Sir Robert Bond (1857-1927): A Biographical Sketch

MELVIN BAKER and PETER NEARY

SIR ROBERT BOND, politician, country gentleman, and premier of Newfoundland, 15 March 1900 — 3 March 1909, was born 25 February 1857 at St. John's, Newfoundland, and was the son of John Bond[1] of Kingskerswell, near Torquay, Devon, England, and Elizabeth Parsons[2] of Maidstone, Kent, England.[3] Bond died on 16 March 1927 at the Grange, Whitbourne, Newfoundland, and was buried in the graveyard of St. John the Baptist Church (Church of England), Whitbourne, "on a mound overlooking the distant hillside where, without ostentation and the blare of trumpet, he lived in retirement in the midst of nature, of singing birds, a well furnished library, and congenial friends."[4]

John Bond came out to Newfoundland "as a boy or young man" to work "as apprentice or clerk" for Samuel Codner of Kingskerswell, a leading St. John's merchant and the founder of the Newfoundland School Society.[5] When Codner's Newfoundland business was sold out in 1844 to Wilson and Maynell, John Bond became the manager of the Newfoundland branch of William Hounsell and Company, which he eventually came to own.[6] John and Elizabeth married in 1847 and had seven children — five sons and two daughters — of whom Robert was the sixth. Their other offspring were Julia (6 February 1849 — 21 May 1849), George John (1 July 1850 — 22 June 1933), Elizabeth (29 February 1852 — 29 November 1852), William James (17 December 1853 — 7 January 1871), Henry (4 May 1855 — 1 August 1878), and Samuel (9 August 1859 — 6 February 1861).[7] The 1871 Newfoundland Directory lists John Bond as a "general dealer in seines, lines and twines" at 437 Water Street, St. John's.[8] At this time the family was living on "cove road."[9] The Bonds were prosperous and well connected, at home in both England and Newfoundland.

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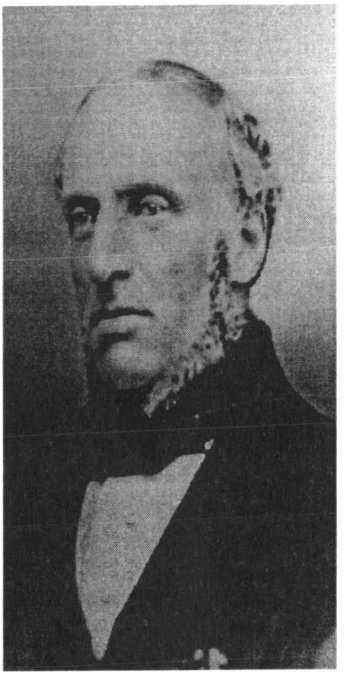


John Bond (1805-1872)
Photo courtesy of Randall Nelson

In St. John's, the young Robert spent five years at St. Andrew's School and then a year at the General Protestant Academy.[10] In April 1872, at age fifteen, he was enrolled at the Taunton Wesleyan Collegiate Institution, Somerset (popularly known as the Wesleyan College and from 1888 as Queen's College, Taunton). The records of this school show that, on admission, he had no Latin or French but had studied Spanish for some years. He was said to need practice in arithmetic but was considered "good" in history, geography, and English.[11]

On 6 June 1872, not long after returning to St. John's from England, where he and Elizabeth had seen Robert off to his new school, John Bond was seized with paralysis. He died five days later (11 June 1872) in his sixty-eighth year, leaving George to get the sad news to Robert, who was an ocean away.[12] In later years, referring to these events and their aftermath, Robert wrote of "the debacle of 1872-3."[13] Nevertheless, he persevered in his studies and in November 1873 reported to his mother that he had won first prize in solo singing and would be performing at a public concert.[14] At some stage, Bond also learned to play the piano.[15] In his will, made on 22 January 1866 (a codicil was added on 5 March 1872 and another on 6 March 1872 just before he and Elizabeth and Robert left for England aboard the *City of Halifax*), John Bond had provided that his real and personal property in Newfoundland should be sold following his death and the funds realized thereby invested in interest-bearing securities.[16] The interest, along with all other rents, issues, and profits accruing to the estate (e.g., from a house he owned in Plymouth, Devon), was to be paid in the first instance to Elizabeth. At age twenty-one, each of the surviving children was to receive "one part of two thirds" of the income of the estate, paid out in equal shares, and at age twenty-three, "one part of two thirds" of the entire estate, again paid out in equal shares. George, Henry, and Robert benefited from these bequests, and George and Robert were also beneficiaries under the wills of Henry, who died at age twenty-three, and of their cousin John Bussell Bond of Montreal, who died in 1900 at age seventy-two and had helped manage the family affairs.[17] When Elizabeth died on 17 April 1900 in her seventy-eighth year, her life interest in the residue of her husband's estate also passed, by the terms of his will, to George and Robert, again in equal shares.[18]

Elizabeth Bond (1822-1900)
Photo courtesy of Randall Nelson

According to a 10 April 1874 accounting, John Bond's estate was valued at $54,932.66.[19] As of 14 June 1886, when a transfer of shares was made to George, the estate of John Bond held to the credit of Elizabeth and Robert (half each) 200 shares in the Canadian Bank of Commerce, 100 shares in the Banque du Peuple, and 19 shares in the Ontario Bank.[20] Under the will of John Bussell Bond, Robert ultimately received twenty-four shares in the Bank of Montreal.[21] These came to him upon the death of Mary Bussell Bond, John Bussell's widow. From Elizabeth's estate, which was valued at $14,229.89, Robert received $7,114.94.[22] In 1896, Elizabeth and Robert lost $7,062.50 between them through the failure of the Banque du Peuple[23] and $2,974.48 through the sale of their shares in the Ontario Bank, which at the time was also in difficulty.[24] Despite these losses, however, Robert was a wealthy man through the whole of his adult life. In 1924 he estimated his worth at $141,251.86. Money allowed him to be that *rara avis* in Newfoundland public life — the full-time politician who could pay his own way. This was obviously a distinct advantage, but the independence and security that came from inheritance also encouraged in him a contempt for those who had to make their way in politics by more traditional means. Bond's temptation as a politician was to consider himself above politics. He was above the fray financially and it was easy for him to consider himself above the fray politically.

On 11 December 1874, Robert and Elizabeth (as guarantor) entered into an agreement with the prominent St. John's lawyer William Vallance Whiteway[25] whereby Robert became a law clerk for a term of five years.[26] As he thus set out to make a career for himself, Bond had the advantage of being well educated, well travelled, and well bred. During his law studies he took great delight in hiking with friends about the Avalon Peninsula. These "deer stalking"[27] excursions, which inspired him to keep diaries, gave him an intimate knowledge of the topography of the region and a love of its landscape that profoundly influenced the subsequent course of his life.

In the event, he was not called to the bar. In 1911, when the claim was made in the House of Assembly that he had failed his law examination, he offered this explanation for a surprising outcome: "I never tried to pass a law examination; how could I then fail? I was offered a certificate by Sir Hugh Hoyles[28] and Sir William Whiteway if I chose to go away for three years and come back again. Sir Hugh Hoyles came to my house and begged me to accept the offer; but I was advised not

to do so by my physician. I think the profession of law is one of the finest and most honourable in the world, and it was a keen blow to me to have to give it up."[29]

When all this happened is not clear, but on 19 March 1880 Bond began a tour of Europe that took him from London through France and Italy.[30] He kept a detailed diary on this trip and wrote appreciatively and enthusiastically about his extensive sightseeing. Rome and St. Peter's were especially inspirational: "I was quite unprepared for the extent and magnificence of St. Peter's. It was like everything else I had seen in Rome, totally different from my imagination. Imagination could not have pictured it. It was too grand and brilliant for that."[31] This was highly approving, but Bond also saw the eternal city through the lens of his colonial and English Protestant upbringing: "Rome is evidently rising out of the ignorance in which she has sunk for so long and is beginning to see through the contemptible superstition and religious imposture that has brought her to what she is at the present day 'A relic of departed worth.'"[32]

On 30 August 1881, Bond began a very different adventure when he landed at Sandy Point on the west coast of Newfoundland to begin a camping expedition into the interior that lasted until 11 November.[33] By 1886, he was living with Elizabeth on Circular Road in St. John's in a lovely Victorian neo-Gothic house constructed according to a plan which was dated 12 October 1883 and signed by the builder William Campbell.[34] Henry Bond had left a bequest "not to exceed the sum of Four Thousand Dollars" for the construction of "a comfortable house" for his mother, and the Circular Road residence was the result of his benefaction.[35]

Bond was preoccupied in his political career with questions of economic development and diplomacy. The colony's decision in the election of 1869 not to join the Canadian confederation had made imperative an independent policy of economic expansion and diversification. Newfoundland's late-nineteenth-century leaders understood that in the long run the extreme dependence of the country on the fishing industry could not be sustained. Their answer was to open up the interior of the island, thought to be rich in resources, to development, thereby enhancing job opportunities and public revenue and reducing vulnerability to the ever-shifting fortunes of the fishing industry. In brief, the problem facing Newfoundland politicians in the Bond era was to reconcile political independence and economic progress.

Unfortunately, development in Newfoundland was constrained by French and American fishing rights, which limited the ability of the government in St. John's to act in the emerging national interest.[36] French rights had evolved through the treaties of Utrecht (1713), Paris (1763), and Versailles (1783). French fishermen were allowed to fish in Newfoundland territorial waters and to dry fish on land from Cape St. John to Cape Ray, a ribbon along the northern and western coasts of the island known as the French Shore. France also enjoyed possession of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the south coast of Newfoundland. Not surprisingly,

Newfoundland's ambitions in relation to the French Shore had frequently run up against the imperial obligation to honour treaty commitments, the exact meaning of which gave rise to many arguments.

Over time, there were several nasty spats between St. John's and London over French rights. These left a legacy of mutual suspicion to which Bond and his contemporaries were heir. Newfoundland politicians were known in London as seasoned battlers, and Bond would be no exception. In 1877, the imperial authorities agreed to the appointment of magistrates on the French Shore, but the next year they objected to resolutions passed by the Newfoundland legislature in favour of making St. George's Bay on the treaty coast the terminus of a proposed railway to be built from St. John's.[37] Other difficulties followed, as the Newfoundland government sought to assert full control of its territory. Having achieved responsible government in 1855, Newfoundland made important jurisdictional gains in relation to the French Shore, but as the end of the nineteenth century approached, French rights remained a brake on Newfoundland's development prospects and a complicating and potentially incendiary factor in relations with the imperial government. In an effort to contain French competition, the Newfoundland legislature passed a bill in 1886 to control by licence the sale of bait to foreign fishermen.[38] Initially, this bill was refused assent by the imperial government, but it became law on 2 January 1888 after Newfoundland had given assurance that it would not be applied against Canadian fishermen.[39]

In April 1878, William Whiteway became premier of Newfoundland and in 1881, as part of his policy of progress, construction was started on a railway from St. John's to Halls Bay. When a general election, which the government won handily, was held on 6 November 1882, Bond was returned, along with John Rendell, another government supporter, and Whiteway himself in the three-member district of Trinity Bay. Whiteway's Conservative Party was Protestant in nature, but it formed an alliance in the House of Assembly with Roman Catholic Liberals led by Robert Kent. Whiteway's main opponents were a group of St. John's merchants who accused the government of abandoning the fisheries in favour of an ill-considered and grandiose railway scheme.

In 1884, the syndicate led by the American, Albert Blackman, which had been given the contract to build the railway went bankrupt, and in 1885, taking advantage of the 1883 Protestant-Catholic sectarian blowup known as the Harbour Grace affray, the merchants were able to separate Whiteway from his Roman Catholic supporters. As a consequence of this realignment, Bond, who detested "sectarian strife," became speaker of the House of Assembly on 27 February 1885, two days after he had turned twenty-eight.[40] Later in 1885, Whiteway was eased out of office with the promise first of a seat in the Legislative Council and then of the chief justiceship.[41] He was replaced as premier on 12 October 1885 by Robert Thorburn, who made an out-and-out sectarian appeal.[42]

A general election followed on 31 October 1885 in which Thorburn, who led an all-Protestant party, won twenty seats and the Roman Catholic Liberals, led by Ambrose Shea, won thirteen. Bond was now elected as an independent in Fortune Bay. He had changed seats because the Orange Order had threatened to oppose him in Trinity and because he enjoyed the support in Fortune Bay of John Syme, the St. John's agent for Newman and Company and the most important merchant in the district.[43] Following the election, Thorburn offered the speakership of the new House of Assembly to Bond, but he declined the offer on the grounds that he "could not conscientiously unite with a sectarian government."[44]

During the 1886 session, Bond criticized the government and sought to keep Whiteway and his "progressive policy before the country."[45] He also helped the Canadian-born Alfred Bishop Morine win a 12 June by-election in Bonavista. This success was followed by the election, in November, of Thomas J. Murphy, another Whiteway supporter, for St. John's East following the resignation of Robert Kent from the Assembly. On the other hand, after the close of the 1886 session of the legislature, Thorburn was able to engineer a coalition with the Liberal party whereby the Roman Catholics W.J.S. Donnelly and Maurice Fenelon entered his cabinet on 26 July 1886.

In July 1887, Bond and Morine pressed Whiteway to declare his political intentions: "the eyes of the people are turned upon you and to you they are now looking forward to bring about a change."[46] Whiteway had not received the promised judgeship, and what Bond and Morine wanted was for him to accept the leadership of the opposition members in the Assembly and rally his supporters outside the legislature. Whiteway responded favourably to this call and on 13 February 1888 agreed to chair a party that would oppose the government and promote "economy in the public service, general retrenchment and [the] placing [of] the finances of the colony in a healthy condition."[47] Bond was appointed secretary to the new political grouping, soon to be known as the Liberal Party.[48]

During 1888 also, Morine secretly pushed the cause of confederation and found an ally in James Spearman Winter, a member of Thorburn's ministry. Morine sought to persuade Whiteway to join with the government in sending a delegation to Ottawa to discuss possible terms of union. Eventually, Thorburn asked Bond to be a member of the proposed delegation, but at a party meeting on 1 September Bond successfully moved a resolution against taking a position on confederation until the government itself had negotiated possible terms of union with Canada. This led to Morine's resignation from the party the same day, but ultimately Thorburn dropped the confederation initiative.[49]

On 2 March 1887, Bond introduced a ballot bill that was passed by the legislature.[50] This provided for the secret ballot, and the 6 November 1889 election was the first to be held under the new dispensation.[51] Bond was a leading figure in this campaign and wrote the manifesto of Whiteway's party. Dated 22 June 1889, this document promised railway construction and resource development, but re-

jected confederation.[52] Whiteway's party won a commanding majority,[53] and Whiteway and Bond were once more returned for Trinity.[54] On 17 December 1889, at age thirty-two, Bond was appointed to the senior post of colonial secretary in the government that Whiteway now formed.[55]

Bond's business interests also developed apace in the 1880s. On 18 February 1884, he and Alexander McLellan Mackay bought from the Newfoundland Railway Company a property of eight square miles in the interior of the Avalon Peninsula.[56] Near the centre of this property was Harbour Grace Junction, which the railway from St. John's had reached the previous year.[57] In 1887, the property was transferred to the Townships Timber and Land Company, a new enterprise of which Bond and Mackay were principal shareholders. Bond was elected president of the company and Moses Monroe secretary. The business of the company "was to establish a Township, carry on a lumber business, and dispose of the lands by sale to bona fide settlers."[58] In 1887, a plan was devised for the proposed town, and in May 1889, on Bond's initiative, the legislature passed a bill changing the name of Harbour Grace Junction to Whitbourne, in honour of Sir Richard Whitbourne, one of the early English promoters of Newfoundland.[59]

Bond set out to make Whitbourne, Newfoundland's first inland town, a model community.[60] The Townships Timber and Land Company ran a sawmill at Junction Lake, and Bond built a house near Whitbourne which he first used "as a hunting box" and then enlarged into a permanent residence known as the Grange.[61] While the Grange was under construction, a forest fire did considerable damage in the Whitbourne area, but Bond turned this to advantage by having some of the burned-over land cleared and made into a farm.[62] In 1903, after the Townships Timber and Land Company had decided to wind up its business, Bond bought the entire Whitbourne property at public auction.[63] By this time he was living at the Grange (his mother died there)[64] and devoting considerable time, energy, and money to the beautification of what by any standard was a considerable estate. In its finished form, the Grange had, on the main floor, an entrance hall, library, drawing room, dining room, conservatory, and billiard room.[65] The dimensions of the house were forty feet by eighty and its atmosphere was "Edwardian."[66] Over time, Bond, who had a fine knowledge of horticulture and animal husbandry, laid out elaborate gardens around the big house. These featured "terraces, stately walks, precise flower beds and ... [a] wide range of shrubs and trees, all flourishing in the midst of the forest primeval."[67] In the creation of the gardens, he is said to have "supervised the setting out of no less than 8000 imported trees and shrubs."[68] The Grange stood on a hill, was situated near a lovely lake, and had a commanding view. At the Grange, Bond was the master of all he surveyed. His career was in politics, but it was the visionary project of the Grange that ultimately defined the man. The Whitbourne estate was for him at once a retreat from life and the very essence of it.

In addition to his land and timber interests, Bond was also involved from the late 1870s onwards in mining speculation. In June 1879, he was one of the signatories to an agreement whereby A.W. Beatty, the manager of the Pilley's Island Pyrites Company, secured production rights on a "mineral area known as 'Colchester,'" situated on the southwest arm of Green Bay, Notre Dame Bay.[69] On 26 November 1879, Bond paid $400 to James H. Batson of Jackson's Cove, Green Bay, for one-half of his share of one-seventh of the Colchester property.[70] On 15 December 1892, Bond obtained a "Mining Grant in fee" to another property, which he had located in 1887, "North West of St. Georges Pond inland South of Bay of Islands."[71] An asbestos deposit located there was reported upon in 1891 by the government geologist James P. Howley. Over the years, Bond spent twenty thousand dollars "on and about this property" but he never realized a return from his investment and was never able to sell the mine.

As colonial secretary after 1890, Bond was deeply involved in the continuing struggle over French rights, a contest that had been further complicated in the late 1880s by an uproar over the right of the French to operate lobster-canning factories on the treaty shore. In 1890, following a big demonstration in St. John's, James Spearman Winter, Patrick J. Scott, and A.B. Morine went to London in April as people's delegates to press "the Case for the Colony" on the French Shore question, but nothing came of their initiative.[72] In July 1890, Bond and George Henry Emerson, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, visited the French Shore[73] and then went to England, where they joined Whiteway and Augustus W. Harvey as an official delegation to press Newfoundland's claim for full control of its territory. They did not get very far in their lobbying vis-à-vis the French, but Whiteway was able to persuade the British to agree to allow Newfoundland to seek a reciprocity agreement with the United States.[74]

The background to this initiative was tangled and involved American fishing rights under the Anglo-American Convention of 20 October 1818, which had revised the fishery articles of the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.[75] Under the terms of the 1818 agreement, Americans had the liberty to fish within territorial limits on the south, west, and north coasts of Newfoundland from the Ramea to the Quirpon Islands, on the Coast of Labrador northward from Mount Joly, and at the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. American fishermen also enjoyed the liberty to land and dry fish in unsettled places on the south coast of Newfoundland from the Ramea Islands to Cape Ray and along the coast of Labrador. Elsewhere, they were not allowed to enter the three-mile limit except "for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water."

In the 1840s, Nova Scotia asserted the claim that the three-mile limit referred to in the Convention of 1818 was not meant in the case of a bay to follow the sinuosities of the coast but to be measured from a line joining headland to headland. The effect of this interpretation, which was vigorously disputed by Washington,

would have been to cut Americans off from the rich fisheries in the bays of Fundy and Chaleur. This and other differences, though not resolved in principle, were eventually overcome by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and the Treaty of Washington of 1871, both of which applied to Newfoundland. In effect, these agreements gave American fishermen privileged standing in the waters of British North America in return for tariff concessions in the United States for specified British North American products. The Treaty of Washington also provided for the appointment of a commission to decide whether a cash payment should be made by the United States to Canada and Newfoundland in return for the fishing advantages they were conceding.

This commission met in Halifax in 1877 and awarded $4,500,000 to Canada and $1,000,000 to Newfoundland. Anger over the amount of this award together with a blow-up over the activities of American fishermen in Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, led the United States to abrogate the Treaty of Washington on the first legally possible date, 1 July 1885. This action led to a fresh round of negotiations and the drafting of a new agreement, named for its principal architects, Joseph Chamberlain of Great Britain and Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard of the United States. The proposed Chamberlain-Bayard treaty was, however, defeated in the Senate. This outcome put Canada and Newfoundland in the position of either enforcing against the Americans their understanding of the Convention of 1818, with all the perils that this might entail vis-à-vis both Washington and London, or of continuing voluntarily a *modus vivendi* that had been worked out to cover American operations until the Chamberlain-Bayard treaty took effect. Under the *modus vivendi,* American fishing vessels were allowed to use Canadian and Newfoundland ports in return for an annual licence fee of one dollar and fifty cents per ton.

Though deeply resentful of an arrangement that gave the Americans important advantages for a paltry return, the Canadian government nonetheless acquiesced in the continuation of the licensing system. Newfoundland, however, set out in 1890 on a very different course, first broached in 1885: the negotiation of a separate agreement with the United States. Hitherto, Newfoundland had not challenged the principle of British North American solidarity in relation to fisheries negotiations with the Americans, but the situation created by the failure of the Chamberlain-Bayard treaty encouraged experiment.[76] By agreeing, in September 1890, to permit negotiations in Washington, the British seemingly went along with this.

Bond was chosen to represent Newfoundland in the talks, and to this end he travelled directly from London to New York and then to Washington, where he stayed in the Arlington Hotel.[77] He brought with him a draft agreement, which had been submitted to the British colonial secretary in July. On 7 October 1890, Bond met with James G. Blaine, the American secretary of state, and subsequently went to New York and to Boston and Gloucester, Mass., to explain "Newfoundland's case and capabilities" to various business groups.[78] On 18 October, Sir Julian

Pauncefote, the British envoy, submitted the draft convention, as modified through discussion with Bond, for Blaine's consideration, whereupon Bond returned to Newfoundland. He was summoned back to Washington on 14 November and met with Pauncefote and Blaine on 29 November. Having learned to his chagrin that Pauncefote was not authorized to sign the proposed convention, Bond seized the initiative and met privately with Blaine over the course of four days, beginning on 15 December. These talks produced an agreement that Bond later claimed in the House of Assembly "could not but be acceptable" to his "bitterest opponent ... in the island."[79]

Bond returned to Newfoundland flushed with triumph, but bitter disappointment followed as the imperial authorities decided to hold the Bond-Blaine Convention in abeyance. This was done on the grounds that the talks in Washington had been unofficial and that Canada had not been properly consulted.[80] In effect, Canada was allowed to veto a deal that Newfoundland valued highly. Unable itself to obtain a satisfactory settlement with the United States, Canada was unwilling to have its prospects of doing so further diminished by a separate arrangement between Newfoundland and the Americans. Moreover, Ottawa feared, probably with good reason, that by making Newfoundland economically dependent on the Americans, the Bond-Blaine Convention would end all hope of bringing the island into confederation or, worse still, might encourage in Newfoundland a movement in favour of annexation to the United States. These concerns were not misplaced. Thus, there is evidence to suggest that Blaine foresaw the disruptive effect which the proposed agreement would have on relations between Canada and Newfoundland and that he had entered into negotiations with Bond with this very mischief in mind.[81]

Needless to say, the fate of the Bond-Blaine Convention soured relations between St. John's and Ottawa. In the spring of 1891, Newfoundland struck back by denying Canadian fishermen licences to purchase bait, and a bitter round of mutual reprisals followed.[82] On 25 June 1891, while this sparring was in progress, Bond mused to Whiteway about Newfoundland's long-term future.[83] Revenue, he noted, was falling, the government was having trouble floating loans, and migration from the colony was continuing. Unless the government could borrow to "initiate at once a settlement scheme in connection with the railway extension," its policy of development would be a failure. Something more was needed if the party "intended to face the country again." Bond's preferred option was reciprocity with the United States "apart from the Canadians." Everything possible should be done to obtain this, but if it could not be achieved, the colony should seek a financial guarantee from the imperial government, "but not subject to us handing over the control of our affairs to them." If this too could not be obtained, the only other possibility for Newfoundland was confederation: "I have always been opposed to Confederation, I am still if we can obtain other help." As matters now stood, Bond ventured, Newfoundland should be "in a position ... to obtain exceptionally good

terms." The threat of "reciprocity ... apart from Canada" could be "used as a lever," as could the application of the Newfoundland bait act, under which Canada was now "suffering a considerable loss." Bond encouraged Whiteway to raise the matter in London with Canadian High Commissioner Sir Charles Tupper but cautioned him to warn the latter against informing Morine or, for the moment, the imperial authorities. As Bond imagined events unfolding, the negotiation of terms of union by Whiteway would be followed by a plebiscite in Newfoundland.

In practice, Newfoundland's relations with Canada evolved quite differently; confederation was soon a live issue, but in circumstances quite unlike those envisaged by Bond in 1891. Before all this, however, from 9 to 15 November 1892, the two countries held a conference at Halifax to try to resolve their differences. Newfoundland was represented on this occasion by Whiteway, Bond, and Harvey, and Canada by Mackenzie Bowell, J.A. Chapleau, and John Thompson.[84] Proposals and counter-proposals were exchanged, but in the end nothing concrete was achieved and Newfoundland continued to lobby the imperial government to complete the Bond-Blaine Convention.

On 29 July 1893, following several months of reflection, ill health, and growing disillusionment with Whiteway's performance (especially in relation to French Shore matters), Bond submitted a letter of resignation from the government, but did not in fact go.[85] In the election of 6 November 1893, he was again returned for Trinity. In this campaign, the government faced a Tory opposition led by two merchants, Moses Monroe and Walter Baine Grieve, with Morine as principal organizer. The government's margin of victory, thirteen seats, was substantial, but on 6 January 1894 the Tories, with Morine to the fore, petitioned the Supreme Court under the Controverted Election Act, 1887, alleging wrongdoing by Whiteway, Bond, and fifteen other Liberals. In the first case to be heard, which involved the two Liberal members for Bay de Verde, James Spearman Winter, now a judge, found that public funds had been spent in the district without proper authority.[86] As a result, on 27 March 1894, the two members were unseated and disqualified. Faced with the prospect of losing his majority by judicial attrition, Whiteway told Governor Sir John Terence Nicholls O'Brien that he intended to act on behalf of those adversely affected by the litigation. When the governor proved uncooperative, Whiteway resigned, and on 14 April Augustus Frederick Goodridge formed a minority Tory government.[87] Court proceedings continued, and on 25 July 1894 Whiteway and Bond were themselves unseated and disqualified.[88] On 13 December, thanks to by-election victories, a new Liberal administration, led by Daniel Joseph Greene, took office. Greene immediately had legislation passed removing the disqualifications from the unseated members. This cleared the way for Whiteway to become premier again on 8 February 1895. Bond was reappointed colonial secretary the same day, and from 25 April 1895 sat in the Legislative Council.[89] He returned to the House of Assembly when he was elected by acclamation for

Twillingate in a by-election scheduled for 26 September 1895.[90] Once established in Twillingate, he represented the district for the remainder of his political career.

The political upheaval of early 1894 was followed by the failure of the colony's two main banks, the Commercial Bank of Newfoundland and the Union Bank of Newfoundland, as foreign investors and bankers lost confidence in the local economy and previous maladministration caught up with the directors of the Newfoundland financial institutions. The bank crisis began when the London and Westminster Bank refused to honour any further banknotes from the two St. John's banks or any form of their commercial exchange. The occasion for this action was the death of an English commission merchant who represented several prominent St. John's firms. The trustees of his estate demanded an immediate cash payment from the St. John's merchants to settle their debts, and the Commercial Bank was unable to meet this requirement. Accordingly, on 10 December — "Black Monday" — the Commercial was forced to suspend payment, and its closure was followed by that of the Union Bank the same day. Several large firms also were forced to suspend operations, and a general financial panic followed as crowds filled the streets looking for exchange for their worthless banknotes. Since the Newfoundland Savings Bank, the only other financial institution in St. John's, had its assets tied up in unsaleable colonial debentures and notes of the two failed banks, its position also was precarious.

With the government itself facing bankruptcy, Goodridge sought financial assistance from the imperial government. When this was not forthcoming, he resigned in favour of Greene. Financial stability was restored through the establishment of Canadian branch banks in the colony and by the legalization of Canadian currency as a medium of exchange. Moreover, Greene had legislation passed guaranteeing payment on Union and Commercial banknotes at eighty and twenty cents to the dollar, respectively. The Bank of Montreal now became the colony's financial agent, acquiring this standing by loaning the government $400,000 to enable it to meet the half-yearly interest owing on 1 January 1895 on its bonds and debentures.

Returned to office, Whiteway and Bond faced a bleak situation, but they nonetheless refused to accept an imperial demand for an inquiry by royal commission in return for assistance. Instead, in March 1895, Newfoundland turned to Canada to determine what terms would be available for confederation. Since Whiteway was in poor health, Bond led the delegation to Ottawa. Negotiations commenced on 4 April, but the Canadians offered less than the Newfoundlanders were prepared to accept, and the British were unwilling to bridge the difference.[91]

Bond had better luck with the bankers. Thus he was able, with the help of the railway promoter Robert G. Reid, who had burst on the Newfoundland scene in 1890, to secure in London a long-term loan of £550,000 for the colony. This loan was floated by Coates, Son and Company and by Morton, Rose and Company, with Henson Brothers of Montreal acting as intermediaries. Bond negotiated a short-

term loan of $150,000 through Henson Brothers for the Newfoundland Savings Bank to keep it going. This loan was to be repaid out of the long-term loan but was backed in the first instance by colonial debentures and by a guarantee of $100,000 from Bond himself.

Having thus shored up the savings bank, Bond went to London to complete the larger deal. He returned to St. John's a conquering hero, arriving on 23 July 1895 aboard the S.S. *Corean*.[92] Thereafter he had a golden reputation as the man who had been willing to risk his fortune to save his country. In fact, the personal guarantee he had made was responsible for the reverse he and his mother suffered in the failure of the Banque du Peuple. When that institution ran into trouble, his broker "was not in a position to sell out" because of the guarantee. The result was a "total loss."[93] In a sense, the bank crash of 1894 was a dress rehearsal for the catastrophic financial crisis that would overtake Newfoundland in the early 1930s.[94] But whereas Bond was an intelligent and tough-minded negotiator out to maintain independence and freedom of action, Frederick Alderdice[95] was a trusting and half-hearted bargainer, ready to follow the British lead and accept the suspension of self-rule in favour of the Commission of Government.

On 13 October 1895, Whiteway informed his colleagues that he intended to retire, and a week later prominent members of the party petitioned Bond to become their new leader.[96] Whiteway, however, did not follow through on his intention and led the Liberals into the 28 October 1897 general election, which he lost to a revived Tory party led by James Spearman Winter, who had abandoned his judgeship for another run at politics. Whiteway later claimed that Bond spent all his efforts in this campaign securing his own re-election in Twillingate and ignored the other districts.[97] Whiteway suffered personal defeat in the election and, on 24 January 1898, the eight elected Liberal members requested Bond to lead them in the House of Assembly. Bond was interested but wanted the blessing of Whiteway, with whom he would now have an increasingly tortured relationship: "I have not wished, nor do I wish to take the lead unless you have finally decided to drop out of political life."[98] Whiteway's reply was less than satisfactory from Bond's point of view: "I cannot bind myself not again to take any active part in the political life of this country. I have too much interest at stake in this country to do this, and I desire to see the country prosper."[99] On the other hand, since he was no longer a member of the Assembly, Whiteway left it to the Liberal caucus to decide who their leader would be, promising never to interfere with their choice. Bond was duly selected by his legislative colleagues, but Whiteway, who nominally remained leader of the party, eventually became embittered and turned against his former law clerk.[100]

On 3 March 1898, the Winter government entered into a contract with Robert G. Reid for the operation of the trans-island railway, which he had finished to Port aux Basques under agreements, involving financial payments and land grants, made in 1890 and 1893.[101] Winter's 1898 contract, the details of which had been known since 22 February, gave Reid (who left day to day management mainly to his son

William Duff Reid) the right to operate the railway for a fifty-year period and additional land grants in return for an immediate payment of $1 million.

Bond condemned the contract, which needed legislative approval, on the grounds that it would transfer public assets for much less than their worth and would establish a monopoly. By contrast, Edward P. Morris, the Liberal member for St. John's West, endorsed the contract because it would relieve the financial crisis facing the colony and would provide much-needed employment, particularly in St. John's. At a 23 February 1898 caucus, he broke with Bond on the issue, and the Liberal opposition split into two groups.[102] When Bond lost the fight in the House of Assembly over the deal, he called upon the imperial authorities to disallow the legislation embodying the Reid Contract, but London refused to interfere.

In November 1898, while the battle over the contract was raging, it became known that Minister of Finance and Customs Alfred Morine had acted as Reid's solicitor during the drafting of the railway bill and still held that position. Morine was forced to resign from the Executive Council by Governor Herbert Harley Murray,[103] and this split the government party into two camps. The government survived only because of an agreement between Winter and Morine whereby Morine was to become premier and Winter chief justice. Winter, however, did not keep his part of the bargain, because prominent Tories outside the government were opposed to Morine's accession to the leadership. In January 1899, with the support of twelve government members, Morine attempted to enforce the agreement on Winter.[104]

Four leaders – Winter, Morine, Bond, and Morris – now bargained with one another for political support, but Bond was able to turn this situation to great personal advantage. At a public meeting in St. John's on 20 October 1899, he was unanimously chosen leader of the Liberal Party after a letter of resignation had been read out from Whiteway.[105] Having played a secondary and supportive role to Whiteway throughout his political career, Bond had finally found a cause – the railway contract – that allowed him to outflank his old mentor and move to centre stage.

On 19 February 1900, with Morine in England on legal business for Reid, the Winter government was defeated on a no-confidence vote in which several of Morine's supporters broke ranks to join Morris, who in turn linked up with Bond. This led to the resignation of the government and the swearing in of Bond as premier on 15 March (he also served as colonial secretary in the new government).[106] Just after his forty-third birthday, Bond had reached the top of the greasy pole of Newfoundland politics. Having got there, he asked for an immediate dissolution, but this was refused by the governor, who favoured a fall election. Morris entered the Bond cabinet with a promise from the new premier, reluctantly given, that the Reid contract would be modified rather than cancelled.[107] When the new government, which had a majority of only two in the House of Assembly, entered into negotiations with the Reids over revising the contract, no agreement could be

reached. But this was a political asset rather than a liability, for when the general election was held on 8 November 1900, Bond won an overwhelming victory, taking thirty-two of thirty-six seats against a Morine-led opposition financed by the Reids.[108]

Robert Bond (1857-1927)
Photo courtesy of Judge John Nichols

Bond's first priority after the election was to renegotiate the 1898 railway contract within the framework of his understanding with Morris. This effort succeeded, and on 2 August 1901 a new railway act became law, whereby the Reids gave up their reversionary interest in the railway and control of the public telegraph system, and the government returned their $1 million with interest.[109] For a payment of $850,000, the Reids gave up 1.5 million acres in land grants and were permitted to form the Reid Newfoundland Company, which managed their land holdings and operated the railway, a coastal steamer service, the St. John's dry dock, and the capital's streetcar and electrical systems. With this, an uneasy peace between Bond and the Reid family was achieved.

Bond came to power on a rising tide of economic prosperity and cultural achievement (the *Newfoundland Quarterly* was launched in July 1901) and of recognition for his own accomplishments. On 24 October 1901, he was invested a knight during the visit to St. John's of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (23-25 October 1901), and in 1902 he was sworn to the Privy Council.[110] He was also given the freedom of the city of Edinburgh (26 July 1902) and of the City of London (1 May 1907), Manchester (4 May 1907) and Bristol (15 May 1907).[111] On 26 July 1902, he was awarded an honorary LL.D. by the University of Edinburgh.[112] In 1901, international attention was drawn favourably to Newfoundland when, on 12 December, Guglielmo Marconi, who was welcomed to the colony and assisted by Bond, received the world's first wireless message on Signal Hill, St. John's.[113] This message — the letter S — had been sent in Morse code across the Atlantic from Cornwall. Bond's keen interest in this project was in keeping with his long-standing advocacy of a rapid transatlantic ship-and-train transportation route via Newfoundland.[114]

Bond represented Newfoundland at the 1902 and 1907 Colonial Conferences in London and had his picture taken on both occasions with the other leaders of the British Empire.[115] At the 1902 conference, he urged the enlargement of the naval reserve, for which recruitment had started in Newfoundland in 1900 under the provisions of the United Kingdom Royal Naval Reserve Volunteer Act, 1896.[116]

Newfoundland, Bond maintained, was a great place for recruitment and there would be no "lack of lads to fill vacancies":

> Nor would the boys be of doubtful physical or moral character, of depraved heredity or the scourings of cities. On the contrary, they would be of the best quality, of the material upon which the naval greatness of the empire was founded — the sons of fisher folk, cradled on a rocky shore, familiar with the sea from childhood, inured to the peculiar vicissitudes of the maritime calling at an age when others are at school, and nurtured in seafaring experience at fifteen or sixteen years of age. It is doubtful if any better naval nursery can be found in all His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas than on the Newfoundland seaboard.[117]

In the 1914-18 war, the first Newfoundlanders to go overseas were members of the naval reserve which Bond had thus promoted. In a further gesture of imperial solidarity, Bond introduced a bill, which received the unanimous consent of the House of Assembly on the evening of 24 April 1903, to establish Empire Day — 24 May, Queen Victoria's birthday — as a public holiday in the colony.[118] He was likewise an enthusiast for the "Ode to Newfoundland," written in 1902 by Governor Sir Cavendish Boyle.[119] Set to music by Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, the ode became an enduring patriotic favourite.

Economically, Bond benefited from large catches and good prices in the fishing industry and from the revenue available from new timber and mining operations, especially the iron-ore mines at Bell Island, Conception Bay, which opened in 1895 under Canadian auspices to meet the needs of the blast furnaces at Sydney, Nova Scotia. Rising revenues enabled the government to be fiscally prudent while increasing expenditure on education, marine works, agriculture, and the colony's communication system. In small communities the government encouraged the unification of denominational into "amalgamated" schools, and in 1904 it began a coastal steamship service with Bowring Brothers to supplement that provided by the Reids under the revised 1898 contract. In labour relations, the Bond government weathered a series of difficulties. There was a strike on Bell Island in 1900, a sealers' strike in St. John's in 1902, and in 1904 a railway strike at Placentia against Reid Newfoundland. After a strike of dockworkers in St. John's in 1903, the Longshoremen's Protective Union, which sank deep roots, was formed.[120]

As premier, Bond renewed his quest for reciprocity with the United States.[121] Canada still strongly opposed a separate Newfoundland-United States deal, but Ottawa's arguments could no longer be sustained in London. Years had passed since the Bond-Blaine Convention had been negotiated, and Newfoundland could now scarcely be held accountable for undermining Canada's bargaining position. In August 1902, with British approval, Bond went to Washington and began talks with Secretary of State John Hay. Agreement was reached in mid-October, whereupon a new obstacle to success appeared in the person of Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a key member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the

gatekeeper of treaty ratification. Lodge cautioned Hay that he would not endorse an agreement with Newfoundland that was unacceptable to the Gloucester, Massachusetts, fishing interests that were most likely to be affected by it. Hay delayed proceedings until Augustus Gardner, Lodge's son-in-law, had been safely returned in the 4 November 1902 national election for the congressional district that included Gloucester, but he rejected the senator's advice about meeting the requirements of the Gloucester fishing industry. By definition, he believed, this would kill the possibility of an arrangement with Newfoundland. On 8 November, Hay signed the agreement that he and Bond had negotiated. *Inter alia*, this provided for duty-free entry into the United States for a sizeable list of Newfoundland fishery and mineral exports and for privileged treatment of American fishing vessels in relation to a wide range of activities in Newfoundland. The deal was a tribute to Bond's persistence and skill — but, true to his word, Lodge scuttled it in the United States Senate. The agreement was not reported out of the Foreign Relations Committee until January 1905 and then only in an amended form that Newfoundland could not accept. Bond had lost another round in an old battle, and in the process had acquired a formidable new adversary.

Unquestionably, Bond's greatest triumph as premier was in relation to French rights in Newfoundland. He failed to get the French Shore question on the agenda of the 1902 Colonial Conference, but in 1904 he became the unintended beneficiary of the decision of the government of France to seek, for geopolitical reasons, a rapprochement with Great Britain. Suddenly, the way was clear for London to trade off concessions elsewhere in the world for a satisfactory resolution of the French Shore issue. In return for abandoning their treaty rights in Newfoundland, the French initially wanted financial and territorial compensation and a guarantee of access to Newfoundland bait supplies.[122] The British countered with a proposal whereby the French would be financially compensated for giving up the right to land in Newfoundland while retaining fishing rights in its coastal waters. Under the terms of the deal eventually embodied in the Entente Cordiale of 8 April 1904, France renounced the rights it had been granted in Newfoundland under the Treaty of Utrecht but retained summer fishing (but not landing) rights along the former treaty shore. The latter rights remained in effect until extinguished by the Canada-France Fishing Agreement of 1972. France now also agreed to the appointment of a British consul at St. Pierre. A note accompanying the whole agreement guaranteed that Newfoundland would not be allowed to cut off bait supplies to French fishermen working legitimately on the Newfoundland coast by denying them purchasing licences. In return for what they gave up in Newfoundland, the French obtained territorial concessions in Nigeria and Gambia, possession of the Iles de Los (near French Guinea), and transit rights on the River Gambia.

Bond approached the agreement cautiously but soon embraced it enthusiastically and fought back a motion of censure against the imperial government brought in the legislature on 27 April 1904 by the diehard Morine.[123] At a stroke, a burden

that Newfoundland had carried for almost two hundred years had been lifted. Bond was fortunate to be in charge when this happened, but he was given full credit for the outcome. He was, in consequence, a national hero twice over. "Sir Robert Bond and his Executive," the St. John's *Evening Telegram* intoned on 21 April 1904,

> are to be congratulated on their gallant fight for the freedom of their native shores from the intolerant interference of foreigners. No longer will our fishermen be made to take up their nets, remove themselves and their gear because a Frenchman has a covetous eye on the fishing ground which the unfortunate fisherman has chosen ... The Victory is won. North, South, East and West, the whole coast round is absolutely free, absolutely British, absolutely the unchallenged heritage of Newfoundlanders. Our land and our people are absolutely free at last. Let the wild bells tell the story and ring out melodious paeans on unrestrained joy. Newfoundland belongs in future absolutely to Newfoundlanders and none can say them nay. The heritage is won at last, and to our children we can transmit unsullied and unstained by alien rights the rough and rugged shore of old Newfoundland.[124]

With the removal of the French Shore albatross, Bond reached the height of his political power as Newfoundlanders basked in one of the truly liberating moments of their history. The French Shore settlement highlighted Newfoundland's general progress in this period and its status as an emerging North Atlantic dominion of the British Empire.

It also set the stage for the general election held on 31 October 1904. In this contest, Bond's Liberals faced a United Opposition Party, which had five leaders — James Spearman Winter, Augustus Goodridge, Donald Morison, William Whiteway, and A.B. Morine — and no real policy or manifesto other than the desire to defeat the government. Bond characterized the opposition as Reid-backed confederates and ran on the "record of public service on the part of the government that has resulted in more widespread prosperity, and in greater progress and contentment, than has ever before been enjoyed in this land."[125] At the end of the day, he won thirty of thirty-six seats, and of his five main opponents only Morine was elected.

On 12 January 1905, the government added to its laurels when it signed an agreement with the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Limited, which led to the opening of a pulp and paper mill at Grand Falls in 1909. But also in 1905, Bond again crossed the Reids by refusing to buy their railway and steamship operations from them.[126] Not surprisingly, this episode increased their determination to drive him from office.

They did not have to wait long for their chance, for in the same year Bond embarked on a crusade that ruined his political career.[127] What he now attempted was to pressure his New England opponents into accepting the Bond-Hay agreement by disrupting their fishing operations in Newfoundland. His quarrel, he declared, was

not with the administration of the United States, which had "manifested both a friendly and just attitude" towards Newfoundland, but with those Americans "who for petty personal reasons" had deceived their senatorial representatives.[128]

By 1905, American activity on the Newfoundland coast was mainly confined to the winter herring fishery in Bonne Bay and Bay of Islands on the west coast of the island. Americans were accustomed, thanks to the Convention of 1818, to fishing within the three-mile limit. The practice of the American visitors was to hire Newfoundland crew members for their vessels and to complete their catch by buying fish from local fishermen. It was this practice that Bond set out to disrupt. He did so first and foremost by amending the Foreign Fishing Vessels Act of 1893, which allowed the Americans to obtain licences to engage local crew and buy fish and necessary supplies. The amended act ended licensing, gave Newfoundland customs officials sweeping authority to board foreign vessels, and specified that the possession on such vessels of anything previously obtainable under licence would constitute *prima facie* evidence of illegal purchase. In addition, Bond now also advanced a new interpretation of the Convention of 1818. Based on a close parsing of that murky document, he claimed that the American liberty to fish on the Newfoundland treaty shore did not include the liberty to fish in bays, creeks, and harbours as had been previously been assumed.

Bond's provocative action was roundly condemned in Washington and immediately disowned in London. The administration of Theodore Roosevelt had no choice but to defend American fishermen, and London saw no reason to jeopardize its developing friendship with the United States, a high policy objective, over the upstart behaviour of the leader of a minor colony. Bond had badly overstepped himself and he soon paid for his miscalculation.

During the 1905-06 fishing season, trouble was avoided on the Newfoundland coast by the expedient of American vessels engaging Newfoundland crews and making their purchases outside the three-mile limit. In May 1906, Bond sought to close this loophole by a further amendment to the Foreign Fishing Vessels Act, but vehement American protests led the imperial government to refuse assent to this change. Worse still from Bond's point of view was the British decision to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the United States for the 1906-07 fishing season. This was negotiated without Bond's participation or consent and assured American fishermen of the benefits they had enjoyed in Newfoundland before 1905. Bond challenged the *modus vivendi* by starting an action against two Newfoundland fishermen who had joined American vessels outside territorial waters. The men were eventually convicted, but the imperial government paid their fines and then skilfully managed to avoid further retaliatory action by Newfoundland while the 1906-07 fishing season ran its course.

By now the British had decided that the only way out of the tangled situation in Newfoundland was to refer all outstanding issues under the Convention of 1818 to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. Bond at first stubbornly refused

this fig leaf, but while attending the Colonial Conference of 1907 he gave way on the issue. This left the British to secure Canadian agreement for the proposed arbitration, something that Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, still smarting from the Alaska boundary decision of 1903, only reluctantly gave — but not in time for the British to avoid the imposition of another *modus vivendi* in Newfoundland, this time for the 1907-08 fishing season. Bond railed against this action, as he had against its predecessor, but in order to avoid a conflict that might lead to a humiliating intervention by the Royal Navy, he eventually decided to permit the sale of fish under licence. This lowered the temperature on the treaty coast and permitted a peaceful outcome to the 1907-08 fishing season.

Bond's last act in the long fisheries struggle was to agree, after more *Sturm und Drang*, to the terms of the reference to the Hague court. The award of that body, delivered on 7 September 1910, generally favoured the British position (including the headland-to-headland doctrine), but this was cold comfort to Bond the politician. As a result of his systematic defiance, over many years, of Ottawa, Washington, and London, he had accumulated numerous enemies. Michael Francis Howley, the Roman Catholic archbishop of St. John's and a Bond supporter, had written in January 1907 that Newfoundland faced "an insatiable American rapacity on the one hand, and a compromising British Diplomacy on the other."[129] But in truth, Newfoundlanders were far from united in the struggle Bond had unleashed. On the west coast of the island, Bond faced strong opposition from fishermen who enjoyed a profitable trading relationship with the Americans, and their cause found a sympathetic ear in Governor William MacGregor, who sought to counter his first minister at every turn. Lord Grey, the Canadian governor general, hoped that Bond's discomfiture would provide an opening to bring Newfoundland into Canada. He and others plotted to that end, but ultimately nothing came of their efforts.

A more ominous development for Bond was the resignation from his cabinet on 26 July 1907 of Minister of Justice Edward Morris, who had a fine political touch.[130] Ostensibly, Morris broke with Bond over the wages being paid to road labourers in Kilbride in his district of St. John's West, but his departure was obviously timed to take advantage of Bond's increasing adversity. In accepting the resignation, Bond bitingly observed that it was clearly motivated "by reasons other than those set forth." He added, "To conclude otherwise would be to do an injustice to your intelligence."[131] Morris first sat as an independent but in March 1908 launched the People's Party, which brought together various interest groups and had close ties to the Reid Newfoundland Company. When an election was held on 2 November 1908, the Bond and Morris parties each elected eighteen members to the thirty-six member House of Assembly. In the 1908 campaign, Bond asked voters to examine the "whole tenor" of his conduct:

> Whether my ambition or self-interest has caused me to sacrifice any public interest, or to depart in any degree from the strict lines of duty. Has the trust that you reposed

> in me been faithfully respected, and has the country prospered by the blessing of God upon a wise administration of our public affairs? ... By my deeds, by the acts of omission and commission of my Government during the last eight years, I desire to be judged.[132]

Bond had to contend with Morris's popular appeal and Reid money, and campaigned principally in his own district of Twillingate.[133] The outcome of the election may also have been influenced by a sharp decline in the price of Newfoundland fish in European markets, for which the government was blamed.[134]

The deadlock in seats produced a prolonged constitutional crisis in which Governor MacGregor, who clearly wanted Bond out, played a decisive role. In the jockeying that now went on, various attempts were made to get some of those elected to switch sides, but to no avail. The Canadian timber operator Harry Crowe, who had extensive holdings in Newfoundland, tried to bring Bond and Morris together to achieve confederation, but this was also a non-starter. On 18 February 1909, Bond asked MacGregor to dissolve the new House of Assembly on 25 February, the day it was scheduled to open.[135] When MacGregor refused, Bond submitted his resignation, which took effect on 3 March.[136] Morris then became premier and a dissolution followed on 10 April. In the campaign leading to the general election on 8 May 1909, Bond derided Morris as the "tool of the Reids," while Morris's supporters countered with messages such as "Bond's Day is Done" and "No More Bondage, the people are free and will remain so."[137] With the advantage of office, Morris got the better of this fight; the People's Party won twenty-six seats to ten for the Liberals. In 1905, Bond had gambled his political future on his ability to deliver for Newfoundland internationally, but he had misread diplomatic realities and underestimated the domestic political consequences of a bruising external fight. For his miscalculation, he paid a price that would haunt him for the rest of his life.

Nor was electoral defeat the only humiliation suffered by Bond in 1909. On 30 April, during the campaign, as he approached the public wharf at Western Bay in Conception Bay — he was arriving by boat from the S.S. *Mary* — he noticed a large crowd gathering there.[138] According to Bond's account, among those in the "forefront" of this "assemblage" was John Chalker Crosbie, one of the candidates for the People's Party in the district (Bay de Verde). As Bond got nearer, the crowd shouted "threatening language" at him. Then, when the boat touched the jetty, Alfred W. Bishop of Western Bay declared that he would throw Bond over the wharf if he "attempted to land on it." Bond did not reply to Bishop but "called to Mr. Crosbie and said 'I shall hold you responsible for anything that occurs here.'" Bond then began to climb up the wharf ladder, whereupon Bishop stepped down and gave him "a violent kick in the chest." Bond was knocked "breathless and insensible and ... fell backward to the sea." As he recalled, "There was a considerable undertow and not being able to swim I was in danger of drowning but for the

timely aid of the crew of the steamer's boat." Having "recovered sensibility," Bond made plain to Crosbie that for this "dastardly act" he would have a warrant issued for Crosbie's arrest "at once." To this Crosbie allegedly replied, "You can have all the warrants you like issued; it was your own fault and you deserved it."

Bond then withdrew to the S.S. *Mary* and on 1 May made a deposition at Bay de Verde charging "A.W. Bishop of Western Bay, J.C. Crosbie of St. John's and the others who were present on the wharf at Western Bay and who resisted my landing there with aggravated assault." Bishop was found guilty at a trial conducted on 3 May 1909 by Magistrate George Tuff at Western Bay.[139] For the "ducking"[140] he had administered, Bishop was sentenced "to six months in His Majesty's Penitentiary in St. John's with hard labour without the option of a fine."[141] At Bond's request, this sentence was reduced to three months' imprisonment — an outcome that prevented an appeal.[142] In practice, Bishop was eventually pardoned after a petition on his behalf was sent from Western Bay to the governor.[143] Bond's charge against Crosbie et al., which the Crown did not take up as a public prosecution, was heard before Magistrate Alfred Penney at Carbonear on 28 May.[144] Crosbie was represented on this occasion by Martin Furlong, Q.C., and one witness swore that Crosbie had said, "Pull him out boys; it's a shame to do this."[145] According to a newspaper account, "Every witness swore positively that Crosbie did not by word or sign, influence the crowd's action."[146] At the end of the day, the charge against him in relation to "Bond's involuntary bath" was dismissed.[147] In 1912, Bond attributed his developing rheumatism to his "Western Bay legacy."[148]

Bond was now a reluctant leader and, moreover, was facing an entirely new situation in Newfoundland politics brought on by the formation of the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU). This organization, which flourished in the old Liberal territory of the northeast coast, had been formed at Herring Neck on 3 November 1908 at a meeting called by William Ford Coaker.[149] Tired and disillusioned after fighting two bruising elections in just over six months, Bond was slow to recognize the potential of the FPU and of the challenge it posed for the Liberal Party.

Bond's relationship with Coaker went back to the 1890s and had gone through several phases. In 1891, Coaker had purchased a business operation at Pike's Arm, Notre Dame Bay, which he had previously managed for the St. John's firm of McDougall and Templeton. When he lost this operation following the bank crash of 1894, he began farming at "Coakerville" on an island in Dildo Run, Notre Dame Bay. In 1895, Coaker supported Bond's candidacy in Twillingate, and in 1896 he helped organize the Northern Liberal Association there. The next year, Bond helped Coaker obtain the position of telegraph operator and postmaster at Herring Neck, but Coaker lost this appointment to a Tory supporter after the formation of the Winter government. When Bond became premier in 1900, Coaker expected a good reward, but had to settle, in 1902, for the position of telegraph operator at Lewisporte. In 1903 he was transferred to Port Blandford, where he incurred the

wrath of the Liberal government by organizing a telegraphers' union. In the 1904 general election, Coaker supported Whiteway and the United Opposition. When they lost, he resigned his position rather than wait for dismissal by Bond.[150]

The FPU tapped into widespread disillusionment with Newfoundland's economic system, and it grew rapidly in the northern bays. In 1910, it decided upon independent political action, with the object of holding the "balance of power" after the next election and thereby advancing its agenda of cooperation and fairness to the country's small producers. Coaker's emergence at the head of the FPU eventually forced Bond, who was a proud man, to deal as an equal with a former recipient of his patronage.

Coaker's natural inclination was to form an alliance with Bond, and on 16 November 1911 he wrote to the Liberal leader in this regard. Bond replied the following day that he believed in "union as a principle" and had advised Liberal supporters to join the FPU. Unions, he wrote, had often been of "real value by promoting intelligent communication between workpeople separated by wide areas and in ascertaining the due recompense of labour. The natural adjustment of the right proportion between the profits of capital and the wages of labour is usually a very slow process although tolerably sure, and union among workmen has had a most beneficial effect in hastening it." But Bond rejected the idea of a union party, telling Coaker that if he had known that the FPU intended to run candidates in the next election, he would not have endorsed membership in the organization. The FPU should support "whatever political party" came "nearest to its ideals," realizing that if it fought both parties, it could "hardly expect after the contest to exercise influence upon either." "It has to be remembered that the two existing political parties, be they good or bad, stand for the whole people of the Colony, and that they ought to take into consideration the interests of the whole people."[151]

Coaker rejected this advice, and at the 1911 annual convention of the FPU, held 27-31 November at Greenspond, Bonavista Bay, he won approval for the drafting of a union political platform. To Bond's chagrin, several senior Liberals, including James M. Kent and James A. Clift, were present at this FPU convention as guests.[152] By his own account, Bond retired from public life at the close of the 1912 session of the legislature, but this proved a false start.[153] In November 1912, William F. Lloyd, the editor of the St. John's *Evening Telegram*, a Liberal paper, tried to broker a deal between Bond and Coaker, but this effort failed to overcome the deep division between them. As a result, when the FPU met in convention at Bonavista, 12-16 December 1912, it proceeded to adopt an election platform, which promised sweeping changes in the way Newfoundland was organized economically and socially and gave the Union Party a strong message.

With retirement still very much on his mind and with his health failing, Bond went to England in February 1913 for medical examination. He thereby missed the pre-election session of the House of Assembly, leaving his members, who feared the consequences of a separate FPU campaign, demoralized and disorganized.[154] On

Bond's return to Newfoundland in April, Kent, Lloyd, and other senior Liberals pressed him to open negotiations with Coaker for a Liberal-Union electoral pact. On 15 August, Bond invited the FPU leader to the Grange "to go fully into the matter undisturbed."[155] They met at Whitbourne on 18 August, and on 26 August Bond followed up with a letter to Coaker proposing a joint electoral effort whereby six nominations, one-sixth of the total of thirty-six needed for a full slate, would be reserved for the FPU. This, Bond maintained, was "very liberal recognition, for it must be remembered that the great majority of the fishermen are not Union men, and their views and interests may be at variance. If the Union has a claim to special representation, so has every trade, profession and business."[156] Based on this offer, Bond asked Coaker to pledge support for his leadership and for a "United Opposition." Coaker did this on 28 August, but the alliance thus made was less than solid. In his manifesto, published on 3 October, Bond played down his connection to the Bonavista Platform. On the other hand, Coaker nominated not six candidates but nine, including seven in the eleven northern districts.[157]

When the 30 October 1913 election was held, it was Morris who prevailed: the People's Party won twenty-one seats, the Union Party eight, and the Liberals seven. With the exception of Port de Grave, all the Union Party seats were in the north, where there was a determination to "sink or swim with Coaker."[158] The election put Bond in a most invidious position, and on 2 January 1914 he resigned both the leadership of the Liberal Party and his seat in the House of Assembly.[159] His circumstances as leader, he complained, had put him "almost beyond the conditions of dignity and self-respect."[160] The Unionist members owed their first loyalty to Coaker, who had worked with the Liberals only as a "mere matter of expediency." Coaker's purpose would now be to lead the Union Party to power in its own right, and Bond wanted no part of that: "I am not prepared to aid the policy of the President of the F.P.U., which he has declared to be the seizure of the Government of this Colony by the Union over which he presides." The FPU was like the Reid enterprise of old in its desire for monopolistic control, something that was wrong in principle: "Government should be made the most efficient instrument for bettering the actual conditions of life among all classes who make up the Country and should not be converted into a mere machine for advancing the interests of any particular body of individuals." Clift told Bond that his resignation would mean the "end of the Liberal Party and would leave political matters as between the FPU and the Party led by Morris,"[161] but this appeal fell on deaf ears. The FPU's response to Bond's departure, given in its St. John's newspaper, the *Daily Mail and Advocate*, was to accuse him of being "false and disloyal": "What an ignoble ending to a public man, who at one time was the darling of the people." In a savage parting shot, the paper wished Bond a "happy winter in his castle and ... a blest abode in eternal life."[162] Following Bond's exit, Kent became leader of the Liberal Party and, with Coaker's approbation, leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly.[163] Bond's humili-

ation was made complete when Coaker was elected by acclamation in the by-election called to fill the vacant Twillingate seat.

On 21 March 1916, Kent was appointed to the bench, and the next day William Lloyd became Liberal leader. On 26 March 1916, Lloyd agreed to the creation of a Liberal Union Party.[164] On 16 July 1917, Morris formed a wartime national government with the opposition. He then resigned as premier on 31 December 1917 to accept a peerage — announced in the New Year's honours list — as the first Baron Morris of St. John's in the Dominion of Newfoundland, and of the City of Waterford.[165] Lloyd became premier on 5 January 1918, and his cabinet included Coaker and William Halfyard from the FPU, the Liberals James A. Clift and Albert Hickman, and People's Party stalwarts Michael Cashin, John Crosbie, and Richard Anderson Squires. When the National government lost a vote of non-confidence on 20 May 1919, it was replaced on 22 May by a People's Party government led by Cashin. This government was confronted in the Assembly by two opposition factions, one Union and the other Liberal.

From the quiet of the Grange, Bond followed these development with a mixture of anger and disgust. Various appeals were made to him over the years to re-enter public life, but though not entirely ruling out the possibility, he never sallied forth again. As he explained to his former House of Assembly colleague George Shea on 9 February 1917:

> I have held strictly aloof from politics and politicians, and when friends have written me and broached the subject I have not, to say the least, memorialized them to regard me as a possible leader. I have said in reply that circumstances may arise in this Colony that would lead me to regard it as a public duty to enter into a political contest. Such a course of action would be exceedingly distasteful for our public life has got down so low that any self-respecting man must naturally shrink from it.[166]

On 13 July 1917, Bond wrote that he had retired from public life "as a protest against bad faith."[167] In December 1917, he described the FPU as "our local Bolsheviks" and the "greatest menace to the welfare of the Colony" that it had ever had to face: "At present it seems as though a large section of our people have a peculiar fondness for political charlatans and humbugs. Possibly they may exchange Morris for Coaker, for they do not greatly differ."[168]

Bond admired Kent for keeping the Liberal Party as an "absolute active entity" and for not allowing it "to be merged in any other political organization or party."[169] Conversely, he was appalled when Lloyd led the Liberals into the Liberal Union Party. "In my opinion," he lectured Lloyd, "it dishonours you, and blights your political future ... I believe you have made a mistake. I believe that those Liberals who have voted with the 'Coakerites' to accomplish the end which they have had long in view have betrayed a trust reposed in them by the great Liberal party scattered throughout the eighteen electoral districts of this Colony."[170] Bond

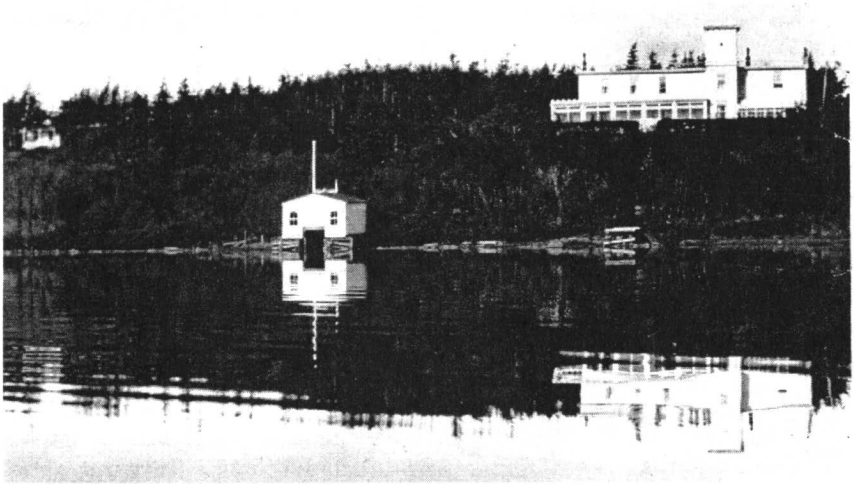
regarded the formation of the National government as a "high political crime" because it robbed the people of responsible government: "The people no longer govern, under coalition, and as an extension of parliament they have nothing to do with whips and reins, nor have any Constitutional way of changing the Coachman or getting possession of the whips and reins."[171]

When Morris left the premiership, Bond was urged by some of his faithful to seize the moment, but, true to form, he chose to remain in Whitbourne. "As an old politician," he explained on 29 December 1917, "I can see that it would be playing the enemy's game at this particular juncture were I to declare my intentions." In the circumstances, the best course was to "stand pat" and "watch the game very carefully," he wrote.

> Before the last election I permitted others to play my hand, and a pretty mess they made of it, so far as I was concerned ... I am not so enamoured with the public life of this Colony as to seek to re-enter it blindfolded. In fact I turn away from the horrible mess left behind by Morris with a feeling of intense disgust, and I would much prefer that the cleaning of that mess be done by somebody else than me. If I undertake the job then I must feel sure of the sympathetic support of the general public. The shameful manner in which I was deceived and betrayed at the last election suggests the necessity of extreme caution at the present time.[172]

On 12 August 1919, following the collapse of the National government, the ambitious and crafty Richard Anderson Squires[173] visited Bond to sound him out about his political intentions. Squires promised to support Bond if he chose to lead a new political party, but Bond rejected the idea out of hand. Such a venture "would simply mean assuring to Coaker the balance of power and the dictatorship of the Government of the Colony."[174] Alternatively, it might give the balance of power to Michael Cashin and his followers, who could be expected to carry the Roman Catholic vote. Either of these outcomes would be unacceptable. "I do not shrink from the responsibilities of leadership at this time," Bond confided on 21 August 1919, "but I have proceeded cautiously to guard myself against being deceived and betrayed by those two political factions."[175] Squires had no such inhibitions. On 21 August 1919, he launched the Liberal Reform Party and two weeks later made an alliance with Coaker, who accepted him as the leader of the coalition. Together, they won a substantial majority in the general election held on 3 November 1919. For Bond, this outcome was nothing short of a nightmare. "I have had a surfeit of Newfoundland politics lately," he had acidly observed on 29 November 1918, "and I turn from the dirty business with contempt and loathing."[176]

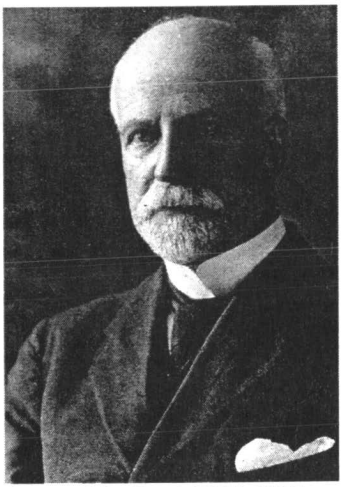
Bond's denouement in the 1920s mixed a measure of contentment with considerable anguish. His great pleasure in life was the daily round of the Grange and the farming operation connected with it, which (railway service permitting) supplied milk to the butterine factory in St. John's. He never married but had living with



The Grange, Whitbourne, Newfoundland
Photo courtesy of Judge John Nichols

him at the big house his cousin, Sarah Roberts,[177] more than nineteen years older than himself, and his housekeeper, Mary Ford, "the good and faithful Mary."[178] Bond enjoyed working with his hands and liked to get out and about in his "Irish tweed jacket and riding breeches."[179] Nevertheless, in 1922 he decided to sell his Whitbourne estate: "There is much that is attractive about the old place and I think every corner of it has a place in my heart. But I feel it must be parted with sooner or later and the sooner the better."[180] To this end, he prepared a prospectus and on 28 August 1922 agreed to list the property for a period of four months with Dowden & Edwards, real estate agents, St. John's.[181] He did so on the understanding that the estate would not be disposed of for less than $60,000 and would not be advertised in the press. Bond hoped that the Grange would be bought as a tourist hotel, and he expressed an interest in taking paid-up shares in such a venture as part of the purchase price.[182] He suggested to Dowden & Edwards that the Nova Scotia businessman Ellison Collishaw might be a possible purchaser.[183]

Nothing came of this initiative and in August 1924 Bond tried, again unsuccessfully, to sell the property to the government with the same use for the place in mind.[184] In the end, he never moved. Instead, he continued his familiar routine of estate management and gentlemanly endeavour: "My love of country life and its pursuits, in which I indulge from early morn to late at night has enabled me to escape a tragedy and to convert my retirement from active politics into a pleasure."[185] He lived graciously, read widely, enjoyed birdwatching, loved music, was an early radio enthusiast, and kept up a lively correspondence with his brother George and the latter's son and daughter, Frank Fraser (known as Fraser) and Roberta (known as Berta). In this period, George was living in Halifax, having had a distinguished



George John Bond (1850-1933)
Photo courtesy of Judge John Nichols

career as a Methodist minister in both Newfoundland and Canada (he was a former editor of the *Wesleyan*, Halifax, and the *Christian Guardian*, Toronto).[186] In 1921, Fraser Bond received the B.Litt degree in journalism from Columbia University and then became personal secretary to Charles Miller, the editor of the *New York Times*.[187] Roberta Bond graduated from Dalhousie University with a B.A. in 1921 and an M.D.,C.M. in 1925.[188] Bond's letters to George are brotherly and those to Fraser supportive and paternalistic. By contrast, his letters to Roberta are laced with irony and angst.

From the lofty perch of the Grange, Bond carped regularly about the inefficiencies of the post office and the railway system, and in the mid-1920s fought a losing battle with the government over compensation for land which the Townships Timber and Land Company had given the colony in 1891 for the erection of railway machine shops at Whitbourne. Eventually, Robert G. Reid had moved the machine shops to St. John's, and this in Bond's view constituted a "breach of faith."[189]

Bond professed to hate letter writing,[190] but his correspondence gave him both an emotional lifeline and an opportunity for self-reflection and philosophizing. His many insights into his own character and circumstances are especially notable:

> I am delighted to hear from you that you are "busy, happy and well." No man in his right senses could desire more, here, or hereafter. It is the blissful condition to which few mortals attain in this mundane sphere. (15 December 1920)[191]
>
> Human nature is a funny commodity, and as we grow older the more we realize it. (10 January 1921)[192]
>
> Someone, I forget who it was, said it is our peculiarities that make us loveable. (19 December 1921)[193]
>
> I always feel thankful to God that I can see the funny side of things, for it has helped me along a pretty crooked journey. (18 December 1922)[194]
>
> You will observe that as I grow older I become more sportive. Imagine! A white silk tie with a black horse-shoe pin studded with diamonds. Why the gods of Olympus will look down in envy. (10 January 1923)[195]
>
> We are curious animals. We seem to thrive best in and enjoy most of all the extremes of great bustle and sylvan quiet. There is no happy medium, I think, for most of us. (11 January 1923)[196]
>
> How rapidly the years pass as we near the end of the journey. (3 March 1923)[197]

We humans are so inclined to blame others when the change of conditions conspires at times "to turn the last act of a man's drama into a tragedy without an audience." Happily, we animals are not disposed to blame ourselves, over much, for what we do "off our own bat." (20 June 1923)[198]

So many gods! So many creeds! So many paths that wind and wind! When just the art of being kind is all this sad world needs. (15 January 1924)[199]

I have not failed to observe that human beings for the most part are inquisitive. They are born *that* way, they progress that way, and they expire that way. When this natural trait is confined to everything else than other people's business all is well, but I hate, like I hate the devil, for people to be permitted to poke their noses into other people's business because then all goes wrong. Inquisitive people are the funnels of conversation; they do not take in anything for their own use; but merely to pass it to another. It is a kernel of the forbidden fruit which still sticketh in the throat of a natural human, and sometimes to the danger of his or her choking. In ancient days the most celebrated precept was "know thyself"; in modern times it has been supplanted by the more fashionable maxim, "know they neighbour and everything about him." Let me beg of you to turn to your Horace, who strongly urged that we should "shun the inquisitive." (6 April 1924)[200]

I admire the good sense displayed by Americans in the building and furnishing of their offices. It is such striking contrast to the English custom. The American, if able to, surrounds himself with beauty and luxury; the Englishman with gloom and dirt; with few exceptions outside of government offices and municipal offices that truth applies in my varied experience. I like large airy places to dwell in, vide the Grange. (15 June 1924)[201]

I went to church this morning, the first time since you left here, and as I crossed the lawns picked some pansies and placed them in the buttonhole of my overcoat. I tell you what with white spats, light hat, grey overcoat, yellow gloves, silver mounted cane, and a bouquet of pansies, on the 23rd day of November, I appeared as gay as "a twenty year old." (23 November 1924)[202]

"There is a good deal of Irish in my composition. I have strong likes and dislikes, very wicked no doubt, but very natural to me. (29 November 1924)[203]

Home to me is the most sacred and loved spot on earth, and I am sure it would be the same if it were only a log cabin with a decent cat or dog in it; consequently it is very difficult for me to understand how anyone can prefer other people's homes to their own. (5 January 1925)[204]

I enjoy the company of agreeable people when I "know" them. I confess to a decided shrinking from the stranger who comes within my home. I am not what the Americans designate a "good mixer." I am a very conservative Englishman. (7 November 1926)[205]

You will remember perhaps that Aristotle declared that "to live alone, one must be an animal or a god," and that Nietzsche who took his philosophy from Aristotle added, "one must be both —that is a philosopher." In my old age I am trying to qualify as the latter. (8 January 1927).[206]

Bond disliked St. John's and, once out of politics, only infrequently visited the city: "I am never happy and contented in small or middle sized cities, but I revel in the roar and bustle of London, and also in the untrodden ways and quiet of the countryside. I could look forward with the greatest pleasure to making my home in London, but I would hate to exchange a country life for that of an ordinary city."[207] In 1922, the death of his "oldest and dearest companions," Robert Brehm and Richard O'Dwyer,[208] deprived him of the social connection he valued most in the Newfoundland capital: "They were the only two who were left in whose homes I always felt at home, and they were the only two homes in St. John's that, for many years, I have entered. I made it a rule to drop in when I went to town for a pipe and a chat."[209] Eventually, he had to force himself to go to St. John's at all, though for medical and other reasons this was unavoidable. "I shall try and muster up sufficient courage to get to town next week for a day or two," he wrote on 7 November 1926, "though going to that 'holy city' is another thing I hate like the devil."[210]

Undoubtedly, his attitude towards St. John's was mixed up in his last years with a growing sense of outrage and despair over "the deplorable condition of our public affairs."[211] This led him to continue his running and corrosive commentary on political developments in the country. Newfoundland, he believed, was headed for bankruptcy and ruin and was led by manipulators and opportunists. The "high-road of financial honesty" had been forsaken in 1909, and ever since the governments of the country had "floundered in bye-paths and ditches of improper legislation" which had "placed them in a financial morass."[212] A "cataclysm" threatened Newfoundland that could only be avoided by "a radical change" in administration.[213]

Bond's disillusionment extended even to the worth of his own knighthood, of which he had once been so proud. When, in 1920, his old friend and physician, J. Sinclair Tait,[214] approached him for help in obtaining a knighthood, Bond told him that it was a "worthless appendage."[215] The "promiscuous bestowal of honours during late years" had reduced "the value that at one time attached to the gift ... to nil," he railed. "The title of knight and of baron is now so often but the covering for very common and filthy clay, that I, for one, could wish it were possible to divest myself of knighthood. I would rejoice to pass down the broken slope bearing no other character than the rare old one of gentleman." He advised Tait: "Don't seek to tarnish your crown of glory with an appendage that, in this community at least, would link your name with those whose honor is in dishonor deeply rooted. When creatures of all kinds are dubbed knights and lords, the unlearned and wayfaring man may be excused if he is unable to distinguish between them." And this was not, Bond insisted, "sour grapes." No doubt, much of this vitriol was directed by Bond against his old nemesis Edward Morris, now an habitué of the House of Lords.

On 10 January 1921, having "said no in the largest black type" to "an appeal to accept a seat in the House of Assembly by acclamation," Bond explained himself as follows: "Imagine such a thing! I would as soon, I really think sooner, proceed

to Sing Sing [the American prison] and herd with the daring blackguards in that famous institution as enter an institution to become identified with meaner spirits."[216] However, in a letter written the same day to Father Stephen J. Whelan of North River, Conception Bay, who had encouraged him to run again, Bond offered this ray of hope: "It is just possible that when the worst stage has been reached we shall consent to be injured no longer and insist upon the many necessary reforms. Changes must come or we shall have to face ruin. Let me say ... that if a grave crisis should arise in which I can render the colony some material assistance my services shall not be withheld."[217]

In May 1922, "on special appeal from a mass meeting of citizens in St. John's," Bond issued a "public warning" along the same lines:

> Don't you remember that in the autumn of 1913 I issued a warning to the effect that this country was suffering from a malignant cancer, which was rapidly eating into its very vitals. The people did not heed the warning; they called to this service another physician, and today the disease has reached a deadly stage. There is only one remedy known to science for the cure of cancer — be it existent in the human body, or, in the body politic, and that remedy is to plunge in the knife and cut it out, roots and branches ... I cannot cut it out, for other doctors are in charge of the patient. The patient — the country — is today crying aloud for the knife to be applied, and to go deep enough. If the physicians in charge either fail to recognize the disease, or shrink from performing the operation then there is only one thing to be done, namely to demand that their places be taken by others who will see their duty and perform it.[218]

On 17 December 1922, Prime Minister Sir Richard Squires, one of the main villains in this view of things, made a surprise visit to Bond, who was not amused:

> Yesterday I had a visit from that creature Squires. I beg his pardon, — Sir Richard Anderson Squires, Prime Minister, who was passing through here, by special train, on his return from England and Europe after six months picnicking at the expense of the unfortunate taxpayers of this country. I was ... surprised to see him ... for I had long since given him 'the cold shoulder.' Last year, when on his way back from England, he called and stated in explanation of his visit that he had promised friends of mine who he had met in England that 'he would personally convey to me their regards.' This time it was the same old story, — he had promised my friends to call and 'convey to me their warm regards.' And in order to do this he actually tied up the whole railway service between here and St. John's for two hours. That was the length of time he remained here. I was wishing all the time that the devil had him, for I fully understood his motive in calling on me; namely, to give the impression, throughout the country, that he was in close touch with me. Of course he took good care to have his visit reported in the press.[219]

On 19 February 1923, the St. John's *Evening Telegram* reported that "Popular Sentiment" favoured Bond's recall to public life.[220] In response, Bond wrote a letter

to the editor, dated 20 February 1923 and published on 23 February 1923, in which he again asserted that he had "no immediate intention of re-entering the political arena."[221] "I could not under any conditions," he now told George, "associate myself with such a tribe as [Sir John C.] Crosbie, [Sir Michael P.] Cashin, [John R.] Bennett, [William J.] Walsh et al., and few decent men will consent to enter a thoroughly demoralized and bankrupt public life."[222] When Squires called a general election for 3 May 1923, Bond forecast the worst: "Squires has sprung a general election in this country ... It is to hide his political crimes from the House of Assembly. He has pledged this country to back the Humber [pulp and paper mill] deal to the amount of ten million dollars. If I only had the strength, how the feathers would fly. My poor country! 'The last phase.'"[223] At Christmas 1923, a greeting from fisherman Stephen Loveridge of Battle Harbour, Labrador, a former resident of Twillingate and secretary of the Northern Liberal Association,[224] evoked this response from Bond:

> The last time I saw him [Loveridge] he said to me, 'Do come out once more Sir, everybody wants you to; I will do as I always did, go through thick and thin for you. Do come out Sir, once more.' It's too late in the day Stephen, too late I am sorry to say for me to try and clean up the mess that has been made of our public life, I replied. As he clasped my hand, his eyes filled with tears, he turned away, and I had not heard from him since then until last night.[225]

When, following its election victory in 1923, the Squires government became embroiled in a financial scandal and fell from power, Bond felt vindicated:

> In this small section of the world the atmosphere is surcharged with scandals that vary in degree. The greatest is that concerning our late prime minister, Sir Richard Squires, K.C., K.C.M.G., &c, &c, &c. He is now before a royal commission charged with appropriating only twenty thousand eight hundred dollars of the public funds for his own use. Our late minister of agriculture, Dr. [Alexander] Campbell, is to come before the same commission, and where the scandal will end it is difficult to predict. The community is rotten to the core. One is ashamed of this condition of things, heartily ashamed and sorry. But I will admit some satisfaction in looking down from this height, — it is the highest land in Avalon, — and saying to the dupes, — 'I told you so.' My country has a great weakness for charlatans and humbugs, and it is now paying to the full for its folly.[226]

Yet when his brother George, at the instigation apparently of Walter S. Monroe,[227] suggested that he tackle the "cancer" with which the "body politic" was afflicted, Bond declined in no uncertain terms: "Today, in the name of common sense, should I respond to the call to become physician to a patient now murdered by humbugs and charlatans? The call is absurd, a compliance therewith would be an exhibition of madness."[228] Bond welcomed the report of Thomas Hollis Walker,

the recorder of Derby, England, into the misdemeanours of the Squires government, but — this was prescient — he did not count the former prime minister out politically:

> You ask what I think of the 'Walker Report.' I think it an able and judicial document, necessarily limited in its scope by the unfortunate restrictions of the commission under which Mr. Walker had to act. What about Squires you ask. He is a criminal at large just now, but, under public pressure, will be tried for his crimes with other rogues. Will he ever be premier again you ask. I would not be surprised, for his church,[229] and the public generally, have a peculiar fondness for such characters as he. I had a letter from a very prominent Methodist last week who, in his appeal to me to reenter public life, declared that unless I do 'Squires will wipe [William R.] Warren[230] out of existence in the next election.' And such is the public morality of this country today that any decent man must long to get out of it.[231]

Bond probably still imagined himself the political saviour of Newfoundland, but he was content to indulge his hurt rather than seize the moment. He had been burned badly and never wanted to go near the fire again.

The aftermath of the Hollis Walker investigation only confirmed Bond in his low estimation of Newfoundland public life: "It has come to pass in this country that juries cannot now be depended upon to uphold law and justice. The so-called 'State Trials' amounted to a joke only, the fact of course being that you have one set of political criminals trying another set."[232] When one of the accused, a former employee of the Department of Agriculture and Mines, was given a twelve-month penitentiary sentence,[233] Bond wrote that he had "known a poor working man to receive far greater punishment for cheating a few pairs of boots."[234] "That young fellow," he growled, "is said to have robbed forty thousand dollars. It is a strange world in which we live, and there are very strange creatures in it. And this little island is perhaps the strangest spot upon the face of the globe. No! it is a lovely little island, but the people in it now beat the devil."

The last straw for Bond came in 1926 when a public movement was started to have him named governor: "I was waited on to know if I would accept the position if H.M.G. approve the petition. I replied no, not if they gave me half the revenues. I would much prefer to snare rabbits for a livelihood than to entertain the aristocracy that now finds its way into Government House."[235] In his despair over his country's politics and politicians, Bond helped foster the climate of opinion that in 1934 made possible the suspension of self-government in Newfoundland in favour of Commission of Government.

As the 1920s wore on, Bond was gradually overtaken by the problems of sickness and old age. He had a history of worrying about his health and in January 1920 told George that he had in his safe "two death warrants" obtained "more than a quarter century ago" from leading physicians in London and New York: "They both destroyed my morale for a time, but I have lived to see both of these wise men 'pass

out to sea.' If I had followed their advice, and taken their warnings seriously probably I would not have witnessed the dawn of 1920."[236] This was optimistic, but medically the tide would soon turn against Bond. During the first weeks of 1921, he was laid low with the grippe, which George had brought to the Grange with him between Christmas and New Year.[237] He now also complained of arthritis in his hands, which sometimes forced him to use a pencil rather than a pen.[238] He felt unwell again during the summer of 1921 but kept a brave face for the sake of the visiting Roberta.[239] Ultimately, however, "an explosion occurred" which left him "shattered in mind and body."[240] In the summer of 1922, he visited George in Halifax and had some teeth removed and received medical tests. By 25 September 1922, he was starting to feel better: "I think I can now report that my Halifax sojourn has done me good. While the head trouble lingers, my nerves are improving daily, and I hope the removal of the old grinders will ultimately result in a general physical improvement."[241]

On 15 March 1923, with spring in the air, Bond went to St. John's.[242] By the time he got there, winter had returned with a vengeance and he found the city besieged with a grippe that had caused many deaths. On the return journey, having been assured that the railway line was open to Whitbourne, he found himself snowbound with twenty-nine other passengers at Brigus Junction Station for twenty-six hours, in frigid conditions and with nothing to eat.[243] He was eventually able to make his way home on a railway snowplough, but the whole episode left him angry and weakened. Moreover, soon after arriving home he came down with flu, which affected his lungs, kidneys, heart and throat, giving him "for several days ... a pretty anxious and trying experience."[244] This was compounded when a big crack appeared in the roof of the Grange and torrents of rain came flooding into the house. With no outside help available ("Squires had all the men and boys in the woods cutting pitprops, in view of the votes needed to return him to power again"),[245] Bond, who was still convalescing, had to get out with two of his own men and effect repairs. To add to his troubles, he had to nurse Cousin Sarah, who also came down with the flu. Her attack lasted for many weeks and left her "as frail as a baby."[246] "I have had a dreadful time of it," Bond told George on 7 May 1923.[247]

Another blow came just before Christmas 1923 when Sarah was diagnosed with breast cancer, which had been neglected for years, and went into a rapid decline.[248] Her care put a heavy burden on Bond, and he investigated cures as far away as Japan, but to no avail.[249] Sarah's death on 24 April 1924 left him broken and disconsolate. "I have passed through an experience," he told Fraser, "that I hope you will never have, and I have passed through it alone. Alone! I now know all that word means, the misery, the despair, the horror it connotes."[250] In November 1924, increasingly obsessed by his physical ailments and their possible relief, Bond told George that he had "a great dread" of cancer.[251] The machine of his body, he wrote, now had "a good many loose bolts and bad joints" and was being run "on cod oil, roman meal, beef, game, a little whisky, and a fair supply of tobacco." He

recommended that George smoke a pipe "every night before retiring to bed" and offered to send him one of his "church wardens" for this purpose.

When George visited the Grange in the spring of 1925, he was shocked by his brother's appearance.[252] On 14 June, Bond wrote that his left arm sometimes became "almost useless" and his fingers "as cold as marble."[253] His legs were likewise shaky, and he occasionally felt that he might fall over. To counter all this, he was taking hormone tablets and various other remedies and trying "to keep bright and hopeful." On 5 July 1925, he reported that he was suffering "most distressingly from giddiness and shaky legs" and that a couple of days before he had had to crawl to the house after being overcome while getting up from weeding a flower bed.[254] "I have discovered," he conceded, "that you cannot successfully fight nature, and that there is no compromising with nature. She keeps her balance very accurately, and one must needs accept the inevitable, that all her claims must be paid. But thank God I can still enjoy a good laugh, and see the funny side of life."

Frank Fraser Bond (1891-1965)
Photo courtesy of Judge John Nichols

Roberta Bond (1901-1966)
Photo courtesy of Judge John Nichols

As Bond's physical condition deteriorated, he looked to family members, principally Roberta, for emotional support. In February 1921, he told her that he had "arrived at the period of life when a real, good, kind hearted sympathetic and loveable niece would be a great comfort to me."[255] He was proud of Roberta's academic achievements and her dedication to the sick, but he was not above bringing to her attention — teasingly perhaps but revealingly all the same — that a medical career was not really an appropriate one for her: "I always felt that the medical profession is too indelicate for the female sex to dabble in; that those fine feelings which we like to associate with the ladies are liable to be destroyed by the use of the knife, and the handling of deceased paupers."[256] He also held up Cousin Sarah to Roberta as a model of a femininity that was now inevitably but regrettably passing: "Your Cousin Sarah is a brave and faithful and loving little lady, typical of a generation that has almost become extinct, and that will hardly ever be replaced.

Edward Wilbur Nichols (1881-1939)
Photo courtesy of Randall Nelson

I am glad that you knew her, and gladder still to know of a certainty that you have been the recipient of her love and kindness and care."[257] The note of regret in this was unmistakeable, and Bond's motives were decidedly mixed. Elizabeth had been the first woman in his life, Cousin Sarah the second, and he very much wanted Roberta to be the third. Unfortunately for him, her understandable aspirations for a life of her own did not always mesh with his unquenchable personal needs.

In April 1924, having detected that something was bothering the twenty-one-year-old Roberta, Bond invited her confidence: "Come out with it and I will see if I can prescribe a cure for your disease. I hope it is not a love affair for in that disease I unfortunately have no experience."[258] When, however, Roberta told him that she was contemplating marriage to the classicist Edward Wilbur Nichols,[259] one of her instructors at Dalhousie and twenty years her senior, Bond did not hesitate to interfere in her life in the bluntest terms. Indeed, he attempted to veto the marriage, telling her, in effect, that Nichols was not good enough for her.[260] "Remember," he admonished on 26 September 1924, in defence of his plain speaking, "'faithful are the wounds of a friend.' They may 'hurt,' they may cause tears, or even blood to flow, but you may be certain that like a lancet driven to the root of an abscess, it clears the way for discharge of troublesome matter."[261] If the idea of marriage had come from Roberta, it was Nichols's duty, "as a guide, protector and teacher of youths," to point out the "impossibility of 'the suggestion.'" If the suggestion of marriage had come from Nichols himself, "he was and is only worthy of the sharp toe of your boot under his coat tails," grumbled Bond. "In my opinion, he has taken advantage of your youth, inexperience of life, and the absence of parental supervision to pay his attentions to you and to propose marriage to you." No "gentleman" would have acted thus without first obtaining the permission of her father. Nor was Roberta's excuse that "they don't act like that nowadays" good enough: "Gentlemen do my dear, adventurers don't."

Bond cautioned his niece to "think well" before she acted, and he quoted Shakespeare at her: "Hasty marriage seldom proveth well."[262] "O my dear Berta!" Bond pleaded, "Youth comes but once in a lifetime. Hold on to it as long as you can. To quote Shakespeare once more, — 'Maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives.'"[263] Elsewhere in this fraught letter, Bond perhaps went to the heart of the matter when, in a description of the fading autumn glories of the Grange, he quoted these lines from a song by Thomas Moore:

"Well—peace to thy heart, though another's it be, And health to thy cheek, though it blooms not for me."[264] With a further twist of the knife, he now blamed Roberta for a fall and injury that he had suffered while trimming a hedge soon after she had visited the Grange. He had almost broken his neck and had aggravated an existing knee problem. "It might have been all avoided," he scolded, "if you had not so precipitately left me to the fates."[265] Roberta married Edward Nichols at Brunswick Street United Church, Halifax, on 13 August 1926,[266] and while her relationship with her devoted but irascible and possessive uncle survived the event, it must have been sorely tested.

Bond loved the rituals of Christmas and liked to decorate his "library and dining room with evergreens and ferns and flowers."[267] Christmas cards were displayed on the mantelpiece in both rooms and in his case these included items "carried forward from year to year in remembrance of my dear friends whose last Christmas greeting was a farewell."[268] On Christmas Day 1924, the dining room was arranged as usual, the table "laden with flowers, holly hanging around the chimney, and ... placed beneath the holly the last Christmas cards received ... from those 'old boys' who have long since responded 'adsum' to the master's call."[269] A ten-pound turkey was served along with plum pudding and fruit, but there was only one diner at the table — Bond himself. After dinner, Mary Ford came in for "her annual glass of old port wine,"[270] but there was no escaping the melancholy of the occasion. "Lonely!" he wrote afterwards, "yes very, but I went to work after breakfast in my work room making a cabinet and again after dinner, and again after ten until midnight for I am determined to fight the demon that I know too well would otherwise have spoiled all the sweet memories that cluster around Christmas day .... It was my first Christmas alone. Yet I did not feel lonely as I too often have felt. Perhaps I was not alone."[271]

In October 1924, George had suggested to Robert that he sell the Whitbourne estate and move to Nova Scotia, but this idea met a frosty reception. "'The [Annapolis] Valley,'" Bond shot back,

> is very beautiful, and so are other places I have seen in and near that Province. But I would as soon think of going to Sing Sing for there is not a human being I know, or who knows me, within the Province save yourself and Berta. Here in Newfoundland everybody knows me and I know them; in England I know many people; in Europe a few worth knowing, the same in the United States, but in Canada I have no friend and as I do not like Canadians I have met, I have no desire whatever for further acquaintance.[272]

After finishing her medical studies, Roberta came to stay with Robert and practised medicine in the Whitbourne area.[273] Her presence buoyed him up, but his physical decline continued inexorably. On 22 April 1926, he told George that his "breath was very short and alarming ... Berta thought my trouble was asthma but Dr. Tait says no, and that the large bronchial tubes have become thickened as a

result of bronchitis. I think the heart is weakening and that is the chief cause. At any rate it is dreadful, and apparently there is no remedy."[274] When Roberta left Newfoundland on 29 June, Bond followed her with a blameful letter written the same day:

> It is a wonder that I did not try to stop your departure, for at 3 o'clock this morning I became so alarmed by the rapidity of my pulse over 100, that I was on the point of telegraphing in. I did not sleep for the night and became very restless and depressed ... I think if you could have held in for another week as I urged you to do, I might have won out soon, but I fear this sudden reaction is going to set me back again. My pulse all day has been about 90, and I dread the lonely night watches.[275]

On 7 November 1926, he told Fraser that he was "taking poison all the time,"[276] and on 15 December he pronounced that while he was "in many respects" as young as he had been fifty years before, the "material" through which he had to operate was pretty well worn out: "Our bodily organs are much more than any artificial tools can be ... and when they give out, the ego, or spirit or soul has a pretty hard time to carry on as before. As Tennyson remarked, — 'each use may lie in blood and breath.'"[277]

Christmas 1926 was "a quiet one," and once again Bond sat alone at the table, though he was convinced that the "the dear ones" who had once sat with him "were not far away."[278] On 1 February 1927, alarmed by the irregularity of his heart beat, he went to St. John's to see Dr. Tait, who was surprised at the change for the worse that had taken place in his condition since the previous examination.[279] Tait immediately took him off digitalis and all the other drugs he was taking, and started him on a new prescription. With this behind him, Bond had tea with Mrs. Brehm and then retired to the Balsam Hotel.[280] At three in the morning, he "awoke with great irregularity of the heart" and "got out of bed and took a little whisky and water, as advised."[281] When he reawakened at 9 a.m., he was beset by nausea, which struck him again in the dining room during breakfast. He "determined to leave at once for home and got to the station in time."[282] Tait met him there, cancelled the prescription he had written the previous day, and promised to send some tablets to the Grange instead. Bond arrived home "in a blinding storm with glass below zero not having had any food for 24 hours."[283] "I am glad," he wrote George, "I faced the storm and got home safely. It is bad enough to be sick but to be sick among strangers and outside your home is to me a complete torture."[284] On 28 February, three days after his seventieth birthday ("the saddest and most trying I have ever experienced"), he told George that he was "failing rapidly" and that for the previous three or four nights Mary Ford had sat up with him in a chair in his bedroom:

> I have no breath and little strength left. Further, I have had a slight stroke which has deprived me of the use of my left arm and hand. I have now great difficulty in dressing and eating, and my nerves are greatly shattered ... I cannot sleep owing to shortness

> of breath and my nerves have consequently given out. I am sorry to furnish you with this poor report, but I thought it due to you to tell you the bare truth as you have displayed a kindly interest in my welfare.[285]

George Bond arrived by steamer in St. John's on Thursday, 10 March 1927, and the same day he and Dr. Tait travelled by train to Whitbourne. Tait told him that Robert was "aggravating" his condition by "his intense nervousness and refusal to rest" and that he was now, ominously, exhibiting Cheynes Stokes breathing.[286] Robert had a dilated heart, two leaky valves, and swollen feet and ankles. He had "not been in bed for nights and nights" and insisted "on dressing meticulously and otherwise unnecessarily exerting himself." On two occasions, Tait reported, he had given the patient "a morphine tablet at night in his milk without his knowing it." This has produced "quiet sleep and easy breathing."

Arrived at the Grange, George found ready confirmation of all he had heard from Tait. Robert's "eyes and ... haggard countenance were sad to see, and the breathing was very bad."[287] Robert himself declared that "a man could not live long in such a state," and George understood that this was indeed the case.[288] With the assistance of George Morgan[289] of Upper Gullies, Conception Bay, who worked on the farm, George Bond, who was now seventy-six, set about giving his brother whatever care he could provide — "poor rough, ignorant nursing."[290] Dr. Tait returned to St. John's on Saturday, 12 March, but the same evening his son, also a physician, arrived and was in attendance until Monday, 14 March. George Bond had difficulty in getting Robert "to stay in bed or to husband in the least his fast fading strength."[291] On Saturday, 12 March, Robert moved with great difficulty from the couch in the library, where George had found him, to his bedroom, but even there he remained agitated.[292] He was in and out of bed, subject to paroxysms and "wondering sometimes what he had done to be so punished."[293] And so it went on and on. "Oh those dreadful days of oscillation," George afterwards unburdened himself to Fraser, " — now in bed, now sitting on its side with the poor swollen feet on the floor, and with the cold of the bedroom around his unshielded or largely unshielded limbs."[294] "How hard he thought me," George agonized, "hard cruel and arbitrary, because I tried to insist on his keeping in bed. He said I belonged to two thousand years ago."[295] In his last days, Robert spoke often of Fraser and at one stage asked for him to be summoned from New York, but George had to explain that this was not practical.[296] The end came at about 8:30 p.m. on Wednesday, 16 March. He died "very quietly" with his "breath becoming gradually more shallow" until it was heard no more.[297]

George Bond took charge of laying out the corpse and "no strange hand" touched Robert's "dear body."[298] George first privately washed the body. Then, assisted by George Morgan and Mary Ford, he dressed Robert for the last time, putting "on his beautiful business coat vest and trousers and shoes, [and] his collar and necktie with a breast pin in it which he had put there."[299] Robert was next placed

on the bed, whereupon George retired for the night, undressing for only the second time since he had arrived in St. John's on 10 March.

The next morning, after the casket (black in colour and supplied by the St. John's undertaker Andrew Carnell)[300] arrived on the noon train, he and George Morgan and the latter's brother Albert,[301] another employee of the estate, placed Robert in it. "Forty nine years ago," George Bond subsequently recalled, "Robert and I had put Harry in his casket, and as finally one at the head and one at the foot we put the cover on the casket I remember distinctly saying to Robert 'Bob when you go or I go, some one else will have to take one end.'"[302] When the casket was ready, George and Albert Morgan brought it downstairs to the centre of the drawing room, where it was placed on two dining-room chairs "with the head towards the mantlepiece."[303] There it lay until Monday, 21 March, in deference to Robert's request that he not be buried until George was "sure that he was dead."[304] "It was a risk, I knew," George wrote, "and I was anxious lest he should so change that his friends could not see him at the funeral. But he looked well and very natural."[305]

Robert had made it known that "he abhorred anything like a public funeral" and "wanted no fuss or parade."[306] Accordingly, the ceremony on 21 March was "simple but sufficient."[307] He had originally intended to be buried in the family plot in the General Protestant Cemetery in St. John's, but following on Sarah's death he was placed with her in Whitbourne. After a brief service at the Grange and the singing of "Oh God Our Help in Ages Past,"[308] the remains were carried to St. John the Baptist Church in the estate's express wagon, which George had painted black and "draped ... with cashmere" for the occasion.[309] As Robert had requested, the service was conducted by Canon James Henry Bull and the Reverend Gordon Elliott, the local rector, who had been with Robert when George had arrived at the Grange on 10 March.[310] To accommodate the many friends and public figures who came from St. John's, the Newfoundland Railway laid on a special train (at, George noted, its usual tariff) with dining car.[311] The hymns sung at the service were "Rock of Ages" and "Jesu Lover of My Soul."[312] The organist was Mrs. Elliott, wife of the rector, who also played the "Dead March in Saul."[313] When all was done, Bond was buried in the rocky soil of the Avalon Peninsula, a region he had explored as a boy and celebrated as a man. His grave "was lined with fir boughs," which also hid the mound of earth beside it.[314] A sheaf of carnations sent by Roberta was buried with him "across his heart inside the casket."[315] The "Master of the Grange was gone never to return."[316]

Bond left behind him a tangled will, which he had made on 28 December 1914.[317] He had added a codicil on 3 April 1925 and left two other sets of instructions to his executor, who was his brother George. He left his Whitbourne estate "consisting of 'The Grange' and nearly eight square miles of fee simple land, upon which I have expended large sums of money and years of personal effort to render it an ideal property" to the Governor and Executive Council of Newfoundland "to be

held in trust by them for the people of Newfoundland as a Model Farm forever." He instructed that, specific bequests aside, all his other real and personal property was to be sold and the funds realized thereby invested "in Debenture Bonds of the Government of Newfoundland or of Canada, or in Canadian Provincial Bonds."

The interest on the bonds held by the estate was to be paid out by George to Fraser, who was named heir, and thereafter to pass entail to Fraser's eldest son. If Fraser died without issue, the interest was to be paid out to Roberta and on her decease by entail to her eldest male descendant forever, provided "he shall take and adopt my name and be known by such name alone." If Roberta died without issue, the interest was to be paid out to George and on his decease the whole principal of the estate was to be paid to the Governor and Executive Council of Newfoundland "in trust for the establishment in Whitbourne ... of an Industrial School in which shall be taught a practical course in different trades." The government was given right of first refusal on "the cattle, horses, and farm stock, and the household furniture" of the Grange for the sum of $10,000 payable to the executor. If this offer was declined, the property in question was to be sold at public auction in St. John's.

Various ceremonial and commemorative items also passed to Fraser to be kept as heirlooms. The caskets and silver plate Bond had been presented with in connection with receiving the freedom of the cities of London, Edinburgh, Bristol, and Manchester were left to the people of Newfoundland; they were to be handed over to the governor and placed in the museum after a plate-glass case, to be "especially designed in England," had been imported by the executor for their safekeeping and display. The museum in St. John's also got illuminated addresses from the City of London and the Victoria League of England, and various natural history specimens which Bond had shot and mounted. The illuminated address from the Victoria League was to be kept "in a suitable glass case," and all the bequests to the museum were "to be placed to themselves apart" in the institution. Bond left most of his books to George, who decided to give them to Memorial University College, St. John's, on condition that they constitute "The Robert Bond Library."[318] The books were duly received by Memorial, but the name was never used.

Bond left his watch and chain and his mother's jewellery to Roberta and all other jewellery to Fraser. If Sarah had been living at the time of his death, she would have received $500 per annum. Roberta would have received the same amount had she remained a spinster, as well as a further $500 per annum on Sarah's decease, again if she had remained a spinster. Mary Ford was left $400 "in recognition of her long and faithful service." By the codicil of 3 April 1925, the executor was directed to erect a granite monument to Sarah in the Church of England cemetery, Whitbourne. This monument was to be "at least seven feet high" and was to have attached to it two brass or bronze plates with inscriptions in a form of words that Bond specified.

The executor was also ordered to have inserted the date of the testators's death on the plate bearing his name at seat 24 in the Chapel of the Most Distinguished

Order of St. Michael and St. George, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, England. By the same token, the executor was instructed to have "permanently closed" the Bond family plot at the General Protestant Cemetery, St. John's. This was to be done, following the line of an existing iron railing, by walling in the plot "to a height of four feet, starting from a solid foundation." The wall was to "be of the best concrete" and "at least eighteen inches wide." Once the wall was in place, it was to "be covered with a flat roof of reinforced concrete, in the centre of which there shall be set down a bronze plate containing the names of all who are buried within the plot." The "concrete roof" was also to have set into it the "piece of statuary" Bond had erected in memory of his mother. At the end of this work, the memorial stone in which the statue had previously stood was to "be defaced and sold to the Marble Works." The existing iron railing was likewise to be dismantled and sold.

After due consideration, the Government of Newfoundland declined the gift of the Whitbourne estate on the grounds that the proposed model farm would be costly, of limited educational benefit, impractical to operate "free from political control" (George Bond favoured administration by a "non-political commission"), and an unfair source of competition for private farmers.[319] This decision was officially communicated to George Bond in a letter from Prime Minister Walter S. Monroe dated 8 October 1927 after the matter had been debated in the House of Assembly on 17-18 May and 9 and 21 June.[320] The government accepted the various bequests to the museum, and these were presented to the governor at a ceremony held in Government House, St. John's, on 7 October 1927.[321]

Since the will was silent on what should be done if the government declined the bequest of the Whitbourne property, George Bond sought the direction of the Supreme Court, referring this and all other issues arising under the will. The legal proceedings were held before the former Liberal stalwart, James M. Kent (with the family doing its best to keep the matter out of the glare of publicity). George, Fraser, Roberta, and the attorney general of Newfoundland were all represented by counsel. Kent's decision, dated 23 January 1928, awarded the property to Fraser, who coveted it, and also gave him, as heir, all the money that had been left entail.[322]

During the 1930s and 1940s, Fraser Bond used the Grange as a summer retreat and entertained many relatives and friends in its lovely rooms and fine grounds. After visiting there in the summer of 1935, Lady Hope Simpson described the Grange as "one of the few real country houses" in Newfoundland.[323] Following a weekend visit to Fraser in October 1935, she wrote: "We walked over the fields with him & loved the wide views over fields & lakes & forests to the distant hills — such a glorious Sunday we had."[324] In 1949, Fraser Bond sold the Grange and four square miles of the Whitbourne estate to the new Province of Newfoundland, which planned to establish a reform school on the property.[325] Then, on 22 November 1952, authority was given by the comptroller and deputy minister of finance of the province for the acceptance of an offer of $160 from J.S. Crummey for "the purchase and removal" of the Grange.[326] In 1914, Bond's political career

had ended bitterly. Soon after Newfoundland's union with Canada, in an act of blind cultural vandalism, the house of his dreams and the monument to all he held dear came crashing down. In the process, the people of Newfoundland and Labrador lost one of their most distinctive and important legacies.

In his public life, Bond had been a Newfoundland nationalist, an ardent imperialist, and an advocate of reciprocity with the United States. This had turned out to be an impossible combination, which caused him much anguish and disappointment. In his private life, especially in his project of the Grange, he sought to create a world within a world, but this too proved elusive. Bond was a complex historical figure whose career was emblematic of both Newfoundland's ambitions and Newfoundland's limitations. "Success!" he wrote in January 1904. "What is it? To the statesman it means the accomplishment of the ideal for which he has laboured in the interests of his country and its people ... If I mistake not the truly successful man it is he who, by his work, in the realm of state-craft, commerce, art, science or literature, renders mankind his debtor."[327] By his own standard, Bond met the test of history, though he was no stranger to failure and defeat.

He is remembered variously. On 7 September 1927, a memorial window, depicting "The Light of the World" by William Holman Hunt and donated by Fraser Bond and Roberta Nichols, was dedicated at St. John the Baptist Church, Whitbourne.[328] There is a Bond Street in downtown St. John's named after him.[329] In 1954, the Government of Newfoundland placed a large granite boulder as a monument to Bond on the site of the Grange.[330] Since 1979, the brief inscription on this memorial has been supplemented by a plaque affixed to the boulder by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.[331] The bridge that spans the Exploits River on the Trans-Canada Highway in central Newfoundland is called the Sir Robert Bond Bridge. In 1976, the passenger and vehicle ferry *Sir Robert Bond*, built at the Port Weller shipyard near St. Catharine's, Ontario, began service in Newfoundland's waters.[332] Bond left a fine legacy to philatelists everywhere in the 1897 issue of stamps he selected to mark the 400th anniversary of the arrival in Newfoundland from England of the Anglo-Italian explorer John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto).[333]

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Notes

[1]7 November 1805 — 11 June 1872.

[2]10 August 1822 — 17 August 1900.

[3]John R. Nichols collection, Bond family Bible; *Evening Telegram* (St. John's), 24 February 1923, 6; Devon Record Office, Castle Street, Exeter, England EX4 3PU, Z 19/29/22a, Sir Roper Lethbridge correspondence, 1901, vol. 1, no. 18, George Bond to Sir Roper Lethbridge, 28 December 1900 (hereafter Roper Lethbridge correspondence); Allen Kerr Bond, *The Story of the Bonds of Earth* (Baltimore, 1930), 132.

The authors are grateful to Professor W. Gordon Handcock, Department of Geography, Memorial University, for bringing the Roper Lethbridge correspondence to their attention.

[4]J. Sinclair Tait, "Late Sir Robert Bond," *Daily News* (St. John's), 28 March 1927, 4.

[5]Roper Lethbridge correspondence; Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (CNSA), Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Robert Bond Papers (Coll-237), 1.02.038, George Bond to Robert Bond, 20 June 1925. In some quotations from the Robert Bond Papers, we have added punctuation in the interest of readability. For Codner's career, see "Codner, Samuel," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (*DCB*) (Toronto, 1985), 8:164-67. We thank the staff of the CNSA for their assistance.

[6]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.028, Robert Bond to George Bond, 22 January 1921; 1.02.038, Robert Bond to George Bond, 5 July 1925.

[7]Roper Lethbridge correspondence; Nichols collection, Bond family Bible.

[8]John Lovell, *Lovell's Province of Newfoundland Directory for 1871* (Montreal, 1871), 299.

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]Relevant pages of admissions register, 1872, Queen's College, Taunton, Somerset, England, enclosed in Wendy Howells, Headmaster's Secretary, Queen's College, to Peter Neary, 16 December 1998.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.006, George Bond to Robert Bond, 20 June 1872; Nichols collection, Bond family Bible.

[13]CNSA, Coll-237,1.02.038, Robert Bond to George Bond, 5 July 1925.

[14]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.007, Robert Bond to Elizabeth Bond, 15 November 1973.

[15]John S.R. Gosse, *Whitbourne: Newfoundland's First Inland Town* (Whitbourne, 1985), 30.

[16] CNSA, Coll-237, 1.01.010, will of John Bond.

[17]CNSA, George J. Bond Papers (Coll-236), 1.02.004, Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Bond's Estate, and Coll-237, 1.01.019, Frederick Williams-Taylor to Robert Bond, 22 September 1920.

[18]Nichols collection, Bond family Bible; CNSA, Coll-236, 1.02.004, Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Bond's Estate.

[19]CNSA, Coll-236, 1.02.001, Estate of late John Bond in a/c with John B. Bond.

[20]CNSA, Coll-236, 1.02.004, Statement distribution bank stock to the credit of the estate late John Bond in 1885. The statement is dated 16 January 1909.

[21]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.01.019, Frederick Williams-Taylor to Robert Bond, 22 September 1900.

[22]CNSA, Coll-236, 1.02.004, Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Bond's Estate.

[23]This bank suspended operations on 16 July 1895. See Ronald Rudin, *Banking en Français: The French Banks of Quebec, 1835-1925* (Toronto, 1985), 51.

[24]CNSA, Coll-236, 1.02.004, Statement distribution bank stock to the credit of the estate late John Bond in 1885.

[25]1 April 1828 — 24 June 1908.

[26]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.09.001, Articles of Clerkship.

[27]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.001.

[28]Premier, 1861-65.

[29]See statement by Bond in *Proceedings of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council*, 1911, 185.

[30]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.004, Diary of European Tour.

[31]*Ibid.*

[32]*Ibid.*

[33]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.006, voyage on *Curlew*.

[34]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.019. See also *Directory for the Towns of St. John's, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland for 1885-86*, compiled and arranged by John Sharpe (St. John's, 1885), 29, and Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers, *True Newfoundlanders* (Erin, Ont., 1977), 144.

[35]Archives Nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal, 1945, rue Mullins, Montréal, Québec H3K 1N9, Probate of the Last Will and Testament of the late Henry Bond, No. 974, 16 April 1879. Henry Bond's will is dated 13 July 1878.

[36]See Peter Neary, "The French and American Shore Questions as Factors in Newfoundland History," in James Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*. (Toronto, 1980), 95-122.

[37]R.A. MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland: Economic Diplomatic and Strategic Studies* (Toronto, 1946), 291; Neary, "The French and American Shore Questions," 111.

[38]MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*, 301.

[39]*Ibid.*, 304.

[40]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.04.005, Robert Bond to Ambrose Shea, 7 January 1885; *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1885, 24.

[41] For the political history of this period, see James Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971, 66-123.

[42]"Thorburn, Sir Robert," *DCB* (Toronto, 1994), 13:1031.

[43]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.04.005, John Syme to Robert Bond, 8 October 1885; 3.05.003, A.B. Morine to Robert Bond, 20 April 1886, and John Duchemin to Robert Bond, 23 April 1886. See also Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 128.

[44]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.04.012, Robert Bond to Robert Thorburn, 4 January 1886.

[45]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.06.004, Robert Bond and A.B. Morine to William Whiteway, 25 July 1887.

[46]*Ibid.*

[47]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.07.004, Whiteway Party Minute Book, 13 February 1888.

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.07.004, Whiteway Party Minute Book, 1 September 1888, and 8.03.007; Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 155-61.

[50]*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1887, 31.

[51]The 1889 "Act to Amend the Law relating to the Qualification of Electors for Members of the General Assembly" gave the franchise to "every male British subject of the full age of twenty-five years." See *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1889 (St. John's, 1889), 6.

[52]The manifesto was printed in the *Evening Telegram*, 22 June 1889, 4.

[53]Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 186.

[54]The third Trinity seat was taken by David Webber, another Liberal.

[55]*Royal Gazette* (St. John's), 17 December 1889.

[56]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.015, Brief: In re Whitbourne Estate, and the Newfoundland Government trespass thereupon.

[57]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 8.

[58]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.015, Brief: In re Whitbourne Estate, and the Newfoundland Government trespass thereupon.

[59]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 47; *Evening Mercury* (St. John's), 6 May 1889, 3, Legislature Proceedings, House of Assembly, Monday, 29 April.

[60]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 46.

[61]*Ibid.*, 28, 44.

[62]*Ibid.*, 31.

[63]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.015, Brief: In re Whitbourne Estate, and the Newfoundland Government trespass thereupon.

[64]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.01.015, death certificate signed by J. Sinclair Tait, 19 August 1900.

[65]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 28.

[66]*Ibid.*, 31.

[67]*Ibid.*, 28.

[68]*Ibid.*

[69]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.08.006.

[70]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.08.003.

[71]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.06.009, Data Sheet on Asbestos Mine, and 2.10.016, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 9 April 1927. St Georges Pond is now called Georges Lake.

[72]MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*, 311-13; CNSA, Coll-237, 6.02.001, *French Treaty Rights in Newfoundland: The Case for the Colony Stated by the People's Delegates, Sir J.S. Winter, K.C.M.G., Q.C.; P.J. Scott, Q.C.; and A.B. Morine, M.L.A.*.

[73]CNSA, Coll-237, 6.02.006, Diary of trip to French Shore (first entry made at LaScie, 4 July 1890); *Evening Telegram*, 7 July 1890, 4.

[74] MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*, 313, 360.

[75]The account that follows is based on Neary, "The French and American Shore Questions" and his "The Embassy of James Bryce in the United States 1907-13," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1965.

[76]MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*, 355, 359; "Shea, Sir Ambrose," *DCB* 13:945.

[77]For his own account of these events see CNSA, Coll-237, 7.04.001, Speech by Hon. Robert Bond in the House of Assembly, March 6th, 1891.

[78]*Ibid.*, 4.

[79]*Ibid.*, 6.

[80]*Ibid.*, 6.

[81]See Neary, "The Embassy of James Bryce," 197.

[82]MacKay, *Newfoundland*, 373.

[83]CNSA, Coll-237, 8.03.011, Robert Bond to William Whiteway, 25 June 1891.

[84]MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*, 382.

[85]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.12.002, Robert Bond to William Whiteway, 29 July 1893.

[86]Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 272-73.

[87]*Royal Gazette*, 16 April 1894.

[88]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.13.013, newspaper clipping dated 25 July 1894; 3.13.018, Edward Morris to Robert Bond, 25 July 1894; and *Evening Telegram*, 25 July 1894, 4.

[89]For Bond's participation in the upper chamber, see *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1894-95, 25 April 1895, 68, and 9 May 1895, 69. See also *Royal Gazette*, 30 April 1895.

[90]*Royal Gazette*, 17 September 1895; *Evening Telegram*, 16 September 1895, 4, and 17 September 1895, 4. Nomination day was 16 September 1895.

[91]Harvey Mitchell, "Canada's Negotiations with Newfoundland, 1887-1895," *Canadian Historical Review* 40, no. 4 (December, 1959), 277-93; Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 303-09.

[92]*Evening Telegram*, 27 July 1895, 4.

[93]CNSA, Coll-237, 9.01.045, Robert Bond to William Whiteway, 27 February 1896.

[94]For events in the 1930s, see Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Kingston and Montreal, 1988).

[95]Premier, 1928-1934.

[96]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.14.003, requisition dated 20 October 1895.

[97]Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 331; W.V. Whiteway, *Duty's Call* (St. John's, 1904), 2.

[98]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.17.002, Robert Bond to William Whiteway, 25 January 1898.

[99]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.17.002, William Whiteway to Robert Bond, 26 January 1898.

[100]Whiteway, *Duty's Call*, 7.

[101]The contract was signed by the governor and by H.D. Reid acting on behalf of his father, Robert G. Reid (*Evening Herald* [St. John's], 3 March 1898, 4). The legislation authorizing the contract received assent on 15 March 1898. For more details, see "Reid, Sir Robert," *DCB* 13:860-61.

[102]*Evening Herald*, 24 February 1898, 4.

[103] Governor, 1895-98.

[104] Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 353-54.

[105]*Evening Telegram*, 21 October 1899, 4.

[106]*Royal Gazette*, 16 March 1900; *Evening Telegram*, 16 March, 1900, 4.

[107]Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 357; CNSA, Coll-237, 3.19.006, Edward Morris to Robert Bond, 7 March 1900, Robert Bond to Edward Morris, 7 April 1900, and memorandum of agreement, 8 March 1900.

[108]Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," 18-19.

[109]"Reid, Sir Robert Gillespie," *DCB* 13:861.

[110]*Evening Telegram*, 25 October 1901, 4.

[111]*Times* (London), 1 May 1907, 12; 6 May 1907, 9; 16 May 1907, 11.

[112]Arnott T. Wilson, University Archivist, Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, to Peter Neary (with attachment), 18 December 1998.

[113]*The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton, 1985), 3:1695.

[114]James Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations* (St. John's, 1994), 34.

[115]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 29.

[116]CNSA, Coll-237, 5.05.003, Statement of Sir Robert Bond on the question of Imperial Defence, 5 July 1902.

[117]*Ibid.*

[118]CNSA, Coll-237, 5.07.002, Robert Bond to Earl of Meath, 25 April 1903.

[119]Frank W. Graham, *"We Love Thee, Newfoundland": Biography of Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C.M.G., Governor of Newfoundland 1901- 1904* (St. John's, 1979), 131-37, 166-77.

[120]Hiller and Neary, eds. *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland*, 25-27; James Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis* 11, no. 2 (Spring, 1982), 42-68; S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1971), 50-56; Jessie Chisholm, "Organizing on the Waterfront: The St. John's Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU), 1890-1914," *Labour/Le Travail* 26 (Fall, 1990), 37-59; and Briton Cooper Busch, "The Newfoundland Sealers' Strike of 1902," *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (Fall, 1984), 73-101, and *The War against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery* (Kingston and Montreal, 1985), 77-91.

[121]This account is based on Peter F. Neary and Sidney J.R. Noel, "Newfoundland's Quest for Reciprocity, 1890-1910" in Mason Wade, ed., *Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967* (Toronto, 1969), 210-26, and Peter Neary, "The Embassy of James Bryce." There is a copy of the Bond-Hay convention in CNSA, Coll-237, 7.08.010.

[122]For the agreement and its background, see Frederic F. Thompson, *The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1961), 176-87, 199 (appendix 6), and J.K. Hiller, "The French Fisheries Issue in Anglo-French Treaties, 1713-1904," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24, no. 1 (January, 1996), 1-23.

[123]*Evening Telegram*, 28 April 1904, 4.

[124]CNSA, Coll-237, 7.10.005, clipping from *Evening Telegram*, 21 April 1904, 4.

[125]There is a copy of Bond's 1904 election manifesto in CNSA, Coll-237, 3.23.013.

[126]Hiller and Neary, eds., *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland*, 3.

[127]The account that follows is based on Neary and Noel, "Newfoundland's Quest for Reciprocity," and on Neary, "The Embassy of James Bryce."

[128]Neary, "The Embassy of James Bryce," 201.

[129]*Evening Telegram*, 14 January 1907, 6.

[130]For his appointment as Minister of Justice, see *Royal Gazette*, 16 December 1902.

[131]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.26.002, Robert Bond to Edward Morris, 24 July 1907.

[132]*Manifesto of Right Hon. Sir Robert Bond, P.C., K.C.M.G., Premier, 1908* (St. John's, 1908), 1.

[133] Hiller and Neary, eds., *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland*, 35.

[134] Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 64-65.

[135]*Evening Telegram*, 25 February 1909, 4; *Royal Gazette*, 9 and 24 February 1909.

[136]*Royal Gazette*, 3 March 1909.

[137]*Daily News*, 21 April 1909, 6; E.B. Foran, "Battle of the Giants: Bond and Morris," in J.R. Smallwood, ed., *The Book of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1967), 3:166.

[138]This account is based on Bond's deposition, dated 1 May 1909 and published in the *Evening Telegram*, 5 May 1909, 7.

[139]*Free Press* (St. John's), 1 June 1909, 4.

[140]For this term, see "The Western Bay Affair," *Daily News*, 1 May 1909, 8.

[141]"That Dastardly and Fiendish Attack," *Evening Telegram*, 5 May 1909, 7.

[142]*Free Press*, 1 June 1909, 4; *Evening Telegram*, 9 June 1909, 6.

[143]*Daily News*, 5 June 1909, 4.

[144]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.28.011, James M. Kent to Robert Bond, 27 May 1909; *Free Press*, 1 June 1909, 4.

[145]*Free Press*, 1 June 1909, 4.

[146]*Ibid.*

[147]*Ibid.*

[148]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.31.007, Robert Bond to William F. Lloyd, 12 January 1912.

[149]19 October 1871 — 26 October 1938.

[150]See Ian D.H. McDonald, *"To Each His Own": William Coaker and the Fishermen's Protective Union in Newfoundland Politics, 1908-1925* (St. John's, 1987), 15-33, and J.R. Smallwood, *Coaker of Newfoundland* (Port Union, 1998), reprint of 1927 edition, intro. by Melvin Baker.

[151]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.30.003, Robert Bond to William Coaker, 17 November 1911.

[152]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.31.007, Robert Bond to William F. Lloyd, 12 January 1912.

[153]Robert Bond to James A. Clift, 2 January 1914, in *Evening Telegram*, 10 January 1914, 4.

[154]Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 96-102; McDonald, *"To Each His Own,"* 41-44.

[155]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.32.004, Robert Bond to William Coaker, 15 August 1913.

[156]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.32.004, Robert Bond to William Coaker, 26 August 1913.

[157]See Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 100-02, and McDonald, *"To Each His Own,"* 41-44.

[158]*Fishermen's Advocate* (St. John's), 22 August 1913, letter to the editor. See also *Coaker of Newfoundland*, 73.

[159]Robert Bond to Stephen Loveridge, 3 January 1914 in *Evening Telegram*, 13 January 1914, 4.

[160]Robert Bond to James A. Clift, 2 January 1914, in *Evening Telegram*, 10 January 1914, 4.

[161]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.33.001, James A. Clift to Robert Bond, 5 January 1914.

[162]*Daily Mail and Advocate* (St. John's), 17 January 1914, 2.

[163]*Evening Telegram*, 14 January 1914, 4.

[164]McDonald, *"To Each His Own,"* 57.

[165]*Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, 104th ed. (London, 1967), 1722.

[166]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.36.004, Robert Bond to George Shea, 9 February 1917.

[167]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.36.003, Robert Bond to Henry Gear, 13 July 1917.

[168]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.36.004, Robert Bond to George Shea, 19 December 1917.

[169]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.35.001, Robert Bond to James M. Kent, 1 February 1916.

[170]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.35.001, Robert Bond to William F. Lloyd, 28 March 1916.

[171]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.36.003, Robert Bond to Henry Gear, 13 July 1917.

[172]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.36.004, Robert Bond to George Shea, 29 December 1917.

[173]18 January 1880 — 26 March 1940.

[174]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.38.004, Robert Bond to Henry Cowan, 21 August 1919.

[175]*Ibid.*

[176]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.37.001, Robert Bond to George Shea, 29 November 1918.

[177]27 October 1838 — 24 April 1924. Born Plymouth, Devon, England (see Bond's instruction to his executor, 3 April 1925 in CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.001).

[178]Born, Bonavista, September 1860 (see website http://www.infonet.st-johns.nf.ca:80/project21/1921/804001.htm containing the 1921 nominal census for Whitbourne); CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 25 December 1923.

[179]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 28.

[180]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.023, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 15 December 1920.

[181]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.010, Robert Bond to Dowden & Edwards, 28 August 1922.

[182]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.010, Robert Bond to Dowden & Edwards, 14 August 1922.

[183]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.010, Robert Bond to Dowden & Edwards, 28 August 1922. Collishaw came to Newfoundland as general manager for the Vacuum Oil Company of America. He became active in the lumbering business and owned and operated mills at Badger, Alexander Bay, and St. George's Bay. About 1911 he became acquainted with Coaker and strongly supported the activities of the FPU-sponsored businesses. He died at Halifax in 1931.

For his career, see *Halifax Herald*, 23 June 1931, 14, and *Fishermen's Advocate*, 3 July 1931, 5. Coaker published a tribute to Collishaw in the *Fishermen's Advocate*, 17 July 1931, 5.

[184]CNSA, Coll-237, 3.39.007, Robert Bond to John R. Bennett, 28 August 1924, and John R. Bennett to Robert Bond, 1 September 1924.

[185]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.033, Robert Bond to George Bond, 20 June 1923.

[186]Roper Lethbridge correspondence; CNSA, introduction to finding aid for Coll-236. On 19 July 1881, George Bond married Lucy Amelia Macpherson, daughter of Peter Macpherson Junior and Susannah Euphemia (Campbell) Macpherson of St. John's. Peter Macpherson was a prominent city merchant. Lucy, who was one of eight children, died in Toronto on 25 July 1903. George and Lucy had seven children, of whom Fraser was the fifth born and Roberta the seventh born. Their other children were Henry (Harry), Elizabeth (Elsie), Herbert, James, and Winnifred. Henry, Elizabeth, James and Winnifred died either in infancy or childhood. Herbert (1885-1910), who in 1905 was named Newfoundland's second Rhodes Scholar (he studied at St. John's College, Oxford), was drowned in British Columbia in April 1910 while working with a prospecting party looking for coal. (We are grateful to Judge John Nichols for this information.)

[187]Born Halifax, Nova Scotia, 9 December 1891; died Halifax, Nova Scotia, 26 December 1965 (information courtesy John Nichols). Fraser Bond was the author of *Mr. Miller of "The Times": The Story of an Editor* (New York, 1931). Charles Miller visited St. John's in August 1921 and was interviewed for the *Evening Advocate* by J. R. Smallwood (*Evening Advocate* [St. John's], 13 August 1921, 1).

[188]Born Halifax, Nova Scotia, 3 November 1901; died Halifax, Nova Scotia, 29 October 1966 (information courtesy John Nichols).

[189]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.05.015, Brief: In re Whitbourne Estate and the Newfoundland Government trespass thereupon.

[190]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.042, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 7 November 1926.

[191]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.023, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 15 December 1920.

[192]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.024, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 10 January 1921.

[193]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.026, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 19 December 1921.

[194]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.029, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 18 December 1922.
[195]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 10 January 1923.
[196]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.032, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 11 January 1923.
[197]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.033, Robert Bond to George Bond, 3 March 1923.
[198]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.033, Robert Bond to George Bond, 20 June 1923.
[199]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 15 January 1924.
[200]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.037, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 6 April 1924.
[201]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.036, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 15 June 1924.
[202]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.037, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 23 November 1924.
[203]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 29 November 1924.
[204]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.040. Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 5 January 1925.
[205]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.042, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 7 November 1926.
[206]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 8 January 1927.
[207]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.032, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 11 January 1923.
[208]Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker and Robert D.W. Pitt, eds., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography* (St. John's, 1990), 252.
[209]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.029, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 18 December 1922.
[210]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.042, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 7 November 1926.
[211]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.011, Robert Bond to Father Stephen J. Whelan, 10 January 1921.
[212]*Ibid.*
[213]*Ibid.*
[214]1848-1939.
[215]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.011, Robert Bond to J. Sinclair Tait, 23 December 1920.
[216]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.024, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 10 January 1921.
[217]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.02.011, Robert Bond to Father Stephen J. Whelan, 10 January 1921.
[218]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 14 April 1924.
[219]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.029, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 18 December 1922.
[220]*Evening Telegram*, 19 February 1923, 4.
[221]*Ibid.*
[222]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.033, Robert Bond to George Bond, 3 March 1923.
[223]*Ibid.*
[224]*Evening Telegram*, 13 January 1913, 4.
[225]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 25 December 1923.
[226]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.036, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 22 January 1924.
[227]Premier, 9 June 1924-14 August 1928.
[228]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 14 April 1924.
[229]Squires was a Methodist.
[230]Premier, 28 July 1923-7 May 1924.
[231]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 14 April 1924.
[232]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 29 November 1924.
[233]*Daily News*, 19 December 1924, 4.
[234]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.040, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 5 January 1925.
[235]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.044, Robert Bond to George Bond, 22 April 1926.
[236]CNSA, Coll-236, 5.06.001, Robert Bond to George Bond, 1 January 1920.

[237]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.026, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 4 February 1921.
[238]*Ibid.*
[239]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.024, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 30 November 1921.
[240]*Ibid.*
[241]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.030, Robert Bond to George Bond, 25 September 1922.
[242]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.033, Robert Bond to George Bond, 7 May 1923.
[243]*Ibid.*
[244]*Ibid.*
[245]*Ibid.*
[246]*Ibid.*
[247]*Ibid.*
[248]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 25 December 1923.
[249]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 14 April 1927.
[250]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.036, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 15 June 1924.
[251]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 29 November 1924.
[252]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.040, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 4 May 1925.
[253]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.038, Robert Bond to George Bond, 14 June 1925.
[254]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.038, Robert Bond to George Bond, 5 July 1925.
[255]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.026, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 4 February 1921.
[256]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 10 January 1923.
[257]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 25 December 1923.
[258]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.037, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 6 April 1924.
[259]Born Lansdowne, Nova Scotia, 2 November 1881; died Halifax, Nova Scotia, 26 August 1939 (information courtesy John Nichols).
[260]CNSA, Robert Bond Papers, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 26 September 1924, uncatalogued item.
[261]*Ibid.*
[262]Alfred Harbage, general ed., *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Harmondsworth, 1969), "The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth," act 4, scene 1, line 18, 533.
[263]*Ibid.*, "As You Like It," act 4, scene 1, lines 135-36, 265.
[264]A.D. Godley, ed., *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (London, 1915), "A Dream of Antiquity," 107 ("Well—peace to thy heart, though another's it be, And health to that cheek, though it bloom not for me!").
[265]CNSA, Robert Bond Papers, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 26 September 1924, uncatalogued item.
[266]Information courtesy John Nichols.
[267]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.031, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 25 December 1923.
[268]*Ibid.*
[269]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.040, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 5 January 1925.
[270]*Ibid.*
[271]*Ibid.*
[272]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.034, Robert Bond to George Bond, 29 November 1924.
[273]See CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.044, Robert Bond to George Bond, 20 February 1926. She registered with the Newfoundland Medical Board on 19 September 1925 (Heather McDonald, Newfoundland Medical Board, to Peter Neary, 15 September 1999).
[274]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.044, Robert Bond to George Bond, 22 April 1926.

[275]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.041, Robert Bond to Roberta Bond, 29 June 1926.

[276]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.042, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 7 November 1926.

[277]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.042, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 15 December 1926. "This use may lie in blood and breath" is from "In Memoriam," xlv, 13. See Christopher Ricks, ed., *The Poems of Tennyson* (London, 1969), 903.

[278]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, Robert Bond to Fraser Bond, 8 January 1927.

[279]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.046, Robert Bond to George Bond, 5 February 1927.

[280]*Ibid.*

[281]*Ibid.*

[282]*Ibid.*

[283]*Ibid.*

[284]*Ibid.*

[285]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.046, Robert Bond to George Bond, 28 February 1927.

[286]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Roberta Bond, [10 March 1927].

[287]*Ibid.*

[288]*Ibid.*

[289]Bond made a work agreement with him on 1 April 1919 (CNSA, Coll-237, 3.38.006).

[290]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 24 March 1927.

[291]*Ibid.*

[292]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[293]*Ibid.*

[294]*Ibid.*

[295]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 24 March 1907.

[296]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 17 March 1927; 2.10.016, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 9 April 1927.

[297]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[298]*Ibid.*

[299]*Ibid.*

[300]*Daily News*, 22 March 1927, 3.

[301]Bond made a work agreement with Albert Morgan on 7 April 1919 (see CNSA, Coll-237, 3.38.006).

[302]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[303]*Ibid.*

[304]*Ibid.*

[305]*Ibid.*

[306]CNSA, Coll-237. 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 17 March 1927.

[307]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[308]*Evening Telegram*, 22 March 1927, 6.

[309]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[310]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 17 March 1927.

[311]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.016, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 21 March 1927.

[312]*Evening Telegram*, 22 March 1927, 6.

[313]*Ibid.*

[314]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 25 March 1927.

[315]*Ibid.*

[316]*Ibid.*

[317]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.001, Robert Bond will. The inventory attached to the petition for probate valued the estate at $92,750 (*Evening Telegram*, 2 April 1927, 6).

[318]CNSA, Coll-237, 1.02.044, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 6 April 1927.

[319]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.011, W.S. Monroe to George Bond, 8 October 1927.

[320]*Proceedings of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council*, 1927, 37-79, 331-48, 494-99.

[321]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 7 October 1927.

[322]*Decisions of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland*, 1927-31 (St. John's, 1948), 109-28; CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.018, In the matter of the Will and Estate of the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Bond late of Whitbourne, deceased. For Fraser Bond's attitude, see CNSA, Coll-237, 1.10.003, George Bond to Fraser Bond, 14 April 1927.

[323]Peter Neary, ed., *White Tie and Decorations: Sir John and Lady Hope Simpson in Newfoundland, 1934-1936* (Toronto, 1996), 178.

[324]*Ibid.*, 229.

[325]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 31; *Evening Telegram*, 12 August 1949, 1, photograph headed "Passing Over Bond Estate."

[326]CNSA, Comptroller & Deputy Minister of Finance to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 22 November 1952, uncatalogued item.

[327]Henry W. Ruoff, ed., *Leaders of Men: Types and Principles of Success as Illustrated in the Lives of Prominent Canadian and American Men of the Present Day* (Springfield, Mass., c. 1904), Canadian department edited by R. Campbell Tibb; American department edited by Henry W. Ruoff. We are grateful to Graham Skanes for this reference.

[328]CNSA, Coll-237, 2.10.006, Order of Service for the Unveiling of the Memorial Window.

[329]For the naming of this street, see William Whiteway in House of Assembly debate, 20 August 1892, "Legislative Proceedings," *Evening Telegram*, 10 September 1892, 2.

[330]Gosse, *Whitbourne*, 42.

[331]*Ibid.*

[332]*Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, 1994), 5:197; John Edward Belliveau, Silver Donald Cameron, and Michael Harrington, *Iceboats to Superferries: An Illustrated History of Marine Atlantic* (St. John's, 1992), 153-54.

[333]*Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, 1993), 4:414. The series was designed by R. Ostrander Smith and was released on 24 June 1897.