

Atlantic Canada's Rum Running Tradition

RUM RUNNING HAS LONG SERVED as an inspirational source for lively tales of mystery, adventure and international intrigue. Although smuggling and privateering have continuously been a feature of the Atlantic region's sea legacy, a particular fascination surrounds the era of the 1920s and 1930s.¹ The daring escapades of the *I'm Alone*, *Josephine K* and *Reo II* have become an ingrained part of Atlantic folklore. Yet despite the displayed enthusiasm for the topic, until recently little written material existed on the subject.² The illegality of a trade which required secrecy and subterfuge discouraged the recording and keeping of documented evidence. The spectre of overdue legal prosecution and fears of jeopardizing reputations inhibited the publication of authentic accounts. Only the oral relay of information was trusted, and this flourished. Gradually, however, the veil of silence began to lift. As anxieties have faded with time, participants of the traffic were more willing and even eager to discuss their activities. In the past few years eight books have appeared which examine various aspects of the rum trade in different locales.

J. William Calder pioneered the history of Maritime rum running in his aptly titled book, *Booze and a Buck* (Formac, Antigonish, 1977).³ Relying upon

- 1 For information on the earlier period see W.B. Hamilton, *Local History in Atlantic Canada* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 45-49, J. Leefe, *The Atlantic Privateers, their story, 1749-1815* (Halifax, 1978), Leefe, "A Bluenose Privateer of 1812", *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1973), pp. 1-20, P.R. Blakeley, "An Adventure with a Privateer, 1778", *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1972), pp. 163-72, G. Millane, "The Privateers of Nova Scotia, 1756-1783", *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. XX (1921), G.E. Nichols, "Notes on Nova Scotia Privateers, 1756-1805", *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. XIII (1908), and Nichols, *Notes on Nova Scotia Privateers* (Toronto, 1969).
- 2 The interested student had to rely upon general glimpses available in such works as Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday* (New York, 1931) and Ralph Allen's *Ordeal By Fire, Canada, 1910-1945* (Toronto, 1961) or consult a few scattered specific titles of varying quality, such as Jack Randall, *I'm Alone* (London, 1930), William Carr, *High and Dry* (London, 1938), R.N. Kottman, "Volstead Violated; A Study In Canadian- American Relations 1927-1945", Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1958, Kottman, "Volstead Violated; Prohibition As a Factor in Canadian-American Relations", *Canadian Historical Review*, XLIII, 2 (June, 1962), M.F. Willoughby, *Rum War At Sea* (Washington, D.C., 1964), and Farley Mowat, *The Black Joke* (Toronto, 1962). Rum running in other parts of Canada has also been explored. See Frank Anderson, *The Bootleggers* (Calgary, 1968), James Gray, *Booze, The Impact of Whiskey on the Prairie West* (Toronto, 1972), Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto, 1975), P.C. Newman, *Bronfman Dynasty, The Rothschilds of the New World* (Toronto, 1978), and C.H. Gervais, *The Rum Runners, A Prohibition Scrapbook* (Thornhill, Ont., 1980).
- 3 Two earlier short reports on the period are Harry Bruce, "The I'm Alone Incident" in Pierre Berton, *Historic Headlines* (Toronto, 1967) and Janice Patton, *The Sinking of the I'm Alone* (Toronto, 1973). See also R. Webb, "The Most Famous Rum Runner of them All", *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1982), pp. 30-43, "The Case of a Bold Rum Runner", *The Review of Reviews*, 79 (1929), P. Holsinger, "The I'm Alone Controversy", *Mid-America*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (October, 1968), P. Blair, "The I'm Alone Controversy: An Exercise in Triangular

personal experiences, interviews, newspapers (especially the *Sydney Post*), and the 1926-27 Royal Commission on Customs and Excise, Calder pieced together a vivid and glorified saga, chiefly focusing on Cape Breton in the 1920s. Passionately arguing that “rum running, smuggling and bootlegging was a way of life in the Maritimes” (p. 10), Calder presents highlights of the era when liquor steadily flowed from St. Pierre and Miquelon to numerous Nova Scotia destinations. Tales of hair-raising chases, fistfights, armed confrontations and murder are related in a graphic, sardonic fashion.

Calder is extremely cynical of the entire prohibition decade. Temperance advocates were “sanctimonious” “hypocrites” and “cranks”, “camouflaged in cloaks of propriety” (pp. 9, 16, 65), and prohibition was a “fiasco”, “wetter than the meanest swamp” (pp. 65, 110). Government temperance inspectors are ridiculed for dishonesty, and rum running is sometimes perceived as essentially a selfish, greedy occupation. Women are always portrayed in a sexist manner and the federal government is criticized for being indifferent and unresponsive, especially to pleas for more and faster ships. “Ottawa mandarins” reacted in 1925 only because they realized how much customs money they were losing. The provincial government abandoned any semblance of enforcement, using liquor fines as a revenue-raising device and government control “was not so much a moral issue as it was the crying need for funds” (p. 108). For Calder, the noble experiment was “sometimes comical and oftentimes an obscene chronicle of human frailty” (p. 65). Yet he also records his respect for the labouring individual on either side of the law: customs officer Captain John “Machine Gun” Kelly, rum runners Harold Fiander and Ernest Dicks, and the Reverend H.R. Grant, Secretary of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council, are all considered with admiration. There are also a number of very astute comments. His contention that rum running was one of the few sources of income during the regional recession of the 1920s and that rum runners had “families to feed, to clothe and offspring to educate” is a solid observation. Also, the unique situation in which rum runners and prohibitionists were united against government control appeals to Calder’s sense of irony. Indeed Calder’s work generally, if read with deliberation, advances a revealing view of the rum business.

Don Miller’s brief book *I Was a Rum Runner* (Lescarbot, Yarmouth, 1979) is an autobiographical account of the liquor traffic. Born in Yarmouth in 1907, Miller fished for two years before joining a rum runner at the age of 15. He participated in the trade for the better part of 12 years between 1922 and 1935, and wrote about his experiences some 40 years later. Miller served, usually as an engineer, on several ships, including the *Pat and Mike*, *Lucky Strike* and *Reo II*. He visited Belgium, Bermuda and Cuba, but the majority of his smuggling career was spent carrying booze from St. Pierre to Rum Row America, basic-

Relations”, B.A. Honours thesis, Mount Allison University, 1977, and Michael Hayman “The Volstead Act as a Reflection of Canadian-American Relations”, M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1972.

ally the sea coast from Boston to Atlantic City.

Miller's book is novel in that it is one of the very few first-hand published sources by an actual rum runner. Although his reminiscences lack a contextual background and the chronology is difficult to follow, his recollections of days past are quite informative. Often his experiences contrast sharply with the high drama depicted by Calder. While he admits that there were "excellent paydays" (p. 5), he claims his activities only made "substantial fortunes for others". Not greed and desperation, but "adventure was the overriding reason for engaging in the rum trade" (p. 5). In 12 years of rum running he was highjacked once, and shot at one time by the American Coast Guard. He was arrested and temporarily imprisoned twice, once for five days in New York, and once for ten days in Cuba, where incidentally he smoked marijuana to help ease the tension. He also states that in Canadian waters he did not once see a Coast Guard vessel. In fact most of his voyages were tediously uneventful, spent playing cards, watching for contacts and listening to ball games on the radio. Miller's main intent in this book was to sketch an authentic composite description of the rum runner's regular routine, and in this he succeeds nicely. Only occasionally does he comment on the general aspects of the trade, yet some of these observations are insightful. Miller points out that by the late 1920s American syndicates controlled a great deal of the traffic, particularly the transportation and distribution circuits. He also argues that rum running was widespread in the Maritimes and estimates that "ninety per cent of Lunenburg's fleet were involved at one time or another" (p. 22). It was his impression that bootleggers were plentiful in Nova Scotia and, like Calder, he claims that one was "allowed to operate until the authorities were certain he had enough money to pay quite a stiff fine" (p. 47). Even though too much of the journal reads like a travelogue without landmarks, historians will be grateful for Miller's efforts. Perhaps his most valuable contribution is his underlying message that running booze was seldom a romantic or heroic profession.

The fullest consideration of rum running in and out of Nova Scotia is Ted R. Hennigar's *The Rum Running Years* (Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1981). This study offers a balance between Calder's sensational account and Miller's composed expeditions. Although references are not included, Hennigar evidently consulted several newspapers, drew upon his own experiences, and interviewed several retired rum runners, identifying a few of them. Supplemented with photographs, separate chapters are devoted to the *I'm Alone*, the *Josephine K*, the career of Chief Federal Preventive Officer, A.T. Logan, and the exploits of Windsor liquor entrepreneur Harry Low. Mostly however, Hennigar dwells upon the precarious running of booze to Nova Scotia and the American east coast.

According to Hennigar, it was both excitement and profit which lured people into the business. Dollar a day land pay or \$35 a month fishing wages could not compete with monthly rum running salaries of \$400 for a captain, \$250 for an

engineer and between \$50 and \$150 for a deck hand. While running alcohol to the Maritimes offered no bonuses, American operators usually paid either \$100 for each successful trip, or a commission ranging from 1½ cents to 5 cents per safely delivered case. The normal load of the *I'm Alone* delivered to rum row each fortnight paid the average crew hand more than \$300 a month. One rum runner recalled "We made good money. We didn't know anything about the depression years as we always had plenty" (p. 43). Substantial wages were necessary to compensate for the potential perils. The average monthly journey was from St. Pierre to rum row with whiskey, and then to the West Indies and back with rum. Unpredictable weather often resulted in shipwrecks and drownings. A rum runner discreetly operating without lights in thick fog could easily be rammed. Huge supplies of alcohol and gasoline rendered fires a constant threat and armed Canadian and American patrol boats had to be outmanoeuvred. Highjackings, especially along the American coast, were common as "there were no friends when dollars were involved" (p. 83). Like Miller, Hennigar states that by the end of the era American mobsters were prominent in the trade. He further asserts that increasing violence was partially responsible for the withdrawal of the independent shipper. Yet even with these many dangers, smuggling booze was "better than life in the small dory on an endless sea" (p. 48).

Information on rum running to Prince Edward Island is scarce. Oral accounts have not been gathered and the systematic examination of Island newspapers has yet to be undertaken. The absence of material heightens the significance of Geoff and Dorothy Robinson's *The Nellie J. Banks, Rum Running to Prince Edward Island* (Williams and Crue, Summerside, 1980). Their publication not only represents the first detailed case study of a rum running vessel, but also sheds considerable light on the Island's smuggling activities in the 1920s and 1930s.

Tracing the history of the *Nellie* was not an easy task. The *Nellie* was built in 1910 by Howard Allen of Allendale, N.S. as a fishing schooner for Alfred Banks of Halifax. In 1916, she was purchased by Frederick Sutherland of Lockeport, N.S. and continued fishing till 1925. Plagued by poor catches and low prices, Sutherland had to either retire the schooner or sell her. In 1926, Captain Edward Dicks of Charlottetown purchased the *Nellie* for rum running purposes. For the next 13 years the tiny boat busily ferried liquor from St. Pierre or supply ships to Prince Edward Island until she was seized a final time in 1939. Sold for tender to Captain John Maguire, the *Nellie*, renamed the *Leona G. Maguire*, did an assortment of odd jobs until old and decrepit, she was burned in 1953. During her long lifetime the *Nellie* had four owners, 30 captains and 230 crew members.

According to the Robinsons the rum running operation on Prince Edward Island was similar to the enterprise in the rest of the Atlantic region. A good deal of the liquor came from St. Pierre, particularly the Moraze warehouses. Respectable profits from the trade easily enticed fishermen away from their low

paying occupation. They confirm Miller's point that the Canadian Preventive Service was not as visible or as quick to shoot as their American counterpart. Enforcement tightened after 1932, however, when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Marine Division assumed responsibility, supplemented with six airplanes. The end of American prohibition did not affect the livelihood of the *Nellie* since the Island stayed dry till 1948. Even after the introduction of government control in the rest of the region, rum running continued until the outbreak of the Second World War because bootleg rum was cheaper and more potent than government products. For this reason the temperance strategy to keep the price of spirits artificially high to encourage the purchase of lower strength beverages was evidently partially counterproductive. Since government legal records were a prime information source, it is understandable that the Robinsons eagerly scoured these documents. Moreover, it is an intriguing legal question whether the Northumberland Strait was governed by the three-mile limit. However, too much of the manuscript is devoted to reproducing the court cases, evidence and testimony. Space could have been better used reporting their conversations with their oral sources, especially when so little is known of the Island's rum running past.

The most thorough study of rum running and bootlegging activities in any Canadian province or region is B.J. Grant's *When Rum Was King, The Story of the Prohibition Era In New Brunswick* (Fiddlehead, Fredericton, 1984). Accumulating evidence from a wide variety of sources including a systematic survey of more than a dozen newspapers, Grant is able to effectively illustrate that the illicit sale of alcohol was a major and important industry during the officially dry decade. The rich details of the work are the result of Grant's fine detective abilities. Having established the extent of the booze trade from New Brunswick to points south of the border, he goes on to examine the internal traffic, local moonshiners, beer lagers, tavern owners and druggists. Discussions of liquor substitutes, court cases involving alcohol and the role played by the Ku Klux Klan, Provincial Police and the R.C.M.P. round out the picture.

Like other writers of the period Grant is critical of almost everything. The prohibitory law was too faulty to be effective; the idea of strictly enforcing it was ridiculous and the majority of enforcers were either incompetent or on the take. Politicians and political leaders could see only as far as the next election, and the booze sellers, especially the big ones, were an unsavoury and dangerous lot. While Grant argues that the rank and file of the dry forces "believed in the rightness and the righteousness of their cause" (p. 35) he describes the movement leaders in less flattering words; as stiff-necked people, loud mouthpieces and clamorous zealots. Grant displays the same foreboding cynicism which he claims was ultimately responsible for the experiment's defeat. His sympathies rest with the always thirsty.

Few works are perfect and Grant's is no exception. There is a definite absence of material on the Acadian bootlegger. French-speaking rum runners had their

own ships, cars, crews and contacts and the portion of the traffic they commanded is yet to be uncovered. While Grant's sources are generally impeccable, he might have consulted the growing secondary published material on Atlantic rum running. A review of other studies would have demonstrated, for example, that it was not only in Kent County that the rum sellers and the prohibitionists were both equally opposed to government control. Moreover by reading other accounts Grant would have been able to evaluate and contrast New Brunswick rum running endeavours with those in the rest of the region. In this way it could be shown not only when rum was king but also where. Nevertheless, students of the rum trade will welcome the appearance of Grant's book. Not only is it the first in-depth examination of illicit booze operations in New Brunswick but it is also a useful model for other studies.

Until very recently, most of the material on Atlantic rum running centred on the transporters and the bootleggers. Except for acknowledging that intoxicants flowed from a variety of mysterious distant ports, the liquor supplier was a shadowy creature. In their books, Peter Newman and James Gray fingered the Bronfmans as the main illicit source for Ontario and points West,⁴ but the Atlantic liquor suppliers have remained obscure. J.P. Andrieux has significantly altered this situation. In two sometimes repetitive books, *Prohibition and St. Pierre* (Rannie, Lincoln, Ont., 1983) and *Over the Side* (Rannie, Lincoln, Ont., 1984), he explored the export liquor industry of St. Pierre in the 1920s and 1930s. Utilizing photographs, ship inventory lists and the business records kindly supplied by liquor merchant Henri Moraze, Andrieux has brought the booze brokers into view.

Prohibition and St. Pierre inspects the Island's major import-export industry. Throughout the years of regional depression, St. Pierre enjoyed tremendous prosperity as the liquor capital of the east coast. Locating on the French island to escape government harassment, by the mid-1920s distillery wholesalers from British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Britain, Scotland and France, and several independent local merchants such as Moraze, were operating at full capacity. Besides selling their own special brands, these companies also imported alcohol from Martinique, Cuba, British Honduras and the West Indies for re-export. The major portion of the liquor went to the United States, with Bronfman's Northern Export Company being the largest supplier. The ten-year period between 1923 and 1933 were the most vigorous years. In those days the Island serviced some 80 boats with some 300,000 cases of liquor being exported every month. Government control, stricter enforcement and finally the war ended St. Pierre's glorious days.

Over the Side is a less ambitious, more traditional account of the rum runners who operated out of St. Pierre. Again, based on Moraze's files, episodes of seizures, highjackings and thefts are recorded. According to Andrieux, Moraze was Atlantic Canada's main supplier of drink, usually dark rum, and contacts

4 Newman, *Bronfman Dynasty*, pp. 86-96 and Gray, *Booze*, pp. 109-89.

such as Charles Ballard of Sydney, N.S., Jim McLean of New Glasgow, N.S., Doug Payne of Curling, Newfoundland and Tom Nowlan of Buctouche, N.B. are discussed. Andrieux's comments on the evolution of the liquor traffic are discerning. The pursuit of greater profits transformed rum running from a primarily insular exercise into a highly organized, efficient and centralized business. Old fishing schooners were replaced with fast, specially designed motor vessels, some of them capable of speeds up to 38 knots. Both liquor exporters and importers tried to control the transportation of their products. Liquor rings were established in Cape Breton, Halifax and Yarmouth, employing a sophisticated intelligence service. By 1930, control of the industry except for the supply side, had moved out of the region and rested in the hands of American syndicates.

Those interested in the Atlantic drink traffic cannot ignore Clifford Rose's insightful diary and autobiography *Four Years With the Demon Rum 1925-1929* (Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, 1980). Rose was not a rum runner but a rum catcher, a Nova Scotia temperance inspector for New Glasgow. The first published account expressing a perspective from the enforcement side of the law, *Demon Rum* uniquely penetrates Nova Scotia's frustrating experience with prohibition. Ironically, the rum runner and the rum catcher often maintained a similar opinion towards the noble experiment.

The notable themes in Rose's journal are accentuated and magnified in a succinct introduction by the editors, E.R. Forbes and A.A. MacKenzie. By outlining and assessing the impact of the social gospel and progressivism on Nova Scotia, they establish an analytical context absent in other studies. The optimism for significant social change that mushroomed between 1910 and 1925 was manifested in the province's prohibition, suffrage, farmer-labour and Maritime Rights movements. Boosted by wartime zeal and encouraged by both growing support and political results, prohibitionists incessantly strove to create a reformed and sober postwar society. While certain accomplishments such as prohibition were achieved, by the mid and late 1920s, the progressive impulse had waned. Disillusionment accompanied the consuming regional depression. Widespread smuggling, ineffective enforcement and mounting administrative costs undermined prohibition and produced government control.

In many ways Rose reflected his society. He evolved from a young progressive in 1912 to a skeptical office-seeker by 1925. Since his direct experience with prohibition occurred in the last years of the endeavour, when temperance enthusiasm was declining, some of his remarks are callous and limited. Separating original impressions from later reflections is further confounded by the 1947 date on the completed manuscript. Like the other commentators of the period, Rose believed that prohibition was a farce and enforcement spiritless. The hard and dull economic times rendered rum running and smuggling widespread and speakeasies thrived. His sexist and racist statements are interesting in that they may reflect a blind side of a progressive, albeit soured, mind. Rose adds a new

dimension to our knowledge of the enforcement side of prohibition. Not only were liquor fines used as a revenue raising device, with the frequency of raids governed by the financial size of the catch, but it also appears that officials applied the law very selectively, depending upon wavering personal alliances and the political barometer. Where Rose differed markedly from his rum running adversaries was on the adoption of government control. Rose was content to pursue another occupation, while rum runners thought otherwise.

Examination of the various books on Atlantic rum running as a group reveal general characteristics of the field. While each of these books contributes usefully to our knowledge of the drink trade, most are local, popular accounts, long on description and short on analysis. There is a strong tendency to dramatize and glorify the era. Calder is the worst offender, although even Miller attempts to inflate the essence of his few encounters. Edward Dicks is a swashbuckling maverick for the Robinsons; Grant enjoys the exploits of operator Albenie Violette; Andrieux stretches St. Pierre's role and that of Moraze in the rum trade; and Rose does not apparently suffer from an inferiority complex. The period is often perceived as one long bold game of cops and robbers. Understandably rum running easily lends itself to a popular rendition, especially when drinking is viewed as a harmless sin and prohibition a silly, prudish and unwarrantedly restrictive law. Unfortunately for historical accuracy, the past remembered is often more endearing than the past lived. Since references and bibliographies are usually not included in these works, it is difficult to assess the breadth of research. It appears, however, that each work relied heavily upon one or two sources such as oral testimony, personal experience, court records, newspapers, business files or commission reports. There is little indication that existing secondary sources such as Gray, Newman and Willoughby were consulted and it is doubtful if the authors read each other's work. With the exception of Grant, newspapers, when used, were read sporadically; magazines of the period were ignored; and the enormous Canadian and American archival holdings on rum running were completely overlooked.⁵ While the nature of Miller's and Rose's journals partially excuse them from criticism, reams of information were available to the other writers. Narrow and isolated investigations give rise to ironic comparisons. Despite the enthusiastic claim, Miller never heard of Calder's "Machine Gun" Kelly and Calder never mentioned Andrieux's Charles Ballard, Moraze's main contact in Sydney. Rose never encountered Jim MacLean, Moraze's New Glasgow agent, Hennigar's explorations on the South Shore of Nova Scotia never unearthed Don Miller, and only occasionally do Grant and Andrieux come across the same people. The names of bootleggers and ships seldom correspond, although the books together identify some 250 different vessels. Moreover, each author seems convinced that their particular community was the principal rum running centre. While writings on the rum

⁵ Magazines of the period often discussed rum running, and the archival material held at the Public Archives of Canada is too numerous to specify.

running traffic certainly capture the local flair, the broader context often eludes them. These studies must be seen as pieces of a giant puzzle whose value lies in part in pointing out how many pieces are still missing.

Eventually a detailed and thorough history of Atlantic rum running must be attempted. It will not be an enviable task even though much of the groundwork on the prohibition background has already been completed.⁶ Establishing the dimensions of the trade will take years of research. The industry flourished through a complex network of distillers, exporters, shippers, importers, retailers, consumers and financiers. Questions concerning how many ships were involved, who owned, captained, manned and financed them will have to be answered. As the Robinsons found, reconstructing the crew list for the small *Nellie J. Banks* alone was an arduous job. Atlantic rum running was an extensive international affair and understanding the various trading routes and patterns may require research in such farflung places as Britain, Belgium, France, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Cuba, British Honduras, Martinique, British Guiana, as well as Canada and the United States. A tricky exercise will be determining what portion of the liquor consumed by Americans floated down the Atlantic seaboard. Some writers have claimed that 90 per cent of the illicit liquor smuggled from Canada to the United States went by way of Windsor and Detroit; if the estimate is accurate, then perhaps the Atlantic rum trade was not as significant as many writers have imagined. Students of the period will no longer be able to casually dismiss the supplier. Andrieux's works are far from definitive, for broad conclusions cannot be drawn from investigating one independent St. Pierre merchant, however genial. Trying to penetrate the suppliers' lair may prove difficult since firms such as Sandbach Parker, Georgetown; Great West Wines, British Columbia; Distillers Corporation, Britain and Bronfman Industries, Ontario may be reluctant to welcome researchers interested in this phase of their business history. Analyzing rum running's economic impact on the Atlantic region's economy would be a most interesting undertaking. Was the rum running industry a major employer? Did shipbuilding benefit from repairing, refitting and constructing rum running vessels? Who grew wealthy, what did they do with their money and was there a significant spin-off effect? The rapid progress of the industry from local entrepreneurship to outside control, to be followed by government takeover, suggests some fascinating parallels with other sectors of the region's economy. Forbes and MacKenzie pried open the door on the enforcement of prohibition and rum running. To what extent was Rose a typical temperance inspector? And how did

6 See E.R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia", *Acadiensis*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Autumn 1971), pp. 37-53, Forbes, "The Origins of the Maritime Rights Movement", *Acadiensis*, Vol. V, No. 1 (Autumn 1975), pp. 54-66, Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927, A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Montreal, 1979), M. Strople [Campbell], "Prohibition and the Movement for Social Reform In Nova Scotia, 1894-1920", M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1976 and C.M. Davis "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927", M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1978.

the prohibition era affect popular attitudes towards the law and law enforcement? Simply unravelling the complicated system of overlapping federal and provincial responsibility would be a substantial contribution. Biographies of Donald Fraser, President of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance, H.R. Grant, Secretary of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council, D.K. Grant, Chief Provincial Temperance Inspector and A.T. Logan, Chief Federal Preventive Officer, would shed considerable light on the frustration of dealing with rum running.

Essentially, despite the wealth of entertaining accounts, very little is known about Atlantic Canada's rum running past. Information on Nova Scotia, St. Pierre, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick is steadily surfacing, but the Newfoundland experience and the French participation have hardly been scratched.⁷ Considering that participants in the traffic are rapidly aging it seems urgent that evidence should be collected quickly. But if rum running is going to be fully understood, it will be necessary to situate the industry more firmly within the broader analytical context of regional history.

C. MARK DAVIS

7 See P.E. Outerbridge, "When Newfoundland Went Dry", *Atlantic Advocate* (March, 1972), pp. 46-9, and Arthur Doyle, *Front Benches and Back Rooms* (Toronto, 1976), p. 232-40.

Canada in the American Century

ONCE UPON A TIME, CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY seemed so simple. The Conservatives, rarely in power from the Great Depression on, were the party of the old empire, their view of the world coloured by Toryism, Loyalism, and British imperialism. The Liberals, Canada's governing party after 1935, were the party of the new empire, the United States, sharing with their American mentors a faith in anti-communism, internationalism NATO-style, and moralism of a secular Presbyterian sort. Then came the Trudeau years, years during which American power was temporarily weakened and a Liberal government, riding the crest of a resurgent Canadian nationalism, adopted a more independent policy vis-à-vis the United States. Now we have the Mulroney government, more neo-conservative than Tory in character, pledged to refurbishing the continental relationship at all cost and to playing the role of faithful supporter to Reagan's America on most foreign policy issues of the day. It is as though John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier had traded places, or more correctly, as though the old divide between Union Jack and Stars and Stripes had given way to a re-alignment between supporters and opponents of Uncle Sam.

Several recent books on Canadian foreign policy may help us to understand