THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

AND

THE FAILURE OF CANADIAN HUMOUR

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BY

D. G. THOMPSON

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(abstract of a thesis by D. G. Thompson)

Between 1835 and 1856, Thomas Chandler Haliburton published eleven humorous works, a total of some 130 editions. V.L.O. Chittick, the most authoritative Haliburton scholar, while examining the claims of early critics that Haliburton was the founder of American humour, disproved them, but failed to answer the question which his own research had raised: In what way did this once-famous humorist influence succeeding humorists?

In Nova Scotia, it silenced them. Haliburton's devastating satire so incensed his countrymen against him that his self-imposed exile, followed shortly by his death, saddened nobody. Probably through his complete identification with it, the Nova Scotian humour which he had vitalized and made his own died in Nova Scotia and went to enrich the new humour of the United States with which it had itself originally been enriched.

In the rest of British North America where the reasons for Haliburton's personal unpopularity did not exist, a deep-seated prejudice against nonsense fiction - part of the high seriousness of Canadians - prevented humour - even Haliburton's - from becoming an integral part of Canadian literature.

Haliburton shared the fate of many another Canadian author, being ignored in his own country because of the belief that Canadian literature could never be anything but second-rate. As a result, his contribution of an integration and naturalization of the British and North American literary traditions was never used by Canadians. Instead, it was adopted by the humorists of the United States and, ironically, enhanced the nation Haliburton had used it to satirize.

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PREFACE

Near the end of the nineteenth century, and during the first two decades of the twentieth, there was a growing concern among Canadian critics that Canada had no literature of her own. This concern was reflected in the many surveys of Canadian literature published during this period whose authors, in their eagerness to prove that a Canadian literature did exist, allowed many traditional misconceptions to pass unchallenged. Also, in their enthusiasm, they made many absurd claims for Haliburton - especially in the field of literary influences. It was to refute many of these that V.L.O.Chittick published Thomas Chandler Haliburton, A Study In Provincial Toryism. In this book, Chittick collected all the available facts about Haliburton and published, as well, many extracts from the most important early critical articles, most of which are unavailable today, and which make his book the source without which this present study would be impossible. However, a more recent work, Miss Rourke's American Humor, A Study of the National Character, has shed more light on North American humour by tracing its development from New England puritan times almost to the present. The necessity for a reappraisal of Haliburton's place in American humour has recently been indicated by Dr. J.P. Matthews both in his lectures on Canadian literature at St. John's College, Winnipeg, and in his book, Tradition in Exile. To him I am especially indebted, first, for having suggested a reappraisal of Haliburton's place in both Canadian and American humour, second, for having made available to me much unpublished material relevant to this study, and finally, for having provided much needed assistance, guidance, and encouragement.

It is a curious fact that, despite Haliburton's - and later, Leacock's - immense initial popularity, humour has failed to become an integral part of Canadian literature. In the United States, humorists of smaller stature than Haliburton's, writing at the same time, and showing many similar traits, managed to become a part of a steadily growing tradition which eventually produced Mark Twain and his successors. In Canada, although humour appeared before and after Haliburton, there was no tradition of Canadian humour developed that could be said to have played an important role in the development of Canadian literature.

Haliburton has, by no means, been the only humorist produced in Canada. A glance at anthologies of Canadian humour demonstrates this conclusively. There has been much humorous prose and poetry, but little fiction - especially during the nineteenth century. Robert Barr and James DeMille produced most of the nineteenth century's humorous novels, and very few humorous novelists have succeeded them in this century. Most of the humorous fiction is best classified under "sketches", and the majority of these are by newspaper columnists. A few university professors, like Paul Hiebert, Louis MacKay, John Robins, Robertson Davies and, most notably, Stephen Leacock, have occasionally written in what Robins calls "the lighter vein", but, with the exception of Leacock and Haliburton, Canada's humorists are, for the most part, passed over lightly by the critics. The contribution of these minor humorists to Canadian fiction's development has been so slight that all the critics need explain is their ever having been popular at all.

Haliburton and Leacock, however, cannot be so easily ignored. It is, of course, too early yet to say whether Leacock will have successors, but with Haliburton the case is closed. Despite his great initial popularity, Haliburton failed to establish a tradition of humour either in Canada or locally in Nova Scotia. In the broadest terms, his and Canadian humour's failure was due to Canada's cultural and political dependence upon Great Britain and to Canadian opposition to all things American. His loss of popularity in Nova Scotia caused by his Tory politics, by the unfortunate similarity between his and American humour, and by his country's decided preference for grave, serious fiction, assured his and Canadian humour's failure to influence the development of Canadian literature.

PART I

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

Chapter I

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

There are few commentators on Canadian literature who would claim that Haliburton had a successor in Canada. Yet, no one has adequately given reasons for this apparent rejection by his own countrymen of a type of humour initially popular in his native land, and even more popular in both the United States and Great Britain. Before beginning an investigation of these reasons, it is important to comprehend fully the nature and quality of what was rejected.

Haliburton was writing within a well-established tradition of Nova Scotian humour, a tradition whose roots were established firmly both in the New World and in the Old. Haliburton inherited much of the New England tradition whose founder is generally considered to have been Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, however, can only be the nominal founder, for he himself was writing within a tradition almost paralleling the English journalistic tradition of The Spectator. Roy Palmer Baker[1] found much urbane, witty writing in the early New England papers, written by well-educated aristocrats, commenting upon and satirizing their countrymen's foibles. This humour had little popular appeal, and it is because Franklin popularized it that he is considered "the Father of American Humour". His Poor Richard's Almanac, by winning popular support for humour, paved the way for his slightly more literary successor, Hugh Brackenridge, who (although by no means Franklin's immediate successor) introduced New England humour's next stage. In Modern Chivalry, he adapted the picaresque tradition to suit the American scene, unself-consciously naturalized many of the humorous conventions of Addison, Swift, and Steele, and produced a work whose popularity continued long after his death. It was not only his popularity which survived him, for his successor, Washington Irving, carried on much of the philosophy, and many of the naturalized but still recognizably British conventions of humour. Irving's most successful humorous work, the History of New York, with its presentation of clearly-drawn caricatures of several of the predominant American types and its humorous telling of the state's history was immediately popular among Irving's countrymen and - what is more important - created an overseas audience for American humour which continued throughout the rest of the century. Irving's next book, The Sketch Book Of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., (except for the two "posthumous" writings of Diedrich Knickerbocker, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow") failed to augment its author's (or American humour's) popularity, for Irving, unnecessarily fearing British sensitivity, assured his readers that he would not retaliate in kind for the merciless attacks by British travelers on everything American, and proceeded to go into raptures about English life, adopting a style which was already too familiar with most of his English readers. In America, the book failed because Americans were still too unfriendly to the British to enjoy reading the kind of praise Irving heaped upon them. Also, compared to the History, the sketches were sufficiently dull for Irving's American audience to turn to the more lively, less literary humour that was just beginning to spring up all around them. As far as can be determined, the New England tradition, as a force capable of influencing the development of American humour, had died out by mid-century.[2]

One of the chief reasons for the decline in popularity of New England humour in the United States was the slow, parallel decline of the aristocratic class which had used the tradition and kept it alive. The American Revolution, and the purge which followed it, accounted for most of the Tory aristocracy's decline, while Jacksonian democracy virtually completed this class's destruction. George Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, two of the last spokesmen for the old aristocracy, both admitted that life in the United States had become intolerable because of the deterioration of American society, and both felt much more at home in England.

Nova Scotia, meanwhile, benefited from what had been the United States' loss. It gained New England's aristocracy and, with it, the New England tradition of humour. As Ray Palmer Baker points out, the Loyalists and their descendants carried on the tradition both through their own writing and in their continuing interest in the humour being written in the United States.[3] Haliburton himself, for example, was a great admirer of Irving, and "collected humour"[4] from all over the United States. Because the loyalists so rapidly became the aristocracy in Nova Scotia, the same values, the same general philosophy, and the same literary taste that had characterized their writings in New England appear from the beginning in their Nova Scotia writings. During the half century after the Revolution, while American society "deteriorated", Nova Scotian society improved, to the extent that, by 1825, it was top-heavy, with more gentlemen than farmers.[5] The war of 1812, which virtually put an end to the cultural exchange between the United States and Canada, did very little to increase anti-American feeling in Nova Scotia which had benefited more than it had suffered. Only a very small group, comprising mainly the Governor's circle of friends and advisors (whose position demanded that they appear anti-American) and recent

British immigrants were decidedly anti-American, with the result that Nova Scotian humour was free to receive fresh blood from either Britain or the United States.

Until 1820, Nova Scotian humour, consisting mainly of short newspaper pieces, differed very little from pre-Revolution American humour. It appealed mainly to a highly literary, cultivated audience, and was above the heads of the common people. Then, in 1821, The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure began appearing in the Acadian Recorder. Written ostensibly for "the chimney piece of the cottage"[6], they were declared indecent by the drawing-room set, and consequently were read all over the province. Their author, Dr. Thomas McCulloch, a Presbyterian minister recently from Scotland, performed the task of naturalizing and popularizing New England humour for Nova Scotia. Had not Nova Scotia found Dr. McCulloch, it is doubtful whether it could have produced Haliburton.

McCulloch's Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure, as Northrop Frye has indicated in his introduction to the New Canadian Library edition, belongs to the "self-help" tradition (so popular in New England) in which, as in Franklin's Autobiography, the industrious and successful character is held up as an example to a society whose members fall far short of the ideal. This was the same tradition which Irving, writing more for the drawing-room than for the cottage, employed in Astoria. McCulloch, like Haliburton after him, belonged to the gentry, although McCulloch belonged by profession rather than by birth. Both McCulloch (as a minister) and Haliburton (as a circuit court judge) criticized the faults of the people into whose contact they were constantly thrown. Both had inherited an attitude of benevolence (the one as Pastor, and the other as Squire), and the writings of both were but expressions of an active concern for the common people, a concern which, in McCulloch's case, caused him to help to establish a public school system, and in Haliburton's, resulted in the setting up of a model farm.

In McCulloch's hands, Nova Scotian humour became identifiably the voice of Nova Scotia; this was his great contribution to the literature of his community, and Haliburton was to benefit from his example. Hitherto used mainly by one aristocrat either to attack another, or to ridicule the ignorance and brutality of their former plebeian enemies,[7] in McCulloch's hands it became the voice of the simple, humble, hard-working farmer, speaking about simple, every-day matters. Simultaneously, it was the voice of the witty, urbane, aristocratic class. It had, for its humble audience, its moments of slapstick, and even of mild obscenity, but, at the same time, it was written with well-bred restraint and such sophistication that it could not fail to appeal to its author's peers. One example of McCulloch at his best should suffice to indicate both the nature and the quality of his legacy to Haliburton:

> Having never myself been in such polite company, I must, of course, be ignorant of the general modes of proceeding, and therefore I shall not attempt to describe them. I understand, however, that it is the ordinary custom for the gentlemen to go about taking care of the ladies. In conformity with this order of things, Mrs. M'Cackle had requested old Stot's son Hodge to have the goodness to be so kind as to hand round the fried pork to the ladies. Hodge was upon the alert in an instant, and, as politeness required, determined to present it with an elegant bow, which in our town, consists in pushing out on the right foot and then bringing it back with a scrape upon the ground, at the same time bending the body forward with suitable solemnity. Now, it unfortunately happened that the young gentleman's shoes, which he had sent to the mending, were not ready in time; but in order to be at the frolic, he had put on a new pair of his father's, which the old man had carefully fortified with an abundant supply of hobnails, and scarcely had the poor fellow entered upon his bow, when a shriek from Miss Sippit admonished him that he had begun his scrape at her shin, and was subjecting her satin slipper to an unmerciful visitation. In such a case it was natural for him to draw back his foot as fast and as far as possible; but, in his haste, it escaped

> him that where the head goes one way, and the feet another, there is always a violation of the order of nature, and before he was aware, he had placed the fried pork, melted and unmelted, in the young lady's lap, and was himself fast following.
>
> Emergency, however, will, at times, produce wonderful exertion. One powerful effort relieved him from the apparent danger. But no man can think of two things at once; and, of course, he who is falling forward does not consider that there may be danger behind. Hodge only thought of getting back from the young lady, but in his haste to retreat, forgetting to take his legs with him, he unfortunately overturned the tea-table with its contents upon Mrs. M'Cackle's new poplin. Whether this unusual combination of accidents had produced a sudden convulsion of nature, or whether Hodge had been dining upon cabbage, which you know, are a windysome kind of food, I cannot tell; but the poor fellow, in falling, made a lengthy apology, which scandalized the whole assembly of young ladies amazingly, and, indeed, no wonder; for such a speaker was never introduced into any genteel company, and much less allowed to lift up his voice.[8]

Although this "reference to those actions of the body over which modesty in all ages has drawn a veil", and McCulloch's mention of "a tell-tale line on the shingles below a garret window" might offend the genteel, for whom "Censor" appeared as Spokesman,[9] both were written in a style which, (if it would not allow a lady of the finest feelings "to read aloud in company these letters from beginning to end" without calling "colour to her cheek" or forcing her "to lower and interrupt her voice") without a doubt allowed the Letters a place in the boudoir. Without exaggerating the quality of McCulloch's humour, one can at least say this much of him, that he made the old New England tradition of humour capable, on the one hand, of unadulterated slapstick comedy, and, on the other, of the most serious moral strictures, two qualities for which Haliburton later was to become most famous.

It should now be evident that there was by Haliburton's time a well established tradition in Nova Scotian humour. There was also a new American tradition developing from which to borrow. Haliburton made use of both, and created a new type of humour. In the Clockmaker, one can still clearly distinguish both types. In The Old Judge, however, the new genre is more polished, and is capable of application to a broader range of subjects. This work, however, was never able to compete in popularity with the Clockmaker, and for this reason, it is to the Clockmaker that one must first turn to see what Haliburton made of the Nova Scotian tradition.

Chittick apparently was the first to point out the indebtedness of Haliburton to Dr. McCulloch, and thus Chittick's brief description of the relationship between The Stepsure Letters and the Clockmaker must inevitably be the starting point for any further discussion on the subject:

> In his own province of Nova Scotia, and in his own specialty of locally applicable satire, though in neither convention out of which its form mainly arose, he [Haliburton] had a distinguished predecessor, from one notable production of whose extraordinary wit he learned many of the lessons he subsequently undertook to reteach to his fellow colonists. This, the ablest of his provincial exemplars, was his personal friend, the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, founder and first principal of Pictou Academy .... In whatever Haliburton there [in the Clockmaker] assayed in the humorous delineation of his countrymen as given to gadding about and to gossip, as ignorant of all save wasteful farming methods and indifferent to better, as lazy and shiftless and drunken, as deluded into the vain hope of getting rich quickly by trading and inn-keeping, as ambitious solely for government jobs and contracts, as cutting down timber and building ships when they ought to have been cultivating the soil, as engaged in smuggling and gambling and horse-swopping, as "sold up" by the sheriff and in flight to "the lines", as indecent, immoral, and uncleanly, and as irreverent and irreligious, he but followed the lead of one who for subtlety and skill in the good-natured indictment of popular error was easily his master. Every one of the social, economic and agricultural truths which subsequently had to be reimpressed on the easy-going Nova Scotians in Sam Slick's strangely fabricated vernacular before they would bestir themselves into self-sustaining activity was clearly anticipated and expounded in the elucidation of his neighbor's unnecessary misfortunes by Dr. McCulloch's soberly deliberative, frugal-minded, oddly named cripple. Only in his political philosophy, which found its more immediate provocation in conditions and events of considerably later date than those witnessed by Mephibosheth Stepsure, did Sam Slick hold forth for the benefit of the Bluenoses independently of this canny Scotch-colonial creation.[10]

That McCulloch was the first to delineate the Nova Scotians in this way is a matter of record; that he was easily Haliburton's master is a matter of opinion. When again Chittick states that McCulloch's sketches "for downright funniness as an exposure of the follies of rural Nova Scotian life quite transcend anything of the kind attempted in the Clockmaker",[11] he is, of course, voicing an opinion - a minority opinion, for, whereas Haliburton's Clockmaker sketches had to be printed in book form before the serial run in the Novascotian was completed, McCulloch's Letters had to wait forty years. However, value judgments like the above, though unfavorable, and completely unsupported by what appear to be the facts, must not be allowed to interfere with Chittick's most important point, that Haliburton owed much to McCulloch.

Haliburton's indebtedness to McCulloch is even greater than that indicated by Chittick. McCulloch seems to have been the originator, at least in Nova Scotia, of the type of humorous sketch which, after first entertaining the reader, ends by providing him with instruction in the form of a little moral maxim. By no means was this McCulloch's usual method. Normally, like his contemporaries in both North American and British humour, he "coats the pill", and one knows constantly that it is a pill, not a sweet. But in the sketch quoted above, - one which is more characteristic of Haliburton than of McCulloch - one is not aware that there is going to be a pill at all until the little moral maxim appears at the end. This method, more effective than the long, skillfully constructed allegories like Brackenridge's Modern Chivalry where one is tempted to ignore the implied meaning altogether, and more versatile than either the witty moral maxims of Franklin or the amoral anecdotes and "wisecracks" of Jack Downing, was a bequest to which Haliburton later was deeply indebted.

There are other areas in which Haliburton was indebted to his less famous predecessor - like the use of such stock characters as Nab the constable, and Justice Pettifog, and the use of italics to emphasize the moral - but these appear trivial beside the major changes Haliburton made in Nova Scotian humour.

Haliburton's chief spokesman, Sam Slick, is the most notable change. His only similarity to Mephibosheth Stepsure lies in his advice to the Nova Scotians to which Chittick drew attention. Dr. J.P. Matthews recently saw in Sam Slick a North American Will Honeycomb, representing, instead of Restoration breeding and morality, all the less desirable American traits, but nevertheless "remaining himself a not unsympathetic character".[12] Dr. Matthews continues:

> It was for Mark Twain to follow on, and to annex for American literature the type of character that Haliburton had created.[13]

Because this statement conflicts so directly with what has been the prevalent opinion among critics for the last thirty years, a complete investigation of Sam Slick and his place in North American humour is called for.

One of the most interesting controversies of Haliburton criticism is Haliburton's influence on American humour. It originated shortly after his death when Artemus Ward, or one of his imitators writing under the same name, credited Haliburton with being the "Father of American Humour".[14] Arthur B. DeMille, at the turn of the century, said that, in addition to his being the "Father", Haliburton was also "the first to use the New England dialect for humorous purposes", and that his Yankee, Sam Slick, was "the origin of the conventional Uncle Sam of the comic prints".[15] Archibald MacMurchy gave Haliburton credit for having inspired such American characters as "Topsy".[16] T.G. Marquis said that Haliburton was the "creator of a school of writers .... Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, and Mark Twain are, in a way, mere imitators of Haliburton, and he is their superior".[17] During the 1920's, in several articles on Haliburton, J.D. Logan pointed out that, since Haliburton was the best of the American humorists, he deserved a prominent place in American humour's development. Although many of the statements made by these critics were wholly untrue, or only partly true, they demonstrate the fact that, until

Chittick's work appeared, the critics had always considered Haliburton to have been writing American humour, and to have been, if not its founder, at least one of its most influential contributors.

To disprove many of the traditional misconceptions about Haliburton was one of Chittick's principal aims in his book, Thomas Chandler Haliburton. He carefully examined the statement that Haliburton was the "Father of American Humour", realized that it was untrue, considered the claims made by the earlier Canadian critics that Haliburton had influenced the writings of later American humorists, and dismissed them because Haliburton appeared to have no successor in his genre. Chittick, in effect, removed Haliburton from the traditions of American humour in which criticism had hitherto given him a prominent place, and placed him in "the literature of odd types, listened to and applauded by a public that was truly international, and with a fame and favour that gave promise of becoming permanent".[18] Similarly, in American Humor, Constance Rourke dismissed the old claims of the Canadian critics, and again denied Haliburton a prominent place in her study of American humour's development. Of late, the trend seems to be towards placing Haliburton back in American humour. Roy Palmer Baker, (whose chapter on Haliburton was seen by Chittick before its publication)[19] suggested; "The work of Haliburton therefore, is, in many respects, as much of the United States as of Canada, and as much of Great Britain as of either".[20] Recently, Robert L. McDougall, in his introduction to the Clockmaker, labelled Haliburton "recognizably North American"[21], and, even more recently, Dr. Matthews expressed the opinion (already quoted) that Mark Twain was greatly indebted to Sam Slick. With the aid of information provided by Miss Rourke's study, - information which Chittick never had at his disposal - and with the fresh insight provided by the more recent critics of Haliburton, it should be possible to offer a solution to this question of Haliburton's place in

American humour.

Chittick's main reason for denying Haliburton a major role in the development of American humour was based mainly on his inability to find a successor to, or imitator of, Sam Slick.[22] Miss Rourke demonstrated that Chittick had been mistaken in claiming that Haliburton had no successor. American humour developed in stages - one stage developing out of an earlier.[23] Chittick had almost anticipated this statement when he said:

> There were few persons then living who would have been likely to observe the real implications of two paragraphs in immediate juxtaposition to one another in the Illustrated London News on September 9 of that year [1865], one recording the death of "Sam Slick" and the other announcing the coming of "Artemus Ward" to England. The long-time reigning favorite in the realm of Yankee jokedom had gone the way of all flesh in an hour of comparative indifference to his wealth of "merry conceited jests" and shrewd sayings, while in eager expectation a fickle public waited to greet with mirthful plaudits the droll antics and nonsense sketches of his successor.[24]

Artemus Ward was in no real sense an imitator, but he and his fellow lecturers were Haliburton's successors, as Miss Rourke's research demonstrated. She found that simultaneously with the development of the comic Yankee and his distinctively New England humour there arose the parallel but equally distinctive "Ring-tailed Roarer" of the West,[25] and the Negro minstrel of the South.[26] All three found expression both on the printed page and on the theatre stage, and all were equally popular. Each of the regional "types" or characters retained its distinctive characteristics; there was almost no interplay between them until the advent of Sam Slick.[27] There was an excellent reason for this. One of the functions of each of these regional types was to disarm foreign critics. Paulding, when he portrayed the already popular Brother Jonathan in John Bull in America, his burlesque of the English travelers in the United States, made Jonathan the incarnation of all the characteristics which English critics had attributed to the New Englanders. The English seized upon this impossibly inconsistent character, and henceforth labelled him the "typical" Yankee. That the English were so completely deceived appeared richly humorous to the Americans, and English attacks, launched against Brother Jonathan, hurt nobody. The whole thing became a national joke, and, naturally, very few Americans would be willing to spoil the joke, and re-expose themselves to foreign criticism by publishing to the world the fact that Brother Jonathan was not the typical Yankee. In like manner, the "Ring-tailed Roarer" became the typical western type for the British, and the Negro, as depicted by the minstrels, was also accepted as "typical". There were, thus, three "types" presented to the world, and three national "jokes". The characters were already too incongruous to be life-like, and Americans would naturally be unwilling to spoil the joke by combining any two of these types into one even more incongruous composite. However, Miss Rourke did not explain how or why the Yankee and the "Ring-tailed Roarer" became combined. She only stated that they were, and that Sam Slick was one, if not the first, of the composites. It was, she stated, this composite character which was later portrayed in the humorous lectures of Artemus Ward and his contemporaries, and which still later became the stock character of Mark Twain's and Bret Harte's novels and, one might add, even of Henry James' The American.

No American author has yet been given the credit for creating what became the stock character of later American humour. Chittick pointed out in his chapter "The Gen-u-ine Yankee" that Sam Slick, because of his Westernisms, was a poorly sketched Yankee. Miss Rourke, in her chapter devoted to the comic Yankee, classified Sam as a Yankee, (rather than as the composite she labelled him in a later chapter)[28], and said of him:

> Never so clearly drawn as Downing, the creation of a Nova Scotian who hardly knew New England, Slick achieved a mammoth popularity that lasted for three decades or more, and in the end all but obliterated the reputation of the quiet original.[29]

The reason for Sam's being "never so clearly drawn as Downing" was, of course, that he was a composite created by a man who collected humour - from newspapers, periodicals, and books - from all over the United States,[30] who, at first, knew little about its regional origins, who hardly knew New England, and who knew even less about the rest of the United States, as Chittick sufficiently demonstrated.[31] For example, when Haliburton portrayed Indians, (with whom he, as a Nova Scotian, could have had occasion to become familiar) he showed that his knowledge of them was even less first-hand than Fenimore Cooper's, as the following sketch indicates:

> There, your attention was arrested by a ferocious-looking savage, who, induced by the promise of liquor, armed with a scalping-knife in one hand and a tomahawk in the other, exhibited his terrific war-dance, and uttered his demonic yells, to the horror of him who impersonated his victim.[32]

and, in Nature and Human Nature, he compared the two races, red and white, just as Natty Bumppo would have done it.[33] Haliburton's knowledge of the Negro was just as bookish. He, like the British, and like many Americans in the Northern United States, had accepted the picture of the typical Negro offered by the minstrels:

> Here might be seen the merry, active Negro, flapping his mimic wings and crowing like a cock in token of defiance to all his sable brethren, or dancing to the sound of his own musical voice, and terminating every evolution with a scream of delight.[34]

His attempts to reproduce Negro speech were also inspired by the minstrel tradition:

> Well, when I take it to de lady, she make a face like de cabbage leaf, all puckery, puckery, wrinkely, wrinkely, and arter eber so leetle of a swig at it, she gives him back again to me.[35]

The descriptions he gave of Negro life on a plantation in the South in Nature and Human Nature and in Wise Saws resembled English country life under a benevolent eighteenth-century squire, - a picture almost as false as the exaggerated descriptions of cruelties to the slaves, offered by so many of his contemporaries, whom he satirized in "The Black Stole"[36] and in

"Slavery".[37] When it came to portraying Sam Slick, however, Haliburton's ignorance of the Americans stood him in good stead, for only an Englishman or a Colonist could have confused, or attempted to combine, two or more of the regional types. No American would willingly have run the risk of re-exposing his countrymen to foreign criticism by attempting to deceive the British with a character even more inconsistent than any one of the regional types. Haliburton successfully combined them, and, by doing so, accidentally performed a service for American humour which has hitherto gone completely unnoticed.

In order to understand how Haliburton came to confuse the "typically American" traits, one must first be aware of Haliburton's aims for Sam Slick, their degree of attainment, and the significance of both to Haliburton's role in the development of American humour. Sam, in the first series of the Clockmaker, was given a triple function. First, he was to point out, and supply a remedy for, Nova Scotian failings. Second, as the North American Will Honeycomb, he was to represent all the American qualities that Haliburton meant the Nova Scotians to abhor, though still remaining an engaging and entertaining character. And, third, he was to represent the few desirable American qualities which Haliburton wished the Nova Scotians to imitate. Haliburton failed in at least two parts of his aim, - in making it obvious that he meant Sam's undesirable "typical" American qualities to be shunned[38] and in making Sam a typical Yankee, for there already were traces of the Western character in the early Clockmaker, as Chittick pointed out.[39] Thus, Haliburton responded by apologizing to his readers for including Sam's less desirable characteristics in the portrait[40] - saying, as he did so, that to portray an American without them would be untrue to the faithful depicting of American "natur'",[41] or, (as in the case of the later books) claiming that Sam was the author, and he, Haliburton, only the editor.[42] The second difficulty was less easily overcome. For Sam to be typically American, a partial portrait of Americans, - such as would be given by one of the regional "types" - would not suffice. Also, if he made Sam a composite just of the American regional types, Sam would be too inconsistent to be considered typically American. Haliburton compromised, continued asserting that Sam was a real person,[43] explained away his inconsistencies as they arose,[44] and called him the typical Yankee,[45] - but one who had travelled widely and been engaged in such a multitude of occupations[46] that he had picked up the expressions and some of the peculiarities of the whole nation.[47] The end result was that Sam was almost a complete success. He was so obviously larger than life, and yet so carefully explained, that only Professor Felton of Harvard and James Russell Lowell felt compelled to protest that Sam was not a faithful characterization of the Yankee.[48] Some readers even believed that Sam was a real person, and tried to identify his prototype.[49]

The most important indication of Haliburton's success was the fact that Sam did become, - as every critic painstakingly shows, - the symbol of everything American.[50] Haliburton, as the early critics and their readers had always maintained, did in fact make an important contribution to American humour. If Sam Slick was not the first composite, he was one of the first, and definitely the most popular. His popularity in England and in the United States all but eclipsed that of his predecessors and contemporaries, so that he was, in effect, the final flowering of the tradition that had produced him. Haliburton's successors did not continue in his genre because, in the thirty years of Haliburton's career as a humorist, he had so thoroughly developed his type of humour, and so flooded the market with his books (over one hundred and thirty editions during his life-time) that interest in

American humour as he had presented it had been satisfied - at least for the time being - both in America and in Britain. His successors had to present something novel, and, meanwhile, the humorous lecture tradition had quietly been developing in the United States - the result of the success of the comic Yankee on the stage. Haliburton's new comic character was easily adapted to this new medium, and thus it was that Haliburton's Sam Slick became the prototype for what was to become the stock character of American humour.

From the above, one must conclude that early Canadian criticism - and, with it, the Canadian reading public - was quite correct in considering Haliburton to have been contributing to American humour. Similarly, Nova Scotians could justly claim that Haliburton had corrupted their native humour by his American borrowings. The Clockmaker, because it was little more than a masterful hodge-podge of American humour with a Yankee as its central character, could hardly provide a suitable pattern for Canadian humour. Were one to read no further in Haliburton than the Clockmaker, Haliburton's most famous work, one could accept, without much regret and with even less questioning, Canada's rejection of his humour as a pattern for a Canadian tradition. The existence of The Old Judge, however, raises the question again. Archibald MacMurchy, shortly after the turn of this century, said:

> In 1843 appeared The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony. This is a specimen of the work the writer of Sam Slick could do by using the Queen's English instead of dialect.[51]

This comment - though it erroneously stated that The Old Judge contained no dialect - was the first statement by Canadian criticism to suggest that this work should have received more attention both by the reading public and by the critics. For The Old Judge, in its own way, is as much a masterpiece as the Clockmaker. Why Canadians rejected the Clockmaker is obvious; why they ignored The Old Judge - as important a contribution to Canada's regional literature as Mrs. Moodie's Roughing It In The Bush - is the question to whose solution this thesis is directed.

Although Chittick was concerned mostly with a "Study in Provincial Toryism" in his short chapter on The Old Judge, and although he said nothing about the main question which this work raises, he had a higher opinion of this than of the majority of Haliburton's works:

> The lack of favor into which the work at once fell in the colonies still persists. For ten persons who have read The Clockmaker, not one can be found who has so much as looked into The Old Judge. And yet it was Haliburton's most earnest endeavor at Bluenose portraiture and the recounting of Bluenose tradition, and, in spite of its frequent flashes of anger and its prevalent tone of melancholy, the least imperfectly executed. The entire material worked into The Old Judge is, in accordance with its author's plan, purely provincial, encountered mostly, it would seem, in the years when he lived at Annapolis Royal and was engaged upon his History, or picked up, along with many of The Clockmaker's anecdotes, while driving the Inferior Court circuit across country and around the South Shore. Apparently rejected as too long for Sam Slick's moralizing purposes, there is nothing of the left-over flavor, however, about the stories of the later compilation. Outside of the volumes of Charles G.D. Roberts, no collection of Nova Scotian legend or settlers' tales has been written with more power to move and interest, and in none other of Haliburton's own books has his delineation of local character and his recital of local incident been achieved with greater skill. The Old Judge is, indeed, in many respects, a diverting picture gallery of early provincial types and activities. The Bay of Fundy fisher-folk, the Acadian French, humorously drunken Micmacs, ...; all these and many others Haliburton presented to the readers of his "Life in a Colony", all vividly set forth, and apart from the overdrawn official set, all entirely credible. Equally as well sketched as his portraits are the scenes he reproduces from the out-of-the-ordinary occurrences and amusements which relieved the constricted routine of the life lived by the forefathers of the present-day Nova Scotians; .... At recounting genuinely mirth-provoking anecdotes Haliburton never came nearer complete mastery than in The Old Judge, and in its mystery and adventure tales as well he exhibited a surprising control of the storyteller's art. Even in those with a tragic ending, in which generally his growing tendency to insincere and excessive pathos ruined his desired effects, he was fairly successful, and not only did he maintain an unusually high standard of excellence for him in character drawing and animated narrative, but in describing the provincial landscape he also surpassed himself.[52]

Chittick then proceeded to quote Haliburton's famous description of a January sunrise, and commented upon the "accurate values" of Haliburton's "wood-painting".

Chittick however said nothing about the obvious connection between The Old Judge and the Stepsure Letters, although, perhaps, this was implied in his statement that "The Old Judge was a new Clockmaker".[53] Haliburton continued to use McCulloch's "anecdote with a moral" technique in many of his sketches (though Haliburton's moral was usually considerably more subtly presented than McCulloch's). It belonged to the same "self-help" tradition, employed the same italics (but to a lesser degree than had the Clockmaker), and, like the Stepsure Letters, had the occasional Latin phrase thrown in. Such stock characters as "the Reverend Gabriel Gab of Olympus", Sir Hercules Sampson, Mr. Universal Smith, Mr. Welcome Shanks, Deacon Overreach, Sixpenny Loaf, (the baker), Breeches, (the liveried servant), and as many more succeeded such McCulloch characters as "Holdfast the constable". The Old Judge, however, exceeded the Stepsure Letters in delineation of character, even of the stock characters. Instead of attempting to describe the universal as McCulloch had done, Haliburton described only individuals, barely implying that the universal might resemble the particular. McCulloch's characters - even his main ones - thus, could not live, whereas only Haliburton's oddly named extras were unlife-like.

To take but one example of Haliburton's surpassing McCulloch in character delineation, McCulloch's Mephibosheth Stepsure was so obviously set up as an ideal (with his homespun, his hard work, and his simple pleasures) that he gets positively wearisome. Instead of attending frolics, he fashions axe handles, or mends tools. He is so reliable, dependable, industrious, and wise that one soon thanks God for fools. Haliburton's Stephen Richardson, by contrast, has no more than one man's portion of these virtues and enjoys life. He drinks more than most men could, enjoys his frolics, finds time to hunt, and at the same time is a prosperous farmer.

Haliburton's own description of him is most apt:

> There is some drollery about him, inexhaustible good humour, and amid all the nonsense he talks, more quickness of perception and shrewdness than you would at first give him credit for. Take him altogether, he is what may be called a regular character.[54]

Haliburton made him an example rather than an ideal - an example of thrift, self-reliance, independence, and contentment:

> I am six feet four in my stockings, when unravelled and bolt upright, and six feet five when stretched out on a bench; and from the sole of my feet to the crown of my head, I am dressed in the produce of my own farm. I raised the flax and hackled it, and bred the sheep and sheared the wool that made the linen and the cloth I wear. I am sort of proud of it, too; for a farmer, according to my ideas of things, ought to be known by his dress, like an officer or a parson; and then, when folks see him, they'll know he ain't run up a bill at a shop, and ain't cutting a dash in things he han't paid for.[55]

Conceived, as Stephen was, by a native Nova Scotian, but presented to the reading public as though by an Englishman visiting the province (for this was the fiction adopted by Haliburton), Stephen could conceivably have grown into the typical Nova Scotian, much as Sam Slick became the "typical American" for his readers. From such regional types, national characters like John Bull and Uncle Sam have developed. Haliburton thus was offering, in Stephen Richardson, the beginnings of a Canadian national character.

The reason The Old Judge represented such an advance in Nova Scotian humour was that Haliburton (who in the Clockmaker had done little more for Nova Scotian humour than put the moral maxims of Mephibosheth Stepsure into the mouth of an imperfectly drawn Yankee clockmaker) virtually created a Comic Nova Scotian. Stephen was no minister's mouthpiece, and thus The Old Judge was enabled to strike a better balance between amusement and instruction. Without entirely approving of his roguish hero, Haliburton could sit in on the hilarious rural frolics, enjoy them, and find fault only with the unnecessary and unnatural sophistication which was then threatening to spoil them. Accordingly, he ridiculed the attempts of ordinary folk to become genteel, (such as the middle-class family which tried to entertain the Governor[56]), the social faux pas of the foolish young people at the Governor's Ball,[57] and the sophistication of the ignorant young man who tried desperately to play the part of trustee of "Tadpole Academy".[58] Similarly, he described with relish the hasty retreat from the Governor's Ball of an obnoxiously vulgar young aide-de-camp who had mistaken a mustard pot for a custard and who barely escaped from the gathering before the fiery emetic took effect. In his more serious moments, he visited graveyards and reminisced over the ruins of the Duke of Kent's Lodge. He recounted the story of the first settlement of the province, the founding of the order of le bon temps, related many old Nova Scotian legends, and set down the colony's tales of human heroism. All in all, The Old Judge represented a major contribution to Nova Scotian literature - a well-written book, filled mainly with amusing tales and sketches of the province. It can only be regretted that Haliburton had no successor in his own country in the native humour which he had transformed.

The Old Judge contributed much more to colonial literature than improvement in character delineation, the "Comic Nova Scotian" and the didactic anecdotal sketch for, just as the Clockmaker had integrated the regional humour of the United States for the Americans, The Old Judge integrated the traditions of British and North American humour for Canadians. Northrop Frye, in a statement which in many respects applies as much to Haliburton as to McCulloch, said:

> McCulloch is the founder of genuine Canadian humour: that is, of the humour which is based on a vision of society and is not merely a series of wisecracks on a single theme. The tone of this humour, quiet, observant, deeply conservative in a human sense, has been the prevailing tone of Canadian humour ever since.[59]

This "vision of society", shared by both McCulloch and Haliburton, could have found its way into their writings from two possible sources. It could have come directly from Swift, Dryden, Addison, and Pope in British humour, or indirectly from British humour via Franklin, Brackenridge, and Irving in New England humour. It was dying out in the United States, along with New England humour, but both were being kept alive in Nova Scotia, - possibly by "transfusions" from Britain.[60] That it figured prominently in the humour of Haliburton has been admirably demonstrated by J.D. Logan. Logan gives it another name, but it is essentially the same as Frye's "vision of society":

> To the comic view, which is the cosmic view, what excites pure laughter is not the incongruities or contradictions per se in mankind, and not the moral evil or even the caprice per se in the universe, but man's profound lack of good sense about his relation to universal reality.[61]

More important than Logan's conclusion - that Haliburton had no successor because succeeding humorists did not have this cosmic view - is his opinion that Haliburton's "cosmic view" elevated the Clockmaker above the level of the "exaggerated nonsense" and "sheer amusing burlesque"[62] of American humour. Actually, it was the presence of these American ingredients which leavened Nova Scotian humour's heavy load of moral maxims in the Clockmaker. "Censor" had justly criticized the Stepsure Letters for their "wordiness of diction", "paucity of incidents and characters", "unconscionable prolixity", "verbose chit-chat", and "insipidity and coldness of composition".[63] As Dr. Matthews points out, the Clockmaker consisted of a "synthesis between the tradition of entertaining sketches joined to a didactic purpose, and the already established New England tradition of 'wisecracks' and 'smart alecs' "[64]- one might add, a necessary synthesis, if Nova Scotian humour were to survive. The necessary freshness, vitality, and pungency came from the new American tradition. In the Clockmaker, Sam Slick had provided the leaven; in The Old Judge, Nova Scotia itself seemed to provide it - "seemed", because in reality

The Old Judge, as Chittick pointed out,[65] was another Clockmaker. Even old Stephen Richardson seems, on closer examination, to be "a veritable reincarnation of the Yankee Pedlar toned down to Nova Scotian reality".[66] Stephen's stories at times bear a striking resemblance to the anecdotes Haliburton published in Traits of American Humour and The Americans At Home, his two anthologies of American humour, and Stephen himself sometimes sounds more like a Ring-tailed Roarer than a Bluenose, as the following indicates:

> I am not a man that's easily darnted. A feller that's had a fair stand-up fight with a she-bear weighing six hundred weight, and nothing but a jack-knife in his fist to defend himself with, as I have, and killed her too - ay, and skinned her arterwards, don't deserve to be called a coward, I know.[67]

Haliburton thus was able to provide Nova Scotians with a new type of humour, humour which in The Old Judge could pass for "genuine Canadian humour", and which could serve as a basis for future development within the tradition. The few Canadians who ever read it did not see the difference between it and the flagrantly American Clockmaker, and it was ignored.

Meanwhile, American humour, which had already adopted Sam Slick, now annexed Haliburton's "genuine Canadian humour", thereby achieving for American literature what Dr. Matthews calls "the beginning of a true integration of the British and North American traditions".[68] American humour also annexed the outstanding characteristic of "genuine Canadian humour", the "cosmic view", which had made its last appearance in American humour - and even then, only occasionally - in the works of Washington Irving. The new humour of the United States depended upon dialect, comic characterization, exaggerated nonsense, and slapstick, generally with the sole aim of "getting laughs", instead of setting up a norm and playfully satirizing departures from it, as New England humour had done. After Haliburton, such American humorists as Bret Harte and Mark Twain made use of the "cosmic vision", setting up as ideals such old American ideas as "the New Jerusalem" and the "Child of Nature", satirizing the departures from them, and even gently poking fun at the ideals themselves - perhaps most strikingly in The Innocents Abroad. American humour, in turn, offered this tradition to the novel, and in such novels as Huckleberry Finn, The American, and Main Street it is most clearly seen. There can thus be no more important nor controversial name in North American literature than Haliburton's, for, not only was his work "the first genuine contribution of Canadian letters to literature in English,[69] but also it hastened the coming of age of American fiction. That his work came to figure prominently in the literature of the people he detested, vilified, and caricatured, is richly ironic; that his countrymen could reject what he offered is almost tragic and demands explanation.

PART II

NOVA SCOTIA'S REJECTION OF HALIBURTON

Chapter II

EARLY LIFE AND CAREER IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

To begin to account for the rejection by Nova Scotians of the great literary contribution of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, one must first turn to his life and works and their impact upon his countrymen. Chittick, in a statement which could almost serve as an abstract of his entire thesis, but which does not take into account - or seems rather to contradict - what he later said about The Old Judge,[1] said:

> To account for so profound a failure of so popular a writer to produce some decided effect on the work of succeeding practitioners of his own art, by saying, as has been said, that he wrote in advance of his age, is to ignore the most obvious fact of his career as an author, namely this, that he was never the mere humorist but always and chiefly the political satirist, and therefore that his literary output was wholly the product of his own age and belonged to no other. His fate was precisely that of all political satirists - and of most of their victims. Once the party issues that had prompted him to speak had disappeared, his influence vanished also. There could be no second Haliburton just as there could be no second Joseph Howe. When the "family compact" in Nova Scotia was finally broken, and the struggle for responsible government definitely won, the leading ideas of both reformer and anti-reformer passed out of currency, and Haliburton's as voicing the creed of a forever lost cause were discounted the sooner. With his ideas grown valueless, Haliburton had next to nothing left to hand on to those who displaced him. All that remained of his satire that could possibly be of service to others was its manner, and in that there was in reality very little to attract attention.[2]

Much of what Chittick said was completely true, and need not be said again. But to say that Haliburton was "never the mere humorist but always and chiefly the political satirist" is only occasionally - and even then, only partly - true. One need not, of course, go to the opposite extreme with J.D. Logan, who said of Haliburton, "As the first systematic humorist of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, his work is not for an age but for the world and for all time",[3] for the truth lies somewhere in between. Haliburton like Swift was both the political satirist and the true humorist - and suffered a similar fate. Through allowing himself to become involved in controversies which now seem trivial, through being constantly misunderstood, and through becoming in the public eye the foil of the province's hero, Joseph Howe, Haliburton became Nova Scotia's scapegoat, the enemy of the people, and hence reaped the reward not only of the political satirist, but also of the traitor and enemy to all progress - banishment, both from the thoughts of his countrymen, and from the shores of his native land. To understand how this could come about, some knowledge of Nova Scotia's social, cultural, and political background, which produced both the man and the issues he fought, is imperative.

Nova Scotia, politically, culturally, and socially, had safely passed out of the colonial stage and was well advanced into the provincial stage by the time that Haliburton's first humorous work, the Clockmaker, appeared in 1836. Like the people of the American Colonies just before the American Revolution, the majority of Nova Scotians (although they were intensely loyal to Great Britain) were incensed at Britain's indiscriminate and seemingly unnecessary meddling in the internal affairs of the colony. To use Haliburton's analogy of the parent and child, Nova Scotia was no longer a child, and, in her adolescence, she resented being treated like one. The parent, Great Britain, and more especially the Colonial Office, seemed unable to realize, from the many indications of unrest, that changes would have to be made if the parent-child relationship were to be continued. Canadian Confederation, when it finally did come, was just one of the many solutions to Nova Scotia's dilemma that had been suggested: Nova Scotia might have joined the United States; she might have become a small independent state; she might have become one of many small English-speaking nations in a British empire. The Nova Scotians of the time maintained that they were more of a distinctive people than were the inhabitants of any of the other British North American colonies, and demanded that some solution to their problem be found.

The similarity between mid-nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and the pre-revolutionary American colonies was very marked. The American Revolution had been, in many respects, a Civil War. The struggle had been not so much between the armies of England and the new republic, as between the two dominant classes of American society, the privileged and the non-privileged. It had been a war of personal interest. Those who had stood to gain from the continuance of the British connection had assisted Britain, and those whose interests would have been better served by the severance of the connection had sided with the republic. Those whose interests had demanded that they remain neutral, had done so, and they had been invariably victimized. Nova Scotia received over thirty thousand Loyalist refugees from the first group, and a smaller number of the victimized neutrals.

The Loyalists in Nova Scotia were the second group of New Englanders the colony had received. Unlike the immigrants who had come to take over the lands of the dispossessed Acadians in 1755, most of the Loyalists were strongly monarchical, and it was not long before they managed to deprive their predecessors of most of the power and privilege in the colony. Whereas the Loyalists who fled to the Canadas were, for the most part, from the lower classes, and settled on the frontier, those who migrated to Nova Scotia had wealth, rank or professional status, and education, and came to an already settled colony. They were rewarded by the British for their recent loyalty and sacrifice, and quickly they absorbed the old party of power and privilege.

Unfortunately, by Haliburton's time, Nova Scotian society was top-heavy, and the non-privileged class was too small to support such a large upper class. This was the reason for the class struggle which in many respects resembled the one which had been so recently and so unsatisfactorily settled by Civil War in the American colonies. The Nova Scotian aristocracy, like the recently annihilated American, was Tory, and its Toryism was based on privilege rather than on political philosophy. The Church of England was securely established, and those who desired advancement quickly associated themselves with it, regardless of what their religious affiliations had been in the American colonies. Entrance to King's College, whose graduates almost automatically received the choice positions in the colony, was restricted to those who would subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church. As King's was the only institution to be supported out of public funds, there was open resentment voiced by the Presbyterian Scots.

The power and privilege of the aristocracy, however, was not the only reason for the internal disharmony of Nova Scotia. As in the American colonies, there was also a conflict between the colony and the mother country, due mainly to the traditional colonial hatred of taxation without representation. Here too the colonists' grievances were trifling, though their importance was blown up by "popular politicians". England provided far more than the colonists paid for, but still, in theory, there should have been representation. It was this issue alone which caused members of the aristocracy occasionally to espouse the popular cause, and, to a large extent, it explains why both Haliburton and Howe took seats in the lower house of the legislature as elected representatives of the people.

Haliburton, by birth, belonged to the Tory aristocracy. In 1763, his grandfather, William Haliburton, had removed from Newport to Windsor in the heart of the Acadian territory and occupied a choice and fertile piece of land. A wealthy lawyer, he quickly had increased his holdings and had become a Judge of Probate. Haliburton's father, W.H.O. Haliburton, also had been a lawyer. In the Nova Scotian House of Assembly, he had proved himself a strict constitutionalist, and, despite his marked Tory prejudice, had displayed a willingness to check any unconstitutional abuses of power and patronage by the Governor's Council. He had not, however, been above taking personal advantage of his influence and became one of the judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in 1824. His son, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, born in 1796, was sent first to an Anglican grammar school and then to King's, after which he studied law. In 1826, like his father before him, he entered the House of Assembly where he too criticized the Tory-controlled upper house, the Legislative Council, for its unconstitutional abuse of power. Always one of the most outspoken men in the House, he was often the leader of the opposition to His Majesty's Council. Unfortunately for his popularity, he did not always champion the popular cause, and for this reason a closer scrutiny of his career in the House is indicated.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, as an elected member of the House of Assembly, was, in many respects, in an impossible position. By birth, he was a member of the privileged class whose policy for the government of the colony was opposed by his constituents. When he first entered the House in 1826, the traditional conflict between the two houses had resumed. Formerly, the struggle for power had been between the Loyalists and the powerful pre-Loyalists. Now it was between the largely Loyalist aristocracy, controlling the colony through its Legislative Council, and the people. In the House of Assembly, there were really no clear-cut party lines until just after Haliburton resigned his seat in 1829. Before this, men of Haliburton's class had entered political life almost as a test of their ability. If they were able legislators, they succeeded, regardless of how they voted on certain issues, for members were not necessarily expected to espouse the cause of the people whom they represented. Unfortunately for Haliburton, party lines were just beginning to be drawn, and it was becoming necessary for a member to declare his allegiance either to the hitherto unrepresented people, or to His Majesty's Council, the voice of the aristocracy. Haliburton was in the House at this crucial period and was one of those who did not realize that the duties of a representative were changing to those of a delegate. His choice of sides in debates rested either on what was constitutionally correct, or on what he thought was best for Nova Scotia - and in that order. This sometimes made him appear an advocate of reform, and at other times a supporter of the Council, and hence of the status quo. He was charged with inconsistency by both sides, and was called a traitor to Nova Scotia by the emerging party of reform, soon to be headed by his close friend, Joseph Howe.

A very few examples will serve to illustrate the impossibility of Haliburton's support of both the Royal prerogative and the best interests of the colony without being called a traitor both to the people and to his own class. His support of the endowment of Pictou Academy, a college set up to provide an education for dissenters comparable to that provided Anglicans at King's, had involved him, as had an earlier fight for state-supported public schools, in a direct clash with the Council, whose members were devoted to the continuance of the official supremacy of the Church of England. To Haliburton, at stake in this issue was the House of Assembly's constitutional right to decide the disbursement of public funds, a right which the Council was denying it. Thus, as the Council had usurped its constitutional prerogatives and abused its powers, Haliburton attacked it viciously. However, had members of the Assembly attacked the Council, or the Crown, when either was only fulfilling its constitutional prerogatives, Haliburton would have opposed them. In 1827, for example, Haliburton opposed "a bill for relieving debtors from unjust arrest and imprisonment" on the grounds that "a great leading principle of the law" was involved, a principle which "had come down to us from remote antiquity". He continued:

> The system of English jurisdiction was one of the noblest structures which the wisdom of man had ever been able to rear, and when he looked at its beautiful proportions and recollected that our forefathers had lived and flourished under it, he did not like to see its foundations shaken.[4]

With like eloquence, in 1828 he opposed a resolution protesting the Imperial Government's reimposition of quit rents - not because he approved of them, but because the Crown's constitutional rights were being interfered with. In summary, one might say that Haliburton was consistent in being a strict constitutionalist first, and then a supporter of popular reform when no constitutional issues were at stake, but this was not the kind of consistency that Nova Scotians were now demanding. Haliburton thus could never have been popular as a legislator, for he refused to take a permanent stand, either for the people, or for the Crown. He only angered or dismayed the representatives of both.

There is no point in presenting a lengthy justification of Haliburton's stand in the House of Assembly on any one of the issues which he supported or opposed. Whether or not he was really consistent in terms of modern politics is of no importance. What matters is that Haliburton gained the reputation of being a dangerous opponent, and because he was thought inconsistent, he made enemies. There was, therefore, a general sigh of relief when, in 1829, on his father's death, Haliburton was appointed to succeed him in the Court of Common Pleas. It was after Haliburton gave up his active political career, and retired to the bench that he developed the theoretical basis for his political beliefs. It was also while he was a Judge of Common Pleas, travelling a circuit, that most of his humorous sketches were conceived and written, and it is to them that one must now turn to discover the reasons for his growing unpopularity in Nova Scotia.

Chapter III

THE CLOCKMAKER "FIRST AND SECOND SERIES"

When Haliburton wrote the first series of The Clockmaker in 1835 there had been a depression in Nova Scotia for almost fifteen years, caused largely by the war of 1812. The lower classes in Nova Scotia suddenly had become prosperous during the war, and, at its end, when their markets had fallen off, they had refused to give up the luxuries they had been enjoying. Soon there were great numbers of debtors among the lower classes. A series of bad crop years had not helped. The Nova Scotians seemed whipped and had given up trying to repair the damage. Haliburton's aim in writing The Clockmaker was the same as Dr. McCulloch's had been in The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure: to arouse the unfortunate Nova Scotians so that the depression would end. Haliburton believed that no great political changes were needed to accomplish this end. What was needed was an increased awareness by Nova Scotians of the advantageous location of their province with respect to Britain, the United States, and the West Indies, a greater appreciation of the natural resources of the province, and the initiative to develop these resources so that the depression could be ended. These aims were shared by Joseph Howe and, thus, The Clockmaker was first published in Howe's Novascotian. The hero of the book, Sam Slick, was a rascal and braggart, and was in many respects morally reprehensible and he was presented as such. At the same time, though, he was shrewd, ambitious, self-reliant, frugal, industrious, and immensely practical. He could point out to Nova Scotians to what use a Yankee would put their natural resources and the excellent location of the province. A Yankee would not wait for the government to do all the things that were necessary, but would begin on his own.

Sam Slick put his finger on Nova Scotia's main weakness when he pointed out that garrulity had replaced industry:

> Do you know the reason monkeys are no good? because they chatter all day long - so do the niggers - so do the blue-noses of Nova Scotia - it's all talk, and no work; now, with us it's all work, and no talk ... a man can't work and talk too.[1]

In the chapter entitled "The Blowin' Time", Sam Slick even more effectively pointed this out: "Atwixt spring and fall work is 'blowin' time",[2] a period when Nova Scotians did nothing but talk, with the following result:

> When the spring comes, and the fields are dry enough to be sowed, they all have to be plowed, 'cause fall rains wash the lands too much for fall ploughin'. Well, the ploughs have to be mended and sharpened, 'cause what's the use of doin' that afore it's wanted? Well, the wheat gets in too late, and then comes rust; but whose fault is that? Why, the climate, to be sure, for Nova Scotia ain't a bread country.[3]

In the United States, said Sam, it was different:

> There was no 'blowin' time' there, you may depend. We ploughed all the fall, for dear life. In winter we thrashed, made and mended tools, went to market and mill, and got our firewood and rails. As soon as frost was gone, came sowin' and plantin', weedin' and hoein'; then harvest and spreadin' manure, fencin' and ditchin'; and then turn to and fall ploughin' agin. It all went round like a wheel without stoppin'.[4]

Nova Scotians, Sam said, spent too much time "blowin' " about politics. He pointed out the real insignificance of the House of Assembly and the Council. The British government controlled all but the relatively unimportant internal affairs of the colony, and the Nova Scotians, as in a comic opera, behaved as if the House of Assembly's business was earth-shaking. The following remarks are characteristic:

> If folks would only give over talkin' about that everlastin' House of Assembly and Council, and see to their farms, it would be better for 'em, I guess; for, after all, what is it? ... why, jist a decent Grand Jury. They make their presentment of little money votes to mend these everlastin' rottin' little wooden bridges, to throw a poultice of mud once a year on the roads, and then take a 'blowin' time' of three months and go home. The littler folks be, the bigger they talk.[5]

There was very little in the first series of The Clockmaker to hurt its author's popularity at home, for as Haliburton admitted, "it wipes up the blue-noses considerable hard and don't let off the Yankees so very easy neither".[6] Even the British were not spared:

> Whoever gave them the name of John Bull knew what he was about, I tell you; for they are bull-necked, bull-headed fellows, I vow; sulky, ugly-tempered, vicious critters, a-pawin' and a-roarin' the whole time, and plaguey unsafe unless well watched. They are as headstrong as mules, and as conceited as peacocks.[7]

Although the Nova Scotians received most of Sam's abuse, Haliburton was careful to make his criticism constructive, and was wise enough to give his countrymen something to laugh at, other than at themselves and their foibles. Haliburton took care to attack neither side in the political arena, and all that he could be criticized for was his advice to the people to forget politics and political change. The latter, for which he had a reasonable motive, is best expressed in Sam's own words: "My rule is, I'd rather keep a critter whose faults I do know, than change him for a beast whose faults I don't know".[8] This could provide ammunition for only the most rabid radical, and it is safe to say that by 1837, there was almost none of that breed in Nova Scotia. Even Joseph Howe, who later was to become the leader of the party of reform, had not yet decided to take an active part in politics, and was still in the process of trying to decide which side he would take, if any. Chittick found only one indication of opposition to the first series of The Clockmaker - a letter signed "Julian", which he quotes in its entirety.[9] "Julian" was not yet sure of the author's identity, and was just as obviously anti-Howe as he was anti-Haliburton. It is thus safe to say of the first Clockmaker that it was avidly read in Nova Scotia, that it made its author few enemies, and that it enabled Nova Scotians to bask in the glory of their unknown author's international acclaim.

The first series of The Clockmaker owed at least part of its immunity from criticism to Haliburton's avoidance of political controversy; nor could it be said that Haliburton was "chiefly the political satirist". However, if he was to interest his native audience in his subsequent books, he had to do more than repeat the maxims of the first series. He needed new ammunition. As early as the first chapter of the second series published in 1838, he revealed that he was prepared to tread on dangerous ground, and wrote of Sam:

> He is well informed and quite at home on all matters connected with the machinery of the American Government, a subject of much interest to me. The explanations I receive from him enable me to compare it with the British and Colonial constitutions, and throw much light on the speculative projects of our reformers.[10]

Joseph Howe, Haliburton's old friend, was one of "our reformers", was one of the members of the House of Assembly advocating the complete reform of the Council, and was sending an address to the Throne to make the people's grievances heard. Some of these grievances were very similar to those which Haliburton himself had presented in the House, and many more protested against the constitutional but wholly unrepresentative council. The people, the reformers claimed, had no constitutional means of checking the Council, except by direct appeal to the Throne, and this method could be effective only if used sparingly.

A brief summary of the people's grievances, and of the action that Howe took to redress them, is all that one requires in order to see why Haliburton's opinions, expressed in the second series of The Clockmaker, could only detract from his popularity at home. The British Parliament, responsible for all external affairs of the colony, appointed both the Governor and the Governor's council, by whom all internal legislation passed by the House of Assembly had to be approved. Only the House of Assembly was elective, and there was a limited franchise. Thus, in practice, the majority of the people had, by the constitution, very little control of the government of the colony, all of which constituted a "grievance". In addition, the Council's assumption of control of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers, was unconstitutional. Haliburton himself had often pointed this out, both in the House, and in

An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (1829).[11] The Council, according to the constitution, should have had only those powers which corresponded to its being one (although the superior) of the two branches of the legislature. Instead, it had gained effective control of the public purse, and thereby had the power to halt all public business until its demands were met. Through its inclusion of the Chief Justice among its members, it had also gained control of the courts. In addition to these abuses, it had early declared that its meetings would be completely closed to the public. Joseph Howe, in what was almost his first House of Assembly action, attacked the secret sessions, and a resolution calling for public sessions was sent to the Council, and quickly returned unanswered. The Assembly then drew up its famous twelve resolutions, which the Council tried to block, and sent them as an "Address to the Throne on the State of the Colony". The Crown ordered the division of the Council into two representative branches, Executive and Legislative, returned the Chief Justice to the bench, and restricted the Bishop to the Legislative Council, which was to be "representative" rather than elective. The second series of The Clockmaker appeared the same year as these battles were being fought. It was only natural that tempers would be hot, especially when the Council and the Governor had shown bad faith by neglecting to execute the Crown's demands. It was also only natural that Haliburton, who appeared now to support the Council in all it did, should rapidly become unpopular.

In addition to the heated political controversy in Nova Scotia, there were sufficient empire-shaking events going on elsewhere to guarantee the Clockmaker's author a warm reception. The second series of the Clockmaker appeared shortly after the rebellion of 1837 in Canada, and just after the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne. Colonial radicals naturally were most active, and colonial Tories were most concerned for the continuance of the British connection upon which their high positions depended. Party lines were being drawn, and all potential protagonists had to choose sides. It was no time for a neutral, non-partisan observer to be writing, and this is what Haliburton attempted to be. He was to adopt the same type of consistency that had made him unpopular in the House of Assembly, and was destined to win only the hatred of the two contesting parties whose differences he was attempting to resolve.

History affords many examples to prove that Haliburton, as an impartial neutral at such a time, need not have become the enemy of the people. It would be relevant to refer here to two of these, because both demonstrate how a political thinker can communicate successfully to a huge reading public and thereby change the thinking of a nation. The first of these is Edmund Burke. His Reflections on the French Revolution and his Appeal From the New to the Old Whigs, apart from discrediting the extremists of both sides, generated a nation-wide patriotism in England which strengthened the four-fold English political system of Church, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy which Burke wanted continued. Burke was considered a traitor by his own party, the Whigs, and was wrongly accepted by the Tories as a champion of their ideals. He set before the people the frightening example of France, and, by associating the English revolutionary societies with the French - in itself a gross exaggeration of the facts - and by linking British ultra Toryism with the deposed French aristocracy, he guaranteed the success of his own moderate position.

The second example is the humorist, Hugh Brackenridge, who might well be called the American Burke. His plea was the same as Burke's - moderation. His task, however, was much easier, because the American Revolution had all but annihilated the Tories. The danger was now from the ultra-radical ideas.

There was in reality very little "pulling down" or demolition of existing institutions, but Brackenridge was genuinely alarmed at American reluctance to build up and strengthen what were left. The power of the courts, for example, was insufficient to guarantee law and order. Education was scorned, and religion neglected. Democracy, as Brackenridge saw it, would work only if there was an even balance between the legislative, judicial, and executive functions. The power belonged with the people, but there obviously had to be a series of balances and checks. Innovation in government had to be abandoned. The people were not capable of determining what form of government was best for them, and could be trusted only to select a worthy representative from a pre-chosen body of qualified men, and it was men of this calibre alone who could have anything to do with changes in government. Brackenridge realized that this plan would create a governing class, but felt that such a class, whose membership was determined by ability and personal merit, would not be undemocratic. The class conflict would guarantee progress. Brackenridge's success in convincing his countrymen, like Burke's before him, was due to a large extent to his ability to avoid accurate identification of his opponents. Just as Burke had attacked England's revolutionaries and die-hard Tories, and had enabled the majority of his countrymen to adopt a moderate position without loss of dignity, Brackenridge attacked an almost imaginary group of anarchists, and thus allowed even the extremists of both sides to adopt more moderate views. Both Burke and Brackenridge emerged from the conflict almost as national heroes. Certainly the task Haliburton chose for himself should have won him respect and popularity, rather than the hatred and distrust of his countrymen!

All that the first Clockmaker contained which could have hurt its author was its belittlement of colonial politics - the cosmic view - and its advice to Nova Scotians that they abjure politics and promise-making politicians and see to their farms, rather than wait for the government to make them rich. In the second series, and with greater provocation, Haliburton continued to belittle the politicians and the "great doin's over to the Assembly". He started to ridicule specific issues as well, always trying, as he had tried in the House, to make the Nova Scotians see themselves and their affairs in a true light, to make it possible for them to avoid inventing issues and taking extreme stands. For example, Joseph Howe and his party of reform had won what they termed a major victory when the Council finally was forced to abandon its secret sessions. Haliburton had this to say on the matter:

> "They tell me, too, that the Council doors are to be opened, so that we can hear the debates. That will be a great privilege, won't it?" "Very", said the Clockmaker. "It will help the farmer amazin'ly that; I should count that a great matter. They must be worth hearin', them counsellors. It's quite a treat to hear the members in the House, particularly when they talk about bankin', currency, constitution, bounties, and such knotty things; they go so deep into these matters, and know so much about 'em, it's quite edifyin'. I've larnt more new things, and more things I niver knew afore, in half an hour in the Assembly, than ever I heerd afore in my life, and I expect the other House will be quite as wise." [12]

Haliburton's real target was not the popular issues - for he could see the injustice of such "goin's-on" as secret sessions - but the effect on the ordinary Nova Scotian of an interest and concern in colonial politics. The issues were too insignificant and petty for a farmer, who had a full-time job just keeping out of debt to be concerning himself with them. The party leaders were to blame for making issues out of nothing and disturbing the colony's tranquillity:

> I wonder if folks will ever larn that politicks [sic] are the seed mentioned in Scriptur' that fell by the roadside, and the fowls came and picked them up. They don't benefit the farmer, but they feed them hungry birds, the party leaders. [13]

The party leaders were worse than their followers because, without them, there would be no issues, and hence, no popular politicians. The popular politicians were really no more than "gulls", as Sam's interview with one of them indicates:

> "How do you go - Tory or Radical?" "Oh, pop'lar side, of course!", said Mr. Buck. "McKenzie and Papineau have opened my eyes, I tell you. I had no notion afore our Government was so rotten. I'm for elective councils,

> short parliaments, ballot, universal suffrage, and agin all officials ... But I don't onderstand these matters enough; I'm afeerd to probe 'em to the bottom. Perhaps you'll be so good as to advise me a little." .... "Well, ... first of all, there's the Church; that's a grand target ... True liberality, as far as my experience goes, lies in praisin' every other church, and abusin' of your own ... Then, there's church lands: talk about dividin' them among the sects, givin' them to schools, and so on. ... Then there's judges - another grand mark - and councillors and rich men; call 'em the little big men of a little colony, the would-be aristocracy, the official gang, the favoured few; ... Officials shouldn't be paid at all; the honour is enough for 'em. A patriot sarves his country for nothin' ... Then there's the college. Says you: It's for the aristocracy, to keep up the distinctions, to rivet our fetters, to make the rich richer, and the strong stronger ... Call all changes reform, whether it makes it better or not. Anything you want to alter call an abuse. All that oppose you call anti-reformers, upholders of abuses, bigots, sycophants, office-seeking Tories; say they live by corruption, by oppressin' the people, and that's the reason they oppose all change." [14]

This, it will be remembered, appeared shortly after the Rebellion of 1837, and soon earned Haliburton the very names he predicted that those who opposed reform would receive. In dealing with elective Councils, one of the biggest political issues of the day, Haliburton gave a rational criticism of the idea itself:

> "It is thought it would give the upper branches", said I, "more community of feeling, more sympathy, and more weight with the country at large; that being selected by the people, the people would have more confidence in them; and that more efficient and more suitable men would be chosen by the freeholders than by the Crown." "You would jist get the identical same sort o' critters", said he, "in the end, as the members of Assembly, if they were elected, and no better; they would be selected by the same judges of horse-flesh as t'other, and chose out o' the same flock. It would be the same breed of cattle at last ...... If there be any good in that 'are council at all, it is in their bein' placed above popular excitement, and subject to no influence but that of reason, and the fitness of things; chaps that have a considerable stake in the country, and don't buy their seats by pledges and promises - pledges that half the time ruin the country if they are kept, and always ruin the man that breaks 'em. It's better as it is in the hands of the Government. It's a safety-valve now, to let off the fume, the steam, and vapour generated by the heat of the lower house. If you make that branch elective, you put government right into the gap; and all difference of opinion, instead of bein' between the two branches as it is now - that is, in fact, between the people themselves - would then occur in all cases between the people and the governor. [15]

He frankly admitted that he believed the colonial politicians to be both irresponsible and dishonest, and, following in the footsteps of Brackenridge and Burke, he implied that they were planning to break the Colony's ties with Britain, and that advocating elective councils was the first step in their plan:

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> Afore long, that would either seal up the voice of the executive, so that they darn't call their souls their own, or make them unpopular; and whenever the executive once gets fairly into that 'are pickle, there's an eend of the colony, and a Declaration of Independence would soon foller. Papinor knows that, and that's the reason he's so hot for it; he knows what it would lead to in the eend. [sic] [16]

Behind Haliburton's support of appointed councils was his idea of a system of checks and balances:

> Elective councils are inconsistent with colonial dependence...... In all mixed governments like your'n, the true rule is never to interfere with pop'lar rights established. Amend what is wrong, concede what is right, and do what is just always; but presarve the balance of the constitution for your life. One pound weight only taken off the executive, and put on t'other eend, is like a shift of the weight on a well-balanced plank till it won't play true no more, but keeps a-slidin' and a-slidin' down by leetle and leetle to the heaviest eend, till it all stays down to one side, and won't work no longer. It's a system of checks now; ..... There's no tyranny on airth equal to the tyranny of a majority; ...... Make no organic changes. [17]

This curious admixture of Burke and J.S. Mill is as complete and as characteristic an expression of Haliburton's political beliefs as is to be found anywhere in his humorous writings.

Haliburton, as the views outlined above indicate, was becoming markedly distrustful of democracy. Most likely this was due to what he had seen of the results of democracy in the United States, but, whatever the cause, as he grew older, he placed less and less faith in government by the people, and more and more in a paternalistic form of government. As far as he was concerned, responsible government meant government by responsible individuals, and those who shouldered the burden of responsibility should be rewarded with rank and privileges. His position was almost identical to what Burke's or Brackenridge's would have been had they been colonists. But, to the people, it looked alarmingly like the position adopted by most colonial Tories. Haliburton was attempting to use reason, and the people for whom he was writing, because they could not understand fully what was being said, misunderstood him. They thought him an extreme Tory, despite his assertion that he considered himself a moderate:

> The bane of the colonies, as of England, it appears to me, is ultra opinion. The cis-Atlantic ultra Tory is a nondescript animal, as well as the ultra Radical. Neither have the same objects or the same principles with those in the mother country, whose names they assume. Amidst the clamours of those noisy disputants, the voice of the thinking and moderate portion of the community is drowned, and governments but too often seem to forget the existence of this more numerous, more respectable, and more valuable class.[18]

This passage, as well as showing Haliburton employing the psychology of Burke and Brackenridge, demonstrates why the average Nova Scotian misunderstood Haliburton. He had obviously begun writing for the middle class, as Dr. Matthews has pointed out:

> Haliburton concerned himself with the middle classes in Nova Scotia: the educated, the merchants, and the yeomanry. Unlike Brackenridge, he did not call upon every "Tom, Dick, and Harry" as the hope of the colony. His was not an emotional appeal to the masses, but a reasoned plea for each member of society to play his part in the station of life in which he found himself. Inevitably, he found his greatest audience among the middle classes.[19]

This statement needs only to be slightly qualified, but it is a most important qualification. Haliburton's writings had been for every "Tom, Dick, and Harry", but, with the appearance of the second Clockmaker, it became increasingly obvious that his work was no longer for "the chimney piece of the cottage". His period of chiefly political satire was just beginning, and many of the less educated people, who had enjoyed the first series, understandably lost interest in the involved political discussions of the second series. Apart from boring them with things they could not understand, Haliburton lost their favour through appearing to be a Tory opposed to all change, to popular politicians, and to popular issues. He, who had recently succeeded in popularizing Nova Scotian humour, was now turning part of his audience away from it, and making it appeal chiefly to the middle classes. The rest of his audience was puzzled by the book. His political enemies felt that they were being ridiculed, but did not yet know what to do about it. The editor of the Novascotian, reviewing the second series, after publicly thanking Haliburton for the interest he was raising abroad in the colony, went on to say that he thought that Haliburton's ideas were really not consistent, and continued: "we would not be understood to concur in all the opinions of the 'Clockmaker', particularly on political subjects ... " [20] This attitude, according to Chittick, was typical. Thus, although Haliburton had adopted a moderate and reasoned position in political affairs, he had already given his countrymen cause for their later indifference to him, and even for the hatred that was soon to swell up against him. He definitely had ceased to be the reigning favourite of Nova Scotian literature.

CHAPTER IV

HALIBURTON AND THE DURHAM REPORT

In the first Clockmaker, Haliburton had been able to avoid becoming involved in debate over political issues, both because of their relative insignificance, and because they posed little threat to the tranquillity of the colony. He had been able to set up as a norm the stable society that still existed in Nova Scotia, and he had gently ridiculed departures from this norm. By the time of the second Clockmaker, the issues had become more important, the departures from the norm had become more numerous, and his norm, a tranquil society, was itself being threatened by the rebellion of 1837 which he had predicted and tried to prevent in the second Clockmaker by ridiculing extremists and offering the people a middle road. Haliburton's predictions regarding the rebellion's outcome and its leaders' fates, though surprisingly accurate, had failed to influence the course of events in the Canadas only because of a delay in publication. Dismayed at his failure to prevent the rebellion, but feeling justified by the success of his predictions to continue his war against agitators, Haliburton determined to take what action he could to restore the colonies' tranquillity. He suspected - rightly - that Lord Durham, instead of punishing the rebels and restoring order to the colonies, would, in trying to appease them, make concessions that would destroy tranquillity for ever. He therefore devoted his next four works to a desperate attempt to forestall the coming of responsible government, and used every means - both fair and foul - at his disposal. His crusade, of course, was doomed to failure, but it succeeded in destroying whatever popular following he still had in Nova Scotia, and seriously hurt his reputation abroad. In 1839, Haliburton published The Bubbles of Canada, and A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham.

These works, being strictly political, have no real place in a study of Haliburton's humorous works, save for the fact that they gave Haliburton the "unenviable reputation of handling it [the Durham Report] more severely than anyone else".[1] Chittick describes and quotes large sections from these works, and quotes copiously from the reviews of them, sufficiently showing that in the Canadas, in Nova Scotia, and in England, they were considered to be the height of indiscretion in their bitter denunciation of Lord Durham. In Nova Scotia, the works prompted attacks against Haliburton's person in the press in which, as Chittick points out, "Every fact of his public record as a politician, judge, and humorist, that could possibly contribute to the completeness of his discomfiture was used to lash him into contempt." [2]

The first of these works, The Bubbles of Canada, was written shortly before Durham's report appeared. Haliburton, fully realizing that the aim of Durham's mission had been to recommend policies for the future governing of the British North American Colonies, felt that the suggestions of this radical peer would, to ease temporary discontent, make concessions to the reformers that would seriously weaken the British connection. Thus, he tried to discredit the report, and its author, before it appeared, and prepared, in The Bubbles, a documentary history of the Canadas in which he developed the thesis that the English settlers - not the French - were the aggrieved party. As Chittick describes it, "it was little more than a plea for a policy of force and repression in dealing with the French-Canadians, and an excuse for a series of vicious comments on all phases of British liberalism".[3] Such a document could only incense Joseph Howe and the majority of Nova Scotians who had hoped to realize their goal of responsible government, and who had counted on Durham's recommendations to aid them. Haliburton, through the violence of his attacks, naturally failed to communicate successfully his main message, that the colonies were not yet ready for confederation, and that a premature confederation would encourage speculation in and experimentation with new theories of government which would inevitably bring about colonial independence.

When Durham's report appeared, it was evident that Durham believed also that colonial federation would be premature, and hence its author advocated only legislative union between Upper and Lower Canada. It also appeared that he realized the full value of the colonies, and aimed at the strengthening of their ties with Britain. However, he also believed that the ties would be stronger if the unnecessary grievances were removed. A cabinet, formed from the majority party, could handle most internal matters without arousing anger against the Crown's official representatives. This advocacy of responsible government touched off Haliburton's Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham which demonstrated that Haliburton had misinterpreted Durham's report, and especially those parts of it in which it was evident that his and Durham's aims were identical. It achieved nothing, and only made Haliburton more unpopular, as the following announcement in the Acadian Recorder, quoted by Chittick, indicates:

> To Correspondents - 'Peter Pindar', 'A Man', 'No more at present' (a dialogue), 'I Smell a Rat', 'January Snow', and several others, all aimed at Judge T.C. Haliburton, are received.
>
> Our correspondents must excuse us for denying the publication of all their contributions; it would be highly indiscreet, we think, to allow our columns to be wholly monopolized by one subject, besides some of them make use of personalities utterly too gross and bitter for our acceptance. [4]

Fortunately, a more reasoned and better tempered criticism of Durham's report was contained in both The Letter-Bag of the Great Western (1840) and the third series of the Clockmaker (1840). Both these works appeared before the recommendations of Lord Durham were adopted by Lord John Russell, and executed by Lord Sydenham, the new Governor General. Haliburton was still able to write in a spirit of confident optimism, and hold up the ideal of a well-regulated society, governed by a benevolent mother country, and concerned only with its own inhabitants' improvement of themselves and their province by hard work, economy, and ignoring politics. The Letter-Bag, a collection of letters supposedly written by the passengers and crew of the Great Western en route to America, enabled Haliburton to give an impression of universality to the anti-Durham opinions he expressed. His burlesque of Durham's report (and especially that part of it in which Durham availed himself of Haliburton's An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia for information on the Atlantic colonies) was written in a spirit of good humour which Haliburton would have done well to employ not only in the Bubbles and the Reply, but also in the rest of Letter-Bag. The letter was supposedly written by a "Loco-Foco"[5] of New York who was in Britain, inquiring into the "state of the nation, the condition of the people, and the causes of discontent".[6] The Lower Island, or Ireland, was meant to represent Lower Canada, while the Upper Island, or England, represented Upper Canada, and Scotland, the Atlantic provinces. This "Loco-Foco", undoubtedly Durham himself, had for his chief study the ways and means for conciliating the "chartists", who, he thought, spoke for the majority of the people. The chartists complained that "the family compact" or "official gang" "co-operated for the purpose of oppressing the poor, of tyrannizing over the weak, of suppressing instruction, or rather confining it to themselves, and of ruining the nation".[7] "The object of the chartists is to render the House of Lords elective, and responsible to them, which universal suffrage will inevitably produce."[8] The rebellion of 1837 at "Birmingham" [Toronto] was ill timed, and the patriots should be pardoned because "politics are sacred".[9] The lands of the church and of "the official gang" should revert to the Crown. Scotland [Nova Scotia] had been misgoverned, as was proved by the fact that one of their popular authors [Haliburton himself] had tried to stimulate his countrymen to improve agriculture and build railroads. This author (the Loco-Foco said) has concealed what he thinks. "Although he has not said so, therefore, I conclude he thinks so, and boldly appeal to his writing in support of my theory and facts."[10] Haliburton used the analogy of the ship to ridicule further the idea which was set forth by Durham, of self-government in a colony:

> The same exclusive and compact feeling exists here as elsewhere. It will hardly be believed that the entire command of the ship is entrusted to the captain, that the seamen have no voice in the choice of this officer, nor any control over him - that he has a council composed of his lieutenants and mates, neither of whom are elected by the men, or amenable to them - and that the only responsibility that exists is to the directors, who do not live on board, seldom visit the ship, and actually reside in Bristol.[11]

However, despite the fact that this letter from the Letter-Bag was a refreshing change from the ill-humored political pamphlets, one must not lose sight of the fact that Haliburton was already unpopular in Nova Scotia, and that the effect of the Letter-Bag, despite its occasional good humor, could only be to corroborate the colonists' belief in Haliburton's bias, and to heighten their dislike of him, rather than to revive his popularity.

The Letter-Bag dealt not only with the Durham report. Indeed, only the one letter quoted had any direct bearing on it. Nor was Haliburton's satire directed only against the extreme political views of the day. He was constantly referring to his old theme that Nova Scotians should have nothing to do with politics, but should see to their farms. He had constantly told them to undertake only the internal improvements which were already their responsibility, rather than to try to increase their responsibilities. As one might expect, he used as an example the railroad between Halifax and Windsor, which he had often advocated and about which nothing yet had been done. All this was comparatively safe ground; the Nova Scotians had been receiving this kind of advice for twenty years. However, Haliburton, as usual, was unable to follow his own advice about leaving politics well enough alone. Unlike Burke and Brackenridge, he now abandoned all subtlety in dealing with those whose views differed from his own, and descended to name-calling:

> I abhor ultras of all parties .... A colonial super-ultra-high-Tory, is of the genus blockhead, species ape.... It has great powers of imitation, a strong voice, and the most extravagant conceit .... The ultra-low radical is of the species Vari .... It moves in large droves .... exerting a voice so loud and powerful so as to strike astonishment and terror into all those who hear it, resembling in this respect, as well as its habits, the radical and chartist in England ... Its habits are predatory, its appetites unclean and ravenous, and its general appearance disgusting. [12]

Haliburton claimed to abhor extremists of all parties, but a remark like the following would appear to place him with the most unpopular of the groups he was nominally attacking, the extreme Tories: "Show me a Tory, and I will show you a rational lover of freedom; show me a radical, and I will show you a tyrant." [13] Haliburton was obviously doing his best to see that "the author of that lively work, The Letter-Bag of the Great Western" should no longer "remain in obscurity in Nova Scotia" [14] although he probably did not mean the remark to be taken as irony! The party leaders, he said, were interested only in themselves, and they did not seem to realize that one of the requirements of responsible government was personal honesty. They stirred up issues, and then came along with the remedies. Haliburton had one of his travellers, a maid servant, remark:

> They has universal sufferig .... and I shall have a vote in course; but it's no use as I hear, for voting is considered low where it's so common, and there's no thanks where no one nose how you votes - so reform, it seems, is no great shakes arter all Lord John's flams about it. [15]

Haliburton further incensed the popular party by extolling Britain's generosity:

> Oppressed we never have been; coerced we never will be. Everything has been done that is either just or reasonable or liberal for us. We always have been, and still continue to be, the most favoured people in the British Empire. [16]

Such sentiments labelled as traitorous any advocacy of change in the relationship between the mother country and her colonies. Thus, despite its comparatively good humour, the Letter-Bag could not but augment Haliburton's unpopularity in Nova Scotia.

Before leaving the Letter-Bag, there is one more aspect which, although it will be discussed later in another context, must at least be mentioned here. This is what Chittick describes as Haliburton's "exhibition of a more than usual freedom in the matter of mild indecencies". [17] Chittick quotes the Acadian Recorder's announcement, which said in part:

> We affirm most positively that in our humble opinion, the circulation of the Letter-Bag will have a most injurious operation on the morals of all those who have the patience to peruse the letters. [18]

Joseph Howe, writing to Haliburton, in his explanation of why the second series of the Clockmaker had sold poorly, said:

> - but 1200 were disposed of in all the Colonies, when the novelty and excitement were highest, and before the publication of the letters to Durham, the Bubbles of Canada, and the Letter-Bag, which, it is the opinion of the Philadelphia Publishers, and of our canvassers, have done your reputation a serious injury on this continent, and, for the present, spoilt the sale of your works. This is their report - not my opinion, which need not be introduced here. The indecency of the latter work, more perhaps than the politics of either, is the reason given by both parties. [19]

In explaining the low sales of the Letter-Bag, Howe wrote:

> If it did not travel as widely as you wished, the reason has perhaps been stated by Lea & B. who write that "hundreds of them were sent back to them on account of its indecency", and my agents give me the same account of it. A friendly notice was given of the work in the Pearl, as it was thought more delicate than praise of it in a paper edited by the publisher, and a personal friend of the Author's. I presume that the work was well advertised in London, and yet Charles Archibald and others who came out afterwards, declared that it had suppressed itself there. [20]

Thus, it is clear that rightly or wrongly Haliburton's popularity suffered yet another set-back by the publication of the Letter-Bag.

It was in the third series of the Clockmaker that Haliburton most successfully presented his political views. Perhaps the urgency of the situation inspired him. At any rate, he and Sam Slick, and even the Reverend Mr. Hopewell, were at their eloquent best. For all three, as for the thinkers of the eighteenth century, there was beauty in order, and security in a well defined, well ordered social system. Institutions to society were as the hoops to a barrel. Without them, the staves, or segments of society, would fall into a heap. American society had discarded most of its "hoops", and with them had gone the strongest and most necessary of them all, religion. It was "the fault of them 'are good-for-nothin' philosophers, Jefferson, Franklin, and them new school people that fixed our Constitution and forgot to make Christianity the corner stone".[21] "We shall have more sects than the vanity of man has yet invented, and more enthusiasm and less piety, and more pretension and less morals, than any civilized nation on the face of the airth".[22] An established church alone could become a national one, and although the United States could never again (because of advanced sectarianism) have an established church, Nova Scotia had one and should keep it. Haliburton predicted that perhaps the Church of Rome would capitalize on American sectarianism and become the dominant church, and warned his countrymen that this could easily happen in the British Colonies, especially in the Canadas, where the Roman Catholics were already the largest single group. He went on to list the advantages or peculiar qualities of an established church, such as Nova Scotia's:

> - one that provides, at the expense of the state, for the religious education of the poor - one that inculcates good morals with sound doctrine - one that teaches folks to honor the King, at the same time that it commands him to fear God - one that preaches humility to the rich, deference to the poor, and exacts from both obedience to the laws .... one, in short, that makes people at once good men, good Christians, and good subjects.[23]

This example of his attitude to religion, for him the greatest of the institutions, will suffice to illustrate the importance he attached to all of society's institutions.

More and more, Haliburton tended to the ideal of the eighteenth-century English squire. It was this ideal which colored his every political utterance:

> What you want in the colonies is tranquillity, not change.... You may change constitutions for ever, but you cannot change man; he is still unaltered under every vicissitude - the same restless, discontented, dissatisfied animal .... The more he is indulged, the more intractable he becomes.[24]

Haliburton's analysis of man's nature could not have differed more from the optimistic view, held by Durham and the liberals, underlying their approach to the colonial problem. For them, concessions would remove grievances; for Haliburton they would necessitate yet further concessions. Haliburton's idea of the British Empire (which he further elaborated in *The Attaché*) assumed the necessity of continued colonial dependence and of British benevolence. Durham and Howe envisaged something new and different - an empire based on ties of sentiment and common heritage, rather than held together by strong constitutional bonds. Haliburton believed that colonial political independence would create another independent republic. Thus, the means to the end advocated by Howe and Durham could never have been acceptable to Haliburton, and vice versa. Haliburton analysed the colonial problem as follows:

> The object of statesmen, therefore, should be, not to study what changes should be conceded, but the causes that lead men to desire change. The restlessness in the colonies proceeds not from grievances, for, with the exception of a total want of patronage, they do not exist; but it is caused by an uneasiness of position, arising from a want of room to move in. There is no field for ambition, no room for the exercise of distinguished talent in the provinces.[25]

Haliburton cited the example of the American colonies to prove his point. Taxation without representation was the avowed cause of that revolution, but, he said: "If that which was put forth as the main one had been the real cause, when it ceased the rebellion would have ceased also".[26] Washington should have been offered a high position in one of the other colonies. Only petty local offices were available to men of great talent, such as himself and Howe. The army and navy, the Church, the British bar, the medical profession, the great trading establishments, and the Imperial Government never offered avenues of advancement to colonists, and, if this were remedied, colonial unrest would end. Unfortunately, the time for such remedial measures was long since past. Perhaps, as Haliburton himself had charged, Durham's early recommendation of concessions was a mistake, but the fact remained that Durham had advocated what the colonists had long been crying out for. The encouragement that Durham's support of their projects gave them made Haliburton's a lone voice crying in the wilderness. He was too late, and the only notice he received was from those who wanted to make his discomfiture at his failure still more complete.

In the third series of the Clockmaker, Haliburton continued his practice of heaping abuse on his adversaries, who could be defined as anybody who differed from him in his political beliefs. Every office-seeker called himself a patriot; "patriotism covered a multitude of sins",[27] and was "the trump card of a scoundrel".[28] There were, in all, five kinds of patriots, four of which were scoundrels,[29] and the last, "The True Patriot", "supports existin' institutions as a whole, but is willin' to mend or repair any part that is defective".[30] He is, in fact, a moderate Tory, unlike the "Fashionable ones" who "take their color from the object they look up to",[31] or the "Whole Hogs" "who won't hear of no change, good or bad, right or wrong, at no rate".[32] All that really motivated the liberals, he said, was the hope that they might get their share of the "goodies". Like all patriots, both true and false, they lived by the motto "dulce est pro patria mori", but for them, it meant as follows: " 'mori' the more I get, 'pro patria' by the country, 'dulce est' the sweeter it is".[33]

The Clockmaker, on earlier occasions, had been published too late to achieve a "scoop". Two of the changes which Howe and the liberals had long fought for, and which Haliburton fought against in the last Clockmaker, had been granted just before the book appeared. One of these issues was free ports, about which Haliburton had to say:

> Such is the loose, good-for-nothin' loafers, cheats, smugglers, and outlaws, Squire, the blue-noses are a-goin' to have among them, by their beautiful free ports, for the trade won't pay regular merchants, and, unless I am much mistakened, when once these bad shillin's are imported they'll find it no easy matter to drive them out of circulation agin'. The advantage is all on our side .... But I guess, when a man has a good field of his own, containin' all he wants in the way of feed, shelter, and water, he had better snug up his fences strong and tidy, and keep it to himself".[34]

Yet, the Nova Scotians had stupidly gone to all the trouble to have Parliament grant this concession to them, for Parliament of course controlled excise and customs. The second issue was, to Haliburton, even more stupid. The British received the customs revenue, and, hard pressed by the colonial reformers, had agreed to economize and combine the offices of excise and customs collector. The new officer, Haliburton claimed, would be too busy to catch the smugglers, the trade would go to the American smugglers, and Britain would have to bear the loss of revenue and markets. There was even the inference that the reformers were anti-British and pro-Yankee.[35] The publication of these views after the changes had been made. made them even more damaging to the liberal politicians than Haliburton had intended, and thus the reaction against him was correspondingly greater. Haliburton was rapidly becoming known as the enemy of all progress and of the people. He did not merit all the abuse he received, for his concern for the welfare of the colony was just as genuine as that of his adversaries. However, a public enemy was necessary, and Haliburton became the scapegoat.

Working without access to the early periodicals which Chittick had at his disposal, it has often proved necessary to use his excellent study as a source for contemporary criticism of Haliburton, his works, and his politics. Huge passages from the Acadian Recorder are quoted by Chittick as typical of the violent reaction to the third series of the Clockmaker.[36] Haliburton's popularity, it was assured him, was "every whit of it on the other side of the Atlantic".[37] It was even pointed out that the Courts of Common Pleas, from which he received a comfortable living, were a useless burden on the tax-payers. Another letter in the Acadian Recorder, this time signed "Ha Ha", commenting on a banquet which was being given Haliburton by some old friends, in 1839, began as follows: "For exhibition at the Mason Hall, 4th June. A Cameleon".[38] Finally, "A Nova Scotian" wrote, concerning the guest of honor at this banquet:

> But is he who thus having read that work [Haliburton's Nova-Scotia] as a child, now at the period of manhood, when the author - a deserter from the standards he was the first to erect - a renegade, (& so cherished by the Tories) - to recognize in T.C. Haliburton, Esq., the same person?[39]

All this should be enough to indicate the popular disesteem in which Haliburton was held in Nova Scotia as a result of his interference in the controversy over the Durham Report.

CHAPTER V

SPOKESMAN FOR THE COLONIES

By 1840, only five years after he had begun his career as a humorist, Haliburton had occupied the highest rung on his ladder of success, and had already begun the long slide down towards oblivion. Despite the great political content of his works, Haliburton was perhaps the best known British North American of his time, and his Yankee, Sam Slick, was the literary favorite of both England and America. The next twenty-five years saw all his popularity vanish, both at home and abroad. Abroad, unable to gauge what would be popular and fill the demand for novelty, his popularity - even his notoriety - soon vanished, and as a humorist he was replaced and forgotten. At home, where he had angered his countrymen with his vicious personal attacks and his obstinate opposition to all progress, hatred succeeded anger and was followed by contempt and indifference.

His works were by no means solely responsible for this hatred. His indiscreet management of his public life was continually scandalizing the province - as, for example, in 1840. In 1836, when he had first been made a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he had been accused of deserting the popular cause then being fought in the House of Assembly and of joining the Family Compact. This desertion was not forgotten. Then, in 1840, when the Courts of Common Pleas were abolished, Haliburton was the sole judge elevated to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. The appointment was both unpopular and irregular. Haliburton certainly had not been the most able of the retired judges - nor the most popular - and seniority had been violated. It was charged, correctly, that Joseph Howe had secured him the post, and the resulting scandal hurt Howe more than Haliburton. Chittick provides all the details of the affair.[1] It suffices to say that Haliburton behaved badly not only in the matter of the appointment but also towards Howe, and appeared all too ready to sacrifice the goodwill of his countrymen and friends in order to secure himself a comfortable living. Incidents like these, and Chittick provides accounts of many more, did much to turn the anger of the Nova Scotians into contempt, and guaranteed Haliburton's next work a hostile reception.

Haliburton's next humorous work, the Attaché, appeared in 1843. In the Clockmaker, Haliburton had often promised that he would send Sam Slick to England and record his impressions of that country. Because of the furor he had aroused over the Durham report, this no doubt seemed to him the most judicious thing to do. After all, the British had proved to be his most appreciative audience, and the Nova Scotians might forget their anger if, for a change, they could laugh at somebody else. Haliburton, therefore, made Sam an attaché in London, a minor official of the American embassy. This post gave Sam access to the whole of British life, and made him, if not the first Yankee in fiction to visit England, certainly the most famous.

The book was not a success and Haliburton's popularity suffered yet another set-back. He had compromised his purpose. He still wanted to improve his countrymen, but he also wanted his works to sell well abroad. He had been bitterly attacked in the past by the Nova Scotians for his portrayal of them, and also by indignant Americans for his depiction of Sam Slick. He now assumed - wrongly - that the British would object to being ridiculed. The British always had liked Sam for his wit, his droll humour, and because he seemed to have original and different opinions, and they were eagerly awaiting his coming among them. Washington Irving, usually regarded as the first Yankee in literature to visit England, had been a disappointment; Haliburton, the British hoped, would not be.

He was, partially at least. Because he did not want permanently to offend the British, he used three commentators. He (the squire) and the Reverend

Mr. Hopewell provided two thirds of the commentary - leaving Sam only one third - and the remarks of these two older, more sentimental men, who praised almost everything British, were a little boring. After all, it had all been said before, both by Englishmen and by disillusioned Americans. Nevertheless, Sam himself was in rare form. He ripped into country life, attacked snobbery, pride, prejudice, the patronizing attitude of the British towards colonists, and, of course, British Colonial Policy, as well as Colonial politics. To the delight of the British, Sam tilted his chair, propped his feet on the furniture, and, from the centre of the room, expectorated with such accuracy that he almost always hit his mark. He claimed to be able to spit through a key hole and never wet the wards. He joked about the fireplaces that were all smoke and no heat, the draughty bed-rooms, the uncommunicative Britisher of the railway compartment, the dirt and the tattered banners of Westminster Abbey, and the crowds of hypochondriacs at the watering places, and the British only complained that Sam was not given the opportunity to express himself on more subjects.[2] Instead of Sam's fun, they were treated, for two thirds of the work, to the sentimental moralizing of two old men who had "come home".

One result of Haliburton's use of so many commentators was a marked lack of unity. Haliburton tried hard to keep Sam consistent, and succeeded remarkably well, but his task would have been far less difficult had he attempted to give only Sam's impressions of England, and not his own as well. For example, Haliburton himself had come to love English country life, and for years had been attempting to imitate it at "Clifton", his estate near Windsor, Nova Scotia. Sam, naturally, would find country life intolerable. He did, and said so. Therefore, Haliburton, to avoid confusing his opinions with Sam's, immediately after Sam's delightful satire of country life, hastened to add that he, naturally, disagreed with Sam's criticisms.[3] Nowhere did the Attaché increase its author's popularity. The British (for reasons already noted) were disappointed. Of the American reaction to the work, only an ill-tempered criticism by Professor Felton of Harvard remains.[4] The Nova Scotians again were furious. They already considered Haliburton the Tory who opposed all change, and the man who had already published their foibles to the world and won his reputation abroad at their expense. Haliburton's attacks on Durham and the reformers were never to be forgotten or forgiven. His bias was known, and everything he wrote after the Clockmaker was to be carefully examined for further evidence of this bias. An impartial hearing for his works was no longer possible. Every change of opinion, every development in his political beliefs, was henceforth to be branded as an inconsistency.

The Attaché contained many of these inconsistencies. Haliburton's new attitude to Britain was one of the most marked of them. Haliburton, in the past, had called John Bull stubborn and had often accused him of having exercised gross stupidity in the governing of the colonies. This never had been unpopular in Nova Scotia, nor in Britain. Now, in the Attaché, he said fawningly of Britain:

> We owe it [sic] a debt of gratitude .... too deep for expression. Their armies protect us .... Their government is not only paternal and indulgent, but it is wholly gratuitous. We neither pay these forces, nor feed them. We not only raise no taxes, but are unexpected to do so. The blessings of true religion are diffused among us .... If the policy of the Colonial Office is not always good (which, I fear is too much to say) it is ever liberal; and .... we, at least, reap more solid advantages than we have a right to expect and more, I am afraid, than our conduct always deserves.[5]

Thus, the Nova Scotians were disappointed in the Attaché for the same reason as the British. Had Haliburton mercilessly ridiculed the English as he had them, they might have been inclined to forget what he had said at their expense in the past. Their disappointment naturally turned to anger when they found that almost a third of the work was devoted to more criticism of themselves and of their popular politicians.

Sensitivity to criticism is an indication of immaturity. The inhabitants of colonies and young nations invariably are unable to accept criticism - even constructive criticism - of themselves or of their country. The Americans for fifty years after the revolution were particularly vulnerable to criticism from abroad, and, of course, had been just as vulnerable before the British connection was broken. The Canadian colonies were even more sensitive, especially to British criticism, for their people felt that Britain owed them her gratitude for their continuing loyalty. They rarely attacked the British critic, for retaliation in kind against Britain would be disloyal. Witness the care taken by Haliburton to avoid offence in the Attaché.[6] One need only read the Attaché to be aware that Haliburton could not possibly have written it in retaliation against Dickens' American Notes, as once was charged.[7] Canadians suffered British criticism in silence. When, however, one of their own countrymen dared to criticize them, all the resentment that they had been storing up was directed against the enemy, *genus* critic. Haliburton accordingly became a scapegoat.

There were many other sources of annoyance in the Attaché. In the past, as the author of The Bubbles of Canada, Haliburton had appeared in the role of party hack writer for the British Tories.[8] In the Attaché he often seemed to assume the same role. A Tory administration, he said, had brought peace and prosperity to England, but the Whigs, after their last term in office, had left England "with three wars on hand, and one in the vat, a'brewin' with America .... and with a deficiency [sic] that made the nation scratch their head, and stare agin.[9]" After a lengthy digression describing the difference between the English Tories and "Consarvatives", he concluded:

> larnin', piety, property, and respectability, is on the Tory side; and where all them things is found united, right most commonly is found a-joggin' along in company.[10]

Haliburton's bias was certainly not well disguised; nor was it likely to be ignored at home where his enemies expected it and were searching through his works to find it. That it was discovered and that it increased his countrymen's animosity to him, goes without saying.

Haliburton's theories on Government were just as thoroughly stated in the Attaché as they had been earlier, and his Philosophic Conservative position remained unaltered. A real advance was made, however, in his theories on imperial government. In presenting his new opinions, he was, he stated, very careful to avoid offence. Any government had to know the temper of the people it was governing, and so, Haliburton said:

> if this species of information is not easy of attainment here, even by natives, how difficult must it be to govern a people three thousand miles off, who differ most materially in thought, word, and deed from their official rulers.[11]

To this, of course, the reformers had a simple reply. Haliburton's answer was not as simple to put into practice as it was to state:

> I do not want to see colonists and Englishmen arrayed against each other, as different races, but united as one people, having the same rights and privileges, each bearing a share of the public burdens, and all having a voice in the general government.[12]

Haliburton hated to be a colonist, and wanted to be on an equal footing with the English. Patronage, which had been the means of satisfying the colonists that he had advocated in the Clockmaker, was to be extended, and all the offices of the Empire were to be thrown open to Englishmen and colonists alike. This would, he said, end grievances in the Empire. It would, of course, mean representation for the colonists in an Imperial Parliament.[13] Later, in the second series (1844), another idea presented itself to Haliburton. In his chapter, "The Colonial Office", he pointed out the weaknesses of having the Secretary of State run the Colonial Office. This man (assuming that he could ever learn what the Colonies needed) could be thrown out of office at an election. A Colonial Council was necessary, one presided over by the Secretary of State, and made up in part of "ex-governors and Colonial officers of English appointment, and in part of retired members of assembly .... colonists .... who have served in public life a certain number of years".[14] These two ideas seemed, to the Nova Scotians, only to be thinly disguised attempts to re-establish the Tories as the ruling class.

Responsible government was the alternative to the above, and Haliburton roundly attacked it: "As it is understood by the leaders of the liberal party in Canada, it is independence and republicanism".[15] Poulet Thompson, the Governor General of the Canadas, in advocating it, had (he affirmed) produced "incalculable mischief".

> It has disheartened and weakened the loyal British party. It has emboldened and strengthened the opposite one, and from the extraordinary means used to compel acquiescence, and obtain majorities, lowered the tone of moral feeling throughout the country.[16]

Thompson, he felt, had forgotten that the monarchy was passive and the democracy active, and that, without the balance of aristocracy, the second active body, the inevitable end would be independence.[17] The struggle, if any, he thought, should be between the council and the assembly - not between the assembly and the governor. Haliburton's fear of the consequences of responsible government in Canada appeared due to his distrust of the French Roman Catholics who were the largest single religious group.[18] Haliburton no longer appeared as the champion of the rights of Roman Catholics, his former role in the House of Assembly, but as one opposed to any further concessions being made to them. This change in his thinking was regarded by his enemies as yet another of his inconsistencies. Another danger, Haliburton felt, was that "the elective franchise is so low as to make it almost universal suffrage",[19] and he believed that "Demagogues easily and constantly persuade them [the masses] that they are wronged by the rich, and oppressed by the great, that all who are in a superior station are enemies of the people, and that those who hold office are living in idle luxury at the expense of the poor".[20] This last only seemed to be further evidence of his desire to keep the Tories in control of whatever offices and preferment they then possessed.

Another of the reasons for _the Attaché_'s unpopularity in Nova Scotia - though no more should be needed - was the fact that Haliburton, although his principal aim was still the improvement of his countrymen, was directing his message to the English, not to the Nova Scotians. He knew that his countrymen were determined to govern themselves, regardless of his plea that they look first to their farms. For that reason, he abandoned his attempts to influence them and directed his energies to telling the British what was best for the colonies. He had become the unofficial spokesman for British North America, and his assumption of this role only infuriated his countrymen. While they were fighting for self-government, Haliburton, their countryman, had the nerve to advise the Colonial Office on how best to rule them. The last passage quoted above, where Haliburton described the activities of demogogues, partially illustrates this new attitude and his new aloofness. This, along with his Tory bias, his denouncing of all colonial liberals as rabble rousers, and the numerous "inconsistencies" that appeared when his opinions were compared with those expressed in his earlier works, released such a stream of protest and abuse from the Nova Scotians that the new editor of the _Novascotian_ was forced to suspend publication of _the Attaché_ in mid-stream. The suspension was anticipated by the following notice in that paper, which is quoted in part:

> If indeed, we thought our readers would not be disappointed with us for excluding the writings of a _native author_ from our columns, we should scarcely feel inclined to encumber our columns with such an amount of trash.[21]

From this point on, Haliburton's countrymen showed little but contempt for their "native author", the spokesman for the colonies.

The Attaché was a comparative failure. By 1849, there had been only three editions of the first series published in England, and two of the second series. Elsewhere, in America and on the continent, the total number of editions had been the same. Haliburton's popularity was definitely on the wane, and he was truly at a loss to know how he could restore it, both at home and abroad. The symptoms, a marked cooling of British enthusiasm and a marked increase of Nova Scotian hostility, demanded an accurate diagnosis and an effective remedy. Haliburton's diagnosis was imperfect, and the remedy, his masterpiece, The Old Judge, failed.

Haliburton believed that Sam Slick was causing the trouble. He had known for a long time that Sam was extremely unpopular in Nova Scotia, and could see that his sending Sam to England had not remedied this situation. Similarly, he knew that his politics were probably even more unpopular than his spokesman. The obvious solution to the problem at home, thus, lay in abandoning both sources of annoyance, and writing a nonpolitical book, sympathetic to, rather than critical of, the Nova Scotians. Haliburton's diagnosis of the situation abroad was less successful. The first part of his diagnosis, that the English were not interested in colonial politics, could not have been more correct. His error was that he had decided that Sam had been too hard on the English, despite all his precautions, and he decided to drop him. This was the worst thing he could have done, for what he did not realize was that Sam, his wisecracks about British life, and his droll yarns alone had made the Attaché saleable in England.[22] The Old Judge, with its aim solely to delineate the "habits, manners, and social conditions of the people", could thus hardly have done anything for its author's popularity in England.

The British, though intensely interested in the Americans, had not the slightest interest either in Nova Scotia or in her people. Dickens, for example, had shared this lack of interest when he devoted one paragraph only to his description of Halifax, including in it the fortress, streets, houses, market, weather, and means of transport. In another, in a spirit of playful satire, he described the opening of the Legislative Council and General Assembly. It was, he stated, "like looking at Westminster through the wrong end of a telescope".[23] In a total of three paragraphs, he had "done" Nova Scotia. Another famous visitor, Anthony Trollope, had showed even less interest.[24] Such a book as The Old Judge could thus have been received only with indifference in England.

That the single remedy conceived by Haliburton to revive his popularity would not work simultaneously in England and Nova Scotia has been sufficiently demonstrated. However, it should have worked in Nova Scotia. In the preface to The Old Judge Haliburton stated:

> The utmost care has been taken to exclude anything that could by any possibility be supposed to have a personal reference, or be the subject of annoyance.[25]

In keeping with this promise, he provided a sketch of the typical Nova Scotian, a sketch which demonstrates that Haliburton had given up the thankless task of correcting his countrymen, that in general he whole-heartedly approved of them, and that he was now concentrating on presenting them in a more favorable light to the English:

> The Nova Scotian .... is often found superintending the cultivation of a farm, and building a vessel at the same time; and is not only able to catch and cure a cargo of fish, but to find his way with it to the West Indies or the Mediterranean; he is a man of all work, but expert in none - knows a little of many things, but nothing well. He is irregular in his pursuits, "all things by turns, and nothing long", and vain of his ability or information, but is a hardy, frank, good-natured, hospitable, manly fellow, and withal quite as good-looking as his air gives you to understand he thinks himself to be.[26]

Concentrating on the idiosyncracies common to most of the Nova Scotians, he created the closest thing to a regional type that has yet appeared in Canadian literature. As his aim was to write neither satire nor didacticism, he was able to abandon Sam Slick and let his countrymen speak for themselves. Old Stephen Richardson became their chief spokesman, and Haliburton turned him into a Nova Scotian version of the cracker-barrel philosopher, a *raconteur* of droll yarns, and an inventor of quaint sayings. Stephen could have become the Nova Scotian equivalent of the Comic Yankee, a figure on whom foreign critics could harmlessly have heaped their abuse, and by means of whom native authors could have satirized Nova Scotian failings. As it was, the Nova Scotians felt that they were being caricatured, and for no reason other than the amusement of the English. As a result, Haliburton's contribution of a regional type was never again made use of in Nova Scotia.[27]

Had Haliburton succeeded in fulfilling his promise to exclude all annoyance, *The Old Judge* might very well have succeeded in turning the tide of Haliburton's unpopularity in Nova Scotia. But Haliburton seemed incapable of avoiding offense. Even in his sketch of the typical Nova Scotian [28] there was ammunition for his enemies if they were looking for it. For example, just following his "promise" he said:

> Political sketches I have abstained from altogether; provincial and local affairs are too insignificant to interest the general reader, and the policy of the Colonial Office is foreign to my subject. The absurd importance attached in this country to trifles, the grandiloquent language of rural politicians, the flimsy veil of patriotism, under which selfishness strives to hide the deformity of its visage, and the attempt to adopt the machinery of a large empire to the government of a small colony, present many objects for ridicule or satire; but they could not be approached without the suspicion of personality, and the direct imputation of prejudice.[29]

After this, there was very little need to add anything more about colonial politics, for it was a *précis* of almost everything objectionable he had formerly said about colonial life.

The Old Judge had been written for the English, as well as for the Nova Scotians, and for that reason Haliburton had written a brief outline of the colony's system of government which was to be - he promised his countrymen - "without any comment". He thus demonstrated that he realized that his politics, which had made him hated at home, were boring his readers abroad when he told his readers that this outline was placed at the rear of the book so that only those readers who were interested need concern themselves with it. Unfortunately his Tory bias was apparent in the sketch, though it never seriously intruded. The same bias colored - but again did not spoil - many of the descriptions of Nova Scotian life. It was obvious, for example, that he bewailed the inclusion of commoners among the guests at the Governor's ball which he so delightfully described,[30] and that he was disgusted that the old fashioned and spontaneous "frolics" had become political rallies.[31] He managed to find room for some asides directed at his old enemies. He had "nothing in common with either conservatism of Great Liberalism, which I believe to be mere modifications of the same thing",[32] and he believed that Great Liberalism "rests in theory on universal suffrage and equal rights; but in practice exhibits the exclusion and tyranny of a majority".[33] For him, there was still only one party, "the good old Tory party, the best, the truest, the most attached and loyal subjects Her Majesty ever had, or ever will have in North America".[34] At the same time, he publically admitted that the Tory party in Nova Scotia was finished, and that, except for reminiscing, he was through with politics.[35]

However, bias or "partisanship" was enough for his old enemies, who, recollecting his past violence, could not see any change for the better, and who refused to forget and forgive. Chittick quotes from an 1848 editorial in the Novascotian in which the following passage appears:

> Who .... can read .... "The Old Judge in a Colony" .... without seeing how intense is his hatred to the new system and everything liberal - and that the same spirit which led to the attack of [sic] Lord Durham still animates the breast of his Honour.[36]

Haliburton's audience, it is clear, were already so prejudiced against him and his politics that an impartial hearing for The Old Judge was impossible. One certainly can find evidence of his bias in the work, and statements that could have been objectionable, but one must search. Haliburton had thus clearly failed in this attempt to turn the tide of his increasing unpopularity. It must therefore be said of The Old Judge, Haliburton's chef-d'oeuvre, that, without adding much fuel to the already burning hatred of Nova Scotians for Haliburton, it could not in any way have revived his popularity at home.

It was The Old Judge's reception abroad which determined the nature of Haliburton's subsequent humorous works. Compared to earlier works, which had gone through as many as five editions in the first year, The Old Judge was published only twice in England during its first two years, and then not again for ten years. The English obviously cared little for information about colonies, and were interested only in the still novel American national character, hitherto portrayed for them by Haliburton. Haliburton, for the rest of his career, tried to provide what he thought the English would like in the way of amusement, but his popularity continued to decline. In 1852, he published Traits of American Humor, by Native Authors, his first acknowledged anthology of American humour. For years, he had collected clippings of American humour from the newspapers of the United States, and these had obviously served him as sources for most of Sam Slick's "sayings and doings". All he did in Traits, and later, in his second anthology, The Americans at Home; or, Byeways, Backwoods, and Prairies (1854), was publish a book of the same kind of humour that he always had been writing, and thereby announce to the world the fact that for years he had been an imitator, if not a plagiarist. The works failed to attract much notice, and it would appear that, just as the Americans had developed their humour in stages according to its popular appeal, the English were beginning to look for something new in American humour.

It was at this inauspicious moment that Haliburton, disappointed by the relative failure of The Old Judge and Traits, decided to revive Sam Slick in Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances (1853). He demonstrated how uncertain he had been of his popularity in England by the jubilant tone of his preface to the second edition, which was published the same year as the first:

> The Publishers of this Work having informed me that a new Edition is required, I avail myself of the opportunity to thank the public, and the press of this country, for the very kind and flattering reception with which they have honored it.[37]

He was so confident of his reviving popularity in England that he claimed the present work to have been conceived for the same purpose as his earlier works.[38]

Nevertheless, he knew what would sell, and thus he kept political commentary to the barest minimum. Instead, he reminisced. Nova Scotia was not what it had been formerly, and the people had changed, but not for the better. Obviously responsible government was the reason. Most politicians, he stated, were completely unable to govern themselves, much less others, and it was now a case of "the blind leading the blind".[39] There were, of course, local issues about which Haliburton could not keep silent. His attitude to the fisheries question was identical to that which he had adopted towards the question of free ports in the third series of The Clockmaker. Sam was now an official for the American fisheries, and was supposedly qualified to attack the impending Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which would, he claimed, give the fisheries to the Americans. Again, there was the implication that the advocates of the scheme were annexationists - which would hardly have made Haliburton any more popular at home. This was the only issue on which he was really outspoken. When it came to discussing patriotism, reform, colonial political activity, and the need for internal improvements in Nova Scotia, he was even more circumspect than he had been in the first series of The Clockmaker. However, it was too late for any attempts to revive his popularity at home to have succeeded.

Haliburton's next work, Nature and Human Nature (1854), provides both Haliburton's assessment of his popularity in Nova Scotia and his reaction to it, and indicates the steps he decided were necessary to revive it. He was no longer indifferent to the attacks launched against him. He had Sam list his [Haliburton's] services to Nova Scotia, and had Sam conclude by saying that when he considered what Haliburton had done for Nova Scotia, and the amount of gratitude he had received, he might just as well have offered his advice to the Americans, "for thanks are better nor jeers at any time".[40] In the following passage, he expressed the utter loneliness of his life in Nova Scotia:

> Yes, Home is a great word, but its full meaning ain't understood by every one. It ain't those who have none that comprehend what it is; nor those who in the course of nature leave the old and found a new one for themselves; nor those who when they quit shut their eyes and squinch their faces when they think of it, as if it fetched something to their mind that warn't pleasant to recollect; nor those who suddenly rise so high in life, that their parents look too vulgar, or the old cottage too mean for them, or their former acquaintances too low. But I'll tell you who knows the meaning and feels it too; a fellow like me who had a cheerful home, a merry and a happy home, and who when he returns from foreign lands finds it deserted and as still as the grave .... His dog alone seeks his society, and strives to assure him by mute but expressive gestures that he at least will never desert him .... If his name happens to be mentioned, it may occasion a listless remark, "I wonder how he spends his time", or "the poor devil must be lonely there" .... Yes, if you have had a home you know what it is, but if you have lost it, then and not till then do you feel its value.[41]

Forgotten by his old friends, ignored by most of his countrymen, lashed into contempt by his enemies as he had been ever since he first began writing, Haliburton had two possible courses of action before him. He either could leave Nova Scotia altogether and live abroad, or he could try to placate his enemies and regain his friends. He first chose the latter. Haliburton, who had always advised men in public life to guard their integrity, to remain true to their convictions, rather than to sacrifice either for the sake of popularity, now appeared to support the popular causes he had so often denounced in the past. In Nature and Human Nature, he was on the popular side of the two biggest and most controversial issues of the day. He was no longer the enemy of responsible government, and had now even become an advocate of confederation. He, who as recently as The Old Judge had condemned the Nova Scotians for their laziness and lack of initiative, now re-portrayed them. He tried to enlarge the portrait so as to include the minority groups, and praised them all for their contributions to Nova Scotian life. His friendship with Joseph Howe had recently been dissolved as a result of Haliburton's selfishness in the publication of his works, and of the personal attacks he had launched against Howe in his books. Now, friendless, he tried to renew their friendship, and publically praised him in Nature and Human Nature.[42] By 1856, he was campaigning for Howe in a by-election.

In Nature and Human Nature, and even in Wise Saws, Sam appeared to have lost some of the characteristics that had formerly proved odious to the Nova Scotians, and the change could be explained only by Sam's sojourn in England, where some of his Yankee uncouthness had been rubbed off through contact with the more refined British. In this, Sam's last appearance, Haliburton even attempted to put an end to the attacks made against him for being the author of Sam Slick. Now, he was just publishing - not even editing - Sam's journal.[43] Haliburton must have known that these fictions would not deceive the more astute among his Nova Scotian readers - those who would also be familiar with the convention he was employing - but there was a good chance that they would be believed in the humble cottages of the people whom he had tried to portray, whose friendship he had lost, and whose approval he now valued. At any rate, regardless of whether he succeeded or failed, Haliburton went to great lengths to placate his Nova Scotian readers, to salvage whatever was salvageable of his reputation at home, and to remove the causes of his works' unpopularity. By so doing, he provided an excellent commentary on the state of his popularity in Nova Scotia.

The attacks against The Old Judge had been less violent than those against the Attaché. Haliburton's history of the United States (Rule and Misrule of the English in America (1851) and Wise Saws had prompted no bitter attacks against him - in fact they had received hardly any notice at all. Haliburton must have thought that the lull preceding Nature and Human Nature meant that he had another chance, when, in fact, it indicated that his works, if they were being read at all, were being completely ignored. His attempts to placate the people he had formerly been accused of caricaturing, his support of both responsible government and confederation - all of which, had his enemies been consistent, would have been branded as inconsistencies - were neither applauded nor condemned. All apparently were ignored.

After his failure to re-establish himself in Nova Scotia, there was nothing left for Haliburton to do but take up residence in the one land where he still had a fairly appreciative audience and no enemies, England. Accordingly, in 1854, Haliburton informed the House of Assembly that he wished to retire from the Supreme Court, but that he would do so only if he were paid the pension of a retired judge of Common Pleas. The public outcry was instantaneous. Howe lost his seat in the next election (1855) supposedly for having secured Haliburton the appointment in 1840. Haliburton was told by the press that he had been an incompetent judge, and that, as he could not afford to retire without a pension, the province would be better off in the long run to retire him on pension, rather than continue to pay him the salary of a Supreme Court Judge, which he was too incompetent to earn. Haliburton resigned without the pension, but the attacks still did not cease. He moved to England (1856), married again (1856), began giving public lectures on North America, accepted a seat in Parliament (1859), and annoyed both the Commons and the North American colonies by his assumption of the role of spokesman for the colonies. He even went so far as to thank the people of Launceston for their having made possible the representation in Parliament of the hitherto unrepresented colonists of British North America.[44] He had become deaf and peevish, and so consistently made a fool of himself in the Commons that his countrymen disowned and almost completely ignored him.[45]

In 1860, his last work, The Season Ticket, appeared. In it, he laid bare his latest ideas for the future development of British North America. He now expressed the opinion that Confederation, which he had earlier said would be premature, would provide the incentive for self-development in the North American provinces. It would reduce Canadian dependence on the Colonial Office which, after all, had a total of forty-two colonies to govern, each one with its peculiar problems. Responsible government, largely because of the care with which Lord Falkland had introduced it, now appeared to him to be working smoothly, and the colonial legislatures had little need of an overseer in Downing Street. Also, it seemed to him that there were very few indications that conceding Confederation would lead either to Canadian independence or to annexation by the United States.[46] He went to great lengths to point out the loyalty of the colonies to Great Britain.[47] He envisaged a Canada stretching from sea to sea, with the first transcontinental railroad on the continent.[48] He thought that Canada would be a great country within a great empire, and said:

> Assuredly, it ought to be the object of government to draw together in more intimate bonds of connection the two countries .... and to add to the grandeur of the empire.[49]

Canadian raw materials would supply the industries of England, and Canada would likely be the biggest buyer of British-made goods. All this could only be done if the colonies were allowed to channel all their energies into filling this role - and it could only be done after Confederation.

All in all, The Season Ticket demonstrated the complete abandonment of Haliburton's unpopular opinions. His politics were almost in accord with the times, and there was nothing really objectionable in the book. However, the work did nothing for his reputation. It was never widely read, either in Nova Scotia or in England. Haliburton was again speaking to the British, and his annoying aloofness, as well as the inconsistency of his ideas, would have suppressed the book in Nova Scotia. Its almost complete lack of anything sparkling and humorous, and its thinly disguised propaganda about the colonies, prevented its being popular in England. All it accomplished was the destruction of what little remained of Haliburton's English audience.

The public outcry in Nova Scotia that had arisen against Haliburton in 1854 continued even after he had resigned from the Bench and moved to England in 1856. The details of this drawn-out and confusing scandal have been provided by Chittick. What happened, briefly, is that between 1858 and 1862, Haliburton placed the matter of his pension before the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. He won his appeal, but only by using unfair tactics. Chittick describes the effect of Haliburton's behavior as follows:

> He had succeeded in getting the petition dismissed, and he claimed his pound of flesh. It was paid, but only at the cost of the last shred of good-will which the people had retained for him.[50]

Immediately after he had been awarded his pension, Haliburton left Nova Scotia, never to return. The majority of Nova Scotians, although they were unable to forget him completely, effectively dismissed him from their minds. When he died in 1865, his passing was barely mentioned in the Nova Scotian press.

Very few authors who have written as well in their genre as Haliburton did have been so completely rejected by their own generation in their own land. Most authors, however, have one very important factor in their favour: very few readers know much about a contemporary author. The number of writers who are well known to the public apart from their writings is very small, and it is largely made up of men who have been prominent in public life. Haliburton, H.H. Brackenridge, and, for a recent example, Winston Churchill, are three writers whose literary careers have depended upon the success of their public lives. Churchill's statesmanship enabled him to win acclaim as a popular historian. Brackenridge (a relatively unsuccessful politician who, like Haliburton, became a judge and finally a humorist) won, at first, grudging respect for his integrity, despite his unpopular opinions. This respect became admiration, and soon both the man and his opinions became popular. His works were still widely read years after his death in 1816.[51]

With Haliburton, the case is completely reversed. He was unable to win even respect in public life, and for that reason, he and his works fell into disrepute in Nova Scotia. His long, bitter, and seemingly inconsistent denunciation of the political issues of the time, his vicious attacks against Lord Durham and his memory, his defaming and caricaturing of his countrymen, his abuse of men he called his friends, his undeserved elevation to the Supreme Court, and his indiscreet handling of his retirement and pension, completely overshadowed in his countrymen's minds the considerable services he had rendered to his community, his province, and the Empire. Ten years after his death, he was still regarded by the majority of Nova Scotians much as he had been during his latter life, as the following verses by the Nova Scotian poet, Andrew Shiels, demonstrate:

Among the Notables who have appeared
In Nova Scotia, that should be revered,
Than Haliburton, the historian, none
more famous living, less regretted gone!
It is but little & that little dim,
& desultory we can tell of him,
A miscellaneous volume - self-contained
Oft too indelicate to be explained,
Where every page with jibes, & jeers, & jokes
To peels [sic] of laughter purposely provokes;
And paragraphs, more prodigal of wit,
Than what is deemed for seminaries fit,
&, happy hits, by grimaces convey'd,
That have not always carefully been weighed.
....
He left his country, it is understood,
More for his own than for his country's good.
He was an author! but there was no wail!
At his demise, in all his native vale!
Or demonstration yet been made to show
What Nova Scotians to his memory owe.[52]

There was, surely, little chance that such a man, whose person and whose works had become so odious to his countrymen, would become the founder of a tradition in Canadian humour.

PART III

CANADA'S REJECTION OF HALIBURTON

CHAPTER VI

MORAL EARNESTNESS AND CANADIAN HUMOUR

Canada's rejection of Haliburton's many contributions to Canadian humour cannot be quite so easily explained as Nova Scotia's. In Canada, as in Nova Scotia, there had been widespread interest among the lower classes in Yankee humour, probably originating from the almanacs peddled throughout North America by the enterprising Yankees. The cheap, poorly printed, sometimes pirated editions of American humour still occasionally to be found in book shops in Canada further attest to its popularity. "Sam Slick" and "Soft Sawder", as the early critics were delighted to find, had literally become household words throughout Canada, as well as throughout the United States. Yet, the fact remains, that save for the first two editions of The Clockmaker in 1836 and 1837, and a single edition of Letter Bag in 1840, there was no Haliburton published in Canada until 1918 when a combined edition of The Clockmaker appeared. True, American editions were available in Canada - and, it would appear, in large numbers - but this does not explain sufficiently Canada's neglect of her most famous author. The most important reason for Haliburton's rejection was that the same critics who publicly praised him, secretly were ashamed of him.

It is not overly misleading to state that Haliburton's meteoric career as an author had been an accident. Having written part of a series of articles for the Novascotian, which had been, from all indications, immensely popular, Haliburton had allowed the editor to print the whole series in an inexpensive little volume. This, unlike the previous little books of Haliburton's the Novascotian had published, had been almost immediately sold out, and another edition prepared. The book had been immediately pirated in England, and, almost simultaneously, published in the United States. Why? Because it contained American humour which was better than any which had appeared before - which explains to a large extent the lack of enthusiasm for Haliburton's works in Canada. He was popular - even famous - but immediately he had become identified with American literature, rather than with Canadian. Witness the attitude of the early critics: Haliburton was the "founder of American humour".[1] Even if he was popular outside his native province, his humour never was called Canadian, and, thus, his successors had logically to be Americans - as indeed they were.

One would expect, however, that a young country like Canada would have tried to annex for herself and for posterity her first author to win international fame. Pride in his achievements - and there had been considerable - was felt throughout Canada, if the early critics are to be trusted. Why, then, was he not hailed as a great contributor to Canadian literature? On the surface, the answer to this question would again appear to be that his humour was too American - whereas, in reality, what had happened was that the Canadian critics took an immediate dislike to his work[2] and, feeling the necessity to explain his popularity without encouraging others to follow his lead, labelled him "American" or, more correctly, a Canadian writing better American humour than the Americans. This way, his popularity was explained, and his country's pride in his achievement justified.

What the critics really objected to is not hard to determine; it was essentially the genre humour. Archibald MacMurchy, in his assessment of The Old Judge (already quoted in part[3]) provided one of the main clues to the reason for the critics' dislike of Haliburton's works when he went on to say: "His literary fame perhaps might be more enduring if he had expressed himself in effective English".[4] And just a few years after this judgment was delivered, T.G. Marquis amplified the criticism when he said:

> Until Canada has literary standards of judgment, born of criticism, the trivial, commonplace, melodramatic, and even vulgar will continue to usurp the place of serious, dignified, artistic literature.[5] [italics mine]

Dr. J.P. Matthews' recent book, Tradition in Exile, shows clearly how, in Canada, criticism succeeded in becoming the moulding force in Canadian poetry.[6] Certainly, "trivial" poetry and rough, and even vulgar, folk ballads were published, but the names of their authors - McLachlan, Glendenning, Shiels, McIntyre, and many others - never appeared in the literary journals. The fruits of their labours were not so much as examined: they were just left to rot upon the bough. This, of course, need not have hurt Canada's popular literature. The critics' strictures against vulgar literature could have been ignored and the forbidden fruit tasted and enjoyed. This had happened in Australia as Dr. Matthews points out [7] - but not in Canada. Here, because the majority of readers were already in agreement with the critics, "popular" literature failed to become widely popular. Canada, whose population growth was due largely to immigration, received too many "Moodies" for her own good. Too many youngest sons of "good families of reduced means" came to Canada to "make their pile" in the backwoods and, eventually, to form a highly articulate and ever growing middle class. These people, no matter whether they were buried in the backwoods, or dwelling in the towns, preferred a type of literature far different from and more sophisticated than that enjoyed by their immediate but more vulgar neighbours. That they felt superior to their neighbours is obvious to anyone reading the books they wrote. That they were determined to maintain this superiority is just as obvious from the excellent schools, libraries, and literary societies they founded, and from the fact that their schools and colleges were usually staffed - not by semi-literate wandering pedagogues as had been most of the American backwoods schools - but by educated Englishmen, "imported" specially for the purpose. From this class and its instructors came the great Canadian interest in and imitations of Sir Walter Scott; from neighbours came the interest in Sam Slick, the imitations of Burns, and the theme, "Jack's as good as his master". One may be tempted today to laugh at these attempts at sophistication, but in the days when, to all outward appearances, Jack was as good as his master, sophistication meant a lot to the well-bred pioneer, and was to be cultivated. Literary journals, filled with native prose and poetry, imitating the best British models, and containing well written critical articles on the best of both current and traditional English literature, written by highly articulate foreign-born critics, flourished compared with the still-born productions, mostly published in rural newspapers, of the "vulgar" authors.[8] Canada's literary aristocracy did indeed triumph, for not since Haliburton has the "trivial, commonplace, melodramatic and even vulgar" been able to "usurp the place of dignified, artistic literature".

The main reason for the triumph of dignified, artistic literature over the trivial was provided by Marquis, near the turn of the century, when he made the following generalization: "Canadians, like all northern people, take life seriously".[9] This statement, or at least that part of it concerning Canadians, was true then, was true throughout the nineteenth century, and is no less true today. It was largely because of this characteristic that Haliburton was unable to become the founder of a tradition of humour in Canada.

That Canadians take themselves seriously hardly needs to be proved. Perhaps, as Marquis said, all northern peoples tend to take life seriously, but the folk cultures of the long-settled northern countries of Europe tend to disprove his contention. The scope of this thesis only allows the following generalization to be made: Canadians take life more seriously than do the British, the French, or the Americans - the three principal peoples and cultures contributing to Canada's national way of life.

One does not have to look far for indications that Canadians do in fact take themselves seriously. Much of Canada's history, especially that just before and after Confederation, reads like a comic opera because of this national trait of Canadians. One of Canadian history's amusing spectacles is provided by the Canada First Movement[10] with its private meetings to discuss the young nation's problems and shortcomings, its attempts to stimulate "national sentiment" and a national culture and literature, its public meetings and political activities, and its eventual breakup into two opposing groups: one advocating Canadian independence and/or annexation; and the other advocating imperial federation, and sponsoring, among other things, patriotic pro-empire essay contests for school children with a Union Jack for their school as the prize! It is all too easy to scoff now, and to wonder how Canadians could ever have taken themselves so seriously, but one must not forget that the same sort of thing still happens today. Four years before the flag debate, a young Ottawa boy was jailed for flying his concept of a suitable national flag from a flagpole on Parliament Hill usually reserved for the Union Jack. Apart from the desire for a flag, there are yet dozens of comic-opera situations in Canada. The most obvious ones are closely allied to patriotism. The United Empire Loyalists still oppose any new national flag and insist that God Save the Queen be retained as Canada's national anthem; the Canada Council requires that a work of art or group of artists make some contribution to Canadian culture before granting it public money; the C.B.C. is judged on its contribution to Canadian unity rather than on the quality or popularity of its programs; these are all cases in point. It would appear likely that, unless Canadians stop taking themselves seriously, Canadian history will provide the only continuous stream of humour in Canada.

Although one is tempted to laugh at the seriousness of Canadians in the past, and to be alarmed that this trait still persists, too often the reasons for it are overlooked. The single most important contributing factor is Canada's proximity to the United States. Canadians too often have had occasion to fear that whatever distinctive way of life has been developed in Canada will be brought to a sudden and inglorious end through annexation to the United States, or that it will lose whatever distinctiveness it has achieved through infiltration from the American way of life. Not only were there two major invasions of Canada by the Americans to create this fear, but there were also the Fenian Raids, the talk of commercial union during the time of Canada First, and, at the same time, remarks like the following made by prominent Americans:

> I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole.[11]

Very few Canadians ever wanted to see this day, and, by cultivating imperial sentiment, and by soliciting Britain's help, they hoped that they would be able to put it off indefinitely. Even the Americanization of Canada's way of life was fought, but to no avail, for there was too much in common between the two peoples for such a fight to succeed. The results were often humorous, but more often serious. Canadians rejected a way of life appropriate for Canadians because it seemed too American, and tried hard to assimilate the more polished, artificial British way of life. One of the ways they did this, by acquiring sophistication, has already been discussed. Their literary societies, the St. George Society, the I.O.D.E., the Imperial Federation League, and the United Empire Loyalist societies were just some of the organizations which tried to keep Canada British rather than let it become more North American. They were bound to fail, at least partially, but they did, however, succeed in assisting Canada to acquire several unique national characteristics, and helped develop a typically Canadian way of life. Canadians continue to be the most serious people on the continent; they remain loyal to the Crown and protest any further Americanization of their country; and they remain torn between their loyalty to Britain and to their own land. All in all, the Canadians have become a unique people, with unique national characteristics, many of which provide fascinating topics for discussion, criticism, and even ridicule.

Next to Canada's proximity to a vast, populous, and at times, seemingly ambitious nation, the most important factor contributing to the high seriousness of Canadians is the vastness and ruggedness of their land, and the extreme climate in which they live. This factor is closely allied with the one just discussed. Canada is, on the whole, a more rugged, colder and less productive country than the United States, and offers a lower standard of living to those who are unwilling to work harder than their American neighbours. Yet, Canadians want to be as rich as the Americans, and desire the same high standard of living. This has resulted in a no-nonsense approach to the business of living, unique on this continent. Canadians not only have to "keep up with the Jones" but also have to keep up with their richer American neighbours as well. The result has been that Canadians are pursuing American status symbols, and must, therefore, work far more diligently than the Americans to achieve them. A further result is that Canadians have become intolerant of those who are content to do less work or to enjoy a standard of living lower than the American. Canadians are constantly being told that such people are "no-accounts" and worthless because they refuse to help their fellow Canadians rival or surpass the Americans. It was this same pride which prompted Haliburton to try to stimulate his countrymen through The Clockmaker by comparing the listless and poverty-stricken Nova Scotians with the industrious and successful Yankees to the South. It could almost be said that it has been considered the duty of Canadians to prove to the Americans that their breaking off the British connection was a serious blunder. To achieve any of the above goals, Canadians have had to take life seriously. Their doing so has had a noticeable effect on the development of their national literature.

Innumerable critics have commented upon the fact that, because of the hardships and rigours of Canadian life, and the necessity for Canadians to work harder than the Americans for the same reward, there has been comparatively little reading or writing done in Canada.[12] Nothing more need be said about this other than to note that this factor has affected humour more than it has the rest of literature, and that, of course, it is much less true today. Suffice it to say, however, that those who, in the past, tended to consider the reading of books to be a waste of time, would naturally have had less patience with a book of nonsense than with a book which had a "serious moral purpose". Thus, most of the humour that was written was never as widely read in this country as it would have been, for example, in the United States, and authors like Ralph Connor came into vogue. Another novelist, Frederick Philip Grove, might have been even more popular than Connor had it not been for the depression and its effect upon the book business. His Fruits of the Earth and Our Daily Bread were particularly suited to the prevailing taste of Canadians for "improving books" for Grove scorned the lazy and unprogressive homesteaders and sang the praises of the prairie's pioneers, the great men who opened up the West and who spent themselves trying to make the prairies produce for man. Grove's message was that although the prairie invariably defeated all of these great men, because they had continued to struggle in the face of enormous odds, progress had been made for the human race. Such a message alone should have guaranteed Grove a successful career in Canadian fiction, for what better "serious moral purpose" is there than "to justify the works of God to man"?

By now it should be sufficiently clear that Canadians do take themselves and their lives seriously, and that they have perfectly valid reasons for doing so. It should also be clear from the references made to the works of Connor, Haliburton, and Grove, that at least some of Canada's literature has tended to encourage the serious view of life, and that Canadians, generally speaking, might be expected to prefer serious literature to humour.

From the attitude of the early critics of Haliburton quoted above, it would appear almost that some criteria existed by which a work of literature was to be judged. Records abound in print of the literary prejudices and preferences of those who considered it their job to provide leadership in matters of public taste in literature.[13] One interesting indication of the lack of favour into which all light reading had fallen is Mrs. Moodie's comment on the state of the novel's respectability in Canada when she felt called upon to defend her having written one.[14] The novel was out of favour in Canada just as it had been in England a generation or so earlier, and Canadians, like the British before them, were developing an appetite for Scott - so much so that at the centenary of Sir Walter's birth, August 15, 1871, a public holiday was proclaimed in Toronto, schools were closed, and prisoners in jails were allowed two weeks off their sentences.[15] On that occasion, Goldwin Smith, who had become the literary lion of Ontario during the seventies, delivered an address, "The Seven Lamps of Fiction",[16] one of many tributes made to Scott that day. In it he named Scott as the model for all writers of fiction to imitate. Because Smith's was a more or less complete statement of views already widely accepted in Canada[17] - held even by Haliburton himself - a brief look at this "code" and Haliburton's departures from it is indicated.

Smith began his address with an attack against novelists in general whose work, he claimed, was either "mere moralizing" or "the bad tobacco of the mind". But, he claimed:

> Scott does not moralize .... but his heart, brave, pure and true, is a law to itself; and by studying what he does we may find the law for all who follow his calling.[18]

To begin with, Scott's novels were grounded in "Reality" (the first of the lamps), in the faithful study of human nature, not written "by night, under the excitement of green tea".[19] His characters, through "Ideality", were passed "through the crucible of the imagination" so that they were never "monsters" or "caricatures". "The artist is not a photographer, but a painter." Scott's characters were "full of nature, but it is universal nature". "Impartiality", another lamp, demanded that the novelist "see everywhere the good that is mixed with evil, the evil that is mixed with good" and stand apart, as Shakespeare supposedly did, from the political and religious passions of his times. "Impersonality" precluded all libelling or "pamphleteering" under the guise of fiction, for art should never serve as a cover for "striking a foul blow". A writer had to be fair to his political enemies, and bring out "their worth, their valour, such grandeur of character as they have" .... "If they have a ridiculous side, he uses it for the purpose of his art, but genially, playfully, without malice".[20] His "Lamp of Purity" condemned Fielding's "impurity half-redeemed", Smollett's "unredeemed impurity", Sterne's "lecherous leer" and the French school novelists' "mere pandering .... to evil propensities".[21] Scott, by contrast, knew evil as well as good; he "abhorred filth, and teaches us to abhor it too".[22] Smith continued:

> I heard Thackeray thank Heaven for the purity of Dickens: I thanked Heaven for the purity of a greater than Dickens, Thackeray himself. We may all thank Heaven for the purity of one still greater than either, Sir Walter Scott.[23]

Next, Smith decreed that, by the "Lamp of Humanity", the novelist must not outrage humanity with horrors, terrors, abnormalities such as adultery, bigamy, and murder, whose sole purpose in a work of art was "exhibiting human heroism, developing character, awakening emotions which when awakened dignify and save from harm".[24] He added:

> Miss Austen can interest and even excite you as much with the little domestic adventures of Emma as some of her rivals can with a whole Newgate calendar of crime and gore.[25]

Finally, "Chivalry" (the most vague of all the lamps, and probably included so there would be as many "lamps" for literature as Ruskin had discovered for architecture) demanded that a writer "never familiarize us with what is base or mean":

> Let the writer of fiction give us humanity in all its phases, the comic as well as the tragic, the ridiculous as well as the sublime; but let him not lower the standard of character or the aim of life.[26]

With all the lamps lit and burning brightly in Scott, Smith closed his address and proclaimed Scott "one of the heirs of immortality".

There are numerous indications in Haliburton's writings that he too was aware of an unwritten code similar to the "Seven Lamps", and that he paid lip service to it almost as often as he violated it. To begin with the "Lamp of Reality", Haliburton always gave himself credit for being a great portrayer of "Human Natur' ", entitled one of his works Nature and Human Nature, and in the Attaché, in a chapter entitled "Natur' ", commended Washington Irving's Sketch Book for this same quality: it "is like a Dutch paintin'; it is good, because it is faithful".[27] Haliburton, although - or possibly because - he made similar claims for himself, was generally considered to have succeeded in portraying reality. One critic said of The Old Judge:

> In this, as in the former works of "Sam Slick", we have a vivid picture of the persons and manners of those who come under the author's observation .... We cannot help admiring the vividness of the author's drawing .... His knowledge of the world and its customs is then most clearly exemplified.[28]

Haliburton was not nearly as successful as he himself claimed, as was demonstrated earlier.[29] The "Lamp of Ideality" similarly was more often observed by Haliburton in the breach than in the obeying. Haliburton certainly "painted" when he portrayed English cottage life in the Attaché, but his numerous revolting descriptions of white men being embraced by Negro wenches could not have been sufficiently passed through the "crucible of the imagination". The latter, of course, would absolutely have extinguished both the "Lamp of Chivalry" and the

"Lamp of Humanity". Furthermore, Haliburton paid only lip service to the lamps of "Impartiality" and "Impersonality"; in the introductory chapter of the Attaché, he said:

> Classes and not individuals have been selected for observation. National traits are fair subjects for satire or for praise, but personal peculiarities claim the privilege of exemption in right of that hospitality, ... It is only when we quit the limits of this "common" and enter upon "private grounds", that we are guilty of "trespass". [30]

He added, at the end of the work: "I have endeavoured, as far as it was possible in a work of this kind, to avoid all personal allusions to private persons".[31] This meant nothing, for he had been completely partial when it came to politics, completely personal when he damned his old friend, Joseph Howe,[32] and he certainly had not been above "striking a foul blow". Haliburton also pretended that he hated pamphleteering in fiction, and that he distrusted books written "against" such things as slavery,[33] but he himself wrote "against" Durham and his report, and his Bubbles of Canada became a notorious example of "pamphleteering under the guise of fiction" for which he was severely criticized at the time.[34]

It was objections to Haliburton's disregard of the "Lamp of Purity", however, which would absolutely have guaranteed his rejection by the many adherents of the "Moral Earnestness" school.[35] It will be remembered that The Letter Bag of the Great Western had created something of a scandal.[36] Jonathan Slick, in one of his letters, said of its reception:

> I feel sort of wamblecropped today, par, for I've just been a reading our Sam's new book about the Great Western .... If the folks off in Canada hadn't made Sam a judge, I'd stick to it that he wasn't a relation of mine; his book ain't fit to read afore the women folks .... It ain't in my natur to write anything that the most mealy-mouthed gal on arth mightn't read afore all the chaps in creation.[37]

The critics who were instrumental in raising the scandal must have been extremely "mealy-mouthed", for there was nothing more offensive in the book than ten pages of puns on seasickness, from which the following is a fair sample:

> We have lots of land lubbers on board, young agitators fond of "intestine commotions", who are constantly "spouting" .... maidens whose bosoms "heave" - young clerks who "cast up accounts" - custom-house officers who "clear out" .... Jews who at the taffrail "keep a pass-over" .... bankrupts who "give up all they have" .... publishers that first "puff", and then "bring forth their trash" .... "I am so sorry I mistook your hat for the basin" .... "I will drop the subject, or rather throw it up at once".[38]

The publicity accorded The Letter Bag, in 1840, today would have guaranteed the book's success. Instead, the book went unread, thereby providing an excellent commentary on the "moral earnestness" of Canadians at that time. Haliburton was classified as obscene and vulgar, and J.D. Logan, three quarters of a century later, while trying to effect the resurrection of Haliburton's works, had to try to account for a trait which was still obviously preventing much interest being shown in Haliburton's humour.

Although "Moral Earnestness" initially condemned Haliburton's works, strangely enough it also has been used to help resurrect them. For example, J.D. Logan, in one of his early attempts to interest Canadians in Haliburton, said that Haliburton wrote "not, note, exaggerated nonsense after the American manner, but wit, wisdom, and kindly satire".[39] But the best illustration of "Moral Earnestness" working in reverse is the persistency with which Canadian critics, desirous of encouraging further interest in Canadiana in general, and in Haliburton in particular, have claimed that Haliburton and Scott had a shared ancestry. It would appear that Haliburton's father, W.H.O. Haliburton, believed that the relationship existed, that Thomas Chandler, on one of his trips to England, tried to establish it and failed, and that his son, Robert, an advocate of racial purity,[40] was only too willing to allow the misconception to persist. Archibald MacMurchy repeated the statement that Haliburton was descended from Scott,[41] but it was "constructive criticism" like J.D. Logan's that made Chittick's scholarly investigation into the truth of the claims really necessary. Logan opened his discussion in one article with the following statement: "To rediscover, resurrect, and reanimate dead authors is one of the chief functions of genuinely constructive criticism".[42] He continued:

> Canadian literary and social societies .... and the Canadian periodical and daily press followed the "lead" of the United Kingdom .... in celebrating, in August of the current year [1921] the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott.[43]

Haliburton - not Scott - was the "dead author". Capitalizing on Scott's continuing popularity, Logan traced the shared ancestry, (incorrectly, according to Chittick[44]) and even attempted to trace their common genius! He got very little beyond their common tastes and, strangely enough, traced Haliburton's "vulgarest and even obscene, plebeian tastes, sympathies, ideas, and speech .... his coarseness of feeling, temperamental lack of a sense of the fitness of things, of decorum"[45] back to his Scottish border ancestry - an ancestry which, he had just gone to some pains to prove, was shared with Scott! However, he concluded by saying of Haliburton that his humour "had a serious moral purpose"[46] which, supposedly, was meant to excuse whatever lapses into vulgarity Haliburton might have committed. An even more amusing example of the shared ancestry claims appeared at the turn of the century. Arthur B. DeMille, after devoting more attention to Sir Walter Scott than to any other nineteenth century author, wrote a brief description of Canadian literature. He proclaimed that Haliburton was the greatest name, so far, in Canadian literature, and added, as though by explanation: "Haliburton was connected by descent with Sir Walter Scott".[47] Had not Chittick finally disproved this old contention, it is conceivable that Sir Walter Scott would, by now, have been proclaimed the founder of Canadian humour!

It was thus due largely to "Moral Earnestness" that critics of Canadian literature have never since known what to say about Haliburton. The fact that he was the first Canadian in literature to win an international reputation, as well as the most popular abroad of the few who ever did, made it impossible to ignore him. Also, although sophisticated Canadians did not like his works, and did not want another humorist like him, it would not have been easy for critics to criticize him openly; he had to be explained, applauded, and given credit for something. Until Chittick's work appeared, criticism of Haliburton was fairly stereotyped: he was said to be descended from Scott, was called a "great and good man"[48] and was proclaimed to be either the founder of American humour, or "the first systematic humorist of the English-speaking peoples".[49] When Chittick proved all these claims to be false, the critics became dumb. They did not know what to claim for him. They did not want to repeat the unfortunate truths about the man that Chittick had discovered. Thus, all that Pacey was able to say of him was that he was "Canada's first great humorist".[50] Although Haliburton was safe from further attacks, the rest of Canadian humour was not. "Moral Earnestness" saw to that. "Censor" led the attack against McCulloch, saying: "As moral portraits they may find a place on the chimney piece of the cottage, but they will ever be refused admittance to the drawing room of polite life".[51] Earlier in his chapter on North American literature, A.B. DeMille had said that Haliburton's successors, Mark Twain and Artemus Ward, succeeded in humour, but "at the expense of true literary merit".[52] And T.G. Marquis, who had never been overly fond of "trivial" literature, considered it necessary to remind his readers that, although allowances were to be made for Haliburton, they were not to be made for the promising young humorist, Stephen Leacock, who, he said, "is not so much a humorist as a wit", and dismissed him, just as he had Haliburton, with "he is purely of the American school of humour".[53] In support of his prejudice, he quoted from Sainte-Beuve:

> The first consideration is not whether we are amused and pleased, but whether we were right in being amused and in applauding it.[54]

In short, "Moral Earnestness" made Haliburton's success in Canada virtually impossible, and made it extremely unlikely that humour like his would succeed again.

CHAPTER VII

HALIBURTON AND CANADIAN LITERATURE

The main reasons for the rejection by Canadians of the beginnings of a tradition in humour which could have contributed greatly to the nation's literature have now been sufficiently discussed. If Canadians did not like the kind of literature which could have developed from the beginnings Haliburton and his literary antecedents had provided, then they could have chosen something else. They did, with the result that Canada has no national literature.

Like all generalizations, the above statement requires qualification and explanation. No country can be said to have a national literature until her people are generally agreed that one exists. Very few Canadians - even those educated in Canada - would be able to name more than half a dozen Canadian authors or works, and most students of Canadian literature would have to admit that even they had not been aware that there was a literature before they had begun their university course. It is because this condition has so long existed that so many surveys of Canadian literature have been written. The author, in each case, has had as his aim introducing Canadians to their literature and proving to them that they have one - while the very existence of such books would seem to prove the contrary. Recently, Dr. J.P. Matthews, in Tradition in Exile, has discovered many of the reasons for Canada's tardiness in fostering a national tradition in poetry; this present chapter will be an attempt to explain Canada's failure to foster a national literature, especially in fiction writing. Such a study, while really beyond the scope of a thesis on Haliburton, is necessary to explain his sinking entirely into oblivion, and might explain as well why hundreds of other authors failed to become part of a national literature.

It is now a commonplace for literary historians to say that before a country can develop its own culture, it must have achieved a good measure of political independence. Thus, one would naturally expect the United States to have developed cultural independence earlier in its history than, for example, Canada or Australia, which, by confederation, became nations but which did not gain complete political independence. Another factor contributing to early cultural independence in the United States was the war by which the British connection was severed. Wars breed hatred of the enemy - in this case, of the parent culture - and foster patriotism. Such conditions naturally would minimize imitation in literature and provide the best possible climate for the growth of a native literature. Still, it took the United States almost a century to produce a literature which signalled to the world that America had reached cultural maturity. One would, thus, not expect too much of Canada in her first century.

Canada, of course, differed in several important respects from the United States. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that partial political dependence remained, thereby guaranteeing continued cultural dependence. Also, there had been no war - in fact, no public commotion at all - over confederation. The politicians alone seemed to have wanted it, possibly, as was charged, so they would have more scope, and the citizens gave their assent. After Britain acquiesced - so willingly that many colonists thought she was glad to be rid of them - there was an absolute calm, almost like the calm before the storm. But no storm came for the people had taken very little notice of confederation:[1] few could see any difference, except that they had switched capitals - and Ottawa, admittedly, was inferior to Westminster. All that tied Canadians together was the promise of the railways, for loyalties had not yet changed. People felt an attachment to their locale and to England, but - except in Ontario - not to the new nation, and there seemed to be very little need to change loyalties.[2]

However, just at this point when Canadians were quietly getting used to the idea of being citizens of a new nation, the United States was just beginning to assert itself. Victorious Americans, just back from the Civil War, wanted new worlds to conquer, and there was talk of a war with Britain, with Canada to be the battle ground and, probably, the spoils. Then, without warning, came the purchase of Alaska. America, just at this crucial point in Canada's history, was coming of age. Not only was she a threat to Canada's political existence, but also - and what is more important to this study - she had just developed a civilization which was becoming the wonder of the world. From all the countries of Europe, and especially from Britain, travelers came flocking to see the new nation and to write impressions which were widely read by their intensely interested countrymen. Quite often, these travelers visited Canada as well and invariably compared this country to her older and more developed neighbour.[3] From this point on, Canadians found themselves compared to - or unconsciously comparing themselves to - the United States, and this produced a sense of inferiority which, coupled with the alarm they felt at the proximity of such a powerful neighbour, produced a vague sense of uncertainty or uneasiness about the future. These were the conditions which produced one of Canadian history's most enigmatic movements, Canada First.

Now that the history and some of the reason for the failure of the Canada First movement have been published,[4] it is possible to consider its influence upon Canada's achieving cultural maturity. The original members of Canada First need only brief introduction. They were: W.A. Foster, a lawyer and author of the address "Canada First"; Colonel George T. Denison, soldier and loyalist, and later the author of A Search for Imperial Unity in which much of the movement's history is to be found; Henry J. Morgan, journalist and aspiring novelist; Robert Haliburton, son of Thomas Chandler Haliburton and author of racial superiority theories; and Charles Mair, itinerant poet, author of Dreamland and Other Poems and Tecumseh. Unlike the rest of their countrymen who also felt this vague uneasiness or uncertainty, they decided to do something about it. In their discussions on the subject of their country's problems, they decided that Canada was culturally too dependent upon Great Britain and that there was too little national feeling. Canada First undertook to correct these failings through articles, pamphlets, public meetings, and finally politics. It started trying to make Canadians proud of their nation's achievements, cognizant of their national shortcoming, and aware of their duty to Canada. Of the duty of every Canadian, Canada First said:

> That it is the duty of all Canadians whether by birth or adoption to recognize the pressing necessity for the cultivation of a Canadian national sentiment which will unite the people of the various provinces more closely in the bond of citizenship, promote a mutual confidence, whose common source of affection will prompt acts of toleration and words of respect, and prove the best safeguard for our Dominion against absorption on the one hand and disunion on the other.[5]

There were probably very few Canadians who could disagree with sentiments like these, but Canada First was too vague and never really offered any plan through which this "national sentiment" was to be fostered. All that statements like the above could achieve was make Canadians more conscious of the lack of what Canada First was encouraging.

Canada First, although it was unable to present a program of action, was able to do an excellent job of making Canadians aware of the symptoms of their cultural immaturity. For example, when it said:

> A young country is particularly sensitive to outside criticism. A very few words spoken in our favour, by a stranger, give us pleasure; and a very few malicious words uttered to our detriment, irritate sorely.[6]

it pointed out one of the tell-tale symptoms of cultural dependence, but offered no remedy - with the result that Canadians to this day smart at any criticism of them as a people or any insult to them, intentional or accidental, as a nation. Canada First sharply criticized another of the most obvious indications of cultural dependence - Canadian aping of British manners, dress, customs, and culture:

> Periwigs and gold-sticks have had their day, and it is not well for us to attempt to set up the mummied idols of a buried past as objects of worship, or graft on our simple Canadian maple the gaudy outgrowth of a luxurious tropical vegetation. Here, every man is the son of his own works, and we need no antique code of etiquette nor the musty rules of the Herald's office to tell us whom or what to honour.[7]

Again, no remedy was suggested, and this was one area in which some clarification should have been offered, for Canadians, who wished to avoid any further Americanization of their way of life (for reasons mentioned earlier[8]) knew of but one way of countering this inevitable trend - becoming more and more sophisticated in order not to resemble the "boors" to the south. Thus, at least in this instance, Canada First did the people of Canada a disservice, for Canadians, had not their cultural dependence been drawn to their attention, might have adopted, in time, appropriate patterns of social behavior.

One must not fall into the error of making Canada First responsible for Canada's continuing cultural dependence, for by no means were Canada First's statements the first of their kind. For example, even Thomas Chandler Haliburton, anglophile that he was, had said the same things in his works. Pretension, next to reform, was the favorite target of The Clockmaker. In The Old Judge, it was the central theme. And Haliburton, unlike Canada First, supplied a remedy for both of these failings by creating, in literature, a recognizable Nova Scotian character, Stephen Richardson, and by setting him up as an attractive example of the thrift, ingenuity, inventiveness, self-reliance, pride, manners, and common sense that were needed in a new country.[9] Nor could one blame Canada First for not having tried to awaken interest in Haliburton, for, although Haliburton senior was the father of one of the movement's founders, and had himself given voice to Canada First sentiments, he had too recently been sitting in the British House of Commons annoying Canadians in his assumed role of "spokesman for the colonies". All Canada First really did, for better or for worse, was to contribute to a general and growing awareness of national shortcomings to which the following extract from a lengthy article in the Anglican Church Herald bears witness:

> We regard with jealousy on behalf of Canada anything which tends to make her leading men look to another country, even though it be our mother country, for the highest rewards of merit. If Canada is to be a nation, it is time that her sons should begin to look for the highest rewards of merit here. Hitherto, the case of all the Colonies, in this respect, has been the same. None of them have been regarded, either by merchants or politicians, as their country, the ultimate sphere of their own aspirations, and the future home of their children .... While this continues, it is impossible that we should have truly national statesmen or chiefs of commerce and industry thoroughly identified with our interests, present and future, and capable of the patriotic munificence which, it must be owned, nobly distinguishes the wealthy man of the United States. Canadian men will seek to leave their names in the British peerage, not in the statute books of Canada; Canadian merchants, instead of spending their wealth in the acquisition of renown which belongs to the founders of national institutions, will hoard it as the means of founding a family, and they will transfer it and themselves as speedily as possible to the only country where a family can be securely founded. [10]

The expression of such sentiments as these, coupled with the inability of their authors to provide any remedy, could not but encourage the very attitudes they were meant to destroy.

By 1870, Canada had neither an independent culture nor a national literature, and Canada First wanted to encourage both. Charles Mair, in particular, thought that the latter was the means of achieving the former.[11] The various colonial cultures and literatures had yet to be incorporated into one national culture and literature, and this, of course, could not be done quickly. All that Canada First could claim for Canadian literature was: "There are Canadian names known to the world, outside our boundaries, on whom renown has fallen, and we are entitled, at least, to claim whatever credit is our due".[12]

Foster added: "We can boast, too, of humorists, novelists, and tale writers who have distinguished themselves".[13] Haliburton senior was to be remembered only as the man who had "won fame through the sayings and doings of Sam Slick".[14] Foster concluded his list of names of Canadians (formerly colonists) who had "distinguished themselves" by admitting: "We do not make pretense to having achieved, as a people, great renown in literature",[15] but added that Canada's greatest authors, unlike those of the United States, could be "placed in the front ranks among the poets, historians, and novelists of today".[16] It was hard to claim anything more for the colonial writers (save for Haliburton), for there was nothing distinctively Canadian about their works. Richardson had been an imitator of both Scott and Cooper; Mrs. Moodie's novels had been clearly of English inspiration; Sangster had been Canadian in setting but Byronic in inspiration; Heavysage had written nothing about Canada; Oliver Goldsmith had consciously tried to carry on the tradition, and even the ideas, of his famous uncle of the same name; even Haliburton himself had been writing just as much within the American as the Nova Scotian tradition in humour.[17] Canada First could really do little more than state that Canada could well be proud for having produced them.

The passages from Canada First quoted above illustrate perfectly Dr. Matthews' contention that Canadian writing was always being judged on the basis of how it compared with the best in the English language, and of what it contributed to English literature,[18] and that it was an unfair and invalid basis for judgement. Canada First was among the first to spot and complain about the unfairness of such comparison, and saw, too, that unless such comparisons ceased, Canadian literature was doomed.[19] Charles Mair attempted to compromise; since imitations of English literature could not be called "Canadian", and since the main objection against "Canadian" writing was that it was third rate, he cultivated a Canadian flavor in his poetry, the inspiration of which was to be Canadian and the form and language, traditional British. For example, Tecumseh, hero of Mair's patriotic drama of the war of 1812, spoke in a manner reminiscent more of Shakespeare's Henry V than of a savage chief.[20] The reason for his purity of speech was not Mair's ignorance of how Indians spoke or acted (as it had been in the case of Thomas Chandler Haliburton[21]), for Mair had spent many years among half-breeds and Indians. He was merely paying deference to strict Canadian standards of taste and decorum. After all, Mair would not have wanted the critics saying of him, as they were saying of Haliburton: "His literary fame perhaps might be more enduring if he had expressed himself in effective English".[22] For Mair, who had been brought up, as had so many Canadians, to revere the poetic tradition of England, a complete rejection of it was impossible, and a compromise, self-consciously embodying English diction and form and the Canadian scene, was the only and difficult solution.

There is something about Canada which makes description of it in traditional poetic diction seem flabby. It has been admirably demonstrated, for example, how ridiculous English poetic diction appears when it is used to describe a country like Australia, whose climate, seasons, vegetation, and animal life are the direct opposites to Britain's; where April comes in autumn, Christmas in summer, and where trees shed bark instead of leaves, the conventional images make no sense.[23] In Canada, where the contrast with Britain is so much less marked, poetic diction and idiom have not had to be discarded altogether, but only modified and made more vigorous. Our earliest writers failed to recognize the necessity for such modification, and belonged, as a result, to the English tradition, even when their inspiration was Canadian. Only Susanna Moodie and Haliburton among the colonial writers of prose, and the occasional early post-confederation writers, were able to convey in appropriate words the ruggedness of their surroundings. In the United States, Washington Irving was the first "respectable" writer to approach a North American idiom, but then only in the two short stories that appeared in The Sketch Book, "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Rip Van Winkle". The rest of the book was typically English in style, as were Cooper's Leather-Stocking novels. Haliburton senior, however, had unconsciously solved the problem of how to write about Canada in a typically Canadian way. He just wrote "nateral". [sic] His most enduring passages are those in which he, Sam, or Stephen Richardson were describing rural life and pastimes, or telling their droll stories. The five chapters of The Old Judge devoted to "The Keeping Room of an Inn" are the best examples of Haliburton's sustained non-self-consciously Canadian writing. Occasionally, as he grew older, he slipped into the English "graveyard and ruins" tradition, as in "Tombstones"[24] and in "the Duke of Kent's Lodge",[25] and his highly idealized pictures of English rural life in the Attaché were almost identical to Irving's in style and language. At other times, he compromised, describing the Nova Scotian countryside in traditional poetic diction, but with a vigour that was lacking in the work of most of his contemporaries. It was not again until Frederick Philip Grove that a Canadian was able to write consistently in a recognizably Canadian style and diction. Haliburton was, ironically, the first to come close to achieving what his son Robert appeared to be among the first to advocate.[26]

The spectacle of Charles Mair trying to win the support of Canadians for distinctively Canadian poetry and finding his works ignored by the critics[27] illustrates most eloquently that cultivating a Canadian flavour was no way to stimulate Canadian support of native literature. All it did was invite further comparison with British or American literature, and, in the end, further retard

Canada's acquiring her own distinctive literature. Canadians, it would appear, did not want a national literature, at least of the kind offered by Mair. And one could not blame them. They had come to believe like - and possibly because of - Goldwin Smith that "from its situation and traditions, Canada could never have a literature separate from that of the United States or of Great Britain".[28] More and more they worshipped the image of sophistication which alone set them above their boorish neighbours who, simultaneously, were ridiculing the cult of sophistication and consciously trying to appear unsophisticated or "nateral". More and more they imitated British writing and fashions, and cultivated imperial sentiment, with the result that, when Canada First finally faded from sight, even the awareness of Canada's shortcomings that had been awakened gradually disappeared.

Canada First had wanted a distinctively Canadian literature and had implied that at least two things were necessary: a recognizably Canadian flavour and themes which would help create national sentiment. The second of these was just as doomed to failure as the first. Canadians generally had not been emotionally involved in confederation; their new literature could not have its roots in the founding of the nation. Perhaps what Canada needed was, as Denison had stated, "a rattling good war with the United States",[29] but this never transpired, and the Fenian Raids, though they provided temporary excitement, could hardly provide the basis for the founding of a literature. Canada First made the error of assuming that there were no "roots" already, and that they would have to be provided. The colonial authors were dismissed on the grounds that, being colonial, they could never become national. In insisting that these authors, distributed as they were throughout the entire country, did not provide adequate beginnings for national literature, Canada First was not alone, for this has been the prevailing opinion of both critics and authors to the present day. Not because this opinion was sound, but because it was so widely held, Canadians are still searching for a truly "national" literature.

One of the lessons taught by study of the literary history of the United States is that her colonial literature did provide the roots, and even the themes, for a national literature. The development of American humour from New England roots, its Nova Scotian nurture and cultivation, Haliburton's grafting on to it the new American humour, and the Americans' transplanting and further cultivating it in the United States, have already been traced. Similarly, one could show how the New Jerusalem theme of the puritans became the frontier theme of the nineteenth century, and how Rousseau's "Child of Nature" became, first, the simple backwoodsman, next, an unsophisticated folk hero in Natty Bumppo, then an enemy of sophistication in Jonathan Slick, next, a ridiculer of American "culture vultures" in Mark Twain's Innocents Abroad, and, finally, the cosmopolitan New-Man in The American. All this, however, would only demonstrate that the United States did make use of her own cultural heritage when she decided to stop borrowing from Britain. The second "lesson", which, like the first, could not have been discerned at the time of Canada First, is that in the literature of the United States regionalism has been, and has always been considered to be, a decided source of strength, not a necessary purgatory as it has been regarded in Canada. The dismissal by Canadians of regional literature has, more than any other single factor, retarded our acquisition of - or, more properly speaking, our recognition of the existence of - a national literature.

Space does not permit, nor does the scope of a thesis on Haliburton allow, more than a preview of what would be discovered in a hitherto unattempted study of "Regionalism in Canadian Fiction". Dr. Matthews' discussion of regionalism in Canadian poetry, because it goes so contrary to traditional lines in Canadian criticism, must needs serve as the starting point of such a discussion:

> This aspect of Canadian nationalism [national spirit] was the rock on which Canada First ran aground. Not only did they attempt to define the indefinable, but they were suspicious of the continuation of Canadian regionalism as an enemy to the growth of a national spirit.

> Such a recent critic as E.K. Brown has echoed them, claiming that in literature, too, a spirit of regionalism stresses the superficial and peculiar at the expense of the fundamental and universal. It is true that excessive fragmentation may be dangerous, but perhaps Professor Brown was caught up in a persuasive Canadian tradition. Insistence on the value of the universal may be found throughout the history of Canadian criticism. Didacticism must be stressed by means of "the fundamental and the universal", until one begins to think that the two terms are synonymous. For such critics, regionalism is the purgatory Canadian literature must endure before the coming of great books is a possibility, but it is a necessary purgatory. Canadian poets have cut across the borders of regionalism more than the prose writers, but we have seen that with the earlier poets this has been a source of weakness. With their eyes firmly fixed upon the parent tradition more than upon the object before them, they have been chasing, prematurely, a universal which cannot exist for them until it grows from local roots.[30]

How could perception of universal, or even of national, values ever have been expected to grow from anything but the particular? Poetry, almost by definition, universalizes the particular, and, naturally, has succeeded better than fiction because the poet must spend less time dealing with what he sees than its significance. "Universalizing" is perhaps the poet's most important tool, but it is by no means the novelist's. He has character, plot, setting, local colour, vraisemblance, and, in Canada, message to cope with as well, as does the short story writer. And, in a huge country like Canada, setting, local colour, and vraisemblance provide the greatest test of the novelist's abilities for he has to present to his readers (who by virtue of their holidaying only in the United States, Great Britain, or their adjoining provinces, and due to their limited studies, are woefully deficient in knowledge of Canada's history, geography, and customs) not only with a good story but with the knowledge necessary to understand it! Looking at the most conspicuously successful Canadian novelists, one readily can see that this is true.

Grove, for example, before he could begin to "universalize", had to convey to his readers the awesomeness of the prairies, the terrible wind-swept flatness which made men either crouch below ground level in sod huts, or erect defiantly tall frame or even brick houses for the wind to twist out of shape or reduce to dust. He had also to present convincingly the two main types of men the prairies produced, the "mole" and the giant, and justify the hard and bitter facts of prairie life before his message could begin to emerge. One cannot be too severe with the man, successfully having done all this, for failing to provide some national theme more vital than "the bread basket of the world".

One can see all Canada's authors having to do the same thing: Thomas Raddall and Haliburton for the Maritimes; Gabrielle Roy, Roger Lemelin, Paul Ringuet, and Louis Hémon for French Canada - to name just a few who have been translated into English; Sarah Jeanette Duncan, Ralph Connor, Frederick Philip Grove, and Stephen Leacock for Ontario; and Grove, Gabrielle Roy, Sinclair Ross, and Paul Hiebert for the prairies. All are trying to capture the regions they know best and present them and their distinctive regional characteristics to a nation which proudly calls itself the richest "melting-pot" in the world, which appears indifferent to knowing itself better, and which, thereby, has discouraged the unification of "the people of the various provinces more closely in the bond of citizenship ...."[31] called for by Canada First a century ago.

The recognition of Canada's regional literatures as a perfectly respectable national literature has, thus, been slow in coming mainly because of the wide-spread belief, shared by both critics and authors, that regional literature was bound to be superficial, whereas, really, the converse was true. One has only to look at one or two examples of novels whose authors have tried consciously to speed up the process of universalizing the particular to demonstrate the fact that, in Canada, this has been, and is likely to continue being, a fruitless task. When Hugh MacLennan tried to develop the story of the Halifax explosion into a national theme he fell far short of success for, while he damned the colonial spirit in such men as Colonel Wain, and set up his two young lovers, Penny and Neil, as the ideal of the new Canadian patriotism incarnate, his new patriotism consisted in a strange pride in being Canadian - pride due not so much to Canada's achievements as to her great future. He predicted a great role for Canada in world affairs - she was to become "the keystone to hold the world together"[32] but he was unable to explain how. In this he was truly the spokesman for the nation, for one of the main national traits of Canadians is their dream of a glorious future and a loud voice in international affairs.[33] However, MacLennan had no specific proposals to offer, so, unable to provide leadership for Canadians, he could only reflect their optimism. The only "bond of citizenship" he could offer his countrymen was the railways, and, thus, his attempt at the "great Canadian novel" failed.

Sufficient has already been said to point out that in Canadian fiction regionalism is an established fact, and that it need not be considered a weakness. It is also likely to continue, for Canada is vast and is already divided physically, politically, and ethnically into distinct regions. Donald Creighton in Dominion of the North saw much of Canada's history as the triumphant struggle against continentalism, a struggle to prevent union of, for example, the Canadian and American Maritimes, the Canadian and American heavy industrial regions, the Canadian and American prairies, and the Canadian and American Pacific coast regions. Instead, Canadians have tried to unite these regions, effectively isolated from each other by almost impassable physical barriers, by bridging them. Thus, we have two transcontinental railway and telegraph lines, a Trans-Canada highway, a TransCanada microwave system, a TransCanada radio network, and TransCanada Airlines, all achieved at terrific cost, and all aiming to replace the natural North-to-South avenues of communication provided by the geography of the continent. With the physical barriers finally bridged, what now divides the country is distance, with the result that regionalism will continue to play no less a role in Canadian culture than it now does in the United States.

Canadian fiction, if ever it were to be elevated to the status of a national literature, would, first, have to become widely read. It would have to cease being known only to a handful of university professors and their students and be placed in the hands of the man on the street who now - if the advent of television has not already stopped his reading - reads only the best or the worst of British and American literature. Familiarization with Canadian literature would have to begin in the high school, not in the honours course at the university. High school students would need to be exposed to The Imperialist as well as to Pride and Prejudice, to Our Daily Bread as well as to Return of the Native, to Barometer Rising[34] as well as to Oliver Twist, to His Majesty's Yankees as well as to A Tale of Two Cities - and one could continue the list until every British or American novel presently on the high school course had a Canadian counterpart. Even for these outstanding Canadian books to be placed in the hands of students, the anti-colonial, anti-regional, and anti-trivial prejudices of those who control curricula would have to be overcome. Because all this would be as impossible of attainment today as it was at the time of Canada First, Canada's early authors (like Haliburton) will be known only to students of Canadian literature, Canada's rich regional literatures will be unknown beyond their authors' province, Canada's new self-consciously non-regional national novels (such as The Watch That Ends The Night) continue to be second rate and read only by those who belong to book clubs, and Canada's "pot-boilers" will be read only if, by accident, they get into print. Perhaps this is as it should be; nevertheless with present and past conditions for the growth of a national literature so unfavorable, Haliburton's - and many another author's - remaining an isolated figure in the literary history of Canada, though unfortunate, ceases to be a mystery.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this discussion on Haliburton's failure to found a tradition of humour in Canada, it has constantly been found convenient to refer to the development of humour in the United States for indications as to how humour might have been developed in Canada. It has not been misleading to assume that Canadian humour's development could have paralleled that of American humour, for, despite the strong prejudice of Canadians towards all things American, Haliburton's international reputation and the distinctively Canadian characteristics of his humour should have allowed him to become the founder of such a tradition. The reasons for his failure have by now been sufficiently explained, and it remains only to prove the basic contention underlying this entire thesis: that he did, in fact, fail, and that the humour written since is in no way connected to the tradition which produced him.

The study of Canadian humour between Haliburton and Leacock is, to say the least, a disappointing experience. The "Moral Earnestness" which made Haliburton unacceptable seems to have made anything but the trivial and commonplace impossible in Canadian humour; the "Lamps of Fiction", "Purity", "Ideality", "Reality", "Chivalry", "Impartiality", "Impersonality", and "Humanity" have been burning too brightly. There is almost no caricature, satire, ridicule, or criticism of Canadians, and very little of their neighbours and relations. The Americans learned to accept criticism from abroad, and, eventually, even from home. Canadians never have - possibly because they have had no national character. Canada did, however, have the beginnings of a "typical Canadian" in her early regional types who, in many respects, corresponded with those of the United States. For example, the discovery of Canadian legends of Paul Bunyan in 1951 through a series of radio broadcasts by an old lumber-jack, Ed. Mandeville,[1] and Robert Gard's discovery of the Albertan character, Johnny Chinook,[2] suggest that Canada once had her own tradition in tall tales, most of which have yet to appear in print. Undoubtedly, the same attitude towards the "trivial" and "commonplace" which caused American folk literature to be rejected by the critics in the United States, prevented the publication of their Canadian counterparts in this country. Drummond's Johnnie Courteau, the comic French Canadian, might have provided the beginnings of a tradition comparable to that of the comic Yankee had there been an international reception for him comparable to that accorded to Sam Slick. Drummond, however, was either ignored or criticized, as he still is, for writing in a dialect of his own invention which "forms a barrier to communication which the inherent triviality of the poems scarcely tempts us to surmount".[3] Had not Canadians been so prejudiced against the "trivial and even vulgar", perhaps Canada might have had a national character called Jack Canuck, somewhat approximating Uncle Sam or John Bull. This typical Canadian character could have been a composite of the regional types, embodying Haliburton's Stephen Richardson, Drummond's Johnnie Courteau, an Ontario backwoodsman like the Canadian Paul Bunyan, a prairie sharecropper, the Albertan Johnny Chinook, and some hitherto undiscovered British Columbian character. He might even have had the face of Sir John A. MacDonald, and, conceivably, could have worn the uniform of the R.C.M.P. Instead, Canadians rejected their early regional and folk literatures, and, today, the only evidence of it is to be found in the dusty files of the rapidly vanishing, small town newspaper offices.

The people of Canada, never having appreciated ridicule or criticism from abroad, would appear to have adopted the "Golden Rule" for, with few exceptions, they have tried to avoid hurting the feelings of each other and, also, of their neighbours and relations, the United States and Britain. Robert Barr's In The Midst of Alarms is one of the few exceptions. In this humorous novel about the Fenian Raids, he caricatured both the invaders and the "typical American" of the day. However, he said nothing against the Canadians. Other exceptions include E.W. Thomson who, in his Old Man Savarin Stories, occasionally satirized Canada's extreme pro-British patriotism, and both Louis MacKay and Paul Hiebert who satirized Canadian encouragement of sixth-rate literature. What little remains of Canadian humour conforms to the high ideals of "Moral Earnestness". Peter McArthur rarely rises above anecdotes about humorous animals, and Eric Nicol's Twice Over Lightly, Newton MacTavish's Thrown In, Robertson Davies' Diary of Samuel Marchbanks, John Robins' Cottage Cheese - all these and as many more - make good light reading and offend nobody except, perhaps, those who might consider reading them to be a waste of time. Their one common characteristic - that they should offend nobody - is actually more important than it at first seems, for it is the thread of continuity running through them and Leacock - the thread which suggests that Canada is developing a tradition of humour even more Canadian than that which Haliburton offered.

Most critics would agree that, despite the furore that arose in Orillia, there was nothing malicious or unkind said about the town and its inhabitants in the book. Leacock focussed his readers' attention on "Mariposa" in order to make them aware of what was wrong with the Canadian way of life - not just with the small-town life which Sinclair Lewis in the United States had attacked in Main Street. Leacock had to avoid offense; Lewis did not have to. Leacock, through universalizing the particular, managed to transform "Moral Earnestness", hitherto an inhibiting negative force in Canadian humour, and made it a positive force. Instead of avoiding offense by saying nothing, he attacked what was wrong with Canadian life while continuing to avoid offending particular persons. He had a "serious moral purpose", but it did not detract from his humour. His thesis was that there was too much commercialism in Canadian life, and, which was worse, that Canadians were trying to camouflage it with hypocrisy. He accepted the "Moral Earnestness" of Canadians, and, instead of ridiculing it as Haliburton had done - and thereby encouraging Canadians to take themselves even more seriously in order to avoid its more obvious manifestations - he treated it as one of the many humorous but nevertheless worthwhile characteristics of Canadians. That Leacock belonged to the "Moral Earnestness" school of humour there can be no doubt. One need only wonder how such a negative tradition could ever have produced so great a humorist.

With Leacock, social criticism came back into Canadian humour. Paul Hiebert and Louis MacKay have used the same playful humour to satirize the ridiculous "High Seriousness" of some of the criticism of Canadiana, and the tradition shows signs of yet further expansion, especially in satiric verse, radio, and periodical literature, especially Macleans. It is still too early to predict whether or not the tradition will become sufficiently strong or popular to influence the development of fiction as the American tradition did in the United States, for, after all, it is still in its infancy and has only produced one major humorist. It is unfortunate that it cannot be claimed that Haliburton was the founder of this new tradition, but it differs too greatly from the American tradition which absorbed him for such claims to have any justification. Only an ingenious study in literary influences could possibly link Leacock with Haliburton. Such a study would have to explain away too many known facts about Haliburton, as well as their implications: that Haliburton was disowned by the Nova Scotians during his lifetime and almost completely forgotten after his death; that Haliburton was too generally associated with the American tradition for him to have had a successor in Canada in the new type of North American humour he had created; that at the most opportune time for a revival of his works to have succeeded, the Canada First movement, which had more reason than any other group in Canada to encourage such a revival, virtually ignored both him and his works; and that Haliburton's works must have been offensive to the adherents of a rampant "Moral Earnestness" movement who, while they did not attack him openly, forced succeeding humorists to write within their tradition. Such a study would have also to explain why Haliburton's many contributions did not appear again in Canadian humour - his distinctively North American brand of humour, his Canadian idiom, and the beginnings of a "national character" - and why, what was potentially his greatest contribution, the all important link which his works could have provided between colonial and Canadian literature was ignored. Until such a study appears, it will have to be accepted that Haliburton has had no successor in Canadian humour and that he remains an isolated figure in the literary history of Canada.

NOTES

Chapter I

1 R.P.Baker, A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation, (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1920), p.69.

2 Edgar Allen Poe is often named as the last of the New England humorists, but would appear to belong here only because he belongs nowhere else. cf. Constance Rourke, American Humor, (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1955), pp. 145-150.

3 Baker, op.cit. pp.9,10,19,44,98.

4 See below, p.69.

5 Cf. Thomas Raddall, His Majesty's Yankees, (Toronto; McClelland & Stewart, 1959).

6 Thomas McCulloch, The Stepsure Letters, (Toronto; McClelland & Stewart, 1960), p.136.

7 Baker, op.cit., pp.18 & 19.

8 McCulloch, op.cit., pp.125-126.

9 Ibid., pp.132-135. (A letter to the editor, quoted in this, but not in the 1862 edition)

10 V.L.O. Chittick, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp.378-379.

11 Ibid.

12 J.P. Matthews, Tradition In Exile, (Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp.36-40.

13 Ibid., p.40.

14 Chittick, op.cit. p.358.

15 A.B.DeMille, Literature in the Century, ("The Nineteenth Century" series, 25 vols., London: Linscott, 1900), p.323.

16 Archibald MacMurchy, Canadian Literature, (Toronto: Briggs, 1906), p.16.

17 T.G.Marquis, English Canadian Literature ("Canada and its Provinces" series, 22 vols., Toronto: Glasgow Brook, 1913), p.541.

18 Chittick, op.cit., p.384.

19 Baker (op.cit.) p.ix, thanks Chittick who "criticized the chapter on Haliburton in the light of his researches". (Baker's book appeared four years before Chittick's.)

20 Baker, op.cit., p.69.

21 R.L. McDougall, in *The Clockmaker* (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1958), p.x.

22 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.379.

23 Rourke, *op.cit.*, pp.65-66.

24 *Chittick*, *op.cit.*, p.644.

25 Rourke, *op.cit.*, pp.37-69.

26 *Ibid.*, pp.70-90.

27 *Ibid.*, p.66 & p.88.

28 *Ibid.*, p.66.

29 *Ibid.*, p.32.

30 See below, p.69.

31 Chittick, *op.cit.*, pp.326-357.

32 T.C. Haliburton, *The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony*, (2 vols., London: Colburn, 1849), I, p.21.

33 T.C. Haliburton, *Nature and Human Nature*, (2 vols., London: Hurst & Blackett, 1855), I, pp.198-200.

34 *The Old Judge*, I, p.21.

35 T.C. Haliburton, *The Letter Bag of the Great Western*, (London: Bentley, 1840), p.21.

36 T.C. Haliburton, *The Attaché*, (2 vols., "First Series"; London: Bentley, 1843), pp.68-82.

37 T.C. Haliburton, *Sam Slick, the Clockmaker*, (Toronto: Musson, n.d.), pp. 166-175.

38 Chittick quotes (*op.cit.* pp.207-211) a letter to the "*Acadian Recorder*" signed Julian, from which I quote the following extracts: (omissions mine):

The Clockmaker .... The hero of the work is a Yankee Clock Pedlar, who roams from one section of the province to another vending wooden clocks, and practising upon the simple and credulous Inhabitants, every species of disimulation and deceit, and every dishonest art in order to foist upon them, at an exorbitant price, his gilded and painted trash. The burden of it is, a description in the spirit of satire and ridicule of the idleness, ignorance, apathy, and extravagance of the manners, habits, and customs of the people of this province, and their local officers and institutions. And the moral pointed out by it (if any), a Railroad between Halifax and Windsor.... But what of the Hero of this hodge podge chance medley volume, what of this Yarn-spinning, Jest-breaking, Woman-whipping, Slang-jabbering Clock Maker. Know gentle reader, that he is a fictitious character who is made to figure through some thirty letters of two columns

Novascotian measure, got up, dressed and equipped by the Author and presented as a model for Novascotians .... and oh absurdity! this Yankee Democrat, this braggadocio of the American mobocracy .... he is made to .... dilate upon the facilities for commerce which this Province contains; and to abuse the Inhabitants for not availing themselves of these advantages, laying it all to the account of their ignorance and indolence that they are not the richest people in the world .... Now what can we say of this character? Is it well drawn and sustained? No, it is a tissue of inconsistencies and contradictions. Is it estimable and worthy of imitation by Nova Scotians? [No!]...But it may be asked, has he not drawn this character for our abhorrence and not for our admiration? Has he not chosen one of the gang of imposters who infest the Province as traffickers or showmen, and held him up to view, a cheating, lying, bragging, fawning, Yankee, that we may detest and not imitate? Fain would I, were it possible, draw such conclusions, but the winding up of the Volume compels us to an opposite decision. The Clock Maker is decidedly and warmly approved, is praised for sound sense, searching observation, amusing idiom &c &c.

39 Chittick, *op.cit.*, pp.332-342.

40 *Attaché*, 1st Ser., II, pp.1-2, 132-133.

41 *Ibid*, I, p.133, II, pp.152-153. Also T.C. Haliburton, *The Attaché (2 vols., "Second Series"; London:Bentley, 1844), I, pp.243-250.*

42 *Nature and Human Nature*, I, p.14.

43 *Nature and Human Nature*, I. pp.10-11. *Attaché*, 2nd Ser., II, p.75.

44 *Ibid*, p.19. Also *Attaché*, 1st Ser., II, pp.155 & 286.

45 *Attaché*, 1st Ser., II, p.155. *Clockmaker*, p.348. *Nature & Human Nature, I*, pp.11-13, & 118-119.

46 *Attaché*, 1st Ser., I, p.239. 2nd Ser., I, pp.243-244.

47 *Clockmaker*, pp. 348-349. This is the first indication in Haliburton's works that he was aware of the differences between the humour of the various regions, and it shows that Haliburton believed that the "types" portrayed by the American humorists were really typical. He said: "The United States cover an immense extent of territory, and the inhabitants of different parts of the Union differ as widely in character, feelings, and even in appearance, as the people of different countries usually do. These sections differ also in dialect and in humour .... Mr. Slick's pronunciation is that of the *Yankee*, or an inhabitant of the *rural districts* of New England. His conversation is generally purely so, but in some instances he uses .... phrases which, though Americanisms, are not of Eastern origin .... the rich gasconade and exaggerated language of the west migrates not infrequently to the east. This idiomatic exchange is perceptibly on the increase. It arises from the travelling propensities of the Americans". Thus Sam, he claimed, was typically, if not consistently, Yankee.

48 Chittick, *op.cit.*, 349.

49 This was, no doubt, occasioned by Haliburton's assertion in The Attache, (second series, I, pp.74-76) that Sam and the Rev. Hopewell had living prototypes, and that those who knew them were surprised at the likeness. J.D. Logan, in Thomas Chandler Haliburton, ("Maker of Canadian Literature" Series, Toronto:Ryerson, n.d.), p.112, actually identifies the originals!

50 Chittick points out (op.cit., p.333) that Haliburton used not only the American portrayals of the three "types", but also the British travel books' portraits of the Americans - long used as sources by the American humorists themselves! Thus, Haliburton's portraits could not have been any more "typically American", for they embodied both British and American ideas, and agreed very closely with their readers' preconceptions about Americans. Also, Haliburton's use of the English sources provides further evidence for the statement (p.14) that Haliburton was ignorant of the people he was portraying.

51 MacMurchy, op.cit., p.16.

52 Chittick, op.cit., pp. 487-491.

53 Ibid., p.482.

54 Old Judge, I, p.293.

55 Ibid., p.295.

56 Ibid., pp.47-99.

57 Ibid., pp.120-161.

58 Ibid., II, pp.68-70.

59 Northrop Frye, in The Stepsure Letters, p.ix.

60 See Chapter I, note 50.

61 J.D. Logan, "Why Haliburton Has No Successor", (Canadian Magazine, vol.57), p.367.

62 Ibid., p.364.

63 Quoted in The Stepsure Letters, p.132.

64 Matthews, op.cit., p.39.

65 Chittick, op.cit., p.482.

66 Ibid., p.492.

67 Old Judge, I., p.307.

68 Matthews, op.cit., p.39.

69 Ibid., p.36.

Chapter II

1 See above, p.18.

2 Chittick, *op.cit.*, pp.379-380.

3 J.D.Logan, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton*, p.151.

4 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.94.

Chapter III

1 *Clockmaker*, p.8.

2 *Ibid.*, p.85.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p.86.

5 *Ibid.*, p.87.

6 *Ibid.*, p.viii.

7 *Ibid.*, p.52.

8 *Ibid.*, p.47.

9 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.207. Also see Note 38, Chapter I.

10 *Clockmaker*, p.131.

11 T.C.Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, (2 vols., Halifax:Howe, 1829), II, pp.314-315.

12 *Clockmaker*, p.151.

13 *Ibid.*, p.152.

14 *Ibid.*, pp.144-147.

15 *Ibid.*, p.163.

16 *Ibid.*, pp.163-164.

17 *Ibid.*, p.164.

18 *Ibid.*, p.276.

19 Matthews, *op.cit.*, p.39.

20 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.233.

Chapter IV

1 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.273.

2 *Ibid.*, p.276.

3 *Ibid.*, p.243.

4 *Ibid.*, p.280.

5 A "Loco-Foco" was an anti-monopolist Democrat in the United States, hence, a liberal, and, thus, for Haliburton, a reformer and agitator.

6 *Letter Bag*, p.262.

7 *Ibid.*, p.264.

8 *Ibid.*, p.265.

9 *Ibid.*, p.266.

10 *Ibid.*, p.270.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*, pp.91-92.

13 *Ibid.*, p.12.

14 *Ibid.*, p.vi.

15 *Ibid.*, p.165.

16 *Ibid.*, p.317.

17 Chittick, *op.cit.*, p.295.

18 *Ibid.*, p.296.

19 *Ibid.*, p.401.

20 *Ibid.*, p.403.

21 *Clockmaker*, p.400.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*, p.409.

24 *Ibid.*, p.404.

25 *Ibid.*, pp.404-405.

26 *Ibid.*, p.405.

27 *Ibid.*, p.407.

28 *Ibid.*, p.295.

29 "The Rebel Patriot .... talks better than he fights, han't got much property in a gineral way, and hopes to grab a little in the universal scramble .... A Mahogany Patriot .... is envious of all them that is above him, and if he can't get his legs under the mahogany of his betters, is for taking his better's mahogany away from them .... A Spooney Patriot thinks the world can be .... governed by systems, ... [and] talks about reforms, codifying, progression .... liberality, responsibility, and a pack of party catchwords that he don't know the meanin' of .... A Place Patriot is a rogue .... and to secure place will sacrifice everything that is valuable, and good, and respectable." *Ibid.*, p.369.

30 *Ibid.*, p.370.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*, p.324.

34 *Ibid.*, pp.354-355.

35 *Ibid.*, pp.351-352.

36 Chittick, *op.cit.*, pp.276-279. The following extracts of letters from the *Acadian Recorder* are typical:

"The time was, Sir, when you gave indication of being possessed of an independent and honest mind; but you became recreant to your own principles, sold yourself to a party, and now basely employ your prostituted pen, to effect the destruction of opinions, which you then possessed .... You became a Judicial functionary, and .... no sooner felt yourself independent of the means of your elevation, than you became anxious to convince the public mind by every means in your power, that you had been a mere political hypocrite. You kneel at the idol of conservatism, and affect the devotee at its sanguinary shrine. You sacrifice upon its altar the principles you once professedly cherished, the rights you once advocated, in order to propitiate an impure God.

••••••••••••••••••

I denounce you as an enemy to your country and the Empire! I proclaim you a traitor to the most sacred rights of your native province, a renegade to British freedom! And I consign you, Thos. C. Haliburton, to the scorn, the contempt, and the detestation of your betrayed and libelled countrymen." (Signed) Also a Colonist.

"Peter Pindar" suggested even worse, and brought Haliburton's father into the controversy: "Now, as the father was a Judge, and the son was ready at drawing out writs and subpoenas and other law papers, folks knew well what Lawyer to employ."

37 *Ibid.*, p.280.

38 *Ibid.*, p.284.

39 *Ibid.*, p.285.

Chapter V

1 Chittick, op.cit., pp.385-419.

2 Ibid., pp.472-474.

3 The following "apology" is typical: (Attaché, first series, I, p.49)

> "In the preceding sketch I have given Mr. Slick's account of the English climate, and his opinion of the dullness of a country house, as nearly as possible in his own words. It struck me at the time that they were exaggerated views; but if the weather were unpropitious, and the company not well selected, I can easily conceive that the impression on his mind would be as strong and unfavourable as he describes it to have been."

Chittick felt that such admissions (and there are many of them in The Attaché) destroyed Sam as a commentator on English life. (Chittick, op.cit., p.438) The following passage (Attaché, first series, II, p.132) reveals that Chittick missed the point of Haliburton's remarks:

> "I am not surprised at the views expressed by Mr. Slick in the previous chapter. He has led too active a life, and his habits and thoughts are too business-like to admit of his enjoying retirement, or accommodating himself to the formal restraints of polished society. And yet, after making this allowance for his erratic life, it is but fair to add that his descriptions were always exaggerated."

What Chittick failed to see was that Haliburton was merely using double-edged satire again. Sam's remarks, Haliburton was pointing out in his usual circuitous manner, were meant to provide a satire on both English and American life. He was not apologising for Sam, or for having been the inventor of Sam's sayings and doings. He had only made Sam say what a Yankee might have been expected to say, and was pointing out that he, as a Nova Scotian, did not always agree with Sam's criticisms.

4 Chittick, op.cit., p.349.

5 Attaché, first series, I, pp.103-105.

6 See Note 3, Chapter V.

7 Chittick disproves the charge (op.cit., p.439.)

8 Ibid., p.277.

9 Attaché, first series, I, p.150.

10 Ibid., p.150.

11 Ibid., II, p.45.

12 Ibid., p.87.

13 Ibid., p.212.

14 Attaché, second series, II, p.52.

15 Ibid., p.212.

16 Ibid., p.215.

17 Ibid., pp.215-217.

18 Ibid., p.220.

19 Ibid., p.223.

20 Ibid., p.225.

21 Chittick, op.cit., p.479.

22 Haliburton's decision to abandon Sam probably was what started the theory that the Attaché was written to "get even" with Dickens for the following unflattering remarks about Nova Scotia; (Dickens, American Notes (New York: Collier,n.d.), p.32)

"I suppose this Halifax would have appeared an Elysium though it had been a curiosity of ugly dullness. But I carried away with me a most pleasant impression of the town and its inhabitants, and have preserved it to this hour. Nor was it without regret that I came home without having found an opportunity of returning thither, and once more shaking hands with the friends I met that day."

23 Ibid.

24 Anthony Trollope, North America, (New York:Knopf, 1951), p.18.

"The 'Arabia' touched at Halifax; and as the touch extended from 11 A.M. to 6 P.M. we had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of that colony; .... enough perhaps to warrant a paragraph."

He saw the fort, but considered the chance of a dinner on shore "a greater treat to us even than this". Apart from the fort, the only thing he thought worth mentioning was the sample of Nova Scotian gold he had seen, and concluded:

"But still, I think, the dinner on shore took rank with us as the most memorable and meritorious of all that we did and saw at Halifax. At seven o'clock on the morning but one after that, we were landed at Boston".

25 Old Judge, I, p.iii.

26 Ibid., pp.vi-vii.

27 See above, pp.19-20.

28 Ibid.

29 Old Judge, I, pp.iv-v.

30 Ibid., pp.120-161.

31 Ibid., pp.205-229.

32 Ibid., p.55.

33 Ibid., p.53.

34 Ibid., p.55.

35 Ibid.

36 Chittick, op.cit., p.487.

37 T.C.Haliburton, Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances; or What He Said, Did, or Invented, (2 vols., London:Hurst & Blackett, 1853), I, p.v.

38 He said in his preface: "The original design in writing the sketches known as the "Sayings and Doings of the Clockmaker", which has never been lost sight of, was to awaken Nova Scotians to the vast resources and capabilities of their native land, to stimulate their energy and enterprise, to strengthen the bond of union between the colonies and the parent State, and by occasional references to the institutions and governments of other countries, to induce them to form a just estimate and place a proper value on their own. That I have succeeded in effecting much good for those for whom they were destined, I have had the most gratifying proofs."

The "gratifying proofs" were not what one would expect, for, save for the judgeship in 1829, and a testimonial dinner in 1839, Haliburton had received no public recognition for what he had done. It appeared that, when he felt that recognition of his efforts was lacking, he simply gave himself credit for having been instrumental in having had the recommended improvements affected. He continued, in the same confident vein, explaining why he had employed Mr. Slick and why he had chosen humour as the best means of effecting his countrymen's correction. Without so much as mentioning how the work had been received at home (it had been almost ignored), he once more thanked his readers:

"That this humour, and these worldly maxims should have been so favourably received and so much approved, on this side of the Atlantic (notwithstanding their local application) is indeed to me a source of very great pleasure and calls for my most warm and grateful acknowledgments."
p.vii.

39 Ibid., p.283.

40 Nature and Human Nature, p.213.

41 Ibid., pp.297-300.

42 Ibid., II, p.214.

43 Ibid., I, p.20. In the past, when he had created Sam, the Clockmaker was no more than a fictional character, designed to provide what would appear to be an impartial commentary, in the tradition of Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver. Now, Haliburton seemed to be promoting the idea that there really was a Sam Slick of Slickville, U.S.A. He included more details from Sam's past life, had him meet old acquaintances, and had him explain away the most obvious of the many inconsistencies in his past life. He even

included an interview between Sam and the Squire which was aimed at establishing a separate identity for Sam.

44 Chittick, op.cit., p.608.

45 Ibid., pp.603-644.

46 T.C.Haliburton, The Season Ticket, (London:Bentley,1860), pp.228-230. His thesis was that the first settlers in America were mostly from Cromwell's England, that they had brought republican sentiments with them, and that they had chosen the first valid pretext, taxation without representation, as the avowed cause of their rebellion to form what they always had wanted, a republic. The Loyalists alone had been monarchists, and they had come to Nova Scotia and the Canadas. In Nova Scotia, they had superseded the republican pre-Loyalists, and had in fact absorbed them. Thus, he claimed, the British North American colonists had never been anything but loyal, and the British connection was safe.

47 The following quotation demonstrates the extent to which some of Haliburton's views had changed:

"Nothing has preserved them [the colonies] to you but the truly loyal and British feeling of the people, and a continued and marvellous prosperity, that has triumphed over every difficulty, and overpowered the voice of politics by the noise of the axe, the saw, and the hammer. They have been too busy in commercial to think much of political speculations, and too familiar with free institutions to be intoxicated with power, like those who have but recently acquired their rights. However large the accretion by emigration may be from Europe, the bulk of the people are natives, who are accustomed to the conditions of colonial life, and the possession of responsible government, and desire neither absolute independence of England nor annexation to the United States, but who feel that they have outgrown their minority, and are entitled to the treatment and consideration due to adult and affectionate relatives .... They are contented with the power of self-government that they now possess within the limits of their respective governments .... but they feel that there is no bond of union between the Atlantic colonies themselves; that they have five separate governments .... that as individuals, or delegates, they have no personal status here, and no duly constituted medium of transacting their business with the imperial government." Season Ticket, pp.224-226.

48 Ibid., pp.14, 240, & 247.

49 Ibid., p.329.

50 Chittick, op.cit., p.573.

51 In addition to the six editions of Modern Chivalry published during Brackenridge's lifetime, editions were published in 1819, 1825, 1826, 1846, 1851, and, most recently, 1937.

52 Chittick, op.cit., pp.648-650.

Chapter VI

1 See above, pp.10-11.

2 Ibid., pp.19-20. See also Note 38, Chapter I.

3 Ibid., p.23.

4 MacMurchy, op.cit., p.16.

5 Marquis, op.cit., p.530.

6 Matthews, op.cit., pp.113-150.

7 Ibid.

8 For a recent "find" in Canada's "vulgar" literature, see Alexander Ross, "The Strange Revival of Our Best Bad Poet", Macleans Magazine, (vol.78, Jan.1965), pp.18 & 19.

9 Marquis, op.cit., p.530.

10 To my knowledge, there is only one published account of the literary significance of "Canada First", J.P.Matthews' Tradition in Exile, pp.80-97.

11 Beauchamp Clark, quoted in Donald Creighton's Dominion of the North, (Boston:Houghton Mifflin,1944), p.435.

12 For example, see DeMille, op.cit., p.321; Baker, op.cit., p.33.

13 Samuel Thompson, in "Reminiscences of A Canadian Pioneer", (Toronto: Hunter Rose,1884), p.344, records the address of the first chairman of the Toronto Free Library at the first meeting of the Board of Management, 1883, in which the following appears:

> "The books in such a library should be as general and as fascinating as possible .... a grand foundation of solid, standard fact literature, with a choice, clear-minded, finely-imaginative superstructure of light reading, and avoid all vulgar, the sensuously sensational, the garbage of the modern press".

It is interesting to note that in the list of types of books to be placed in this library, there was no mention whatever of "light reading", and poetry and fiction were not so much as mentioned. Professor Baker, (op.cit., p.45) quotes the subtitle of Joseph Howe's father's Nova Scotia Magazine: "A Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics and News, Being a Collection of the Most Valuable Articles Which Appear in the Periodical Publications of Great Britain, Ireland, and America; with Various Pieces in Prose and Verse Never Before Published". Its basic aim was "to preserve and diffuse a taste for British literature".

14 Susanna Moodie, Life in The Clearings, (Toronto:Macmillan,1959), pp.209-17.

15 To Professor R.L. McDougall for his unpublished paper, "Scott and the Development of Canadian Fiction: A Study in Literary Influences", and to Dr. J.P. Matthews who brought it to my attention, I am indebted for having been made aware, first, of "The Lamps of Fiction", second, of the tremendous influence of Scott in Canadian literature, and finally for the details concerning the centenary celebrations.

16 Goldwin Smith, Lectures and Essays, (Toronto:Hunter Rose, 1891), p.69.

17 This point, made by Professor McDougall, is supported by the following remark of Samuel Thompson who, in his Reminiscences (p.12), referred to Scott's novels as "delightful books which have influenced my tastes through life".

18 Goldwin Smith, op.cit., p.69.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p.73.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p.74.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Attaché, first series, I, p.237.

28 Chittick, op.cit., p.487.

29 See above, pp.13-15.

30 Attaché, first series, I, p.13.

31 Ibid., II, p.287.

32 Clockmaker, pp.294 & 331.

33 Attaché, first series, I, pp.66-82.

34 Chittick, op.cit., pp.241-242.

35 This term, used originally by Louis McKay in his poem "James Gay" (Robins & Ray, A Book of Canadian Humour, pp.231-236) describes most aptly those who insist that literature have a "serious moral purpose" - the equivalent, for Canada, of Arnold's "High Seriousness".

36 See above, p,51.

37 Jonathan Slick, High Life in New York, (2 vols., London: "published for Jeremiah How", 1844), pp.214-215.

38 Letter Bag, pp.45-55.

39 J.D.Logan, "Reviews of the Literary History of Canada", (Canadian Magazine, vol.48), p.130.

40 J.P.Matthews, op.cit., pp.81-82.

41 Archibald MacMurchy, op.cit., p.16.

42 J.D.Logan, "Why Haliburton Has No Successor", p.362.

43 Ibid., p.158.

44 Chittick, op.cit., pp.4-5.

45 Logan, "Why Haliburton Has No Successor", p.363.

46 Ibid., p.364.

47 DeMille, op.cit., p.322.

48 J.D.Logan, T.C.Haliburton, p.25.

49 Ibid., p.151.

50 Desmond Pacey, Creative Writing in Canada, (Toronto:Ryerson,1952), p.14.

51 Quoted in The Stepsure Letters, p.135.

52 DeMille, op.cit., p.321.

53 Marquis, op.cit., p.530.

54 Ibid.

Chapter VII

1 Samuel Thompson, whose Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer span the period 1832-1884, described vividly the exciting days of the 1837 Rebellion, but made no mention of Confederation.

2 Samuel Thompson, in Reminiscences, (p.21), claimed: "I have identified myself thoroughly with Canada, her industries and progress, without for a moment ceasing to be an Englishman of the English, a loyal subject of the Queen, and a firm believer in the high destinies of the Pan-Anglican Empire of the future".

3 See Chapter V, Notes 22 and 24.

4 Matthews, op.cit., pp.80-93.

5 W.A.Foster, Canada First, A Memorial, (Toronto:Hunter Rose,1890), p.54.

6 Ibid., p.36.

7 Ibid., p.40.

8 See above, pp.81-82.

9 See above, pp.19-20.

10 Quoted in Foster, op.cit., pp.38-39.

11 Matthews, op.cit., p.81.

12 Foster, op.cit., p.28.

13 Ibid., p.29.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p.30.

16 Ibid., p.31.

17 See above, pp.21-22.

18 Matthews, op.cit., pp.64-66.
A.B.DeMille (op.cit., p.321), said: "It would be ungracious in this book, to neglect the contribution of Canada to English literature. Yet the comparative unimportance of that contribution forbids any extended notice".

19 Dr. Matthews (op.cit., p.96) quotes from a letter of Denison to Mair, from which the following is an extract.

"During my stay at Brantford, I arranged to speak at their local Literary Society. I see from their program for the year that they had addresses on Shakespeare, Milton, Keats (two), Scott, Southey and Wordsworth. Not one Canadian! I gave them a direct talk about the duty of societies like theirs in building an awareness of Canadian literature. Would you believe it? They couldn't see it! They said that there *was* no Canadian literature, and that they saw no reason why they should be wasting their time on the third rate when there was so much to be done studying the works of the truly great. I do not know what to do with such people. They are so desperately afraid of being considered colonial that they concentrate on the very attitude that ensures that they can never be anything else. These very societies which we had hoped would be of such great assistance emerge as one of the greatest enemies of our cause. How can they be so foolish!"

20 The following is typical of Mair's attempts to make Canadian-inspired poetry acceptable to his sophisticated critics:

"Would that I were a woman, and could weep,
And slake hot rage with tears! O spiteful fortune,
To lure me to the limits of my dreams,

> Then turn and crowd the ruin of my toil
> Into the narrow compass of a night.
> My brother's deep disgrace - myself the scorn
> Of envious harriers and thieves of fame,
> Oh, I could bear it all! But to behold
> Our ruined people hunted to their graves -
> To see the Long-Knife triumph in their shame -
> This is the burning shaft, the poisoned wound
> That rankles in my soul! But why despair?
> All is not lost - the English are our friends.
> My spirit rises - Manhood, bear me up!
> I'll haste to Malden, join my force to theirs,
> And fall with double fury on their foes.
> Farewell, ye plains and forests, but rejoice!
> Ye yet shall echo to Tecumseh's voice."

Charles Mair, Tecumseh and Canadian Poems, (Toronto:Briggs,1901), p.67. For a further indication of Mair's adaptation, see Tradition in Exile (pp.99-100) where Dr. Matthews presents the original version of one of Mair's Dreamland poems, "Summer", with the "Canadianized" version of the same poem, published in Tecumseh and Canadian Poems.

21 See above, p.14.

22 MacMurchy, op.cit., p.16.

23 Matthews, op.cit., pp.63-64.

24 Old Judge, I, pp.100-119.

25 Clockmaker, pp.283-288.

26 Dr. Matthews (op.cit., p.99) quotes a letter from Robert Haliburton to Mair urging him to "drop the old style" and write "the language of the living to living men".

27 MacMurchy praised his patriotism, MacMeechan and DeMille ignored him, and Marquis criticized him for the dignified and unlifelike English of his Indians.

28 Marquis, op.cit., p.533. (This is part of Marquis' assessment of Goldwin Smith's influence on Canadian literature.) Baker, op.cit., p.4, correctly pointed out that Goldwin Smith's "conclusions are seldom based on adequate premise".

29 Matthews, op.cit., p.86.

30 Ibid., p.95. For E.K. Brown's view see A.J.M. Smith (ed.) The Masks of Fiction, (Toronto:McClelland & Stewart,1961), pp.40-52.

31 See above, p.97.

32 Hugh MacLennan, Barometer Rising, (Toronto:McClelland & Stewart,1958), p.208.

33 It could be argued that it was to make this dream a reality that Canadians called upon Lester B. Pearson, Canada's only internationally respected statesman, to form a government. See also P.B. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation 1864-1867, (Toronto:University of Toronto Press,1963), pp.327-328.

34 This novel, admittedly, is offered to students at the grade eleven level in Manitoba schools - in the expurgated edition!

Conclusion

1 Robins & Ray, *op.cit.*, pp.202-206, p.306.

2 *Ibid.*, pp.197-202, p.303.

3 Pacey, *op.cit.*, pp.85-86.

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