



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax, N. S.

December 2, 1943.

Thomas H. Raddall, Esq.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Mr. Raddall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th instant and your account of the interesting document which you have been instrumental in obtaining for the Archives and the Queen's County Historical Society. We bind that sort of thing in buckram and have the name printed on red leather on the back, which makes a very nice finish and is clean to handle. If Mr. Smith has left a wide margin so that the manuscript can be sewn without reinforcing the edges, it will not be a very difficult job to bind it, and in view of the fact that Mr. Smith is presenting a copy to us, I shall be glad to have the three copies bound by our binder.

If you send the manuscript into us we shall get it done as soon as possible after Mr. MacLaren has finished what he happens to have on hand at the moment.

Again thanking you for your continued interest in the Archives and with best wishes for the success of your new book,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey

ARCHIVIST. ✓

DCH-WM.



THE SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS
11, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

Post Office Order No. 1234
December 2, 1928

Dear Dr. Harvey,

Many thanks for your letter of Dec. 2nd.

Your offer to bind all three copies of the Revised manuscript J. Brenton Smith tells me he has some black minute retouching to do & he will then send the 97/5/5 along by express or perhaps by some ~~friend driving~~ to Hfx.

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd inst. and your account of the interesting document which has achieved in obtaining for the Queen's County Historical Society. We had that sort of thing in books and have the name printed on the back, which makes a very nice finish and is clear to handle. If it had been left as the manuscript is at present, it would be a very difficult job to bind it, and in view of the fact that Mr. Smith is presenting a copy to me, I shall be glad to have the three copies bound by our printer.

If you send the manuscript into us we shall get it done as soon as possible after Mr. Brenton has finished what he happens to have on hand at the moment.

Again thanking you for your continued interest in the Archives and with best wishes for the success of your new book,

Yours sincerely,

A. C. Harvey

SECRETARY

11, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

September 3th, 1944.

Doctor D.C. Harvey,
Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

You will remember T. Brenton Smith, who did such a fine job of taking down his father's memoirs and typing them in a form suitable for binding. I called at his house the other day and found that he has done another very useful thing; he has waded through the files of the "Liverpool Transcript" from 1854 to 1867, both years inclusive, copying all items that for want of a better term I should call the current history of Liverpool and Queens County generally. He has taken special care to include letters to the editor from elderly correspondents throwing light on the early history of the County as well. (There are some excellent letters on the making of the road through the woods from Liverpool to the Annapolis Valley, 1798-1800, for instance.)

Smith has indexed the work and as a result one can get the meat of the Transcripts 1854-67 without wading through an ocean of old newspapers. This period, from the beginning of the Crimean War, through the Indian Mutiny and the American Civil War to Confederation, is as you know a most interesting one in Nova Scotia. The boom in shipbuilding reached its height under the stimulus of these wars, which made heavy demands on world shipping owing to the long ocean distances involved; and the industry declined sharply at the end of them, so that Confederation came along at a moment when depression was beginning to touch every sawmill and shipyard in the province.

It occurred to me that you might like a copy of Smith's work for the Archives, and in that case you might have the sheets bound under the same arrangement as before -- the Archives to retain one copy, returning two bound copies to Smith, who intends to present one to the Queens County Historical Society. In that event Smith is willing that you should retain the typewritten copy, and he will take the carbons. Failing this, would you consent to having the sheets bound by your man at Smith's expense? There are 450 pages, letter size, in each copy.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax, N. S.
September 11, 1944.

Thomas H. Raddall, Esq.,
Box 459,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Mr. Raddall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th instant. I shall be very glad to receive a copy of Mr. Smith's notes from the Liverpool Transcript on the same conditions as I accepted the previous volume. As before, I suggest that you send the three copies along and we will have them bound as soon as we can fit it in with our other work.

I hope you are making satisfactory progress with your novel and that it will be out in time for the autumn trade. I enjoyed very much your recent article on "My Home Town." With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

S. C. Harvey

ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.

325 Quinport Road
Halifax, N.S.

New Year's Eve
1944-45

Dear Mr Raddall :-

It was very good of you to send me a copy of "Roses Sudden" for Xmas; and my delay in thanking you is not due to lack of appreciation of either the gift or the story but rather to the rush and confusion at home and in the Archives at this season. I think the painters were in the Archives when you were here last. In any event we did not get rid of them until the Friday before

Imas, and the last two weeks they were in our offices: so that in addition to the general problem of getting back to normal we have spent the last week trying to find things that were stowed away for the painters. It will probably be a month before we get all the pictures back on the walls or filed away so that they can be found when wanted. In the meantime I have to get my report ready for the Annual Meeting of my Board on January 10th, which also happens to be my birthday.

At home this was the first Imas in four years that our family was all together. Both boys were home and my oldest son's wife;

so that the family was complete. We had intended to be selfish, but at the last minute we took in a young man from Victoria ~~who had been~~ ^{ship} ~~just~~ ~~before~~ and found pleasure in trying to help him forget his troubles.

We are among those who are low house-hunting, as we have to vacate our present abode not later than May 1st. It looks pretty dark at present and sometimes I think I may have to break up the family & send part of it to the country and board myself. If Liverpool were not so far away I think I should like to live there and commute.

I hope your last book has gone well. It is a rattling good story of its kind and

does not call for the same exacting regard for historical facts as his Majesty's Yankees. I found myself asking not so much whether such a man ever played his hand in Nova Scotia, as ~~whether~~ ^{whether} his behaviour was consistent in the highly dramatic situations in which he found himself, and I am inclined to think that in the two most dramatic scenes, it stands the test: the Englishman's reluctance to mingle his blood with that of inferior races saved him from the charms of Wapke; and the clan spirit of the old Anglo-Saxon Comrades or the Jacobites, or the Rangers made him involuntarily share the British where to land at Louisbourg.

But I must not go on. I merely intended to say thank you and to express the hope that you are making progress with your prospective volume of short stories.

Yours sincerely,
D. C. Harvey

February 12th, 1945

Doctor D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

Some time ago you spoke to me about the possibility of having the Simeon Perkins diary photo-stated, and later Bob Dawson, of the University of Toronto, asked if the town would permit the diary to go to Toronto in order to have an accurate copy made. I consulted the town fathers on this and they were not very keen on letting the diary go so far. I then suggested sending the diary to the Provincial Archives, where it would be safe and well cared for, and where it could be examined by someone from U. of T., or someone delegated by them, and returned to Liverpool in due course. They agreed to this and I notified Dawson.

I don't think U. of T. was in a hurry about the matter, but today I had a chance to send the diary direct to the Archives by Andrew Merkel, and I sent it off. The town had a metal box made for it, and at the last moment the key could not be found, so I passed over the box to Merkel just as it was. Will you, please, have a locksmith open the box and then replace the lock, any simple lock will do, with one or two keys -- and forward the bill for these matters to the Town of Liverpool, c/o Robert McClearn, Town Clerk.

When The U. of T. people have got what they want, we can arrange to get the diary back to Liverpool, where it is kept in the Bank of Nova Scotia vault. The best and simplest transportation is direct by car, and possibly I can do this myself sometime in the spring. In the meantime, I hardly need to add, the town fathers hold me responsible for the safety and return of the diary.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax, N. S.

February 12, 1945.

Thomas H. Raddall, Esq.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Mr. Raddall,

This is to inform you promptly that Mr. Merkel delivered Simeon Perkins' diary in its metal box a few minutes ago. He was anxious to discharge his responsibility and to have the town of Liverpool informed that he had done so.

It will not be necessary for me to employ a locksmith as I am a bit of a yegg myself and was able to open it at the first try. I understand that the diary is to be consulted here for the time being but I am not sure what arrangements have been made for transferring it to Toronto if the Champlain Society decides to publish it. I presume you will inform me if any other arrangements are made.

I hope your imagination is still glowing and that your short stories are accumulating. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey
ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax, N. S.
May 4, 1945.

T. H. Raddall, Esq.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

I have just had a letter from Dr. Innis about the Perkins manuscript. He wants to have it typed by a competent typist and says that you offered to help the copyist with "any thorny bits." The Champlain Society is willing to pay the reasonable rates for this work on my recommendation of a competent person. This would involve having a copyist living near you if your assistance was to be available. Had you anyone in mind that is familiar with the type of copying that must be done for editing an old manuscript "warts and all?" However, that is not the important point of my letter this morning as I am not clear how soon this work has to be done, but shall talk it all over with Innis when I see him at the Royal Society in a couple of weeks.

The chief point of my letter is this. When I heard from Innis I opened the box containing the diary, took it all out and checked it over thoroughly, arranging it strictly in order, placing the loose leaves that were mixed up according to dates, and found that all the diary from May 29th, 1766, to February 18th, 1777, is missing, and also that part of it from March 5, 1806, to December 1st, 1809. Do you know anything about this, whether there is another box containing part of the diary or what has become of it? When I put in the part that I found before I did not examine the box any more than I had to but just enough to find where that piece fitted in. It was in the year 1789. I remember your telling me that some of it had been missing and I wondered if you or the custodians of the manuscript knew exactly what parts were missing and who might have borrowed them and not returned them. I should like to have all the information I can before I leave for Ottawa on May 14th.

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey

DCH-WM.

ARCHIVI ST.

May 7th, 1945

Dr. D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

With regard to your letter of the 4th, I thought I had made clear to Dr. Innis that it was impossible to get anyone in Liverpool to type a copy of the Perkins diary. He asked me if I would be willing to help in any way, and I replied that I would help the copyist as far as possible with local allusions, nautical terms and abbreviations and so on. I realise that this would be very difficult with the copyist working in Halifax.

I was aware that some portions of the diary are missing, other than the part you found. No one here seems to know what became of them. As you know, some of Perkins' children (by the first wife) remained in Connecticut. Some time after Perkins' death his diary passed into the hands of the Connecticut branch of the family and there remained for many years. In the late 1890's or early 1900's one of the descendants, a clergyman living in New York state, presented the diary to the town of Liverpool. So far as I can find out (and at this stretch of time all information is vague) no one in Liverpool made any check to discover if any part of the diary was then missing. The manuscript was kept loose in a drawer in the town hall, open to the handling of all sorts of people, (tourists for instance) and for many months it lay in the office of the local weekly, which ran bits of the diary from time to time as a "filler". The editor was notoriously careless. I have heard more than one hint that certain mutilations and deletions were made by descendants of local pioneers whose annals in the diary were a bit on the piquant side.

So far as anyone here knows, the manuscript in the box is all that survives. I may say that all here were delighted at the news that you had been able to restore one of the missing portions. I have an impression that Perkins kept his diary rather sketchily in the first few years, and it is quite possible that in the struggling 1760's there were years when he made no entries at all.

Sincerely,

January 6th, 1946

Dear Doctor Harvey,

It was very good of you to let me have copies of "The Centenary of John McPherson", "A Blue Print for Nova Scotia in 1818", and "Newspapers of Nova Scotia, 1840-1867." All are most interesting, both as regards material and presentation, and they will make valued additions to my file of Nova Scotians.

No doubt you know that the late R.R. Macleod and W.E. Marshall, the poet-lawyer of Bridgewater, many years ago were instrumental in removing McPherson's bones to the churchyard at North Brookfield and erecting a modern headstone on the new grave. The original tombstone was removed as well, and now lies on the grave beside the "new" stone. Personally I think these well-meant efforts were rather a sacrilege, since the poet wished to lie in his chosen spot near Lake Tupper, and the place was a little shrine by the lake roadside for years. The old farmhouse had rotted down, and the fields grown up in alders and scrub trees, nevertheless this only added to the pathos and charm of the lone grave, and the little stone slab in which McPherson's widow had cut his name and the date of his death, using a hammer and nail, was all that it needed for completion.

Peleg Wiswell's letter is indeed a remarkable document, for he sets forth views and ideas which evidently were strongly held by a group of Tories of his time -- Haliburton later on expressed much the same things in the racy idiom of Sam Slick. The attitude was honestly held but smug for all that, the obvious and quite natural viewpoint of the salaried and comfortable official caste, much content with things as they were and fearful of change, except in small doses. This is the state of mind with which the Tory party was so bitterly accused all through the 19th century; it is amazing to find that state of mind set forth in such detail and with such conviction as far back as 1818.

With thanks, and all good wishes for 1946,

Sincerely,

Dr. D.C. Harvey
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
Halifax, N.S.

January 13th, 1946.

Dr. D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

You will remember the reminiscences of W.H. Smith, the Liverpool seaman, compiled by his son T.B. Smith, and which you were good enough to have bound. Mr. T.B. Smith just completed another very good job of research and recording which the Queens County Historical Society would like to have bound. I don't like to trouble you again but I know of no commercial bindery which would do a good durable job, and our Society would be very glad to pay the expense, if it is possible for the Archives binder to do it.

This time it is a description of a typical Nova Scotia shore village, its people and their occupations, customs and legends, in the period between 1860-1890. The village is Sandy Cove, the home of Smith's people, and he has spent many months in consulting local records, interviewing the old people, and going over the ground. (There are several Sandy Coves in Nova Scotia; this is the village on Liverpool Bay, immediately across the harbor bar from Fort Point.) Smith is a conscientious student with an ear for a good anecdote, and as the period is that of the generation of Confederation his careful account is highly interesting.

He has prepared three copies of the work, and it runs to about the same number of pages as the W.H. Smith memoirs. He wishes to keep a copy, the Q.C. Historical Society wants one, and the third may be retained by the P.A.N.S. if you wish.

Sincerely,

January 28th, 1947

Doctor D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

As you know, the Simeon Perkins diary has lain in your very good care for two years, awaiting inspection by a representative of the Champlain Society, and all this time the town clerk of Liverpool has been pressing me gently for its return. Recently I informed Dr. Wallace of the Champlain Society that the diary must be returned to its bank vault in Liverpool by spring at the latest, and I have a letter from him explaining that it had been found impossible to secure a competent person to make a new copy of the diary, or to compare the present typewritten (and faulty) copy with the original. He now suggests that the diary be returned to Liverpool and that I undertake the revision and correction myself. Much as I should like to see the Champlain Society publish the diary, or a portion of it, I am burdened with work of my own which will occupy me well into next year. However, the diary must be returned to the town clerk, and I shall pick it up on my way back from Halifax when I visit the city next.

Have you at Halifax copies of the collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society? I am anxious to see the muster rolls of the British Legion, commonly called Tarleton's Legion, which was disbanded at Fort Mouton, N.S. in 1783; and I believe Dean Raymond at one time had its muster rolls printed, with those of other loyalist units, by the New Brunswick Society. (I have promised Judge Doull to read a paper before the Nova Scotia Historical Society at the end of the winter, and I have chosen the subject of Tarleton's Legion.)

With all good wishes for 1947,

Sincerely,



Halifax, N. S.

February 1, 1947.

Thomas H. Raddall, Esq.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Mr. Raddall,

I was glad to hear from you again and interested in your report of the Champlain Society's attitude towards the Perkins Diary. I don't know how you feel in the matter but it seems to me it would have been simpler if someone from Nova Scotia had been commissioned to edit this volume. Under the present arrangement naturally no one seems anxious to do the chore work for long distance editors. In any event, the diary is still here in my office and whenever you are in town I shall be glad to give it to you, since the Liverpool people do not feel like placing it in the permanent custody of the Archives.

In regard to the British Legion and the New Brunswick Historical Society, I have looked through the complete collections of that society, in number 5 of which I think is the reference you referred to, but Raymond does not publish the Muster Roll of regiments that were not settled in New Brunswick. However, I am sending on loan a copy of number 5 so that you can see exactly what he does. Among our land papers I have the draft grant to Donald MacPherson and 102 others who settled at Port Mouton and later moved to Guysborough. Unfortunately this list does not give the rank of the officers and men but it at least gives their names. I don't know whether this will be any good to you but you might want to have a look at it when you come in. In the meantime you can see these names in Miss Gilroy's "Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia", pages 72-75. In case you haven't got this I am sending another copy.

I am glad to see that "Pride's Fancy" has had such a good reception. We have all enjoyed reading it and are looking forward with interest to your next.

Yours sincerely,

A. C. Harvey
ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.

P. S. While talking about Simeon Perkins, I have been asked by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board for an inscription for the tablet which the Board offered to erect on a cut stone monument commemorating the services of Simeon Perkins, but as I noticed in the Halifax newspapers a report of your society to the effect that you had rejected the Board's offer of a monument, I should like to know if this is true before I go ahead with anything further.

February 4th, 1947

Doctor D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

Many thanks for your letter and for sending on the No. 5 publication of the New Brunswick Historical Society (which I shall return in due course) and the copy of Miss Gilroy's "Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia" (which I hope I may keep; I have been using the Queens County Historical Society's copy, which constant use has reduced to a very worn condition.)

I shall call for the Perkins Diary the next time I have my car in the city. Personally I feel that the Archives is the proper place for it, since we have the typewritten copy available here for consultation at all times, and we are obliged to use a bank vault for safe storage of the original. Unfortunately the terms under which the diary was returned to Nova Scotia by one of Perkins' American descendants contained a strict injunction that the diary was to remain henceforth the property of the town of Liverpool and must not be removed. I persuaded the town fathers to let me take it to the Archives at Halifax, where it could be copied or inspected under the best conditions by a representative of the Champlain Society; But I had to give my personal receipt for it and an assurance that the diary would be returned as soon as the Champlain Society had done with it. As you know, the Society has done nothing about it for two years, and I must return it to the town as soon as possible.

With regard to the proposed cut stone monument and tablet in memory of Simeon Perkins, I put the matter before the Queens County Historical Society and they were unanimously opposed to it. The general feeling (with which I heartily agree) is that the obvious and proper memorial to Perkins and his fellow pioneers is the preservation of the ancient Perkins home. In this we are moved by the melancholy example of the old Cobb house. Colonel Jones put up a stone and tablet before the Cobb house 10 or 12 years ago, and it was unveiled with great eclat -- but in the years following the house was permitted to fall into semi-ruin, and finally it met the fate of all such empty houses and was utterly destroyed by fire. Forgive the apparent discourtesy in failing to notify you of the Society's decision; the fault is mine -- I thought our secretary had notified you long before this.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,





Halifax, N. S.

February 8, 1947.

Thomas H. Raddall, Esq.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Mr. Raddall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th instant. I am glad that you received the booklets I sent you safely, and you are quite welcome to the copy of "Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia" with our compliments. The other I should like to have returned as it is part of a set but there is no hurry for this.

I have communicated your decision in regard to the Simeon Perkins monument to Ottawa and shall try to see if we can make an equivalent contribution towards the preservation of the building, but I fear that we shall have to look to the Province rather than the Dominion in that respect, as the latter seems to have a very rigid policy in regard to the homes of private individuals.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey
ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.

2 York App.

31 South St
Halifax, N.S.

December 18, 1948

Dear Raddall: -

I am ashamed to think that I have allowed three weeks to go by before writing to thank you for the handsome gift of your handsome volume on Halifax. I can only plead in extenuation of my fault that I have been too busy to do more than glance at it and that I wanted to read it before writing you.

Now that I have read it, though hurriedly as yet, I want both to thank you for your courtesy and to congratulate

Ans'd
Och 25/56

26 Larch St
Halifax, N.S.
October 5, 1956

My dear Raddall:

It was very kind of you to write as you did in regard to my retirement. Your letter was particularly gratifying to me: for few are in a better position to know my early problems in making the Archives available to intelligent users, and in gaining the confidence of Nova Scotians so that they would place their material in our custody. But I am happy to feel that I am passing on to my successor a going concern in which all

you on your achievement.

I have just read an excellent review in Saturday Night and hope that the other periodicals will be equally friendly. I hope too that the price will not restrict its sale, outside the local market, which I fear may be inclined to take an inferior article at a lower price. I notice the show window of the Bookroom is filled today with Historic Halifax and that the author was to be on hand this afternoon to meet his friends and autograph his books. It is strange how popular merely anecdotal "history" can be.

To change the subject rather abruptly, no doubt you received a copy of the letter which the Minister of Trade and Industry

sent to our Advisory Council. Apparently he is going to resist on taking no notice of our recommendations but wants us to recommend something on which he has already made up his mind. I hate to be thinking such thoughts at Christmaside!

With best wishes to you & Mrs
Raddal & your family for
Xmas & the New Year

Yours sincerely
D.C. Harvey



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax, N. S.
March 16, 1949.

Dr. T. H. Raddall,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

Many thanks for your note of the 11th instant and your personal copy of your paper on Tarleton's Legion. I have inserted all your corrections in the copy you left with us and am returning your own copy under separate cover. I thought it would be a pity to send it to the printer and get it badly mussed up.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Farley

ARCHIVIST.

SUPER
LINEN RECORD

- 100% PAC-CANADA -

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Halifax, Nova Scotia,

March 14..... 1949.

Dr. T. H. Raddall,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Dr. Raddall,

I hope you got home safely after your triumphant visit to Halifax recently and that you can find time to write the paragraph which you wished to have added to your paper on Tarleton's Legion. We are about to negotiate for the publication of Volume 28 of the Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, and although it may not be out for some time in view of the congestion amongst printers we have to have all our papers in soon.

Yours sincerely,

A. C. Harvey

PRESIDENT.



CHAIRMAN, PROFESSOR FRED LANDON, M.A., LL.D., D.LITT., F.R.S.C.,
LONDON, ONT.

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MONTREAL, P.Q.

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HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Halifax, N. S.

July 28, 1952.

Dr. Thomas H. Raddall,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

I have had a letter from Ottawa asking when we intend to have the unveiling ceremony for the Perkins tablet; and recalling our agreement that we would not have a ceremony until something had been done about fixing up the material in the building, I am writing to inquire if anything has been done this year.

I have been away for six weeks on a short visit to England and Scotland and am just trying to pick up the threads of my correspondence. I heard that you were very busy this year and am hoping that there is a new book on the ways.

Yours sincerely,

D.C. Harvey

*Ans'd
Aug 1/52*

CHAIRMAN, PROFESSOR FRED LONDON, M.A., LL.D., D.LITT., F.R.S.C.,
LONDON, ONT.

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C. E. A. JEFFERY, M.B.E., ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.

DEAN ALFRED G. BAILEY, M.A., PH.D., FREDERICTON, N.B.

W. D. CROMARTY, OTTAWA, ONT.

CYRIL G. CHILDE, B.SC., NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH, OTTAWA, ONT.

HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA

September 4, 1953.

Dr. Thomas H. Raddall,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

I have just heard from Mr. Forbes that Mrs. Raddall is a relative of Marshall Saunders and that she also has an aunt and sister and a brother living in the locality. When I was talking to President Kirkconnell he gave me the impression that none of her relatives was living.

I am writing to ask if Mrs. Raddall would unveil the tablet or if the aunt is more closely related to Miss Saunders and would be able to be present and do the honours. I leave that entirely to you but should like to know early in the week before I give the full information to the Chronicle-Herald. I am sorry that I did not know this sooner but apparently Mr. Forbes was away when I wrote to him for information. I am glad that in speaking to Dr. Kirkconnell I only obtained his consent to give the main address while suggesting that I might also have to ask him to unveil the tablet. If you would care to make a few remarks too I should be glad to include you in the programme.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey

P.S. You, I hope, understood why I asked Kirkconnell, his personal association with her, her father's association with Acadia and his own former Presidency of the Can. Authors Assn.

September 5th, 1953

Dear Doctor Harvey,

With regard to your letter, my wife is a first-cousin-once-removed of the late Marshall Saunders. In other words her grandfather Freeman's sister was Marshall Saunders' mother. I note from the Liverpool Advance today that the plaque is to "Grace Marshall Sanders". This is a mistake, of course. Grace was Marshall Sanders' younger sister.

I'd rather not have any part in the programme. It is an honor and a pleasure to have Doctor Kirkconnel and yourself there, and I shall be amongst the throng. In view of your request, my wife is willing to unveil the plaque as one of the surviving relatives, but as she is a timid soul she does not wish to have anything to say. I have assured her that she need say little or nothing.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. D.C. Harvey, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.G.,

Public Archives of Nova Scotia,

Halifax, N.S.

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HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA

Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N. S.

September 8, 1953.

Dr. Thomas H. Raddall, F.R.S.C.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th instant and the information as to the relationship of Mrs. Raddall with Marshall Saunders. I am very glad that she has consented to unveil the tablet and I can assure you that she need not say anything at all unless she wishes to read the inscription after she has unveiled it.

I am sorry that Mr. Forbes made the mistake in regard to Miss Saunders' name, in giving the information to the Liverpool Advance. I am sure that the heading of the inscription on the tablet is Margaret not Grace Marshall Saunders.

Again thanking you for your prompt reply, and looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Raddall at the ceremony, I am,

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Harvey

DCH-WM.



HALIFAX, N. S.

November 3, 1954.

Dr. Thomas H. Raddall,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Dr. Raddall,

I note by this morning's Chronicle-Herald that you have been appointed as my successor on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and hasten to extend my best wishes to you in undertaking this rather thankless and onerous work. I hope it will not be too great a distraction from your creative writing, although I know that it involves a great deal of worry and correspondence in trying to meet the wishes of every community.

After you get your instructions from the Department and are in harness, I shall be glad to tell you, some time when you are in Halifax, about the memorials that I had had approved but not yet erected.

With regards and best wishes to Mrs. Raddall
and yourself,

Yours sincerely,

D.C. Harvey
ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.

November 3rd, 1954

Dr. D.C. Harvey,
Public Archives,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Doctor Harvey,

Thanks for your letter. When Mr. Robert Winters M.P. asked for permission to submit my name, in the event of your retirement, I was dubious. My minor experience on the Provincial board had shown me something of the correspondence and headaches involved, and I pointed out that I could undertake nothing that would involve a large distraction from my own work. However I was pressed to let my name go in, and I consented, with that provision. If, at the end of twelve months, which should give me plenty of opportunity to judge, I find that the Board's work does interfere with mine, I shall resign.

I expect to be in the city later this month, and will be grateful if you give me the benefit of your own experience, as well as details of the memorials approved but not yet erected.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



PUBLIC ARCHIVES
NOVA SCOTIA

HALIFAX, N. S.

June 8, 1955.

Dr. T. H. Raddall, F.R.S.C.,
Liverpool, N. S.

Dear Raddall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th instant and the parcel of correspondence and pamphlets which arrived this morning. I have turned the latter over to Dr. Fergusson.

I was very sorry to hear that you have been ill but hope that you are fully recovered and will not drive yourself too hard again. I know it is easy to give advice but not so easy to follow it when you have a deadline to meet.

I was wondering whether the fire had affected you personally and was shocked to hear that you had lost your "secluded cabin" and almost lost your manuscript. That would indeed have been a tragedy.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

D.C. Harvey

ARCHIVIST.

DCH-WM.

Nova Perkins have confidence and that his chief problem will be to assimilate and find room for all.

I am happy too to be free of all administrative responsibility. The only fly in the ointment is the fact that I have passed the three score years and ten and am living on borrowed time. But, as hope springs eternal, I am hoping to finish some things that I have commenced in cooperation with D. Ferguson, or on my own. I shall probably be around the Archives, off and on, as long as health permits. The great difference

being that as Archivist Emeritus I have no responsibility towards the public or the town clock.

One of these unfinished files is the volume on Perkins for the Chaplain Society. I have been trying in vain through library loan to get a copy of "The Family of John Perkins of Ipswich, Mass. . . ." by Geo. F. Perkins, Salem Mass. 1889. I am wondering if by any chance you have a copy or know of the whereabouts of one.

Please excuse this mixing of work and leisure. I am so weary of sorting my files and clearing out my old office

that I can hardly think at all.
Next week I am going over to
P.E.I. to address the Charlottetown
Historical Society and visit my
relatives there. After the 15th
I shall be back in Halifax and
I hope ready to whistle with
Simeon's Diary.

In the meantime, again
thanks to you and Mrs Raddack
for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely
D.C. Harvey

26 Larch Street, Halifax
October 30, 1959

Dear Dr. Radford:

It is not that festive letter
has been my motto — I have read
a lot of books this year, albeit mostly
literature of escape — that I have
just read "The Path of Destiny," and
hasten to congratulate you on having
written the most difficult and
best of the series. It is rather
that I have found it difficult to
keep up with all the good work
that is being done and at the same
time to do some of the things that
I had planned to do on retirement.
Alas both the energy and the insight
that I had counted on have forsaken me.

Your smooth-flowing narrative style,
deft thumb-nail sketches of characters,
and eye for the picturesque carry
the reader along and make him
forget the disproportionate amount
of space devoted to "drum and
trumpet history". You also show
considerable skill in fitting events
on the East and West coasts and
the north-west into the narrative.

Your publisher and printer
have done a good job. I noticed
only two mistakes that can be
laid at their door, which might
be worth correcting in a second
edition or even impression, or
by a slip in the remaining volumes
of the first edition.

1) On page 407, 5th line from the
bottom 'I' should have been 'it'.

2) On page 426 the two lines at
the bottom should be transposed.

You will have noticed on
page 73, 4th paragraph 1746 for 1745.

These are trifles and I
think that it is remarkable for
a book of that length. I have
never been so lucky.

I hope that your health and
energy continue at top level;
so that you may be able to
extend the list of works, both
history and ~~literature~~ ^{fiction} indefinitely.

I hope too that you will continue

to keep the distinction clear
between the two.

With best wishes to
Mrs Raddall and family,

Yours sincerely,
D. C. Harvey

November 5th, 1958

Dear Dr. Harvey,

I'm glad you liked Path of Destiny, even though, as you say, a lot of it was "drum and trumpet" history. The period was, of course, one of wars in succession, and in planning my book I wrote my way around them as much as possible in the space of a single volume. Nevertheless the destiny of the country was decided in the wars; they could not be brushed off in a few chapters (as some historians have done) without creating a picture essentially false. This was especially true of the War of 1812, when most of the Canadian population lived close to the border, and every battle and skirmish drew in the local militia. There was only one way to show how closely and deeply the war affected the Canadians, and that was to give a full account. I had in mind also that American historians have usually brushed lightly over the war against Canada, and that is why so few of them today can understand the recurring Canadian suspicion of Uncle Sam. I was glad that the Wall Street Journal, in an editorial discussing the present Canadian unease, referred my book to Americans as a worth-while study of the historical roots.

I have noted the typographical slips you mention. There are some others, which I hope to correct in a future edition.

My wife joins me in every good wish to you and yours,

Sincerely,

Ans'd
June 23/60

26 Larch St, Halifax, N.S.
June 20, 1960

Dear Dr Raddall: -

I missed you at the meetings of the Royal Society in Kingston - the first I have attended since my wife's last illness - but was delighted to read on my return Saturday evening that you had again been recognized in such a tangible way as our leading Canadian novelist. I hope you will be allowed to distribute it over a period of years for income tax purposes: or better still that the cash prize be exempt like the Irish Sweepstakes. In any event hearty congratulations.

As for the meeting of the Royal Society it was like a homecoming to me. I met all the old colleagues at University of Manitoba and British Columbia (who have survived) and a number of former students who have risen to places of distinction; and as the weather was perfect we all enjoyed ourselves thoroughly. When one has passed the threescore years and ten, one always has to recognize that each year may be one's last. Perhaps my consciousness of this made my visit all the more enjoyable. After Kingston, being so near I went on to Toronto to visit my son & his little family; and, though the weather was not so uniformly good there, I had a week of relaxation and returned refreshed to some of my unpinched jobs.

With kind regards and best wishes to
Mrs Raddall and all the family,
as ever sincerely,

D.C. Harvey

A View of Halifax

1749 - 1949

BY

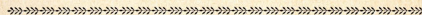
D. C. HARVEY

*Compliments of
D.C. Harvey*



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ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

1949



A View of Halifax, 1749-1949

By

D. C. HARVEY, F.R.S.C.

I HAVE never been more conscious than I am at this moment that it is a mistake to give a title for a lecture before that lecture has been prepared. When I was honoured by your invitation to give this lecture, I chose the simple title "A View of Halifax, 1749-1949," knowing that I could not pretend to cover all phases of its history at one sitting, and believing that I would have no difficulty in finding some aspect of that history which had not been presented before and would be of more than local interest. I had a vague notion that, after reviewing some of the necessary, if conventional historical details, I should proceed rapidly to a comparison of British and American influences upon Halifax and Haligonians; but I have found that I had set myself the most difficult task of all, not only because these influences have been exerted both from within and from without the Town or City, but also because they have varied from decade to decade in strength or character, and also in direction—sometimes attracting, at others repelling; so that I must use bifocal lenses always, qualify my generalizations repeatedly, and run the risk constantly of befogging the view.

Moreover, I found that some of the most obvious American influences, so called, are American only in the sense that they operate upon all people who have come to live upon this continent, tending to affect their way of life and to make of them a peculiar people; and that, therefore, they should not be listed amongst those influences which the citizens of the United States as such have exercised upon us. Such are the influences of geography and climate, and the effects of distance from the British Isles and France, in days of slow communication, upon the social habits of all who have come to live in a new environment; and they would have been the same if New England had not been founded, or the United States had not been formed.

Thus, when a Nova Scotian hotel-keeper assures his storm-bound patrons that they are not suffering from Nova Scotian but from

New England weather, he is merely recognizing the fact that many a Nova Scotian storm originates in New England, without thought of tracing such an involuntary influence to the American Revolution. So, too, if the geography of North America led both French and English by different routes into the Ohio valley and made Acadia an outpost of both New England and New France on the Atlantic seaboard, it is clear that this influence cannot be regarded as American in the narrower sense, and, in any event, must be classed as involuntary. However, when geography has been humanized, so to speak, and the part played by man distinguished from the part played by nature, it becomes equally clear that both the French and the British of America urged their respective mother-countries to fortify this harbour as a means of dominating that outpost which geography had indicated. As we shall see, it was the New Englanders who finally prevailed upon their mother-country to do it, though the French thought of it first.

About this harbour which was known to the Micmacs as Chebooktook, or the Great Harbour, it might be enough to say that it has won the admiration of all who have visited it, from the geographer Champlain to the Captain of the Queen Elizabeth; and that the unlimited capacity of its inner basin to shelter ships of all sizes, which was recognized in the seventeenth century, was amply proven in the two world wars of the twentieth. But perhaps brief reference should be made to French and British interest in it before the founding of Halifax.

Champlain saw it in 1607 and described it as "a very safe bay"; but in 1693 another French visitor called it Schiboutou and described it as the most beautiful and the best of all the harbours of Acadia and New England. In 1698, La Compagnie de la Pêche sédentaire de l'Acadie which had been driven out of Chedabucto by the New Englanders in 1690 and had been supplying the Canadians and Indians, who were with Villebon on the St. John during King William's War, attempted to set up a fishing establishment here. At the same time the French government sent out an engineer "to ascertain what advantages the place afforded as a harbour and post of defence," with a view of creating a permanent settlement, and also made a liberal grant to a missionary to form an Indian settlement in the vicinity. Though the missionary died in the following year and most of the fishermen deserted the Acadia Company for New England, the French government did not give up the idea of fortifying the harbour as a protection for future settlements and as a base for attacking the New Englanders, who were fishing and drying their fish

along the coast. In 1702, they sent out another engineer, De Labat, who made a detailed plan for defence of the harbour; but, as the War of the Spanish Succession had begun before these plans reached France, the project was abandoned until the war was over, and then it was too late. By the Peace of Utrecht Acadia was ceded to the British and the French had to select a site for their fortress in Isle Royale. Hence the rise of Louisbourg in what was formerly known as English Harbour, and its proud struggles with the New Englanders for the trade and fisheries of Acadia as well as for control of the Acadians and their Indian allies.

In this quarter-century of what today would be called "cold war," New England's chief interest was in the trade and fisheries of Acadia and she was content to leave policy and the cost of administration to the mother-country; but, when the "shooting war" began with the French raid on Canso in 1744, she took Acadia under her wing, and did not rest until Louisbourg had fallen and plans had been formed for the complete subjugation of her outpost. It is quite probable that, if Louisbourg had not been restored to the French by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) no other fortress would have been established in Acadia; and it is not improbable that if D'Anville's abortive expedition of 1746 for the reconquest of Louisbourg and the destruction of Boston had not called attention to Chebucto Harbour again, Annapolis Royal would still be the capital of Nova Scotia. Be that as it may, from the moment when the terms of the Treaty were known several prominent New Englanders and naval officers with American experience expressed their preference for this harbour, and urged the British government to fortify it as an offset to Louisbourg. "Its situation is such," wrote Otis Little, "that it has a short and easy communication by land with all the settlements on the Bay of Fundy, is equally commodious for the fishery with Canso, and is more in the way of all ships passing to and from Europe to New England that may occasionally or by stress of weather seek a port for shelter or relief. Its Harbour gives place to none in the world, and by its natural form, and an Island at its entrance, is capable of being well defended by a regular fortification."

These arguments, strongly reinforced by Governor Shirley and other officials of New England, finally convinced the British government that the effective occupation of Nova Scotia was the only way to prevent Louisbourg from exacting perpetual tribute from the Acadian farmers and fishermen, and from keeping alive their hope of being restored to their old allegiance; and it was in response to these British-American influences that Lord Halifax formulated his

plan of forming "a strong and effectual barrier" to the British colonies in North America, and of obtaining control of the trade and fisheries of the region. Although his original plan included strategic settlements near Canso and La Heve, at Minas and Chignecto—the former to control the fisheries, the latter to assimilate the Acadians—the first and largest settlement was to be made and the first fortifications were to be erected at Chebucto, which was designed to be the new capital and, as it happened, was the only part of his plan which was carried out as anticipated.

For settlers, Lord Halifax chose disbanded soldiers and seamen, whom he described as "men of tried courage and loyalty, inured to hardships, accustomed to enterprizes of difficulty and danger, familiarized to subordination and willing to obey orders." The seamen were expected to take readily to the fishery, and the soldiers were to be employed in defensive works, while the settlement was to be protected by the soldiers transferred from Louisbourg and Annapolis Royal and the fisheries by some small naval vessels, which could approach the shores in safety.

Such in brief was the project which originated in the minds of New Englanders, was being carried out by the British government, and led to the arrival in this harbour of the Honourable Edward Cornwallis on June 21, 1749, closely followed by a motley band of disbanded soldiers, seamen, and others, their wives, families, and servants, 2,576 in all.

Without lingering over the well-known difficulties of Cornwallis and his successors with "the King's hard bargains," who had been joined or replaced by foreign Protestants and New Englanders, their administrative, military, and financial problems, their dealings with the Acadians and Indians, let us glance through our bifocal lenses at Halifax in its first decade to see whether British or American influences tended to predominate.

As we sail up the harbour, the first things to attract our attention in the Town itself are the Union Jack on Citadel Hill and the spires of two churches, overlooking the wooden houses or huts, crowded between the hill and the waterfront. The Union Jack and St. Paul's, a royal foundation, suggest the over-all control of Old England; but Mather's Church testifies to the presence in considerable force of New Englanders. When we land and have time to examine the Town and its inhabitants more closely, we find that our first impression was correct: that, under the protection and supervision of the British government and at its expense, New Englanders, whose leaders had inspired the founding of Halifax from without, are already exerting

a powerful influence upon its character and institutions from within.

If we judge the character of the Town from the names of the original streets, we should think that it must be very British indeed, as all except Jacob, Salter, and Water were called after members of the British government of the day or of the Royal Family: Bedford, Hollis, Granville, Barrington, Argyle, Albemarle, Sackville, Prince, George, and Duke; but, if we compare the original list of settlers, who came with Cornwallis, with the census of 1752, we note that many names of the former are missing, through death or desertion, and that German, Swiss, and New England names have replaced them. Then, if we recall that most of the foreign Protestants had been moved to Lunenburg in 1753, we can see how New Englanders came to predominate amongst those who remained, if not in number, certainly in influence, thereby vindicating Governor Shirley's opinion in 1748 that they would make the best settlers because they were already acclimatized, and proving Lord Halifax wrong in thinking that disbanded soldiers could be contented with the humdrum life of a frontier town. Even Governor Lawrence, himself a soldier above all, was at this moment repudiating Lord Halifax's view, in defending his grant of the best townships to New Englanders on the ground that "every soldier that has come into this Province since the establishment of Halifax has either quitted it or become a dram seller." Though Lawrence was somewhat given to exaggeration, it is certainly true that of more than 3,000 British settlers who are known to have come to Halifax in the interval only 1,207 are found in the census of 1767, while in the same census 1,351 are listed as Americans. (The total population at this date was 3,022, of whom 302 were English, 52 Scots, 853 Irish, 264 Germans, 200 Acadians, and 1,351 Americans.)

In the meantime the New Englanders had introduced the printing press into the Town; and had issued the *Halifax Gazette* on March 23, 1752, which, after many vicissitudes and several changes of name, has survived to this day as the *Royal Gazette*. About the same time they commenced an agitation for a legislative assembly to give them a voice in their own government and to complete the constitution. In petitioning for representative government they criticized Governor Lawrence not only for his military arrogance but also for his neglect of trade and industry, they clamoured for a governor of civil principles, an encourager of industry without antipathy towards the mechanic, and they asserted that under existing conditions they were "the Shamefull and Contemptible By-Word of America; the Slaves of Nova Scotia . . ." etc.

When the Assembly finally met on October 2, 1758, the New Englanders furnished an overwhelming majority of the members, and continued to do so for many years after other townships had been planted in outlying districts and used Haligonians as their representatives. Moreover, in the first session of this legislature they introduced a bill for the incorporation of the town of Halifax; and, although this bill was vetoed by the Council as "contrary to His Majesty's instructions," they had set in motion a movement which did not cease until it was carried to fruition in 1841 by the son of a Loyalist, as part of the later and larger movement for responsible government.

Enough has been said to show that, notwithstanding the original British administrative set-up in Halifax, the political life of the Town was receiving a definite New England colouring in the first decade of its existence. The same might be said of its social and economic life: for though the governors and their immediate circle, the military and naval establishment, and the chief contractors for supplies were British, the sub-contractors and independent sutlers and traders were from New England, while much of even the early supply of both food and shelter came from there. If, therefore, the tone of social life in the higher circles was set by the governor and the officers of the army and navy, all of whom were transients, that of the more permanent and solid citizens was set by the people who had had previous experience of America in New England. In one respect at least it was distinctly Puritanical, being violently opposed to the theatre in all its forms. In successive issues of the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* of January, 1770, this objection to plays and pantomimes, put on by strolling British actors to the delight of the army and navy, was given at length in prose and verse. The conclusion of the prose selection is that "a Christian cannot with a safer Conscience enter into the Play-House than into a Brothel; as Things are managed there"; and the poetical indictment includes a warning that the wages of this sort of sin would be both "French Diseases" and British Taxes:

Then view with Scorn, the painted SIRENS Charms,
Nor hug their putrid Bodies in your Arms,
From French Diseases, so may you be free
And not transmit them to Posterity.

Old Rome, the growing Evil saw betimes,
And wisely banish'd PLAYS and PANTOMIMES,
ENGLAND may say, when it shall reach her Ear,
What a curst set of VAGRANTS we have here,
My Sons' great Burthens why did I relax?
If they can PLAYERS pay why not a Tax?

I shall notice later a similar suggestion for warding off Imperial taxation, made by a prominent Loyalist, in support of my view that even the Loyalists brought much of their American heritage to Nova Scotia with them.

If time permitted it would be possible to show that even legislation and the administration of justice, especially in the matter of procedure, did not escape these early New England influences, despite the intention of Cornwallis and his successors to conform strictly to the law and practice of England; but I must hurry on to see what effect the American Revolution had upon these tendencies.

The first and most obvious effect of the Revolution was to force upon New Englanders in Nova Scotia a decision as to whether they would remain true to their old allegiance or join the new American nation. Those in Halifax decided to remain within the British Empire. Consequently their character and influence must be regarded as a permanent part of the Haligonian heritage, however much their democratic ideals may have been driven underground by the war itself and by the influx of Loyalists which accompanied and followed it. It is true that when the revolutionary storm was gathering some of the New Englanders in Halifax were suspected of sympathy with colonial objections to the mode of Imperial taxation; but the same is true of many Loyalists, some of whom engaged warmly in those discussions and actually sat in the first Continental Congress. On the whole it may be said that New Englanders in Halifax submitted without protest to the Stamp Act and to censorship of the press, when the local officials objected to rather full reports of disturbances in the other colonies; and, after a half-hearted attempt to call a meeting of merchants to discuss the matter had been frustrated by the over-suspicious governor, they consented to drink the tea that had been left over from the Boston Tea Party. Further, when the invitation of the first Continental Congress to join the other colonies, accompanied by a threat of economic sanctions, was ignored, they made no protest; and, while the second Congress was rejecting Lord North's conciliatory proposals with scorn, they, through their representatives in the Assembly, were offering to tax themselves for Imperial defence, although they coupled with this offer a plea for the redress of such grievances as were threatening the unity of the British Empire.

The second effect of the American Revolution was to revive British interest in Halifax as an Imperial outpost, not against the French but against the revolting colonies. Once again this harbour was crowded with ships and men, and money flowed freely amongst all elements of the population, who vied with one another in loyalty.

It was to Halifax that Howe withdrew from Boston with his army and camp followers, and an advance guard of Loyalists in the spring of 1776, to reorganize his army before proceeding to New York in the summer; and all through the war whole regiments of British or foreign soldiers were embarked and disembarked in this port, increasing greatly the demand for accommodation and supply and boosting both prices and rents to unprecedented heights. Thus it was both profitable and prudent for all Halifaxians to emphasize their British origin and pass lightly over their previous sojourn in America.

The third effect of the Revolution was the arrival of the Loyalists with their pronounced sentiments of loyalty, their deep resentment of the Americans who had driven them forth, and their insistence upon compensation for losses and upon preferment to offices in church and state.

At first glance it might seem that their arrival had heralded the end of American influence in Nova Scotia, just as the Declaration of Independence had made a necessary distinction between the words British and American. But it must not be forgotten that the Loyalists also had been Americanized to some extent, and, apart from their ultra-loyalty, must be regarded as a second American influence operating from within, despite their outspoken distrust of the pre-loyalist Americans who had migrated to Halifax before the Revolution, and had escaped the trials and tribulations of those who remained.

None the less, as neither they nor their predecessors had the same outlook as their contemporaries in either Britain or America, they can only be regarded as British-Americans: for, much as they had sacrificed for their allegiance to the Crown, they could not ignore the handicaps imposed upon British authorities by distance from the colonies, nor refrain from suggesting that those handicaps could be removed and the British control strengthened by giving them a monopoly of local government. In the same way the appointment of a local bishop was designed to further the expansion of the Established Church and avoid the risks involved in sending clergy to England for ordination, and the establishment of King's College was designed to educate Nova Scotian youth in the spirit of the British constitution and save them from the contamination of democracy and republicanism. In other words, having yielded to American influence themselves in all save allegiance, they wished to make Nova Scotia a barrier against the social and political influences of the new United States by modifying local institutions in the light of their American experiences. It was a Loyalist who wrote: "We should pride ourselves on the glories of Britain . . . and be as like

Englishmen as possible in all matters of external appearance. In matters however of interior jurisprudence, police and regulation, we must not copy after the institutions of any part of Europe. Those of England are clumsy, complex, expensive and awkward. They have been simplified, refined and improved on this side the Atlantic." It was the same Loyalist who wrote that all we wanted of the mother-country was her "good natured negligence" and that therefore it was to the true interest of Nova Scotians to be "obscure and unnoticed," since it was exaggerated reports of American resources and wealth that had induced Lord Grenville to take the fatal step of taxing the colonies for revenue.

Though the number of Loyalists who remained in Halifax was small compared with the number of those who settled elsewhere in the province, there were amongst them outstanding men in all fields of endeavour, who in time became prominent in business and professional life, on the Bench, and even in Government House; and as Halifax was the capital of the province they soon came to exercise a disproportionate influence in church and state and to infuse other merchants and officials with anti-American sentiments. Thus all three effects of the American Revolution noted above are seen to merge into one, and to tend towards the preservation of Halifax as an all-round Imperial outpost—not only a military and naval outpost but a social, economic, and cultural one as well.

During the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon which lasted, except for one brief interval, from 1793 to 1815, Halifax was crowded with war-ships and vessels of various descriptions and with prizes brought by the Royal Navy and local privateers to be dealt with by a special judge of Vice-Admiralty sent over for the purpose at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From here also various military and naval expeditions set out for the Islands or coast of America; but, although Great Britain and the United States were at war between 1812 and 1814, by a gentleman's agreement (entered into with the approval of the British government) between New England and Nova Scotia, no attack was made upon the territory of each other throughout the war; and, while privateers of both peoples were preying upon general commerce, a lucrative trade was carried on between Halifax and New England ports, in which British manufactured goods were exchanged for food and other supplies that were needed for the British forces or the West Indies trade. It was only after the British enforced the blockade against the coast of the United States that this mutually profitable trade was interrupted temporarily, until a British expedition from Halifax, which did not,

however, comprise any Nova Scotians, occupied Castine on the Penobscot and incorporated the territory between it and the St. Croix into the British commercial system. From then until the end of the war, trade flowed freely between the ports of Castine and Halifax, and a number of New England merchants again resided in Halifax to promote this trade. Moreover, late in 1814 an agent of Massachusetts actually came to Halifax in behalf of the Federalists, who objected to the war, to explore the possibility of a separate peace between Great Britain and the New England states, and an offensive and defensive alliance for mutual protection of the New England states and the British North American colonies.

Though nothing came of this move owing to the subsequent conclusion of the general peace at Ghent, it affords one more illustration of the permanent interest of New England in trade with Nova Scotia and of the fact that friendly relations between the two peoples despite their keen rivalry for the trade of the West Indies was both natural and to their mutual advantage.

From the Declaration of Independence in 1776 until the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, Halifax was maintained by the British as an Imperial outpost and commercial *entrepôt* and all intercourse with the citizens of the United States was strictly limited or prohibited. As there was no mass movement of Americans into Nova Scotia subsequent to the Loyalist migration, and the number of individuals who came to the province to join friends or relatives or on business was offset by Loyalists returning to the United States, any American influences that were exerted on Nova Scotia in this period tended to be revulsive rather than attractive. Generally speaking, it was a period of reaction in both Britain and Nova Scotia, especially after the outbreak of the French Revolution. Both governments saw democracy and dissent as the two greatest dangers to their monopoly of place and power, and used every available means to crush them.

In Nova Scotia, the Loyalist governor, Wentworth, in constant fear of attack from the Americans, who from time to time were harbouring French agents and privateers and showing marked sympathy with the French cause, interpreted every local criticism of his extremely partisan administration as a levelling movement in imitation of both revolutions; and, by branding these normal reactions of British people in a new environment as American in the narrower sense, succeeded in condemning all reformers and checking all reform for a generation.

In his régime also, but under the influence of Sir Alexander Croke, Judge in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, King's College was made an

exclusive educational institution confining its privileges to members of the Established Church; and under Governor Prevost, his immediate successor, an attempt was made to strengthen this church of the minority by liberal grants and endowments. Croke was a reactionary on principle and, as acting governor, actually vetoed an appropriation bill of the Assembly, with the assurance that the government could appropriate the revenue much more economically than it had done; but in explaining this unconstitutional action to the Secretary of State he shows that he was also moved by fear of American influences in Nova Scotia. "The leading feature in the political state of the country," he wrote, "is its vicinity to the American republic. Whatever outward appearances there may be of loyalty and affection to Great Britain, the relations, the family and commercial connexions, and the property of a great part of the inhabitants centre in the United States. Is it then to be wondered that they should be attached to American principles and democratic forms of government?"

By the end of this period, therefore, all American ideas and influences were being thwarted or frowned upon officially. However much the people in the outports may have fraternized or carried on illicit trade with citizens of the United States, there is no doubt that in the capital of the province British ideas and ideals were so predominant that Loyalists and New Englanders alike were prone to forget their British-American origins and to think or speak of themselves as British only.

The large influx of immigrants from the British Isles exclusively, between 1815 and 1851, strengthened this tendency and encouraged Halifaxians to retain this frame of mind, or manner of speech, long after social and commercial intercourse had been resumed with the Americans and the rising generations, thoroughly imbued with local patriotism, were claiming Nova Scotia for the Nova Scotians and demanding the relaxation of the British colonial system. It was the keynote of Beamish Murdoch's centennial "Oration," and of Joseph Howe's "Song for the Centenary"; and it was noted by every visitor who described Halifax and Halifaxians in the middle years of the nineteenth century, whether British or American.

When social and commercial intercourse was resumed with the Americans in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, geologists like Jackson and Alger and other men of science visited Nova Scotia exploring its soil, productions, and resources; American capital began to seek opportunities for investment; insurance companies opened branch offices in Halifax; American fishermen encroached on the

fisheries, enticed Nova Scotians from their own industry, and carried on illicit trade with the outports. All these activities disturbed the merchants and officials in Halifax; but they stimulated writers like Haliburton, geologists like Gesner, and orators like Howe to study their own resources and make them known to themselves and to Great Britain, and to demand both local and Imperial protection against American aggression. At the same time, the circus and other entertainers toured the province, temperance societies were organized after the American fashion, American newspapers, such as the *New England Farmer* and the *Horticulturalist*, circulated with the approval of the local newspapers, and American reprints of British books were eagerly welcomed.

Looking back on this period between 1830 and 1850, it is clear that American influences were stronger than Haligonians were willing to admit. But they operated in two ways, neither of which threatened the British connection: their threats of economic exploitation had stimulated Nova Scotians to protect and develop their own resources for their own benefit, while their social and cultural experiments stimulated Nova Scotians to emulation rather than annexation. In fact, it would be possible to show that, at this time, New Englanders were still as much afraid of European influences as Nova Scotians were of American, and that both peoples relied upon their powers of discrimination to maintain their distinctive character.

On July 19, 1840, the day before the *Britannia*—the first of Cunard's trans-Atlantic liners—arrived in Boston, the Reverend Ezra S. Gannett preached an eloquent sermon, exulting in the commercial benefits which would accrue to Boston, but pointing out the danger of losing their independence and originality of character through the easy importation of the opinions and manners of older countries. He came to the following conclusion: "All that we can do is to form a national character *with the help of these influences*. That we may do this and not be ashamed of the result we must use discrimination, and reject what is bad while we accept what is good."

Six months before this sermon was delivered, Joseph Howe had discussed the ultra-Loyalist fears of American influences on Nova Scotian character and institutions, and had arrived at a conclusion similar to that of Mr. Gannett. A year later he illustrated his thesis by advocating the adoption of the New England system of free schools and universal education in Nova Scotia to develop the intelligence of the whole people and strengthen provincial solidarity.

Regarding our neighbors as our brethren, estranged for a time it is true, but neither aliens in blood, language nor literature, whatever points of difference might appear

in our Institutions, we have never indulged the rabid spirit of contemptuous abuse, which others seemed to think was necessary to the preservation of our political existence. We were not afraid that our own house would tumble about our ears, unless we spent our time in finding fault with all the domestic arrangements of our neighbor over the way. To do the Americans justice, seemed the best way to make them regard the excellence of our own institutions, and the state of society they were calculated to foster, without prejudice—to copy what was good, and eschew what was bad, appeared to be better policy, than to attempt to mislead our population by representing every thing as fraught with incurable evil.

Both Gannett and Howe had hoped that better international relations would follow improved communications; and the following account of the Fourth of July on board the *Britannia* shows how quickly that first group of passengers responded.

Our voyage was one continued scene of merriment, good humour and mutual kindness; the 4th July, an appropriate festival was determined upon. A gun at 4 A.M. and another at 8, announced the opening of the day. The ladies decorated the cabin in a beautiful manner, and the gentlemen prepared toasts, and intermingled the flags of Great Britain and the United States over the dinner table. At the dinner hour another gun was fired, when we found the cabin garlanded and festooned with the ship's holiday drapery—the star-spangled banner, and the union-Jack occupying conspicuous positions. An impromptu was written for the occasion by one of the passengers, which we subjoin:

"See them flying together—both safe from attack,
The Star-Spangled Banner, and England's old Jack;
Like a bountiful mother and beautiful child,
They repose on each other, with love undefiled.
May they ever remain so—be together unfurl'd,
Their union and glory the pride of the world."

It is a little surprising to find that Howe, the son of a Loyalist, and a firm believer in the ability of Nova Scotians to discriminate between good and bad American or British influences, should give no credit whatever to New Englanders in the founding of Halifax or to the Loyalists in its development, although he finds place for England, Ireland, Scotland, and Nova Scotia itself in his "Song for the Centenary":

Hail to the Day! when the Britons came over,
And planted their standard with sea foam still wet!
Above and around us their spirits shall hover,
Rejoicing to mark how we honor it yet.
Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving—
The Rose of Old England the red sea perfoliate,
The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving,
Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms.

Nor does Beamish Murdoch in his "Oration." He begins with specific reference to immigrants from England's smiling plains, Erin's

greenest valleys, and Scotland's lofty mountains and from Germany's broad fatherland, and only after eulogizing them at great length does he refer rather casually to valuable accessions to the original settlers from the older colonies of Britain, the army at each general peace, the Loyalists, and still later from Scotland and Ireland. At the same time he recognizes only British influence in the formation of the character of the Haligonian when he says: "A new development is found in the native-born, evincing in its impulsiveness much of the excitability of the Irish mind—in its steady and resolute tone much of the English and Scotch origin."

It may be that both Howe and Murdoch were thinking only of their political allegiance on this occasion and, as the centennial celebration coincided with the achievement of self-government within the Empire, that they regarded themselves as the product and exponent of British influences alone. Moreover, it was good policy at this time to emphasize the British connection, as British-American relations had recently been severely strained on the Pacific, over Oregon, and were still strained in Canada and Nova Scotia, over trade and the fisheries.

It is less surprising therefore that both American and British visitors who were not concerned with historical origins should describe Halifax as an English town: the Americans because its general appearance and institutions were so different from theirs, and the British because they were so familiar.

Passing over Chambers, the Scot, and Cozzens, the American, both of whom commented on the prominence of the British garrison, I shall quote briefly from an anonymous Irishman, who commences his description of Halifax in 1861 with the following opinion of an American fellow-traveller: "I guess it is a very rich, clean, English town with lots of commerce and famous for picking up wives. They say that if the Halifax girls once get you into their net, that you are done for, and that you inevitably become double."

It is not clear from this rather whimsical opinion whether the American meant that Halifax girls cast their nets for Americans or for Englishmen. It is true that Sam Slick, though he had boasted that his home town in Connecticut was famous for geese, gals, and onions, had returned to Nova Scotia for a wife and, by that action, had implied that other Americans would be well advised to do likewise; but an anonymous poem of 1848 indicates that most of the wives who were being "picked up" in Halifax were carried off by officers and men of the British army and navy, and thus matrimonial bonds

were being added constantly to the traditional bonds which kept Halifax British.

Though the Irishman pays tribute to the hospitality and beauty of Halifax women, it was not they but the men who made him see double: for he admits that "the hospitable customs of certain male Haligonians, on more than one occasion, sent me to bed afflicted with diplopia." Incidentally, he adds that the hospitality of Halifax is proved by the scarcity of hotels; and that for a very fine one, which it has, the custom is small.

Generally speaking he agrees with the American that Halifax is an English town: "The manners and customs are very nearly English: the accent the same, occasionally tintured with a Yankee snaffle in those who have been some time in the almighty States." He notes that the governor is an enlightened English nobleman, that there are plenty of cabs, that cricket is a favourite amusement of Halifax boys, and that yachting has its votaries. But all books, including American editions of British works, came from the United States, because they were so much cheaper. "Thus, Macaulay's five volumes, handsomely bound, may be purchased for thirteen and sixpence instead of four guineas, the price in London."

Though Haligonians might contend that British ideas and ideals were the same if read in American or British editions, it must not be forgotten that many American works, embodying American ideals, were imported along with the British and that, apart from the influences which they exerted *per se*, their publication would tend to increase Haligonian admiration for American progressiveness. In other words, American cultural imperialism was already at work in Halifax: from *Acadia or A Month with the Bluenoses* by Frederic S. Cozzens (1859) we learn that this centre of American cultural influence in Halifax was almost cheek by jowl with the symbol of British influence: "On the street behind the Province House is Fuller's American Book-Store, which we will step into, and now among these books, fresh from the teeming presses of the States, we feel once more at home. Fuller preserves his equanimity in spite of the blandishments of royalty, and once a year, on the Fourth of July, hoists the 'Stars and Stripes,' and bravely takes dinner with the United States Consul, in the midst of lions and unicorns."

Almost at the moment when Cozzens was visiting Halifax, Dr. P. C. Hill gave a lecture before the Y.M.C.A. on "The United States and British Provinces Contrasted from Personal Observation," in which one can discern great anxiety lest Nova Scotians should allow

their admiration for American achievements to weaken their attachment to British institutions. After making a series of contrasts, mostly unfavourable, he concludes: "These facts appear to point in the direction I have indicated and I shall be abundantly rewarded if in the slightest degree I can be instrumental in leading my fellow countrymen to look to their glorious fatherland as their model in social, political and religious matters, instead of to the neighboring republic."

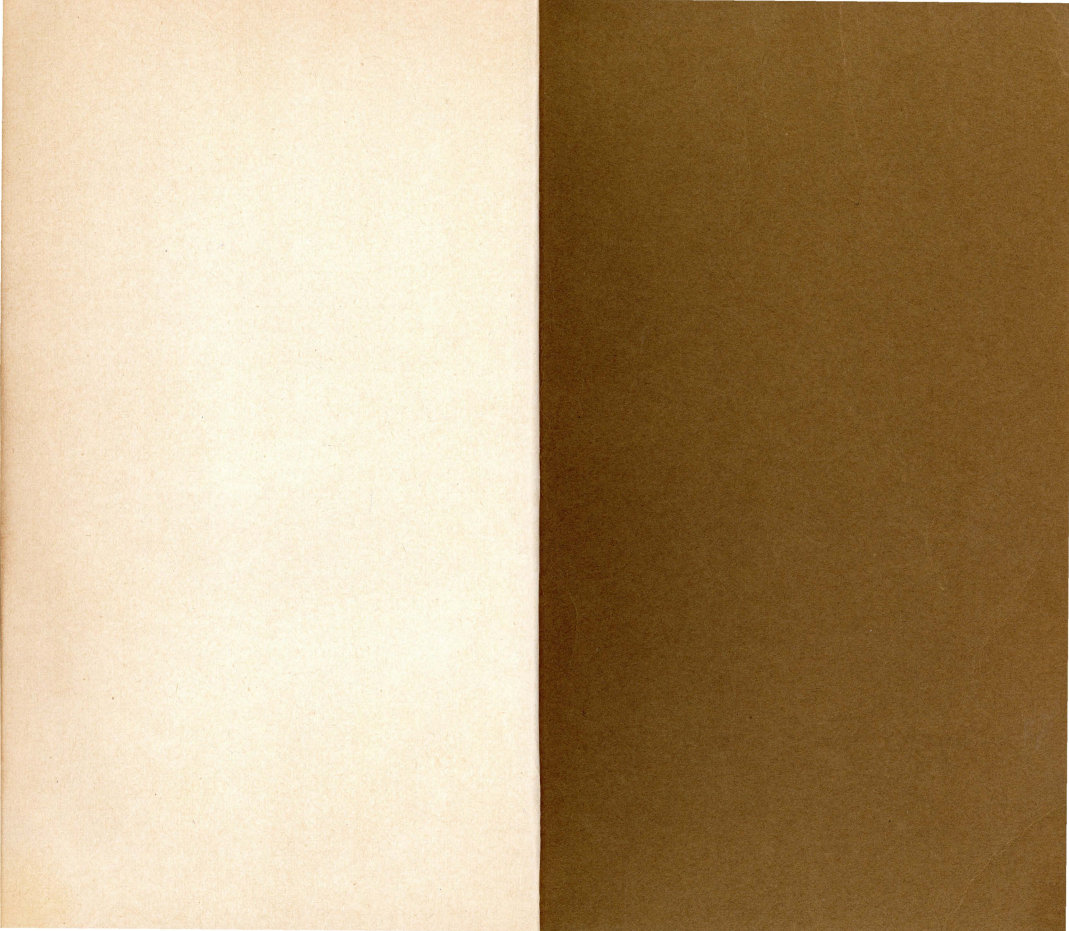
It does not seem at this distance that Dr. Hill's fears were justified or his admonitions necessary, in view of the sturdy local patriotism which had been developing since the War of 1812, was symbolized by the adoption of a Nova Scotia flag in 1858, and culminated in strenuous opposition to Confederation in 1865. Nova Scotians had taken Howe's advice—copied what was good, eschewed what was bad in both mother-countries; and, as Mr. Gannett suggested, formed a national character of their own *with the help of these influences*. To British political institutions, including the Crown, they had clung so firmly that even Sir John A. Macdonald said, "Loyalty with them is an overruling passion"; and during the years of frustration, between 1865 and 1869, when they felt that the British government was indifferent to their loyalty, they could not bear the thought of throwing in their lot with the Americans. It is true that during the Civil War Haligonians were divided in sympathy between the North and South. The merchants and others who profited by blockade running sympathized with the South. Yet all enlistments were in the armies of the North; and, when a Fenian raid was threatened in 1866, all alike offered their services in defence of Nova Scotia, including J. Taylor Wood, Captain of the *Tallahassee*, and a dozen other late citizens of the Confederate states who had adopted Nova Scotia as their home.

None the less, they had adopted the New England system of free universal education, had sat at the feet of Miss Dix, the great American authority on humane treatment of the insane, had profited by the experience of Hartford, Conn., in helping the deaf and dumb, and had examined critically Neal Dow's views on prohibition. However, in all these and other ways Nova Scotians had followed American models rather than British because they were better adapted to local needs, and, by supplying these local needs at home, would to that extent diminish temptation to migration southward or to annexation.

It is not possible in this paper to follow the interplay of British and American influences since Nova Scotia entered Confederation and Haligonians had to look inland to Ottawa; but they still persist and operate in much the same way as they have from the beginning. Though the appointment of a local lieutenant-governor immediately

after Confederation, and the withdrawal of the Imperial forces from Halifax at the beginning of the present century removed those symbols of British influence, which had struck American visitors most forcibly, and though the advent of the movie, radio, and the service club seem to have given an advantage to American influences, Nova Scotians still retain a personal representative of the Crown in their own historic Government House and British legislative and administrative institutions in their own historic Province House. Haligonians may see both British and American films in their theatres, may listen to both British and American broadcasts on the C.B.C.; and in weaving their own cultural pattern may find either an example or a warning in both, according to their own taste or judgment. To counteract the American advantage the women of Halifax have the support of the I.O.D.E., and the children the support of the Boy Scouts and Brownies, while the men who have weekly luncheon in the parvenu service clubs may meet at longer intervals in one of the more venerable national societies, the North British, the Charitable Irish, or St. George's Society, to keep alive the British tradition.

Thus the balance between these two influences may be kept in the future, as it has throughout the two centuries of history which look down upon the Haligonian from Citadel Hill; and, if American influences in the narrower sense are stronger today than in 1749, the Haligonian has developed a character of his own and a stronger sales resistance, as a result of these two centuries of experience. In 1749 there were no Haligonians as such—only British or British-Americans, without sentimental attachment to the town which they were founding. Today, all are Haligonians first and foremost; and it is only when some curious historian or visitor attempts to psycho-analyse them that they recognize themselves as British-American, or the product of competing British and American influences.

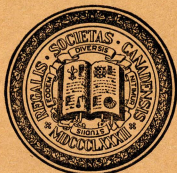


FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA
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The Age of Faith in Nova Scotia

BY

Daniel Cobb Harvey



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*with best wishes
D. C. Harvey*

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THE AGE OF FAITH IN NOVA SCOTIA

By DANIEL COBB HARVEY, F.R.S.C.

BY calling the period between 1834 and 1867 "The Age of Faith in Nova Scotia," it is not contended that faith in themselves appeared for the first time to Nova Scotians at the beginning of the period and ceased at the end of it, nor that this faith was consistently kept or shared by all Nova Scotians in equal degree throughout the period; but rather that such faith was most marked and attained its fullest expression in that generation. In the preceding generation, when libraries and reading-rooms, literary, agricultural, and scientific societies, schools and colleges were being organized, their promoters had to appeal to the experience of other countries to show the advantages of such agencies of culture and progress; but, with the gradual appearance of respectable works by local authors and the increasing number of instances of successful competition of Nova Scotian students in British or American universities, more and more emphasis was placed upon native authors and students, artists and artisans, as a source of inspiration to Nova Scotians who aspired to "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control."

Thus the founder of the Newport Library in 1821 could argue only that because such libraries "had done much to diffuse general knowledge in the Mother Country and in the States of America" they should do the same in Nova Scotia. Even in 1832, when G. R. Young gave an inspirational lecture before the newly formed Mechanics' Institute, he had to draw most of his examples from ancient history or from British and American experience; and, although he pointed with pride to some notable achievements in the provincial field, a glance at the following extract from his address will show that few of these were due to Nova Scotians born or trained in the Province, and that he was relying more upon the future unfolding of latent genius than on past achievements to give fame to Nova Scotia.

We have already achieved much in this our infant Province. Our Provincial Building is avowedly the most Chaste specimen of classic architecture on this Continent, and infinitely superior either to the Capitol of Washington, or the Bank of Philadelphia, built in imitation of the Parthenon of Athens—a young native of Nova Scotia has invented a pump, which Sir Charles Ogle acknowledged had powers far superior to any he had seen, and for which I have no doubt he will yet claim a patent

—chronometers of remarkable accuracy can be manufactured in this town—for our almanacks we are indebted to a self-taught astronomer—an application for an Observatory is now before our Legislature, at the instance of a respectable artist in Halifax—we have here mechanics, whose knowledge of their various pursuits, whether it be in upholstery, carpentry, ship-building, painting, turnery, surveying and its kindred art of drafting, the manufacture of carriages and iron and others of the handicraft arts, whose reputation would stand high in any country—the Steam Boat is now moving with her majestic course on our waters; but still we must not be idle or remain content with our present reputation. The Province has arrived at that stage of improvement where the surplus labour will justify the introduction of new classes of manufacture. Our mines have opened up a new scope of enterprise, and the latent energies of the Province will spring forth and expand to every new exigency, if they are only called forth.¹

Now it is the nature of faith that it is needed most when its foundations are least secure and it is perhaps true to say that, when the outlook was darkest for Nova Scotians, faith in themselves was most loudly expressed. In any event, though the foundations had been laid in Nova Scotia by 1834 for a general advance along all lines, intellectual and cultural, social and economic, political and constitutional, it was in that darkest year of her history that Howe delivered an inspiring lecture before the Mechanics' Institute and appealed to Nova Scotians for "untiring diligence and indefatigable hope" to raise up their native land "to a point of distinction in agriculture, commerce, and the arts, in literature and science, in knowledge and virtue," which should "win for her the admiration and esteem of other lands, and teach them to estimate Nova Scotia rather by her mental riches and resources than by her age, population or geographical extent."

That year had witnessed the culmination of the depression after the War of 1812 and the failure of many commercial firms in Halifax, precipitated by the drainage of specie to the United States for the purchase of flour, American competition in the West Indian trade, and the interruption of markets by the emancipation of slaves in the Islands. That summer cholera had raged in Halifax, carrying off many of the population and terrifying many more. That year, John Homer, member of the Assembly for Barrington, had written: "Since the settlement of this province by the British, perhaps there never was a period when complaints of hard times, scarcity of money, stagnation of trade, bankruptcies, loss of confidence among merchants, and all the evils attendant on a general embarrassment, were so prevalent and universal as the present."² Yet, it was in that year that Homer himself offered a plan

¹The *Halifax Monthly Magazine*, August, 1832, p. 123. Incidentally, a scathing review of this lecture appeared in the September issue of this magazine, pp. 177-91.

²John Homer, *A Brief Sketch of the Present State of the Province of Nova Scotia, with a Project Offered for Its Relief*, Halifax, N.S., 1834, p. 1 and *passim*.

for making Nova Scotia self-sufficient in agriculture; that Howe proposed to "build up agriculture, commerce and manufactures" on the "capital of the mind"; that a resolution was introduced in the local Assembly to gain control over the Council as a means of obtaining self-government; and in that year also that the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society was organized as an expression of national self-consciousness. Each of these efforts to relieve the darkness of the hour was a response to local stimuli: Nova Scotia tribulation, experience, and hope. All were acts of faith: the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen; and all united to set the goal of future striving.

But the formation of the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society, later known simply as the Nova Scotia Society, was perhaps the most significant of the above-mentioned acts, as it revealed the mental processes of the Nova Scotians in trying to distinguish between what was native to the Province and what had been contributed by the founders and later immigrants. Henceforth, there is to be an increasing emphasis upon Nova Scotian resources and achievement; and while British and American institutions and experience will be studied carefully, they will be presented in such a way as to inspire successful emulation, rather than numbing envy or servile imitation. In welcoming this Society Howe wrote: "Everything which has a tendency to elevate the character or rouse the ambition of our native population does good; and so long as illiberal jealousy and contempt for those who come among us from other countries is avoided, and our young men are taught to rival them in knowledge, in charity, in industry and uprightness, without suffering their minds to be swayed by mere consideration of country, the more of these stimulants we have the better."³

On its second anniversary, the members of the Society dined in state; in emulation of the older national societies, and after enjoying "all the delicacies of the season," imported wine, and Imperial music, they drank a long series of toasts, which reveal their aspirations more clearly than any written constitution. Thus, the desire for self-government:

Our Mother Country—May she never make our clothes too tight, but leave us room to grow.

The Mayflower—Nova Scotia's Emblem. May its odorous buds, and evergreen leaf, never be trodden by the foot of a slave.

Thus, Nova Scotian self-consciousness:

Nova Scotians Abroad—Good fortune and a speedy return—wherever they go, may they never forget or disgrace the land that gave them birth.

³D. C. Harvey, "The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society," *Dalhousie Review*, October, 1939, pp. 287-95.

The Emigrant—Come from where he will, he is welcome to our shores and to a share in the blessings we enjoy.

Our Sister Societies—We have a common object—may we pursue it in a spirit of universal benevolence.

Thus, natural resources and trade:

Our Sister Colonies—Our best customers—while they prosper, our agriculture and commerce must improve.

The Fisheries—Banks which always discount—the wealth we draw from them need never be repaid.

The Coal Trade—Dirty work makes clean money, our stomachs need never be empty while the bowels of the earth are full.

The Export of Cyprian—When the old soils of the South get weak, they borrow strength from our Plaster.

Finally, they strike a note which increases in volume throughout the period of the life of the Society and has been echoed and re-echoed to this day: a note of pride in native-born artists, authors, or military and naval men who had won distinction abroad or were rising to fame at home. At this date the number was small and they mention only Newton, Twining, and Fawson, who had "honorably distinguished themselves abroad," and "Miss Morris and those ladies who illustrate by their genius the beauties of their country" at home; but, twenty-two years later, the Reverend George W. Hill, in a lecture on *Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotians*, was able to enumerate more than a score of distinguished native sons who had made honourable careers in Great Britain, Canada, or the United States.⁴ This list included Haliburton and Cunard then resident in England, Dr. J. W. Dawson resident in Montreal, and Donald McKay, the great designer of clipper ships for New England, but excluded Howe, Murdoch, Young, and other distinguished Nova Scotians at home, not because they were unknown beyond the borders of the Province but because they were still engaged in practical politics.

Hill's summary was made a year after the Society had ceased to exist, not because its spirit was dead but because its work was done. By 1849 the stream of immigration had dried up and the majority of Nova Scotians were native-born and thoroughly imbued with pride of country. Political, economic, and cultural self-government had been won, a career opened to talent, and Nova Scotians were free to express themselves as they would. The Society had taken an active part in celebrating the centenary of the founding of Halifax; one of its members, Beamish Murdoch, had given the centenary oration; another, Howe, had

⁴Reverend George W. Hill, *Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotians*, Halifax, James Bowes & Sons, 1858, *passim*.

written a song for the occasion; and the Society had insisted on leading all national societies in the procession. This celebration was in fact its last public festival, although officers were appointed annually until it was dissolved in 1857.

In attempting to encourage and interpret the aspirations of Nova Scotians, the Society had the cordial support of the leading newspapers of the day, especially the *Acadian Recorder* and the *Novascotian*, which had a continuous existence throughout the period and whose editors made constant reference to native-born students and others who had made their mark at home or abroad, and held them up to the admiration or emulation of their fellow-countrymen. At the same time they were alert to any improvement in Great Britain or the United States which could be adopted in Nova Scotia or any local achievement that could be compared favourably with British or American. Sometimes this desire for distinction or demand for recognition had the appearance of boasting, and boasting has been defined as "a compensation for self-distrust"; but, generally speaking, the editors were aware of the odds against the Nova Scotian and tried by every means in their power to strengthen his faith in himself.

Thus, in recording the brilliant career of Joseph Farrish of Yarmouth, the Editor of the *Novascotian* wrote: "Nothing gives us more sincere pleasure than to find our native youth successfully treading the paths of honorable ambition, whether at home or abroad; and overcoming by dint of talent and industry, those obstacles which in a peculiar degree, lie in the way of a Colonial population. It is especially gratifying to observe them vindicating the character and intellect of the Province, even upon the crowded thoroughfares of genius and information, which are the pride and boast of Europe."⁵

After enumerating the medals and prizes won by this young Nova Scotian in the medical schools and hospitals of London, he continued: "His native town of Yarmouth and Nova Scotia generally may be proud of a son of so much promise—and we congratulate his relations and personal friends on the possession of honors, which would not have been awarded to an unfriended youth from an obscure corner of North America, had they not been richly deserved."

Nine years later the same newspaper called attention to an advertisement of the Pennsylvania Medical College and noted that a Nova Scotian was a member of that faculty: William R. Grant, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, "is a native of Pictou and has already distinguished himself in a manner not only highly creditable to himself but as

⁵July 16, 1835.

affording every inducement to students from our own Province to place themselves under his instructions."⁶

As late as 1857 the same newspaper noted with pride that six Nova Scotians were pursuing their medical studies in Edinburgh and another in New York; and it prophesied a bright future for the Province from this cumulative improvement in the medical profession which should end for all time the days of "quackery."⁷ It was not until 1868, when a medical faculty was organized in Dalhousie College, that Nova Scotians realized their long-cherished dream of educating their medical students at home. In 1832 five doctors of Halifax had petitioned the legislature to establish a medical school; and, although the Assembly was not able to do so at the time, it agreed that it was in every way desirable that the Province should be rendered independent of other countries in regard to all the professions.

But it was not the achievements of students alone that the newspapers noted with pride. In 1858 the *Novascotian* recorded: "John R. Stevens of Wolfville, a knight of the anvil, now residing in Springville, Illinois, U.S., has been unanimously elected Mayor of the town for two years."⁸ Nor is their pride restricted to the achievements of Nova Scotians abroad as the following extracts indicate:

Mr. Jacob Newcomb of Cornwallis during the present season has raised a pumpkin weighing 45 lbs., and measuring round 4 ft. 8 in. Old Connecticut can't beat this!⁹

Fat Oxen. Mr. W. Evans treated the public to the sight of a gigantic pair of oxen, preceded by the music of McKenzie's bagpipes, in the principal streets on Thursday. The animals were fed by Mr. Thomas Coffin of Cornwallis, were seven years old, and weighed 4108 lbs. alive. The smallest weighed, when killed, 1189 lbs. Both were as fine specimens of symmetry as any of the prize cattle of England, the fame of which London pictorial periodicals occasionally spread far and wide.¹⁰

These two extracts, chosen from many because of the humorous twist that the Editor gives to his serious purpose of encouraging the Nova Scotian in friendly emulation of his American and British competitors, show him to have been a child of his age in making mere size the standard of comparison. Of Ontario, considerably later than this, Professor Howes wrote:

In the soil products quality was often sacrificed to size. The present little table pumpkins would have been laughed to scorn, for one of the most popular exhibits was likely to be a mammoth pumpkin or a gigantic squash, almost, too big for two

⁶September 30, 1844.

⁷November 16, 1857.

⁸April 5, 1855.

⁹The *Novascotian*, October 28, 1844.

¹⁰The *Acadian Recorder*, June 8, 1850.

people to shake hands across it. The same predilection for size was to be seen in the potatoes, and in the beets, carrots, parsnips and onions. While today we associate quality with that which is medium in size, and coarseness with that which appears over-grown, the exhibits were then often judged according to displacement of show space.¹¹

In the following mock-heroic verses, taken from the *New England Farmer* and reprinted with an additional hortatory title, I fear that the Editor has his tongue in his cheek, although he wishes his readers to know that he is in sympathy with the general idea that the sturdy yeomanry of Nova Scotia must be the backbone of the movement for responsible government. They were published during the first election campaign in which Howe himself was a candidate, together with several letters from rural constituencies highly critical of the Tory candidates and selections from *Christopher Causlick*, a rather broad political satire on the impossible promises made by these candidates to the farmers. These verses give an equally exaggerated view of what is expected of the farmer by the Reformers.¹²

WHAT NEW ENGLAND FARMERS ARE— WHAT NOVA SCOTIAN FARMERS OUGHT TO BE

By FESSENDEN

We farmers are a sort of stuff
Tyrants will always find too tough
For them to work up into slaves
The servile tools of lordly knaves.
Those men who till the stubborn soil
Enlighten'd and inur'd to toil,
Cannot be made to quail or cower
By traitor's art or tyrant's power.
They might as well attempt to chain
The West Wind in a hurricane—
Make rivers run up hill by frightening,
Or steal a march on kindled lightning—
The great sea-serpent, which we've read of,
Take by the tail and snap his head off—
The firmament on cloudy nights,
Illumine with artificial lights,
By such an apparatus as
Is used for lighting streets with gas—
Or, having split the north pole till it's
Divided into baker's billets,
Make such a blaze as never shone

¹¹E. A. Howes, *With a Glance Backward*, Toronto, 1939.

¹²The *Novascotian*, September 15, 1836.

And terrify the frozen zone—
 With clubs assail the polar bear
 And drive the monster from his lair—
 Attack the comets as they run
 With loads of fuel for the sun,
 And overset by oppugnation
 Those shining colliers of creation—
 The Milky Way Mac Adamize,
 A railway raise to span the skies,
 Then make, to save Apollo's team,
 The Solar Chariot go by steam.
 These things shall tyrants do, and more
 Than we have specified, before
 Our cultivators they subdue
 While grass is green, or sky is blue.

Though Nova Scotians rejoiced in the achievements of their fellow-countrymen abroad, it was not that they were indifferent to the loss of native talent which had thus proved itself, for they were much concerned about emigration from their province, particularly during and after the depression of 1834. The following extracts show a humorist, a poet, and a journalist dealing with the same problem in a different way, but all pointing the same moral, that Nova Scotians could do as well at home if they worked as hard as they did abroad and that they would be much happier if they stayed at home and helped to build up their own province.

I met an Irishman, one Pat Lannigan, last week, who had just returned from the States; why, says I, Pat what on airth brought you back? Bad luck to 'em, says Pat, if I wern't properly bit. What do you get a day in Nova Scotia? says Judge Beler to me. Four shillings, your Lordship, says I. There are no Lords here, says he, we are all free. Well, says he, I'll give you as much in one day as you can airn here in two; I'll give you eight shillings. Long life to your Lordship, says I. So next day to it I went with a party of men a-digging of a piece of canal, and if it wain't a hot day my name is not Pat Lannigan. Presently I looked up and straightened my back, says I to a comrade of mine, Mick, says I, I'm very dry; with that, says the I overseer, we don't allow gentlemen to talk at their work in this country. Faith, I overseer, we don't allow gentlemen to talk at their work in one, and if it wain't soon found out for my two days' pay in one, I had to do two days' work in one, and pay two weeks' board in one, and at the end of a month I found myself no better off in pocket than in Nova Scotia; while the devil a bone in my body that didn't ache with pain, and as for my nose it took to bleedin', and bled day and night entirely. Upon my soul, Mr. Slick, said he, the poor labourer does not last long in your country; what with new rum, hard labour, and hot weather, you'll see the graves of the Irish each side of the canals, for all the world like two rows of potatoes in a field that have for-got to come up.¹³

¹³T. C. Haliburton, *The Clockmaker*, vol. I.

From the land of my Fathers self-exiled I roam,
 Afar from the joys and endearments of home,
 The scenes of another and milder to see,—
 But I find that my own is the dearest to me.

O'er the hills of the "Far West", neglected I go,
 Scarce finding a friend the least kindness to show;
 O'er Illinois' prairies I hold on my way,
 Scarce resting at night from the toil of the day.

When low by the strong fearful head-sickness laid,
 Though strangers, if recompensed, lend me their aid,—
 Their's is not the kindness which sympathy lends,
 And mine not the couch which affection attends.

.....
 Wife—kindred—and country—oh! these are the ties
 From which are derived the endearments I prize!
 Adieu then to wand'ring in sorrow and pain,
 I am blessed in my own little cottage again!¹⁴

Halifax has but slowly recovered from the state of things which existed in 1834. Having no bankrupt law, which the unfortunate could call to their aid—and no pains being taken to prevent a system of ruinous emigration, as if population were not the real wealth of a city, our numbers were much reduced. Perhaps an over estimate of the ease with which a living was to be acquired elsewhere, and of the difficulties to be encountered at home, swelled the numbers of those who left us, but at all events many hundreds of empty houses were forsaken, and our population shrunk by several thousands at least. Slowly, however, many of these emigrants have returned,—some from very natural attachment to the home of their childhood, others, finding the whole United States suffering from panic and stagnation, and Upper Canada enjoying the fruits of rebellion and sympathy, began to perceive that every place had its own troubles—and thought that the trials of life might be as well endured at home, among old familiar faces, and within hail of friends and neighbours, as in other lands, where even the face of nature, however beautiful, did not look familiar. Many of these emigrants also discovered that while wages were nominally higher in the American towns than in Halifax, living was more expensive—labor more severe—and the casualties and accidents of life not breasted so safely. They have an old saying in Cornwallis, that an emigrant is sure to return, because he will find that he can no where else get a living so easily. The same thing may be said generally of Halifax, for there is perhaps no town in the world where a moderate share of the comforts and luxuries of life may be attained with a less amount of exertion. Convinced of this by reflection, and letters from their friends, many who were almost upon the wing in '34 remained and are now prospering; others have returned, and are slowly but steadily struggling into good business,—and although there has been no perceptible immigration, our numbers are now perhaps as great as ever they were.¹⁵

¹⁴John McPherson, "Lines," in the *Novascotian*, December 5, 1839,

¹⁵The *Novascotian*, May 30, 1839.

In 1839 the hopes of Nova Scotians were high because of the contract signed by Samuel Cunard with the Imperial government for the establishment of regular communication by steam between the British Isles and America. The *Novascotian* and the *Recorder* rejoiced that it was a colonial who had achieved this triumph; and the *Times*, the Tory organ, declared, "no one who knows the superior position of our port but must be convinced that the time is not far distant when it will become the centre of steam navigation for the whole American continent." The next year, when the first Cunarder had actually arrived in twelve days from Liverpool and the Reformers had obtained the recall of Lieutenant-Governor Campbell and a promise of responsible government from Lord Falkland, his successor, McPherson again broke forth in song to celebrate the twofold achievement:

How great the change that in a few short years
Even in our still neglected land appears!
Behold her people taught their worth to feel,
And take the stand that best secured their weal.
Behold the Parent mindful of her Child
Whose voice has reached her from the northern wild,
And nobly granting what we long have sought—
The sacred rights for which her Hampden fought.

Cunard, Acadia's Enterprising son,
Thy noble work is gallantly begun—
And it shall prosper if a people's prayer
For such improvements be the Almighty's care.
Thy youthful Country's benefactor, thou,
We bind the laurel on thine honored brow!
Thy name, great man! to every Patriot dear,
Our children's children from their sires shall hear;
And, taught by thee, in future time shall rise
High spirits meet for equal Enterprise.¹⁵

However, the next four years were years of dissension and disappointment for the Reformers; and the Tory faction still had a following, who were not prepared to place Nova Scotia first in their affections, or at least not prepared to regard it with admiration equal to that bestowed upon the Mother Country and those born in the British Isles. This leads Howe once again to address his fellow-countrymen in the spirit of exhortation. Reflecting upon the love of the Swiss for his Alpine home as described in Goldsmith's *Traveller*, he continues:

That every Nova Scotian has the same partiality for his native country as has the Swiss, we do not pretend to say; but we well know that he ought to so cherish it in

¹⁵The *Novascotian*, October 1, 1840.

his affections, as to lead him to prefer it to every other spot on the earth. Sometimes when he thinks of the mighty rivers that irrigate the length and breadth of the vast valley of the Mississippi, and of the immense prairies that there abound, he may for a moment regard Nova Scotia with a less ardent feeling than he should do; but let him call to mind, that here we breathe an atmosphere, that is uninfected with the cause of fever and pestilence—that our proximity to Europe, and the superiority of our civil and political institutions, are far more valuable to us than would be those physical advantages and resources, of which our republican neighbors are justly proud.

There is, we think, an increasing attachment to Country growing up in the minds of the sons and daughters of Nova-Scotia; and this attachment received a new impulse in 1840, when Lord Sydenham announced that we were no longer to be ruled by a few officials and purse-proud bankers in the capital, and that we were henceforth to enjoy the blessings of the British Constitution. Let us then, fellow-countrymen, be satisfied with this, our native land, and making its hills and valleys, and mineral resources, as dear to us as are the household deities of the devoted Pagan to him. Let commercial enterprise exert its energies in Nova Scotia—let industry vigorously cultivate its soil—let the blessings of education be sufficiently extended, and who could desire a better country than Nova Scotia?¹⁷

Curiously enough, it was only after the principle of responsible government had been fully conceded and Nova Scotians had been authorized to regulate their own tariff and to establish as many free ports as they wished, that the Editor of the *Novascotian* admitted any wavering of faith. Replying to the Editor of the *Sun*, who stated that he lived in hope of brighter days to discourage emigration to the United States, he wrote:

We, too, like the Editor of the *Sun* "live in hope". In this hope we have always luxuriated—but a wise man has said that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick". Verily, this sickness of heart has time and again assailed us, until our constitution has become prostrated by disease. Were it possible to drive our fellow-colonists into exemplifying a spirit of enterprise—taking an interest in the various schemes that have been proposed to enrich our country and each other—by arguments and facts, this hope might long since have been changed to possession. Efforts have not been made—interest has not been manifested and we have been doomed to continue to live in hope. Lean and unsatisfactory as has been the meat, we have been forced to learn to be content with such things as we have had. In looking to the future, however, we have hope—hope that Nova Scotia will yet be a great country—will yet shine, not as a star on the banner of the Union, but as a Colony reflecting credit on herself and honour to the British Empire.¹⁸

This temporary wavering of faith but bears out my thesis that faith need not be as loudly expressed when the prospects are bright; and the report of Lieutenant-Governor Le Marchant to the Colonial Secretary, five years later, shows that Nova Scotians' faith in themselves had been

¹⁷*Ibid.*, June 17, 1844.

¹⁸The *Novascotian*, December 4, 1848.

so far justified as to persuade an Imperial official to become a convert to their belief. In his Blue Book for 1852 he rises to lyric heights in describing conditions in Nova Scotia:

All the great interests of the Province exhibit revived activity. Its Staples,—Agricultural Produce, Fish, Coal, Gypsum, Cordwood, Lumber, and new Vessels—command high prices. The population are fully employed—and the Revenue, collected under a Tariff, the lowest on this Continent, steadily increases—yielding, not only all that is required to defray the expenses of the Government, but a large surplus for the protection of the Fisheries, the encouragement of Agriculture, the maintenance of Schools, and for internal improvements of various kinds. . . . There are 43 Free Ports in Nova-Scotia, at which officers are appointed, and which enjoy equal privileges for conducting domestic and foreign commerce. . . . Now, taking the population of Nova-Scotia at 300,000, and its tonnage at 189,083, this gives but a trifle less than two tons of shipping for every three of the population. Who can set bounds to the maritime expansion of a people who have done all this in a hundred years?¹⁹

So far I have spoken in general terms of the Age of Faith in Nova Scotia, allowing its leading exponents at intervals to speak for themselves in their own way. Henceforth I must be more specific.

Though I have quoted from only three of the contemporary newspapers, I am aware that one of the characteristics of the period was a marked expansion in the number and variety of newspapers published—at least eighty between 1840 and 1867.²⁰ Many of them, it is true, were shortlived, only six having a continuous existence throughout the entire period; but all embarked on their respective careers with confidence, all added to the quickening of interest and aided the diffusion of knowledge; and by the end of the period some were published regularly in several of the county towns where at the beginning, with the exception of Pictou and Yarmouth, only the leading newspapers of the capital appeared in limited numbers. In these years, also, at least half-a-dozen attempts had been made to publish magazines and, although they all had short lives, they further illustrate the desire of Nova Scotians to compete in this field of endeavour also. While they flourished, they and the leading newspapers gave an outlet to no inconsiderable volume of both poetry and prose. Some of the poetry, such as that of Howe, McPherson, and the Misses Herbert, was afterwards collected and published in book form, and the prose essays, lectures, and speeches were frequently issued as pamphlets, while their memory was still green. Even *The Clockmaker* made its first appearance in the columns of the *Novascotian*; and at one stage of his journalistic career Howe, who had already published ten

¹⁹P.A.N.S., vol. 97, doc. 52.

²⁰D. C. Harvey, "Newspapers of Nova Scotia, 1840-67," *Canadian Historical Review*, September, 1945.

volumes of the history, law, and literature of the Province, planned to publish a Nova Scotia Library. In reviewing the work of the *Novascotian* in 1840, he mentions ten prose writers and seven poets who have "adorned the pages of the *Novascotian* with their productions" during the past decade.²¹

The increase in the number of newspapers was accompanied by an increase in the number of Mechanics' Institutes or of literary and scientific societies. These spread not only to Pictou and Yarmouth, which had long been cultural centres, with newspapers that rivalled Halifax in forming and expressing the hopes and aspirations of their distinctive communities, but also to Upper Stewiacke, Sydney, Truro, Antigonish, Windsor, Dartmouth, and Musquodoboit; and from Sydney came the most exuberant expression of enthusiasm for this early movement in adult education that I have so far discussed.

In January, 1842, the Editor of *The Spirit of the Times*, the fourth of Cape Breton's shortlived newspapers, appealed to his fellow-countrymen in both prose and verse as follows:

Young men! we appeal to you to wait for no favorable tide—to hope for no impulse of genius—to waste no time in fruitless lamentations over its absence—but to commence the great work of intellectual improvement at once, pursue it with energy, and look with perfect assurance to success, reversing and contemplating the maxims of the heathen classics, and confidently relying that a fully-developed, rightly cultivated intellect—an entire and true man—is "made not born".

May Science here her torch display,
While sordid Ignorance slums her ray—
On every side her light expand,
To gild with lucid beam the land—
Your Pulpits pure, offenders awe,
And Justice rule your Courts of Law!
Your zeal for Temperance long survive,
And Virtue reign, and morals thrive
Your fame shall progress far and wide
And Sydney be Cape Breton's pride.

While Sydney was expecting such cultural benefits from its Mechanics' Institute, Halifax was not far behind. In commenting on the programme for 1843-4, which consisted of eight literary and nineteen scientific lectures, the Editor of the *Novascotian* saw in this institute an antidote to the monopoly of learning by the few and a stimulant even to those who had received a classical education; and he argued that "its usefulness is beginning to be admitted by some who formerly assailed it with sneers. It has been the means of imparting a taste for useful study

²¹The *Novascotian*, January 23, 1940.

to many a youthful mind; and it affords the means of gratifying the taste it has thus created." Moreover, "the sister institutions that are springing up in several of the country villages in the interior show that the spirit of intellectual enterprize is abroad throughout the length and breadth of the land and that the mental condition of the people is gradually improving. The time is not far distant, we trust, when the advantages that are to be derived from this conventional and popular mode of imparting and receiving information, will be extended to every neighborhood, hamlet and village in Nova Scotia. These institutions are perhaps of more importance to the well-being and general improvement of all classes than is the endowment of colleges, the benefits of which are necessarily confined to a few."²²

By the late eighteen-fifties the enthusiasm of the thirties and forties for Mechanics' Institutes seems to have waned, especially outside Halifax and Dartmouth where the difficulty of providing regular programmes was great; and, even in Halifax, the mother society found difficulty in sustaining interest and expanding its library. Accordingly, in 1859, a new Literary and Scientific Society was formed of the more active members of the Institute and of scholars outside Halifax, for the discussion of literature, science, commerce, and the arts. Consequently the meetings of the Institute were discontinued, although officers were elected annually and the organization maintained until 1868, when the museum was given to the Province as the nucleus of a provincial museum. The library had become part of the Citizen's Free Library in 1864.

The Nova Scotia Literary and Scientific Society carried on through the winter months, from 1859 to 1862 inclusive, but in the latter year, as great interest had been aroused in natural science by the commissioners who were arranging the Nova Scotian exhibits at the International Exhibition in London, it was decided to form a new society to that end alone, leaving history and literature to fend for themselves. Hence, the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science, which was organized on December 31, 1862, and has continued to meet and publish its transactions ever since. In 1890 it dropped the word "natural" from its title to indicate a wider range of interest in science; and, although subject to occasional fluctuations in the number and quality of its papers, it has maintained a high standard of scholarship ever since. It also took great interest in the formation and development of a provincial museum. This society, then, on the scientific side has justified the faith of the founders of the Mechanics' Institute: for, although it does less to popularize knowledge than they did, it does much more to increase it.

²²The *Novascotian*, May 6 and November 25, 1844.

Though the Mechanics' Institute had always stressed the popularization of scientific knowledge, it had also discussed history, literature, and the arts, and done what it could to encourage creative work in these fields by inspirational lectures, exhibitions of pictures, and the offer of medals and prizes for competition. Those of its members who were especially interested in history had frequently called the attention of the institute and the government to the importance of preserving public records; and, in 1857, five years before the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science was formed, Howe had moved a resolution in the Assembly for the appointment of a Record Commission and had appointed T. B. Akins Record Commissioner. Four years later legislation was enacted defining public records and vesting them in the Province. This was the germ of the legislation of 1929 which established the present Public Archives of Nova Scotia. In 1864 an abortive attempt was made to form an historical society for the mutual encouragement of workers in the field; but this object was not attained until 1878, when the present Nova Scotia Historical Society was formed with an ambitious programme of collecting historical material and publishing historical papers. Since that date it has published twenty-six volumes of papers and collected much valuable material, which is now being transferred to the Public Archives for preservation and use. This society, then, and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, which are collateral if not lineal descendants of the Mechanics' Institute and work in the closest co-operation today, are evidence of things not seen, but the substance of things hoped for in Nova Scotia's Age of Faith.

As for the Mechanics' Institute in the dissemination of useful general knowledge amongst all classes of the people, it performed a function analogous to that of the country-store in Goldsmith's *Rising Village*:

Around his store, on spacious shelves arrayed,
Behold his great and various stock in trade.
Here, nails and blankets, side by side, are seen,
There, horses' collars, and a large tureen;
Buttons and tumblers, fish-hooks, spoons and knives,
Shawls for young damsels, flannel for old wives;
Woolcards and stockings, hats for men and boys,
Mill-saws and fenders, silks, and children's toys;
All useful things, and joined with many more,
Compose the well-assorted country store.

In regard to literature and the fine arts, Nova Scotians of this period were ambitious but not blind to the difficulties in the way, nor entirely lacking in the spirit of self-criticism. They recognized that they were especially handicapped in regard to the fine arts from lack of fine build-

ings and professional architects, of art galleries, paintings, and statuary, and of schools of art to teach the arts and encourage the artists; but they hoped to be able to overcome the lesser obstacles in the field of literature, since books were more accessible than pictures or statues and literary craftsmanship easier to acquire than artistic technique.

They did not forget, as our histories have forgotten or at least ignored, the fact that the British North American colonies were subjected to intellectual as well as political and economic subordination prior to 1848, when as one aspect of the concession of responsible government Nova Scotia was allowed to enact legislation permitting for the first time the legal importation of American reprints of books by British authors, on payment of a duty of 20 per cent for the owner of the copyright. Prior to that date American reprints of British books had been absolutely prohibited, and a heavy duty had been imposed upon all American books that could be legally imported, while the prices of British books were almost equally prohibitive to all but the favoured few: so that the average Nova Scotian had either to deal in smuggled literature or remain in ignorance of what the great British minds of his day were producing.

In 1834, in response to a petition from Pictou, a committee of the Assembly suggested that a bounty of one-third the cost of books in the United States be allowed on all books legally imported, so as to reduce the price to Nova Scotians by the amount of duty paid on American books and the extra cost of British books in the Province. As a matter of fact, a duty of 30 per cent *ad valorem* was charged on all books and papers that could be legally imported from the United States up to 1842, when the Imperial parliament reduced the duty to 7 per cent but still prohibited the importation of American reprints of British authors. In 1845 and again in 1846, the Assembly of Nova Scotia made an eloquent plea for cheaper editions of British books or permission to import American reprints of British works, as an alternative to the encouragement of law-breaking or smuggling and the estrangement of the colonial mind from British traditions; and they offered in return to collect a reasonable duty on American reprints for the benefit of the British author. At last, in 1847, the Colonial Secretary informed the Lieutenant-Governor that permissive legislation was being enacted to that effect. Accordingly, in 1848, by 11 Vic. Cap. IX, "An Act to regulate the Importation of Books and to protect the British Author" was hurried through the local legislature; henceforth the Nova Scotian was free to import British books wherever printed, but he still had to pay 20 per cent more for the privilege than his wealthier American cousins.

I have emphasized this handicap upon a Nova Scotian's aspirations

for literary fame because I feel that it did more to frustrate his efforts than any of the factors to which that frustration is usually ascribed; for it compelled him to imitate inferior models and gave him by the outset an inferiority complex. At the same time it tended to restrict his reading public much more than ordinary pioneer conditions would have done.

A recent writer on Canadian poetry has censured rather severely "the spirit of the frontier or its afterglow," as one of the chief obstacles to the growth of Canadian literature, and has suggested that by the pioneer books were regarded as "a luxury"; "writers an anomaly"; the arts "at best recreative," "alternatives to the hockey match, or the whisky bottle."²³ Under the conditions of importation described above, books actually were a luxury and a productive writer would have been an anomaly.

None the less, an amazing number of these anomalies appeared in Nova Scotia's Age of Faith; and, although most of their prose works were strictly utilitarian, their poetry narrative or lyrical, and although they had to find an outlet in their local newspapers only, they kept alive a respect for writers and writing and developed an alert and critical opinion and maintained a cultural tradition. If the best of their productions were collected and published in book form, they would make a Nova Scotian Library of many more volumes than Howe ever dreamed of in his wildest moments. I confess that it would be no small task to make such a selection and that it would be one that could be undertaken only as a labour of love; but until it is done we shall not have a true picture of the widespread intellectual activity, the literary and artistic aspirations which characterized Nova Scotia in the Age of Faith; nor shall we have a complete picture of the varied social and political forces which played upon that generation and made the Nova Scotian what he is today.

Dr. Miner, in *Our Rude Forefathers*, says: "Whatever brings the social and political scene before us concretely is worth considering, even though it come in the guise of humble, anonymous verse, produced in the heat of controversy."²⁴ On that principle the best of the many poems and essays written on drunkards and the evils of drink should give a more concrete and vivid picture of that social experiment, which was tried in this period and spread temperance societies all over the Province, than the most elaborate modern thesis could portray. So, too, the following short poem of Howe, which does not appear in the collected editions of his poems or speeches, must have given his contemporaries who knew the

²³E. K. Brown, *On Canadian Poetry*, Toronto, 1943, pp. 19-20, *passim*.

²⁴Louie M. Miner, *Our Rude Forefathers*, Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1937, p. 25.

local references, a more concrete and vivid impression of the political and social forces which wrecked the coalition government in 1844 than any cold prose account could give.

A NEW SONG²⁵

By PUNCH, JR.

(Air—"O weep for the hour, when to Evelyen's bower")

Oh! weep for the hour,
When, wielding high power—
The Bedchamber Lord made Mather an 'Hon.'
The folks looked aglast,
When they thought of the past,
And feared that the Governor's senses were gone.

The high Tory ranks,
In feeble phalanx,
Had assailed my Lord Falkland with weapons of hate
Who imagined he might
Bring all matters right,
By making a little man suddenly great.

To 'Prerogative' now
The country must bow,
And the claims of 'affinity' passively own—
And when others resign,
It shows a design
Against 'British connexion', the Queen, and her throne.

Such 'Pretensions' must meet,
In famed Downing-street,
An ex-parte rebuke of such withering scorn,
That Reform will be crush'd
And remembrance be hush'd,
And Uniacke, Howe and McNab overborne.

The Royal Gazette
To a Government pet,
Has been given to render the Executive strong—
And Sandy and Post,
Themselves quite a host,
In connexion with 'Leader,' will reign o'er us long.

Despite the colonial handicap on access to the works of British authors and despite the necessary preoccupation of pioneers with material things, Nova Scotians aspired greatly and achieved much in the cultural

²⁵The *Novascotian*, June 17, 1844.

domain in this period besides training and inspiring the next generation. In addition to Haliburton, who achieved an international reputation, Howe, whose letters and speeches have considerable literary quality, and writers on technical subjects like Marshall, Dickson, Twining, Gesner, Dawson, Cogswell, Murdoch, etc., at least a score of poets and prose writers contributed to the local newspapers essays, articles, and verse, which, in the words of Howe, gave "indications of genius, that only needed cultivation and auspicious circumstances, to impart to it a character of excellence."

It is true that Haliburton himself, when living in England and resting on his laurels, speaking at a Literary Fund Dinner, made that remark often heard since, that we have no literature in the colonies. The *Morning Journal* of Halifax suggested that this was just another sample of Haliburton's whimsical humour, but the *Recorder*, which had hitherto been a doughty champion of Nova Scotian literature, contended that he was right, and called upon the *Journal* to name the works which constituted that literature, if he was wrong. However, after insisting that the circumstances of the country were decidedly adverse to the creation of a literature, the Editor continued: "It is the duty of every one, having any power to do so, to face and grapple with these difficulties—endeavor to alleviate those circumstances and encourage the growth of Literature, not by hot-house forcing, indeed, but by sowing good seed, tilling with vigor, and pruning without fear: so the time may not be distant when we shall be no longer liable to this reproach."²⁶

I am inclined to think that Haliburton himself would have resented the remark if someone else had made it: but this is "human natur," and that suggests that Haliburton may have been trying a little "soft sawder" on the British authors. However, I have mentioned the incident merely to show that, while Nova Scotians were capable of self-criticism in the Age of Faith, even in self-criticism they always contended that if they had not accomplished as much in the past as they had hoped to do they would certainly do great things in the future.

To complete my picture of Nova Scotia in this period, I should outline the aspirations and achievements of Nova Scotians in painting, architecture, music, and the drama; but that would require too much time to do it properly, and I dare not detain you longer. In concluding I shall merely say that, despite their admitted handicap in the fine arts, they aspired greatly and also achieved not a little in these fields, especially in creating and fostering taste in painting, music, and the theatre; and

²⁶The *Acadian Recorder*, June 20, 1857.

that in struggling against their handicaps they exhibited the same faith in themselves that they showed in other respects. In fact, without this faith, the story of this age would have been much less impressive. Howe once said, in appealing to his fellow-countrymen to rise to a great opportunity, "If you falter now . . . I shall cease to labor, because I shall cease to hope." Hope first, then labour were the key-notes of the period.

