x	x	x

Train Schedule

Summer period
(First week of June to last week of August incl.)

Departures *(Local time)*	Mon	Tue.	Wed	Thu	Fri.
Sept-Iles to Labrador City	09h00	19h00			
Sept-Iles to Labrador City and Schefferville				09h00	
Labrador City to Sept-Iles		12h00	12h00		11h30
Labrador City to Schefferville *(connection to Ross Bay p.t.)*				14h30	
Schefferville to Labrador City and Sept-Iles *(connection to Ross Bay p.t.)*					09h00

Winter period
(First week of September to last week of May incl.)

Departures *(local time)*	Mon.	Tue	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.
Sept-Iles to Labrador City		19h00			
Sept-Iles to Labrador City and Schefferville				09h00	
Labrador City to Sept-Iles		12h00			11h30
Labrador City to Schefferville *(connection to Ross Bay p.t.)*				14h30	
Schefferville to Labrador City and Sept-Iles *(connection to Ross Bay p.t.)*					09h00

Note : The QNS&L Railway reserves the right to change its train schedule without notice.

Tarriffs

Between		*One way*	*Return*
Sept-Iles and	Labrador City	$ 55.70	$ 100.25
	Schefferville	$ 76.40	$ 137.50
Labrador City and	Schefferville	$ 36.46	$ 65.72

Note. Prices are subject to changes without notice.
Prices do not include taxes.
Taxes may differ in Quebec and in Labrador

ABOVE LEFT: The QNS&L timetable effective November 17, 1999. Notice that no arrival times are shown!

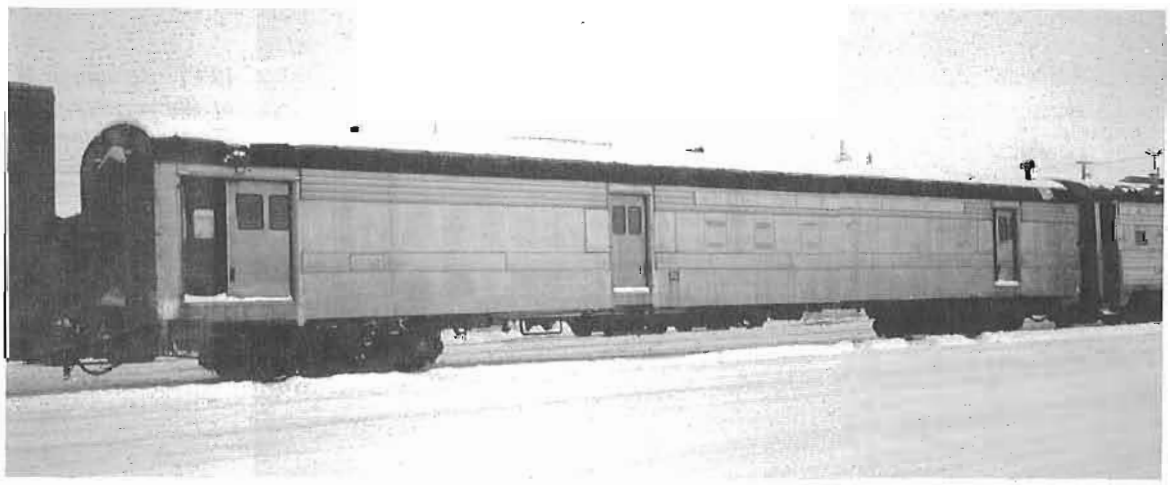
ABOVE: This map is displayed in the waiting room at Sept Iles.

LEFT: The station at Sept Iles showing the two plinthed steam locomotives, QNS&L 702 and Gulf Pulp & Paper Co. No. 48.

BELOW: Rail Diesel Car 6203 after arrival at Labrador City on December 15, 1999.

The passenger train, consisting of three RDCs, departing Labrador City for Sept Iles in the afternoon of December 15, 1999.

A meet between two freight trains at Labrador City in the afternoon of December 15, 1999.



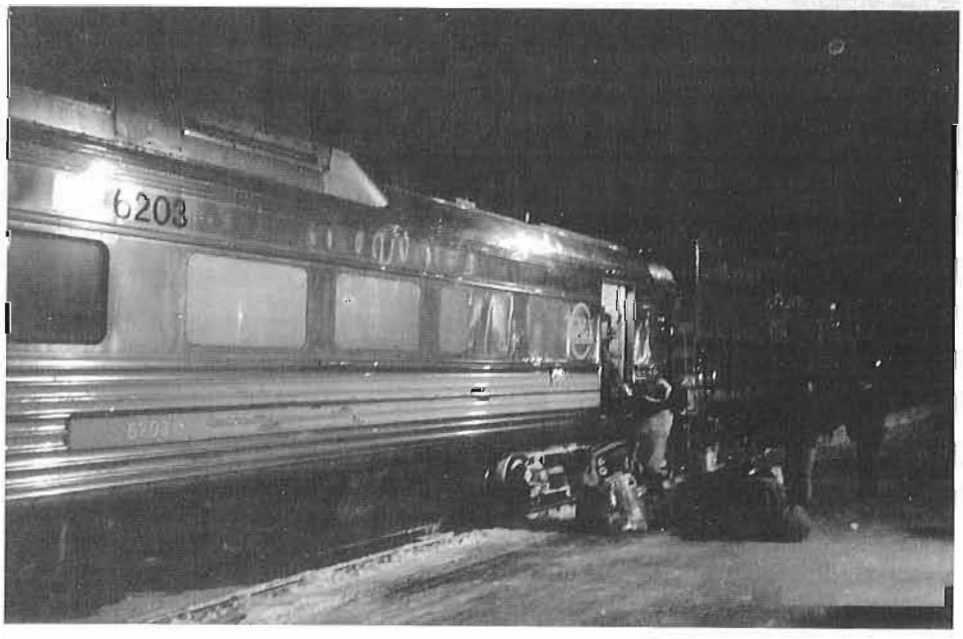
A former Southern Railway baggage car at Labrador City. The name "Southern" is still faintly visible on the side.

The passenger train to Ross Bay Junction about to leave Labrador City on December 16, 1999. It connects with the trains to and from Schefferville. Note the Southern Railway passenger cars.

RIGHT: Another view of the train from Labrador City to Ross Bay Junction, showing the cars in more detail.

LEFT: An interior view of one of the recently-refurbished, former Southern Railway passenger cars on the train from Labrador City on December 16, 1999. The QNS&L plans to refurbish a number of these cars and upgrade the passenger service, then they will dispose of their six RDCs.

Two views of the "Wabush Cannonball", the ore train from the iron mines at Wabush on December 16, 1999. Some trains of empties had as many as 210 cars! CRHA members in the Montreal area may recall seeing these special ore cars on sidings near Montreal in the 1960s, when the cars were new and awaiting shipment to Labrador.

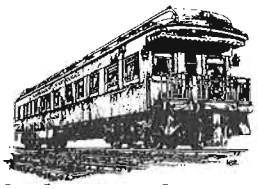


ABOVE: The most impressive passenger train of the trip was the weekly train from Schefferville to Sept Iles. Here we see it about to depart Schefferville on the morning of December 17, 1999. There were nine passenger cars, all of them full. The RDCs in the consist were not operating on their own power, but were hauled by the locomotive. We rode in car 6218, which also contained the conductor's office.

An extra train was to be run the following Monday to handle the Christmas rush.

RIGHT: Back at Sept Iles on December 17, 1999, the baggage was being unloaded from RDC 6203. The memorable trip was over.

The Business Car



"VISITORS" TO MONTREAL'S COMMUTER TRAINS

In recent months some unusual (for the service) locomotives have been hauling commuter trains on the former CPR lines out of Montreal's Windsor Station. Our member Warren Mayhew sends these two representative photos. Above is Amtrak No. 319 at Ste Anne de Bellevue (with the Ile Perrot mileboard visible) on August 31, 1999, while below we see VIA No. 6302 on July 30, 1999. Until recently, 6302 was in service between Winnipeg and Churchill, Manitoba.

LINDSAY AND DISTRICT MODEL ENGINEERS

The 26th Anniversary show sponsored by the Lindsay and District Model Engineers will take place on April 8th and 9th, 2000 at the Victoria Park Amoury, 210 Kent Street West, Lindsay, Ontario. Hours will be (Saturday) 11:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., and (Sunday) from 11:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. Admission charges are $4.00 for Adults, $3.00 for seniors and students, and $1.00 for children. Further information from George Morgan, phone (705) 887-5892.

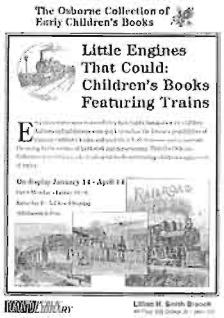
OVERNIGHT MONTREAL-TORONTO TRAINS RETURN

History was made on Sunday, January 16, 2000 when VIA trains 50 and 51 began overnight service between Montreal and Toronto, exactly 10 years to the day since they had been discontinued. The first No. 50, photographed by Fred Angus just before its departure from Toronto, consisted of locomotive 6412 and cars 4104, 4122, 4102, 4001, Chateau Denonville, Chateau Marquette, Revelstoke Park.

CINERAIL 2000

The 9th Intrenational Railway Film Festival will take place in Paris, France from June 6 to June 9, 2000. Cinerail continues to move with the times, and its festival will coincide with the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Paris Metro. With a resurgence in popularity, metros and trams everywhere are going from strength to strength. Once again, film makers are set to open up new horizons to Cinerail guests. Rail and cinema, two of the 19th century's most significant inventions, joined forces in 1895 in Paris with the Lumiere brothers' famous film *Arrivée d'un train en gare de la Ciotat*, the star attraction of the first public cinema presentation. The last Cinerail of the Millennium is returning to its roots in Paris.
Information from: Cinerail, 9 Quai de Seine, F93584 Saint-Ouen, Cedex, France.

EXHIBITION OF EARLY CHILDRENS RAILWAY BOOKS



The Osborne Collection of early children's books featuring trains will be on exhibition at the Lillian H. Smith Branch of the Toronto Public Library, 239 College Street, 4th floor, Toronto, Ontario from January 14 to April 14, 2000. Hours are (Monday through Friday) 10:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., (Saturday) 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., closed Sunday. Admission is free.

PAARDEBERG SPELLED WRONG

In the article on the Boer War in the last Canadian Rail, your editor inadvertantly mis-spelled the name of the most important battle in which the Canadians took part! What was printed as "Paardeburg" should of course be "Paardeberg". We regret the error, and thank the members who pointed it out.

NEW BOOK! NEW BOOK! NEW BOOK!

CPR No 423, built in Kingston (bldrs. number355) in 1888. Scrapped in 1937.

CONSTRUCTED IN KINGSTON

A History of the Canadian Locomotive Companies, 1854-1968

By Donald R. McQueen and William D. Thomson

Published By The Canadian Railroad Historical Association, and the Kingston Division, Canadian Railroad Historical Association.

This is the story of Canada's longest surviving railway locomotive builder, which pioneered, innovated and mass-produced more than 3,000 steam, electric and diesel locomotives over the 118 years of its existence. All but two of the companies that built locomotives in Kingston carried the name "Canadian". From the mid nineteenth century to the seventh decade of the twentieth, its name, its successes, and its products became preeminent in the engineering evolution of Canadian railways. Not only did every province in this nation have "Canadian" locomotives operating within its boundaries, "Canadians" could be found on the European, African, and Asian and American continents. To read the history of the Canadian Locomotive companies is to read the history of Canadian railway technology.

This long-awaited book will be available in March 2000 and prepublication orders are being accepted until March 21, 2000 at the following prices:

Canada (except NS, NB &Nfid.) $66.00 plus $4.65 GST and $7.00 postage and handling.
NB, NS and Nfld., $66.00 plus $9.95 HST and $7.00 postage and handling.
To addresses in the USA., $58.00 US funds, postpaid.
To International addresses, $90.00 Cnadian, postpaid ($105.00 airmail)

After March 1, 2000 the prices will be $76.00 Canadian plus all taxes and shipping. Dealer Inquiries welcome.

This hard cover book, with an attractive dust jacket, will have 348 pages and contain more than 350 photographs. While countless books have been published on the history of Canadian railways, comparatively little of substance has emerged on the locomotive builders in this country - until now. *Constructed in Kingston* is a thoroughly researched, profusely illustrated and easy to read account of a company which supplied motive power to most major Canadian railways, as well as countries all over the world. Besides a history of the companies, the book includes a history of production with totals, year by year, all CLC customers, CLC builder's photos, builder's plate designs, CLC locomotives still in existence, appendices, bibliography, and much much more.

Obtainable from: CRHA KINGSTON DIVISION
P.O. Box 1714, Kingston, Ontario K7L 5V6

C.R.H.A. CONVENTION 2000

Montreal May 19-22, 2000. Tentative Schedule
Friday, May 19th, evening: Registration; Hospitality Room, Montreal
Satuday, May 20, A.M.: CRHA Annual General Meeting, Delson. P.M.: Special activities for members at the Canadian Railway Museum; Special photo session; Opportunity to operate streetcar, diesel and steam locomotives; rides with steam locomotive John Molson; the museum staff will offer special tours of the collection, storage areas and archives. Transportation to and from Delson on Saturday leaves Montreal 8:30 a.m. returns 5:30 P.M. Evening: CRHA Annual Banquet, Montreal. Guest speaker and surprises...
Sunday, May 21: All day CRHA Train Excursion on Quebec Southern Railway from Montreal to Magog and back. Last regular passenger train on this portion of ex-CPR Short Line was in 1979.
Monday, May 22: Special activities for members at the Canadian Railway Museum.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS - ELECTION OF DIRECTORS, 2000

At the Annual General meeting, four directors will be elected for a three-year term. A nominating committee has been set up to prepare a slate of four candidates for election. Any voting member in good standing of the Association has the right to propose nominations for the Board of Directors, which nominations must be duly proposed and seconded in writing, must bear the consent of the nominee to serve if elected and must be in the hands of the secretary at least 75 days before the annual general meeting. Deadline for nominations is Monday March 6th 2000. Nominations should be sent to the Secretary at the Association's official address: 120 rue St. Pierre, St. Constant, Que. J5A 2G9. If an election is necessary, ballots will be mailed 60 days before the Annual General Meeting (scheduled for May 20th at Delson, Que.)

BACK COVER, TOP: In June 1962 CN's scenic line to Lac Remi was abandoned. This view, by the lake at Newaygo, was of the last train. In honour of the occasion a runpast was staged with a regular train!
Photo by Peter Murphy

BACK COVER, BOTTOM: The CPR mixed train between Lanoraie Quebec and St Gabriel de Brandon is seen at St. Gabriel on May 16, 1957. There was no freight that day, so the baggage car and coach made up the entire consist.
Photo by Fred Angus

This issue of Canadian Rail delivered to printer January 28, 2000.

Canadian Rail

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