“A New and Sparsely Peopled Country”: Attitudes to Immigration in pre-Confederation Nova Scotia

by

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This work is for those immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, temporary foreign workers, and travelers who settled and made their home on the lands of what is currently Canada – and to all those Indigenous peoples who were dispossessed of their lands and forced to allow us to do so.

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Abstract

In the years 1862-1865, the prospect of Confederation was hotly contested in Nova Scotia. Scholars of Canadian Confederation often frame the debate as one that was most taken up by political ideologies and visions of nationhood; however, in this thesis, I challenge this conception of Confederation by demonstrating that the public discourse during the pre-Confederation period in Nova Scotia was deeply concerned with questions of population and colonial settlement; namely, immigration. Using evidence from the *Halifax Morning Sun* (later renamed *The Sun and Advertizer*) and the *Halifax Citizen*, my thesis offers a close reading of debates and discussions taking place in these two colonial newspapers during the lead up to Confederation.

This thesis examines the treatment of immigration in the public sphere during the pre-Confederation period through three phases: first, I show how the government of Nova Scotia established the Office of Immigration in 1863, creating a systematized program of immigration, to reify and solidify colonial institutions and assert governmental competence. Secondly, I investigate how this immigration program, and the desire for immigration by the public generally, was so filled with internal conflicts and oversights as to be rendered ineffective. Finally, I demonstrate how Canadian delegates used Nova Scotia's struggle to recruit immigrants as a selling point for Confederation, and how this possibility also drew much anxiety from these two newspapers in relation to losing Nova Scotia's population, and with it, its colonial identity. Ultimately, I argue, the debates about Confederation in Nova Scotia were as much about settler-colonialism and demography as they were about political philosophy and state-making.

Acknowledgements

I must begin by offering my boundless thanks to my thesis supervisor, Jerry Bannister, for his unfailing kindness, his generosity of spirit, his patience, and his unflagging faith in my ability to complete this project. Without his guidance, I would still be lost among the (digital) sheaves of newspaper, unable to see the forest for the (printed) trees. For his warm and compassionate leadership – and his tolerance for my wayward, meandering process – I will be forever grateful.

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I could not have made it through this thesis without the friendship of Dana Campbell and Kaarina Mikalson. I am immensely glad to have shared the grad school experience with you both – from source recommendations and crunch time at the library, to cinnamon buns and laughing together – thank you for walking the path with me. To Lisa Brow, Saf Haq, and the entire staff at Tart & Soul Café, thank you for feeding and caffeinating me, and for cheering me on. You all truly helped me to bialy-ve in myself.

I would never have achieved this feat without the loving support and encouragement from my mother, Judy Shand, and my brother, Adam. I cannot express how much you mean to me, and how profoundly moved I am by your faith and pride in me. We have been so far apart, but I have never failed to feel your care for me. To my partner, Carter Vance, who has seen me through all the ups and downs of this work over the past year – you have been my rock, my shelter, and my joy. Thank you for loving me and making a home with me.

This work is, ultimately, inspired by my grandparents, Alexander Thomson Shand III and Edythe Marion Shand (née Scarlett). From them I inherited both a love of history and an immigrant past. I am forever grateful to be their grandchild and their transnational legacy.

Finally, it would not be right to end without acknowledging that this thesis was written during the COVID-19 pandemic, at a time when the world has changed dramatically. To date, 2.85 million people have died from the Coronavirus. As a student of history, I can only wonder how people in the future will look back on this time – but I know that they will. I hope that we have acted with the fortitude and resilience that merits some recognition in future stories of the past. If there is anything I have understood during this time, it is that kindness matters. At our best, we take care of each other.

More important than the drilling of armies, more important than the construction of navies, more important than the fiscal policy of this country is the question of who shall come to Canada and become part and parcel of the Canadian people.[1]

– William Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, 1913

[1] William Scott, "Immigration and Population", *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto: The Publisher's Association of Canada, 1913), vol. 7, 589.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Immigration in Political Print Culture

Every story begins where another one ends – and so, this one will begin with an ending, as the colonies of British North America hover on the threshold of Confederation. On December 9th, 1864, a public meeting occurred at the Temperance Hall in Halifax, regarding the proposals laid out for a Confederation of the British colonies at the Quebec Conference in October. No one had heard about what had happened at the conference, or what the parameters of the union would be: since the press were kept out of the meeting, and the delegates maintained their own confidence, the people knew little of the events that had transpired. The following Tuesday, the *Halifax Citizen* published a transcription of the speeches that were made at the meeting. In his, Dr. Charles Tupper, the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, had said:

> To the objection that a Union like this will deprive us of our identity I reply that the sooner we lose that the better. It has been the great difficulty with us that we belong to a small isolated country too insignificant for the enterprise of a man of means… I am willing to lose my identity for one, but I think Nova Scotia has the guarantee of the past that she can raise up sons to hold an honourable position among the public men of the nation.[2]

That Tupper – the leader of the Province – had stated so directly and emphatically that he no longer cared to be a Nova Scotian, preferring instead to be a citizen of the confederated colonies, was outrageous.[3] After withholding such sought-after intelligence about the terms of union for months, the press had a field day, and the public grew even

[2] "The Confederation Meeting." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 13, 1864.
[3] Phillip Buckner, "TUPPER, Sir CHARLES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tupper_charles_14E.html

more abuzz about the impending union.[4] The transition from colony to nation was one that involved questioning identity; but more than that, it involved questions of population. Who were the people that would populate the newly confederated colonies? This thesis will examine how the subject of immigration fits into the Confederation debates in Nova Scotia, as the idea of peopling the colony became one of peopling a nation.

Ultimately, this thesis posits that political histories of Confederation have left out a crucial part of the picture: immigration. Neither theories of liberalism, nor Lockean social contract theory, nor settler-colonialism alone provide a substantive enough explanation for the creation of the Dominion of Canada. These things were indeed occurring simultaneously: Indigenous people were being systematically supplanted by settlers, and the state-makers of the day were working, both ideologically and rhetorically, with the concepts of economic freedom, individualism, property rights, and a "grander" vision for colonial unification. This was the business of state-making in the 19th century. However, there were also real people involved in settling the colonies, and later, the nation-state. Importantly, scholars have often downplayed the importance of demography and population as a factor in the Confederation debates. As my thesis demonstrates, at least some of the newspapers in Nova Scotia were clearly attuned to the material realities of demographic competition, and frequently raised the need to increase population and settlement as a means to strengthen both the economy of Nova Scotia, and its political position. Any analysis of Canadian Confederation that does not consider the dynamics of demography, population distribution, and settlement – and therefore the

[4] Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers during the Confederate and the Repeal Movements, 1865-1869", in *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 472.

embedded complexities of identity, racialization, and colonialism – is incomplete. When we think about the genesis of the nation of Canada, we must also consider *with whom* the leaders of the day wished to people that nation.

Historiography

Life in Halifax, as with Nova Scotia more generally, has been characterized by demographic tensions and changes from its very inception in 1749. As Conrad and Hiller make clear in their foundational history of Atlantic Canada, settlement in the Maritimes was a long, contested process.[5] With its initial occupation, Halifax represented the claim laid by Great Britain to the vast territories and resources of North America, and the British government's desire to possess them. In the first ten years of settlement, Britain's foothold in the territory of Mi'kma'ki was exceedingly tenuous: it faced conflicts with the Mi'kmaq, who resisted colonial incursion on their lands, and it ran roughshod over the Acadian population as an extension of its hostilities with France on the European continent. After years of war between Britain and France, where they "continued to jockey for control" in the region,[6] the British Governor Charles Lawrence ejected the Acadians from the colony: because they would not make unconditional oaths of allegiance to the British Crown, they were seen as untrustworthy. Consequently, the colonial space that would become Nova Scotia was one of negotiation, constantly "in question".[7]

According to Conrad and Hiller, the British government overcame this political uncertainty in the region by initiating a program of intensive, intentional settlement.

[5] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2015), 91-114.
[6] Ibid, 67.
[7] Ibid, 99.

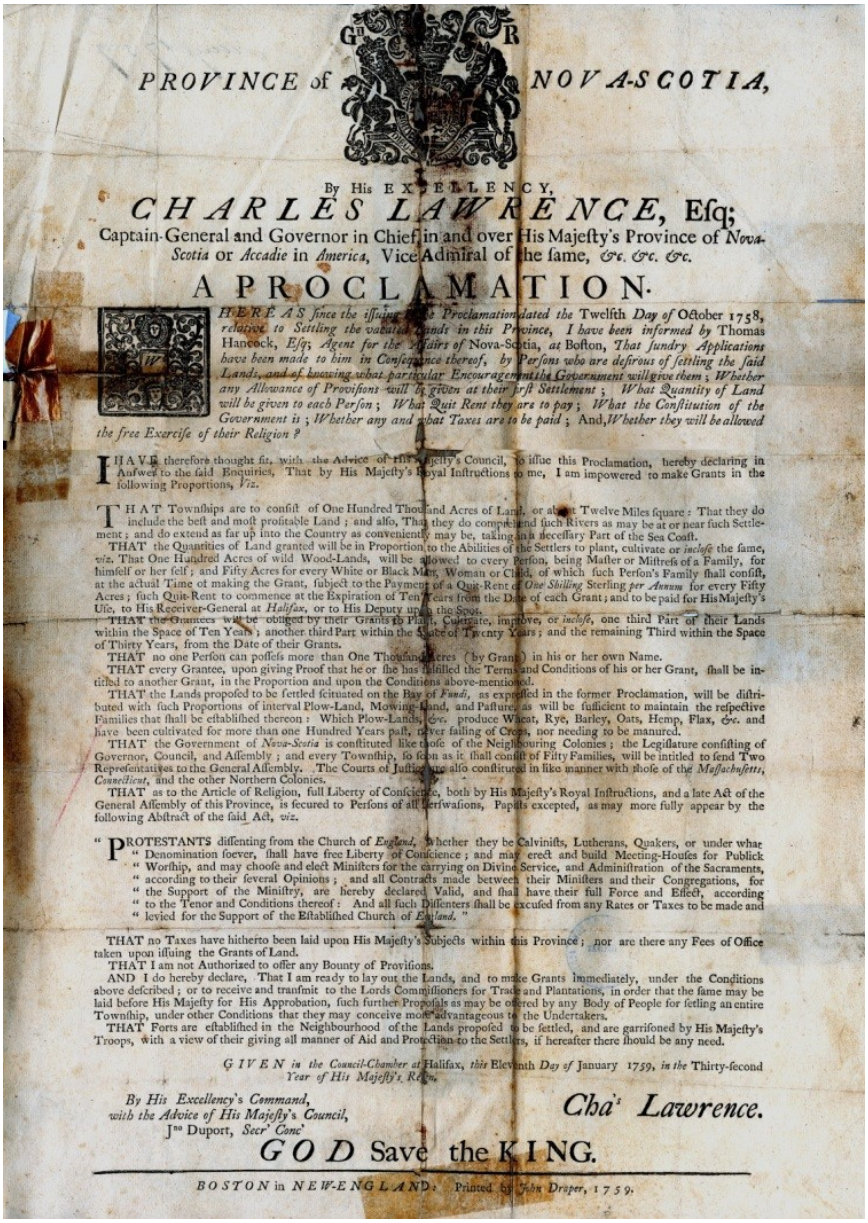
Between 1749 and 1815, the recently formed colony of Nova Scotia "experienced unprecedented levels of immigration."[8] By 1758 the government had issued proclamations regarding the rights of settlers and begun attracting immigrants to the colony. Lawrence issued these proclamations in the *Boston Gazette* on October 12th, 1758, and January 11th, 1759, formally extending the invitation to Americans in New England to immigrate and settle on the rich and fertile farmlands newly expropriated from the Acadian population. The proclamations ensured that each town would have two elected representatives in the House of Assembly, freedom of religious worship for Protestant "dissenters", exemptions from church-related taxes for non-Anglican Christians, and a judicial system for managing disputes. The most appealing element of the promises outlined for new settlers was the offer of free, 100-acre land grants for householders, with 50 more acres given for each additional family member or servant up to a total of 1,000 acres, all of which was tax exempt for a period of 10 years. In exchange, those receiving land grants were expected to develop one third of their grant every 10 years, until development was complete. This proposal held immense appeal to New Englanders for whom there was little unoccupied land at home, due to a recent boom in the population.[9]

The issuance of these proclamations resulted in more than 8,000 New Englanders, known as the 'Planters', immigrating to Nova Scotia between 1759-1768. Settling primarily on the South Shore and in the Annapolis Valley region on the rich, previously cultivated lands from which the Acadians had been forced, they farmed, milled lumber,

[8] Ibid, 91.
[9] Ibid; Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 35.

and mined limestone. While they were capable farmers, the Planters arrived to a somewhat different reality than they had been promised, and they struggled at first to restore the lands they had been granted given the state of devastation left behind after the Acadian Deportations. Despite this, the New England Planters contributed significantly to colonial development in a short time frame: they were seasoned agriculturalists accustomed to a similar environment, who frequently relied on relational networks, familial knowledge bases, and resources from America while settling. Some took up residence as squatters on land that was occupied by Acadians who had returned after the Deportations, or land which was nominally reserved for the Mi'kmaq and Wolastoqiyik.[10]

[10] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 91-94.



PROVINCE of NOVA-SCOTIA,

By His EXCELLENCY,

CHARLES LAWRENCE, Esq;

Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia or Acadie in America, Vice Admiral of the same, &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS since the issuing forth the Proclamation dated the Twelfth Day of October 1758, relative to Settling the vacated Lands in this Province, I have been informed by Thomas Hancock, Esq; Agent for the Affairs of Nova-Scotia, at Boston, That sundry Applications have been made to him in Consequence thereof, by Persons who are desirous of settling the said Lands, and of knowing what particular Encouragement the Government will give them; Whether any Allowance of Provisions will be given at their first Settlement; What Quantity of Land will be given to each Person; What Quit Rent they are to pay; What the Constitution of the Government is; Whether any and what Taxes are to be paid; And, Whether they will be allowed the free Exercise of their Religion?

I HAVE therefore thought fit, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby declaring in Answer to the said Enquiries, That by His Majesty's Royal Instructions to me, I am impowered to make Grants in the following Proportions, Viz.

THAT Townships are to consist of One Hundred Thousand Acres of Land, or about Twelve Miles square: That they do include the best and most profitable Land; and also, That they do comprehend such Rivers as may be at or near such Settlement; and do extend as far up into the Country as conveniently may be, taking in a necessary Part of the Sea Coast.

THAT the Quantities of Land granted will be in Proportion to the Abilities of the Settlers to plant, cultivate or inclose the same, viz. That One Hundred Acres of wild Wood-Lands, will be allowed to every Person, being Master or Mistress of a Family, for himself or her self; and Fifty Acres for every White or Black Man, Woman or Child, of which such Person's Family shall consist, at the actual Time of making the Grant, subject to the Payment of a Quit-Rent of One Shilling Sterling per Annum for every Fifty Acres; such Quit-Rent to commence at the Expiration of Ten Years from the Date of each Grant; and to be paid for His Majesty's Use, to His Receiver-General at Halifax, or to His Deputy upon the Spot.

THAT the Grantees will be obliged by their Grants to Plant, Cultivate, improve, or inclose, one third Part of their Lands within the Space of Ten Years; another third Part within the Space of Twenty Years; and the remaining Third within the Space of Thirty Years, from the Date of their Grants.

THAT no one Person can possess more than One Thousand Acres (by Grant) in his or her own Name.

THAT every Grantee, upon giving Proof that he or she has fulfilled the Terms and Conditions of his or her Grant, shall be intitled to another Grant, in the Proportion and upon the Conditions above-mentioned.

THAT the Lands proposed to be settled (situated on the Bay of Fundi, as expressed in the former Proclamation, will be distributed with such Proportions of interval Plow-Land, Mowing-Land, and Pasture, as will be sufficient to maintain the respective Families that shall be established thereon: Which Plow-Lands, &c. produce Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Hemp, Flax, &c. and have been cultivated for more than one Hundred Years past, never failing of Crops, nor needing to be manured.

THAT the Government of Nova-Scotia is constituted like those of the Neighbouring Colonies; the Legislature consisting of Governor, Council, and Assembly; and every Township, so soon as it shall consist of Fifty Families, will be intitled to send Two Representatives to the General Assembly. The Courts of Justice are also constituted in like manner with those of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the other Northern Colonies.

THAT as to the Article of Religion, full Liberty of Conscience, both by His Majesty's Royal Instructions, and a late Act of the General Assembly of this Province, is secured to Persons of all Perswasions, Papists excepted, as may more fully appear by the following Abstract of the said Act, viz.

"PROTESTANTS dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what Denomination soever, shall have free Liberty of Conscience; and may erect and build Meeting-Houses for Publick Worship, and may choose and elect Ministers for the carrying on Divine Service, and Administration of the Sacraments, according to their several Opinions; and all Contracts made between their Ministers and their Congregations, for the Support of the Ministry, are hereby declared Valid, and shall have their full Force and Effect, according to the Tenor and Conditions thereof: And all such Dissenters shall be excused from any Rates or Taxes to be made and levied for the Support of the Established Church of England."

THAT no Taxes have hitherto been laid upon His Majesty's Subjects within this Province; nor are there any Fees of Office taken upon issuing the Grants of Land.

THAT I am not Authorized to offer any Bounty of Provisions.

AND I do hereby declare, That I am ready to lay out the Lands, and to make Grants immediately, under the Conditions above described; or to receive and transmit to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in order that the same may be laid before His Majesty for His Approbation, such further Proposals as may be offered by any Body of People for settling an entire Township, under other Conditions that they may conceive more advantageous to the Undertakers.

THAT Forts are established in the Neighbourhood of the Lands proposed to be settled, and are garrisoned by His Majesty's Troops, with a view of their giving all manner of Aid and Protection to the Settlers, if hereafter there should be any need.

GIVEN in the Council-Chamber at Halifax, this Eleventh Day of January 1759, in the Thirty-second Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command,
with the Advice of His Majesty's Council,
Jno Duport, Secr' Conc'

Cha' Lawrence.

GOD Save the KING.

BOSTON in NEW-ENGLAND: Printed by John Draper, 1759.

Figure 1.1: A proclamation made by Governor Charles Lawrence on January 11th, 1759 declaring the offer of land grants to Protestants and laying out the terms of these grants. Source: Nova Scotia Archives, Commissioner of Public Records (RG 1, v. 301, no. 3).

As Kelley and Treblicock note, the 1763 Treaty of Paris affirmed Britain's domination and sovereignty over the territory, but its outpost population was "tiny": indeed, it was "dwarfed by and vulnerable to, pressures by inhabitants in Britain's Thirteen Colonies."[11] As Conrad and Hiller describe, it was partly due to concern over maintaining British demographic dominance that the colonial government granted huge swaths of land to "proprietors", settlement prospectors who were responsible for recruiting Protestants to Nova Scotia, to ensure that the authority and control of the colonial government remained supreme.[12] Through them several hundred new migrants arrived to work the land – some as tenant farmers, some as servants, and some as slave labourers. The year 1765 saw the arrival of German Protestants and a few others from Pennsylvania. In 1773, a wave of immigration began with settlers arriving from Scotland: St. John's Island felt the arrival of Catholic Scottish Highlanders, Ulster Protestants, and English Quakers, who dramatically shifted the demographics and overwhelmed the Mi'kmaq and remaining Acadian populations in a very short time. From 1772-76, as many as 1,000 Methodist immigrants arrived from Yorkshire, England, settling in the Chignecto region. Among these groups were, similarly, many highly skilled agriculturalists who found success with farming in Nova Scotia.[13]

Following the American Revolution, approximately 37,000 Loyalist refugees who fled the newly created United States landed in Nova Scotia, doubling the population.[14] A "tsunami of Loyalist immigrants" – tens of thousands – arrived in British North America during the American Revolutionary War, sailing from the last British-controlled ports

[11] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 37.
[12] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 94.
[13] Ibid, 94-95.
[14] Ibid, 102; Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 38-39, 42-43.

because they faced imprisonment, violence, loss of property, and death if they stayed in American-controlled territory. Once they arrived in British North America, American Loyalist and remaining British soldiers received land grants. The arrival of Loyalists heralded enormous change: not only did they swell the population, throwing the colonial administration into chaos, they represented a "thick slice" of society that "greatly increased cultural diversity in the Maritimes."[15] They had different classes and occupations, but beyond this, they brought a racial diversity, numbering among them Dutch, Huguenots, Hessians, and both free and enslaved African Americans, as well as adding to the Irish and British populations already in Nova Scotia.[16] A portion of the Loyalists who arrived during and after the American Revolutionary War were Black Loyalists. Offered freedom if they would abandon their enslavers in the United States and take up the cause of the British, more than 3,000 fought and then fled to the protection of British North America after the Americans won the war in 1783, becoming the largest community of Africans and African-Americans in North America in the 18th century.[17]

The end of the 18th century saw significant immigration from Scotland to the Maritimes: between 1783-1803, as many as 17,000 Highland Scots made their way to British North America and settled in the colonies.[18] Conrad and Hiller note that several factors were responsible for this. Migration chaining was becoming more common as

[15] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 102.
[16] Ibid.
[17] While there is not sufficient space to elaborate on Black settlement in Nova Scotia, this is an integral part of Nova Scotia's history. Other scholars far more knowledgeable and equipped than I have addressed this at length: see John Grant's "Black Immigrants into Nova Scotia, 1776-1815", James Walker's *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, Isaac Saney's "Canada: The Black Nova Scotian Odyssey: A chronology", Ruth Whitehead's *Black Loyalists: Southern Settlers of Nova Scotia's First Free Black Communities*, and various works by H.A. Whitfield, including "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850."
[18] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 107-108.

settled immigrants sought to bring over more people from the 'Old Country'. Additionally, Presbyterian ministers and Catholic priests facilitated inbound migration. According to Kelley and Treblicock, "[i]n one of the few early efforts at systematic colonization, the Earl of Selkirk also established a settlement of about 800 Scottish immigrants."[19] While the climate and terroir of Nova Scotia was similar to Scotland, the economic and political realities of the Highland Clearances, the demise of the clan system, and the end of Jacobitism promoted emigration from the Scottish Highlands, particularly as longstanding conditions of poverty worsened.[20] The ongoing participation of Scottish merchants in trans-Atlantic shipping and trade with the colonies, particularly in the West Indies and the slave trade, also facilitated their migration. Facing a similar situation, Irish immigrants turned to the colonies for opportunity after the upheavals and famine related to the Act of Union in 1801.[21]

The War of 1812 began on June 18th, 1812. While this conflict resulted in far less migration, 2,400 formerly enslaved African-Americans, known as the 'Black Refugees', fled to freedom in Nova Scotia after soldiering for the British during the war.[22] As Kelley and Treblicock note, a major lasting impact for immigration policy was that, after the War of 1812 ended, the British government refused to sell land to Americans unless they had been resident in the colonies for a period of at least seven years.[23] Fearing the development of Manifest Destiny, they ended all encouragement of emigration from the

[19] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 43.
[20] Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2015, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 48, 50.
[21] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 108. As early as 1776, established migrants had set up a Charitable Irish Society in Halifax to help aid the newcomers arriving from Ireland.
[22] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 117.
[23] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 44.

States to the British colonies.[24] This fear "continued to influence immigration and settlement policy until Confederation, and indeed [was] a significant stimulus for Confederation."[25] The suspicion over and lingering threat from American invasion would remain, and was given as part of the justification for constructing a colonial immigration scheme later in the mid-19th century.

Immigration to the Maritimes declined in the middle of the 19th century.[26] The last large wave of migration to Nova Scotia prior to Confederation emigrated from Great Britain: from 1790-1845, approximately 750,000 immigrants came from there to the colonies.[27] As Knowles portrays it, "British immigration reached such proportions that it began to transform the face of British North America."[28] Of that proportion, about half were Irish; indeed, in the 1830s and 1840s, about 60% of total immigration to the colonies was Irish.[29] Emigrants were propelled from Britain by economic recession, technological advancements that replaced manual labour, a boom in the population, the creation of the Poor Laws, and the enclosure of pasture lands.[30] As Kelley and Treblicock write, "[t]he Irish potato famine of 1847 created an army of paupers for whom emigration was the last best option."[31] In contrast, British North America appeared as a land rife with opportunity; however, "[m]ost of the good agricultural land in the region had been long taken up."[32] As Knowles puts it, "[i]n this phase of immigration to the colonies, the

[24] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 52.
[25] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 45.
[26] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 117.
[27] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 45.
[28] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 49.
[29] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 45.
[30] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 50, 54-55. It is also important to note that not all migration from Britain was elective. After the Great Famine occurred in 1845-47, 300,000 Irish refugees came to British North America aided by charitable societies or parishes, or coerced by their former landlords.
[31] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 45.
[32] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 117.

Maritimes would be bypassed", since "most of its last frontiers had become pretty well occupied."[33] With little land left to grant in Nova Scotia, the Irish settlers who did remain there were relegated to wage work as labourers.[34] It is to this problematization of immigration that I will return later on, in Chapter 3.

While I have engaged deeply with scholarship concerning immigration history in Nova Scotia, I have struggled to find analyses about 19th century immigration that are not specific to one group, ethnicity, or wave of migrants. Knowles notes of her own work, *Strangers at Our Gates*, that it is a "survey"; and, indeed, the portion of it dedicated to the 19th century merits about a third of the overall text.[35] Books such as hers, as well as Conrad and Hiller's *Atlantic Canada: A History*, and Kelley and Treblicock's *Making of the Mosaic*, have provided me with an important foundation for understanding the immigration that occurred in this period, but do not offer much scrutiny of their own. An exception to this is that these texts agree that initial settlement in Northern North America was precarious: Kelley and Treblicock note that "neither France nor Britain took seriously the challenge of establishing a significant settlement in British North America."[36] Settlement was also frequently incidental and based on purely external factors, as with, for example, the Loyalist movement to Nova Scotia. Finally, these scholars agree that "the process of settlement had exacted one major set of casualties –

[33] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 60: Knowles posits that immigration to Nova Scotia began to decline significantly after 1838.
[34] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 117.
[35] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, Preface.
[36] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 59.

Canada's first immigrants,[37] the Native people."[38] Unlike much of the other literature on Canadian immigration, Kelley and Treblicock explicitly link the project of colonial immigration with the genocide, removal, and erasure of Indigenous peoples from these territories. As they argue, the British incursion in North America was predicated on the elimination of the Indigenous population and the expulsion, and later, radical assimilation, of the French.[39] Consequently, these authors posit that the shape of Confederation was ultimately predicated on how the British colonies had been at once populated and depopulated.[40]

It is important to note that there is, according to my research, little literature to be found that specifically concerns the people who were immigrating to the Atlantic region during the latter half of the 19th century – in part, I am sure, because as I have discussed above, immigration to this part of British North America slowed significantly during this period. Studies of the 19th century more often concern waves of immigration to the Canadas,[41] immigration which occurred in the 1830s and 40s,[42] emigration to the United

[37] It is essential to note here that the description of Indigenous peoples as "Canada's first immigrants" is extremely problematic, as it undermines the political and legal arguments surrounding these peoples' longstanding tenure of the territories which are currently known as Canada, as well as their inherent rights. Further, this narratively equates Indigenous peoples and the oppression they face with the obstacles encountered by present-day immigrants. This is a somewhat common talking point among groups that oppose Indigenous rights and special legal status. While I do not believe that this implication was intended by Kelley and Treblicock in their book, especially given their other writing and notations on Indigenous-European encounters and the ongoing process of colonization, it is nonetheless extremely problematic language, and I want to make it clear that I do not in any way support this framing. See Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta's article "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too': A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s–1960s." *Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (2009): 427-462, for more information on this dynamic.
[38] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 59.
[39] Ibid, 59-60.
[40] Ibid, 61.
[41] See work such as Alan G. Green, Timothy J. Hatton, and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "International migration and the evolution of prairie labor markets in Canada, 1900-1930", *Migration and the International Labor Market, 1850-1939* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1994), 156-174.
[42] See Patrick Fitzgerald, and Brian Lambkin. "Irish Migration, 1800–1845", *Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 149-164.

States from British North America,[43] or immigration waves at the turn of the 20th century.[44] The history of immigration and of immigrant groups in British North America is partial and piece-meal, particularly in the immediate lead up to Confederation. This absence seems to resonate with the siloing of immigration histories – both from each other and from the larger discipline of history – that Franca Iacovetta describes in her work. In the late 1990s, Iacovetta wrote about the need for historians who were concerned with writing about the intersections of class, gender, and race/ethnicity to become more familiar with the specialized work of scholars of immigration, who themselves tended to ignore broader disciplinary shifts towards complex investigations of gender and working class people.[45] As she posits, an intersectional approach "demands that we all, and not just the specialists of racial-ethnic minorities, integrate the histories of minorities fully into our analyses of the past."[46] As the historical literature on immigrants in Canada is "highly fragmented", such a diverse sub-discipline requires a diversity of approaches, methodologies, and tactics to begin to weave these stories together into a larger picture.[47] More study, as always, is needed to fill in the gaps of our understanding about the past.

As Iacovetta highlights, the "nation-building" school of Canadian history, prominent in the discipline from the 1930s-60s, resulted in scholarship that focused on

[43] See Bruno Ramirez and Yves Otis, Crossing the 49th parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[44] See Monica Boyd and Michael Vickers, "100 years of Immigration in Canada", *Canadian Social Trends* 58, no. 2 (2000): 2-12.
[45] Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing About Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship", *Labour/Le Travail* 36 (1995): 218.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 219.

immigration as part of a "colony-to-nation framework."[48] While this body of work revealed aspects of immigration from the perspective of policy making and implementation, and considered larger sociological patterns of settlement, it neglected the immediate immigrant experience. Critically, much of this work is shaped by a grand, meta-narrative style of history-making, and carried significant white supremacist overtones and "bias in favour of the British 'stock' and Anglo-Celtic mores."[49] Studies of non-white immigrant groups from this period were "rife with ethnic stereotypes and culturally determinist models of behaviour"; these, Iacovetta notes, "can also be read as primary sources documenting how contemporary Canadian perceptions of immigrants were framed by Anglo-Celtic cultural chauvinism."[50] Other writers of various ethnic and immigrant group affiliations came to write their own histories in a similarly exultant way, "keen to claim founding nation status for their group."[51] By writing histories of immigration and immigrant histories in a more processual, "inclusive and synthetic" way, scholars have a greater opportunity to illuminate the true complexities of immigrant stories.[52] Especially important, for Iacovetta, is that historians ask how to "fully integrate race and ethnicity, majority and minority lives, into *all* of our analysis of the Canadian past."[53] In doing so, we have a much better opportunity to write about immigrants in a

[48] Franca Iacovetta, "The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History", *Canada's Ethnic Group Series*, Booklet 22, (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 2.
[49] Ibid, 3; Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), Preface, ix.
[50] Franca Iacovetta, "The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History", *Canada's Ethnic Group Series*, Booklet 22, (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 3.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics", 250.
[53] Ibid, 252, emphasis added.

way that avoids othering them as 'foreigners' who remain on the margins of the Canadian state.

As Ventresca, Draper, and Iacovetta elaborate in the Preface of their book, *A Nation of Immigrants*, histories that tell the story of Canada's development from colony to nation often involved an unreflective interpretation of nation-making and the role of immigration policy in that process. I believe it is critical in doing this work to understand that the creation of the Canadian nation-state was grounded in racism and sexism, as were the policies which it enacted, including the *Immigration Act*. It was, as they write,

> …predicated upon the view that certain races were better suited for citizenship, and the history of Canada's immigration policy is revealing of the deplorable treatment of First Nations peoples, forced onto reserves to make way for white settlers, and of the constant vigilance taken by politicians and bureaucrats to exclude or restrict the admission of 'undesirables'.[54]

It is vitally important that in doing research about the Canadian state's treatment of immigrants, scholars interpret the historical evidence with an understanding that the political culture of Canada, particularly at the time of Confederation, is one steeped in white settler hegemony. To ignore this is to fail to engage with the true complexity of power relations in Canadian history. Ventresca, Draper, and Iacovetta challenge students and scholars alike to "rethink Canadian history from the vantage-point of the women and men who have so often occupied the disadvantaged position of 'foreigner,' 'dangerous foreigner,' 'other,' and 'hyphenated Canadian'."[55] This too is integral to understand if we want to create scholarship that engages in the complexities of immigration as a

[54] Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), Preface, x.
[55] Ibid, xi-xii.

sometimes beneficial process, that is also highly fraught and laden with racial and colonial implications.

Further to this point about the embeddedness of cultural norms within the *Immigration Act*, Jan Raska pointed out in a 2015 blog post that the idea of immigrant "desirability" is essential to the national immigration program and has been since its inception.[56] Crucially, Raska points out that "admissibility" as a concept underlies the orientation of Canada's immigration policies; indeed, "selection" is political, and the premise of desirability changes depending on the culture, politics, and economic outlook of the time. Historically, immigration processes have involved laundry lists of qualities that make a prospective immigrant "admissible", often relating to "finances, occupation, health, gender", and prior to the introduction of the point system in 1967, race, ethnicity, or country of origin.[57] When the first *Immigration Act* came into effect in 1869, two years after Confederation, desirability was couched in economic terms, and based on the labour value that an individual could contribute, particularly as immigration and agriculture were part of the same government department. According to Raska, "Prime Minister John A. Macdonald promoted an open door immigration policy in an attempt to encourage settlement in Canada", as Canada's emigration rate remained high.[58] However, as Raska points out, "[t]he type of immigrant Canadian officials desired was tempered by ethnoracial and geographic restrictions until the late 1960s."[59] "Values clauses" were used to explicitly bar "undesirable" people after the 1906 revision of the *Act*, which was

[56] Jan Raska, "Who is Admissible?", *Jan Raska PhD's Blog*, Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2015, https://pier21.ca/blog/jan-raska/who-is-admissible.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

primarily employed to exclude intending immigrants who were African, Asian, disabled, poor, or "political[ly] undesirabl[e]", such as anarchists.[60] As societal values have changed over time, so too have the qualifications around desirability, but the general practice of selection has remained constant.

Importantly, Ventresca, Draper, and Iacovetta's book, as well as other works by Iacovetta, have established a link between the literature regarding immigration history, racialization, and the theoretical paradigm of settler-colonialism: they emphasize that immigration has been "contingent on the displacement and subjugation of Canada's First Nations."[61] Lorenzo Veracini defines "settler-colonialism" as a mode of colonization where people from the invasive colonizer society arrive to settle and establish new homes, identities, and political orders that exert sovereignty.[62] This is in contrast to instances of colonization where the purpose is an exploitation of labour (for example, developing the slave trade) or the extraction of other resources.[63] Unlike with extractive forms of colonization, settler-colonialism involves the permanent occupation of colonized land, and the construction of institutions which are predicated on ongoing colonization and the elimination of Indigenous peoples. According to Veracini, while it was usually the case that settlement of an empire involved building colonies and homesteading, colonialism involves the exercise of that colonial power and the subjugation of Indigenous peoples, often through force. A system of dependence and justification places settlers and the colonial state into an inherent relationship, as settlers become actors of

[60] Ibid.
[61] Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants*, xii.
[62] Lorenzo Veracini, "'Settler colonialism': Career of a Concept", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 2 (2013): 313-333.
[63] Ibid, 313.

colonization through their occupation of territory.[64] Importantly, Veracini writes that the ability to establish any kind of colony at all is predicated on the domination of Indigenous peoples.[65]

Veracini notes that in the present, Indigenous nations who experienced white settlement (sometimes referred to as the 'Fourth World') are rising up undeniably, and demanding recognition and self-determination. There is now an emphasis on the "violence, theft, wastefulness, classism, and racism" of settler-colonial states, as critiques of their development are based on the "recovery" of Indigenous experiences of colonialism. As this is necessarily focused on Indigenous experiences of dispossession and violence in the name of settlement, the role of settlers as part of the settler-colonial occupation can no longer be evaded or disavowed.[66] While it is important not to treat the process of settlement as inevitable, it is critical in work on the history of immigration in British North America to identify and understand that the process of colonization was centered on the project of cultivating settlement, and that that project involved the formalization of the immigration program in Nova Scotia.[67] After the arrival of the Loyalists, the settler population in the colony of Nova Scotia ballooned: the Mi'kmaq were severely outnumbered, their ability to hunt and fish curtailed, and their way of life dramatically impeded. From the end of the 18th century onward, the colonial invasion of Mi'kma'ki reached a runaway point – the population of European settlers would only

[64] Ibid, 314.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid, 324.
[67] Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics", 252.

grow.[68] This thesis tracks a point at which the settler-colonial project of colonizing Nova Scotia became an official program of immigration settlement.

Multidisciplinary scholars who are taken up with the theory of settler-colonialism position nation-building projects, such as Confederation, in a distinctly materialist frame: its goals, ends, and means concerned the physical dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands. However, many political historians have approached the Confederation debates as ideological in nature, rather than as concerned with the material realities that the colonies faced when considering issues such as settlement. For Janet Ajzenstat, the political leaders of the Confederation debates were "not merely… thinkers about their country but… thinkers about politics — men consciously acting within a tradition of political thought."[69] For Ajzenstat, Confederation is best understood as an aspirational and visionary work of the political leaders of the day to establish "a collective political identity, a civic identity, or as they called it a political nationality."[70] Relying on the philosophy of John Locke, Ajzenstat posits that Confederation was a consensual effort by the colonies to generate a new national social contract. In this, the tenets of liberalism take centre stage: Confederation becomes about enacting ideas such as limited freedom, the rule of law, and equality of economic opportunity. This interpretation of the Confederation debates focuses on the intellectual sphere of influence that the "Fathers of Canadian Confederation" were embedded in, both as those who were influenced by and who influenced political theories of the day.[71]

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[68] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 108-109.
[69] Janet Ajzenstat, ed., *Canada's Founding Debates*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 1.
[70] Janet Ajzenstat, *The Canadian Founding: John Locke and Parliament* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 81; as quoted in Bannister, "Loyalty, Liberty, and Sentiment", 85.
[71] Janet Ajzenstat, ed., *Canada's Founding Debates*, 1; for more discussion, see Jeffrey McNairn's book, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Ian McKay also prioritizes liberalism as the basis for Confederation, although in an entirely different way from Ajzenstat. For McKay, Confederation was a project of projecting the 'liberal order' onto the territories of what would become Canada, to the point where it eventually became "the national-political 'commonsense' in northern North America."[72] While McKay does not define 'liberal order', scholars have generally interpreted this to mean that the governing and economic structures of Canada have been designed to insure that liberal principles dominate in the public sphere, including the centrality of individual liberty and autonomy, and the value of competition to maintaining a healthy political and economic order. In McKay's understanding, the underpinning structure of liberalism is an oppressive and leveling one which marginalizes different groups within the nation-state; importantly, this enhances hegemonic domination through the erasure of discursive modes of difference between diverse groups, including Indigenous peoples.[73] Indeed, it is only by tracing efforts to resist the liberal order that "Canada" can be seen as the "historically specific project of rule" that it is, rather than an essence we must defend.[74] Although Ajzenstat and McKay disagree radically about the beneficial nature of liberalism as a philosophical basis for Canada's founding, both agree on its central importance.

Importantly, Jerry Bannister has argued that competing frameworks for understanding Confederation can be classified as belonging to one of two camps: one in which "ideas shape loyalties", or another where "loyalties and identities shape political

[72] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History", *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2000): 616; Ian McKay, "After Canada: On Amnesia and Apocalypse in the Contemporary Crisis" *Acadiensis*, 28(1), 81.
[73] Ian McKay, "After Canada", 85-86.
[74] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework", 620.

ideas and opinions."[75] Bannister challenges the notion that only idealist or materialist interpretations hold explanatory power in the history of Confederation: while histories that focus on intellectual leanings of the time "give too much credit to ideas and too little to emotions", so too do materialist interpretations bring the "risk of simplifying the complex public sphere that political historians have painstakingly unearthed."[76] Importantly, while the ideology of liberalism and the material reality of settler-colonialism were central to Confederation, both explanations tend to over-simplify the reality of events as they happened at the time.

In contrast, Bannister argues that at the time of Confederation, concepts of liberty were deeply and intrinsically enmeshed in feelings of loyalty, and vice versa: the foundational understanding of how rights would function for the newly-formed population of the Dominion of Canada was rhetorically and ideologically bound up in expressions of loyalty to Britain and its institutions.[77] In the founding debates, Bannister posits that political leaders invoked notions of "sentiment" – expressed in John Stuart Mill's work, *On Liberty*, to mean social attachments or feelings of collectivity – as essential to the formation of the new nation-state, and with it, a new nationality.[78] For Bannister, focusing on the political uses of "sentiment" in the Confederation debates helps to stitch together discussions of liberty and loyalty, by "illuminat[ing] how politicians negotiated the tangled politics of identity and loyalty."[79] In this thesis, I

[75] Jerry Bannister, "Liberty, Loyalty, and Sentiment in Canada's Founding Debates, 1864–1873", in *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 78.
[76] Ibid, 79.
[77] Ibid, 80.
[78] Ibid, 80-81; Bannister cites the work of John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859; Kingston: Batoche Books, 2001), 15.
[79] Ibid, 89.

emulate Bannister's work by investigating the interstices between the material and ideological realities of the Confederation debates. As I will demonstrate, immigration for the colonies was both a material reality, as the colonies desired more farmers and labourers to extract wealth and settle the land, and an ideological reality, tied to discursive attempts to retrench British loyalties, avoid Americanization, and assert a liberal economic order.

As Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska discuss, modern immigration history is often based on "written testimonials, oral history interviews, and information derived from personal objects"; indeed, the personal experience of immigration becomes an "account" that is "complemented by archival documentation and secondary sources, photographs, and objects."[80] In writing about modern immigration history, or immigrant histories for which there is some first-hand account available, it is possible (and indeed, preferable) to centre immigrant experiences. This thesis cannot and does not express who the immigrants were that arrived in the colony of Nova Scotia between 1862-65 – their families, dreams, and goals remain obscure. It presents no access to this intimate kind of exploration of immigration, namely because the sources that were available to me would not support this kind of work. What I offer here instead is an analysis of how immigration is treated as a public project, in the public sphere. To access this facet of the immigration story, I have turned to those sources that are still important artifacts of the mid-19th century, and which remain available to us in the present day: newspapers.

[80] Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska, *Pier 21: A History*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2020), 2, 4.

Print Culture

As Michael Eamon writes in *Imprinting Britain*, the creation of a print community in British North America meant that colonists, for the first time, had access to a local forum for public engagement, particularly around political issues. The establishment of a print culture in turn shaped a sort of social literacy: one that became a "literacy of British tradition, popular touchstones, literature, history, natural philosophy, political writing, and social graces."[81] By providing a space that existed between public (state or church) and private (family), newspapers created a locus for discourse and a means of influence to shape the public's behaviour. Indeed, as Eamon writes, "the colonial print community formed the reading public and fashioned hybrid spaces of sociability and social control."[82] Eamon relies on the work of Jürgen Habermas, who refers to the "bourgeois public sphere" as a space of interaction where individuals come together to form a public, where they can interact both with other individuals and governing authorities and engage them in debate.[83] In British North America, Eamon argues, the colonial print community extended beyond the normal colonial elite to include those who were effectively becoming an industrial middle class.[84] The press helped to fashion the boundaries of colonial society; as Eamon notes, "all involved in the process appealed to print – and the British traditions that print communicated – to create a cohesive vision of privileged, English-speaking conduct."[85] Once in the public sphere, ideas could be diffused to the

[81] Michael Eamon, *Imprinting Britain: Newspapers, Sociability, and the Shaping of British North America*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2015), 10.
[82] Ibid, 11.
[83] Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 27.
[84] Michael Eamon, *Imprinting Britain*, 10: In his view, this middle class was composed of people like "merchants, clerks, tradesmen, prominent farmers, and the printers who facilitated the process."
[85] Ibid, 14.

illiterate classes in social spaces of commerce or leisure, forging a collective identity that extended beyond the elite.[86]

Newspapers also encouraged political action, and editors took political stances that they directed readers to align with, or at least, to debate. This was especially important, Eamon argues, during the American Revolutionary War: during this period, newspapers in Halifax became more overtly loyalist in their stance, "reinforc[ing] colonialism and the Empire", and providing British North Americans with a means to "reconnect with a social, cultural, and intellectual life in Great Britain that was otherwise unavailable in the colonies."[87] In this way, the newspapers promoted continuity during a period of significant social unrest and upheaval. Importantly, Eamon cites the work of Benedict Anderson, who posited that the rise of print culture was essential to the development of national consciousness. Consequently, Eamon writes, "[t]he British North American press imprinted an idealized or imagined sense of Britain and British tradition upon the new colonial environment."[88] As Mathias Rodorff writes, the newspaper discourse concerning Confederation and its repeal demonstrated a "tension… between loyalty to the authority of British institutions… and the aim to withdraw from Confederation."[89] Importantly, Rodorff notes that because the 1867 election saw nearly all of the Conservative members ousted from the provincial legislative assembly, most of the debate about repeal took place in the newspapers and, more generally, in public. According to Rodorff, Nova Scotian newspapers offer a useful repository for historical analysis because they were "the *dominant arena* for distributing news, expressing views,

[86] Ibid, 10.
[87] Ibid, 19.
[88] Ibid, 16.
[89] Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers", 468.

and debating issues."[90] In addition, evaluating the Confederation debate in Nova Scotia from the "context of the public sphere" brings new insights to older historiographic assumptions about the leading arguments and dominant figures engaged in the debate.[91]

Rodorff goes on to point out that politicians were invested in newspapers as owners, editors, and patrons; consequently, the same actors ended up leading political debates in both the legislature and the public sphere.[92] This was a critical reason why the project of Confederation received as much attention as it did in the public sphere: "feuding" politicians took to their editorial columns to rebuke and undermine the views of their opponents, and the drama generated interest for the reading public. The debate over Nova Scotia's entry into Confederation, Rodorff argued, was ultimately "a contest between the *Chronicle* and the *Unionist* for the leading role in influencing the public sphere."[93] P. B. Waite argues similarly that newspapers provide a valuable source base with which to examine Confederation because they represent the "complexity" of our modern nation's forebears:

> Confederation was once alive and breathing; its critics and its advocates once filled the halls and marketplaces; and it is not too much to ask of history that it recover something of the liveliness of that generation. For this purpose the newspapers are wonderfully apposite; with all their limitations they remain an exciting and vital source of political life.[94]

Newspapers, like politics, demonstrate the vitality, attitudes, and loyalties of their editors and the public at large: that is why they must be "used with care" by historians, and

[90] Ibid, 469, emphasis added.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid; Peter B. Waite, "Newspapers and Political Life", *The Life and Times of Confederation 1864-1867: Politics, Newspapers, and the Union of British North America*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 4.
[93] Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers", 481.
[94] Peter B. Waite, "Newspapers and Political Life", 5.

should be read alongside other sources.[95] The importance of newspapers to the political debate was not coincidental. Waite notes that Halifax had a large number of publications for the size of its population.[96] D. C. Harvey, too, marvels that Nova Scotia heralded at least 80 publication titles between 1840-1867. Although most were short-lived, the high level of publishing and interest in the press indicated a fervor for public engagement.[97] Rodorff observes that many publishers in Halifax increased their publication rates in the 1860s, responding to public demand and working to shape the public conversation.[98]

Sources

Among these were the newspapers upon which this thesis is based. The *Morning Sun*, published by A. J. Ritchie, became *The Sun and Advertizer* after Aug. 8th, 1864, after which it continued to be published tri-weekly, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Ritchie had been the publisher of numerous papers in Nova Scotia: the *Register* (1841-45); the *Day Star* (1842-44); the *Mirror* (1848) with J. S. Thompson; and then the *Sun*. Beginning in 1845, Ritchie published the *Sun* with the editorial help of a Mr. Nugent, then later in partnership with Mr. Bulger, and independently after 1863.[99] The *Halifax Citizen* was first published on Nov. 5th, 1863 and was also a tri-weekly published on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday by William Garvie and Edmund Mortimer MacDonald, the M.L.A. for Pictou.[100] Both journals ceased publication as they were in 1867: Garvie

[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid, 6.
[97] D. C. Harvey, "Newspapers of Nova Scotia, 1840-1867", *The Canadian Historical Review* 26, No. 3 (1945): 295.
[98] Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers", 470: Both Rodorff and Harvey state that those newspapers which were engaged in political debates were the most influential and longest operating among those published in Nova Scotia.
[99] D. C. Harvey, "Newspapers of Nova Scotia", 295.
[100] It is noteworthy that William Garvie became prominent in part because of his publishing the series "Barney Rooney's Letters on Confederation", a satirical column which attacked the arguments of pro-

left the *Citizen* in 1866 to pursue law and then a career in politics, and while MacDonald continued to publish the paper as a weekly after his departure, he eventually sold the paper to E. N. Sharp, who maintained the journal's name as *The Citizen*.[101] Garvie and MacDonald both went on to federal elected office: after becoming the Commissioner for Public Works and Mines, Garvie was elected to represent Halifax County in the provincial election of 1871, though he died soon afterwards. MacDonald sought office in Canada's first federal election in 1867 as a representative of Lunenburg for the anti-Confederation Nova Scotia Party. The *Sun and Advertizer*, by contrast, ended its publication run upon the death of Mr. Ritchie.[102]

The *Halifax Citizen* and *The Sun and Advertizer* were both anti-Confederation papers. They regularly printed articles that argued against the proffered justifications for Confederation, undermined the politicians who advocated for it, questioned their motives, and derided their fellow editors of pro-Confederation newspapers such as the *Unionist*. Ritchie summed up his position on Confederation nicely near the end of 1865:

> Our opposition to a confederation or Federation of the British American provinces has not been of that uncompromising nature which condemns it under any and every circumstance. There may be a way of affecting it which would redound to our good; but that way we have not yet heard of… if otherwise the attempt to be persisted in to deliver us over to the Dominion of Canada, like so many serfs on a

Confederation politicians, including Tupper and McCully. Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers", 471; P. B. Waite, "Newspapers and Political Life", 8.

[101] "The Weekly Citizen, Published Every Saturday by E. N. Sharp & Co." *The Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 7, 1871; D. A. Muise, "McDONALD, EDMUND MORTIMER," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcdonald_edmund_mortimer_10E.html ; P. B. Waite, "GARVIE, WILLIAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/garvie_william_10E.html.

[102] D. C. Harvey, "Newspapers of Nova Scotia", 292-3; J. Murray Beck, "NUGENT, RICHARD," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/nugent_richard_8E.html.

> Russian estate to another Lord, we will protest with all our might against the iniquity.[103]

From his perspective, Confederation was likely to be the end of Nova Scotian independence and culture; indeed, it was equivalent to bartering off the citizenry to a foreign ruler, particularly given that the government would not put the question to a general vote. For Ritchie, this capitulation to Canada, resulting in the loss of self-government for the Province, was both a betrayal and an extreme exercise of unilateral power by the Tupper government. Garvie and Mortimer felt similarly and regularly expressed their opinions in their editorial column. As Waite notes, Garvie's anti-Confederation stance was strong enough to get him into trouble even outside the press: leaving a friend's house late one night, he was struck in the head and badly beaten by William Miller, M.L.A. for Richmond County, who had been deeply offended by remarks Garvie made in the *Citizen* regarding his recent defection to the pro-Confederate camp. Indeed, as Waite points out, "political life remained intense and personal", and physical violence regarding newspaper items was "not altogether unexpected".[104]

I selected the newspaper titles *The Sun and Advertizer* and the *Halifax Citizen* to use as my source base namely for their accessibility. These are two newspapers from the era for which there are fully digitized records from late-1862 through Confederation. I

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[103] "Hon. T. D. McGee's Speech." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 29, 1865. The full text of this section is even more powerfully stated: "Our opposition to a confederation or Federation of the British American provinces has not been of that uncompromising nature which condemns it under any and every circumstance. There may be a way of affecting it which would redound to our good; but that way we have not yet heard of. At all events we objected to the Quebec scheme, and the audacious way in which its projectors and advocates strove to make us subservient to it. Let an improved plan be formed – let it be put to the public vote, and we are content to submit and make the best of it; but if otherwise the attempt to be persisted in to deliver us over to the Dominion of Canada, like so many serfs on a Russian estate to another Lord, we will protest with all our might against the iniquity. Mr. Cardwell has no more power to "trade us off," or violate our constitution, then the meanest subject of Britain."

[104] Peter B. Waite, "Newspapers and Political Life", 11.

accessed the digitized copies through Google News Archive and Newspaperarchive.com, a commercial newspaper archival database which contains print copy from more than 15,000 newspaper titles from 29 countries. There are four titles from Halifax currently available: in addition to these, it contains copy from the *Halifax Gazette* (1753-78) and the *Halifax British Colonist* (1848-1860). Periodization choices led to my use of *The Sun* and the *Citizen*. I opted to use digitized copies initially for time efficiency, but later, this choice proved fortuitous given that access to the Nova Scotia Archives was severely limited during the COVID-19 pandemic. To find the articles on which this thesis is based, I conducted a combination of exhaustive and keyword searches of the available editions between 1862-65. I transcribed 581 articles total from these years. I determined not to expand my source base to include Nova Scotia's Hansard archives, as the Hansard transcripts for the years 1862-1863 are unavailable digitally.[105] To broaden my source base to include court proceedings seemed to me unnecessary and excessive, given the limitations of a master's thesis. Lastly, these are, importantly, *colonial* sources which offer a perspective of colonial society in Nova Scotia. I have relied entirely on colonial sources because it is coloniality which I wish to evaluate critically.

The sources I have used are certainly limited, in terms of the perspective they offer, and they are determinedly and explicitly aligned with a political outlook. However, as Rodorff points out, this was almost exclusively the case with political newspapers of this era.[106] Additionally, they do offer a window into Nova Scotia's political life in the lead up to Confederation. Much like every window, these newspapers have their own

[105] For reference, see the Nova Scotia Legislature website's listing of available copies of early debates: https://0-nsleg--edeposit-gov-ns-ca.legcat.gov.ns.ca/deposit/b10559863.htm.
[106] Mathias Rodorff, "The Role of Halifax Newspapers", 469, 471.

frame: they were progressive leaning and generally favored the Liberal party, giving much credence to the positions and opinions of leaders such as William Annand and Joseph Howe, and frequently making fun outright of Conservative leader Charles Tupper and the great betrayer, Liberal-turned-Confederation sympathizer, Jonathan McCully.[107] While these two newspapers do provide an entry point for viewing the immigration debate during the pre-Confederation period, they are certainly not representative of the scope of the Confederation debate in its entirety. In reading these sources, it is clear that both publishers and members of the press were engaged increasingly in a critical discussion of immigration, particularly as it was tied to coloniality and Nova Scotian identity, and that newspapers became one instrument for the public to create pressure on the government about this issue. According to my own observations, Halifax newspapers from this era reprinted and cross-printed articles liberally from other local, regional, and British colonial papers; therefore, I think it reasonable to posit that articles regarding issues other than Confederation may have had broader appeal. What the sources alone cannot and do not reveal is how newspaper publishers, members of the public, and government representatives engaged with the question of Confederation. I have tried to be mindful of the positioning of these sources, and wherever possible, to point to it explicitly when it offers contextual clues.

In recognizing the limitations of these sources, it is also important to point out that philosophers such as Nancy Fraser have critiqued Habermas's work on the public sphere for downplaying its limitations – not everyone was accepted as part of the

[107] P. B. Waite, "McCULLY, JONATHAN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 10, 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mccully_jonathan_10E.html.

"public." For Fraser, the bourgeois public sphere of Habermas's imagining was indeed always constituted by a "number of significant exclusions": most notably for her, it completely disregarded women as members of the political public.[108] According to Fraser, Habermas's conception of the public sphere, while useful, demonstrates how bourgeois men initially came to view themselves as devoid of specific character; importantly, Fraser notes, the bourgeois public sphere was "the arena, the training ground and eventually the power base of a stratum of bourgeois men who were coming to see themselves as a 'universal class' and preparing to assert their fitness to govern."[109] This dynamic established the hegemonic dominance of the male bourgeois public sphere, to the detriment of those people who were differentiated on the basis of their gender, race, class, or other aspects of identity.[110] In Fraser's conception, these groups eventually turned to form their own "subaltern counterpublics", which constituted "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs."[111] It is critical to recognize that the newspapers I have selected provide a limited view on the events of the pre-Confederation period because they are particularized by input that is almost exclusively from literate, middle and upper class, white men. Whether any of the contributors were also immigrants to Nova Scotia, speaking to that experience first-hand, is impossible to say, unless the author of an article identified themselves as such.

[108] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990): 59.
[109] Ibid, 60.
[110] Ibid, 67.
[111] Ibid.

Consequently, my thesis offers a close reading of debates and discussions taking place in two colonial newspapers during the lead up to Confederation. This thesis examines these newspapers' treatment of immigration during the pre-Confederation period through three phases. Chapter 2 discusses the establishment of the Office of Immigration in 1863 and argues that the creation of this office was part of a broader program of the Nova Scotia government to reify and solidify colonial institutions and assert governmental competence. Prior to this, Nova Scotia had relied on promoting the colony at the 1862 World's Fair and had only just begun to create pamphlets and other literature to help inform prospective immigrants about the physical, social, and economic landscape of the colony. This event happened at least partially in response to external pressures that came from deep anxieties about defending the British North American colonies against American expansionism in addition to pressures from the imperial government for the colonies to wean themselves off Britain's financial and military support.

In Chapter 3, I describe and analyze how the *Halifax Citizen* and *The Sun and Advertizer* agonized both over how many immigrants to allow into Nova Scotia and how to evaluate the fitness of these migrants. Most importantly, these papers promote the position that while immigration is valuable, it had to remain selective. In particular, the papers expressed the desirability of farmers and skilled labourers or those with moderate wealth, while disapproving of "pauper immigration", a selectivity which reflected the experiences Nova Scotia had had with immigration waves of prior decades. The conversation about populating the colonies also demonstrated the ideological frameworks

in place at the time, including positions that were explicitly liberal, imperialist, and settler colonial, while veiled in their racism.

Finally, in Chapter 4, I examine the colonial Immigration Office's immense struggle to conduct an effective program of inducing immigration while it was caught between unfavorable international dynamics. The United States was opening the Western front, Irish emigration was pouring into the United States, and recruiters were seeking emigrants to replace the soldiers to meet the quotas set for the Union Army: all these factors resulted in immigration bypassing Nova Scotia. The proponents of Confederation argued that it would be a positive feature in attracting more immigration, but the *Sun* and the *Citizen* again exhibited worries about the population of the Province, fearing that colonial union would act as more of a drain on the population of Nova Scotia. Importantly, just prior to Confederation, these papers expressed fear over losing Nova Scotia's identity through outmigration.

Chapter 2

1862-1863: Colonialism and Immigration: The Creation of the Office of Immigration

For the colonies of British North America, the year 1862 had a rocky start. The previous year had seen a good harvest, the discovery of gold in the province of Nova Scotia, and the departure of an envoy to Britain sent to promote imperial financing for the Intercolonial Railway.[112] However, the year 1861 met with the serious diplomatic incident known as the *Trent* Affair, when the British merchant and mail ship *Trent* surrendered two Confederate diplomats to a Federal naval captain, violating British neutrality in the American Civil War. This increased tensions between Britain and the Northern United States immediately and dramatically, causing Britain to arm the Canadian border out of concern that the US Federal Army might invade. While tensions eventually subsided and the conflict was resolved, the difficulties presented by defending the colonies of British North America gave Britain some pause. Despite the predominantly peaceful state of the British Empire at the time, both the colonies and the "parent country"[113] raised questions about the capacity of the colonies for self-defense, and the realistic continuation of the colonies' ongoing dependency. In addition to this instability, Prince Albert died on December 14th, 1861. With news of his death reaching Nova Scotia at the beginning of January, the province worked frantically to demonstrate its loyalties and perform its part as a subsidiary of the Empire.[114]

This kind of political and military instability ended up characterizing the years 1862-1863, a time when the British North American colonies were just beginning to

[112] "The Old and the New Year," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1, 1862.
[113] "1862," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 5, 1862.
[114] "Latest from Europe," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1, 1862.

consider unification. In this chapter, I will explore how the *Halifax Morning Sun* and the *Halifax Citizen* characterized the shifting political world in the British colonies, and how the intersecting anxieties regarding loyalty to the British Crown and the physical defense of the colonies impacted their ongoing discussion about immigration. To do this I will rely primarily on articles printed in the *Halifax Morning Sun*, as this is the newspaper for which there are complete digital records beginning January 1st, 1862 and running to November 1863, after which records are also available for the *Halifax Citizen*. The *Sun* was published three times weekly and edited by A. J. Ritchie, a Nova Scotian who had been trained as a printer in New Brunswick.[115] It was also one of few generally pro-Union papers in the Maritimes during the American Civil War.[116]

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the establishment of the Office of Immigration was part of a broader program of the Nova Scotia government to reify and solidify colonial institutions in order to assert governmental competence. This happened as part of a response to the external pressures of military threat and competition: Nova Scotians possessed a deep anxiety about their own defense and that of the British North American colonies more generally against American expansionism. Simultaneously, they faced pressure from the imperial government for the colonies to wean themselves off Britain's financial and military support. By formalizing its institutions, Nova Scotia strengthened the structures of colonial governance in the face of both approaching independence and potential American incursion, and at the same time codified its loyalty to Britain as a nation, to the Queen, and to British values and culture over and against the

[115] Greg Marquis, *In Armageddon's Shadow: The Civil War and Canada's Maritime Provinces* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 63.
[116] Ibid.

republican alternative presented by America. Formalizing a program of emigrant recruitment from Britain was a key element in establishing Nova Scotia as a distinctly British hegemonic space, loyal to the Crown; furthermore, the expansion of the population ensured the ongoing dominance of the territory through resource exploitation and occupation. Buoying up the population by developing a coherent immigration scheme was seen by the public as key to Nova Scotia's economic, military, and cultural success.

"Battle-ground for the mother country"[117]

The *Trent* Affair began on November 8th, 1861, when an American Federal naval captain, Charles Wilkes, apprehended the *Trent*, a British merchant and mail ship, and took into his custody two Confederate emissaries to London, James Mason and John Slidell.[118] The detention of a British ship and forced surrender of these two men violated British neutrality in the American Civil War. As a consequence, Britain's relationship with the Northern States became exceedingly tense. It seemed that war was on the horizon between Britain and the Northern States, with the British colonies destined to become the next field of battle. Although the North released the Confederate diplomats, they refused to make any apology. At the height of these tensions, as conflict seemed imminent, Britain sought to increase its inadequate defenses in Canada, sending troops, supplies, and food; however, the British militia had to march through Maine from Nova

[117] "The Intercolonial Railway," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 17, 1862.
[118] "From the States," telegraph from New York received Jan. 3, 1862, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 6, 1862; "The Attitude of Canada," reprinted from the *New York World* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1, 1862.

Scotia to reach Canada.[119] This incident reinforced, for the colonial governments, the need for transport and communications links through the colonies to protect their vulnerable border. For Britain, it brought to the fore how expensive it was to maintain its colonies.

News articles at this point in time exemplify the antagonisms between America and the British colonies. The *Morning Sun* frequently reprinted articles and telegrams it received with reports from overseas and from America, including a standing column containing news at this time about the American Civil War called "From the States". In addition to reports about troop movements and battles, the *Sun* sometimes published American opinion pieces. On January 8th, 1862, one such piece appeared in the paper, entitled "The Attitude of Canada". In it, the author described the arming of the Canadian border with British troops. They wrote, "Canadians are eager for a fight with us", and proceeded to declare, "it is very evident that Canada would be the dark and bloody ground in the event of hostilities."[120] The author then suggested several counter measures to prepare for engagement along the border of the Northern States, including repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty (an early free trade agreement), the concentration of American troops at strategic locations along the border in Maine and Michigan, and the construction of new gunboats for the Great Lakes. In the same edition, an anonymous Nova Scotian wrote a letter to the editor, recommending divestment from America and the increased manufacture of goods at home. They wrote: "So common, indeed, is it for us to import articles of all kinds from America that the Yankees think we could not live a week

[119] "Departure of Troops", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1, 1862; "Warlike Preparations for North America – Troops and Munitions of War – Arrivals at Halifax", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1, 1862; "Sayings of the American Press on the Rendition of Mason and Slidell," reprinted from the *Boston Courier* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 13, 1862; "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 14, 1862.
[120] "The Attitude of Canada," 1862.

without them."[121] Such exchanges exemplify the competitive dynamic of the time as resentment was felt deeply on both sides.

Washington reports relayed that the Federal government had no interest in engaging a foreign war while internal conflict continued,[122] but tensions remained high through the early part of the year. In January, the *Halifax Morning Sun* reported that Congress had introduced and was debating a bill to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty; in return, Britain threatened to seize American fishing boats in British waters in the Spring.[123] Updates regarding the number of British troops arriving in Halifax were given in most editions of the paper throughout January.[124] Meanwhile, the American press reported the "threatening aspect of our foreign relations will… [necessitate expenses for] defences of the extended sea board of Maine, now exposed to successful assault from any hostile maritime power."[125] Disputes in the newspaper were heated, with the *Sun* reprinting articles from American and British papers side by side. A report from the *Boston Courier* described the reaction of Americans to the return of Mason and Slidell:

> …[relief] will be accompanied by a strong choking sensation, which we apprehend it will take a good deal of careful treatment to control and compose… Still less should we be inclined to yield at once to arrogant and oppressive claims, on the part of those who sought occasion to fasten a quarrel upon us, when, owing to other causes, they thought themselves able to take us at a disadvantage.[126]

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[121] A Nova Scotian, "Correspondence," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 8, 1862.
[122] "From the States", telegraph from New York received Jan. 3, 1862, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 6, 1862.
[123] "Reciprocity Treaty", reprinted from the *Colonial Empire* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 10, 1862.
[124] "Naval Reinforcements for North America from Britain," *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 29, 1862.
[125] "From the States", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 6, 1862.
[126] "Sayings of the American Press on the Rendition of Mason and Slidell," reprinted from the *Boston Courier* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 13, 1862.

Immediately following was printed an article from the *London Examiner*, in which the author wrote, "Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the Americans, it is certain that they show their worst side to the world. The key to their character seems to be in a too over-weening confidence, a too self-reliant independence."[127] While the Queen personally expressed to Cabinet that "nothing official should be said or done to irritate public feeling in the Northern States",[128] the *Trent* Affair had rekindled briefly the bitter rivalry between America and Britain – and the British colonies were caught in the middle.

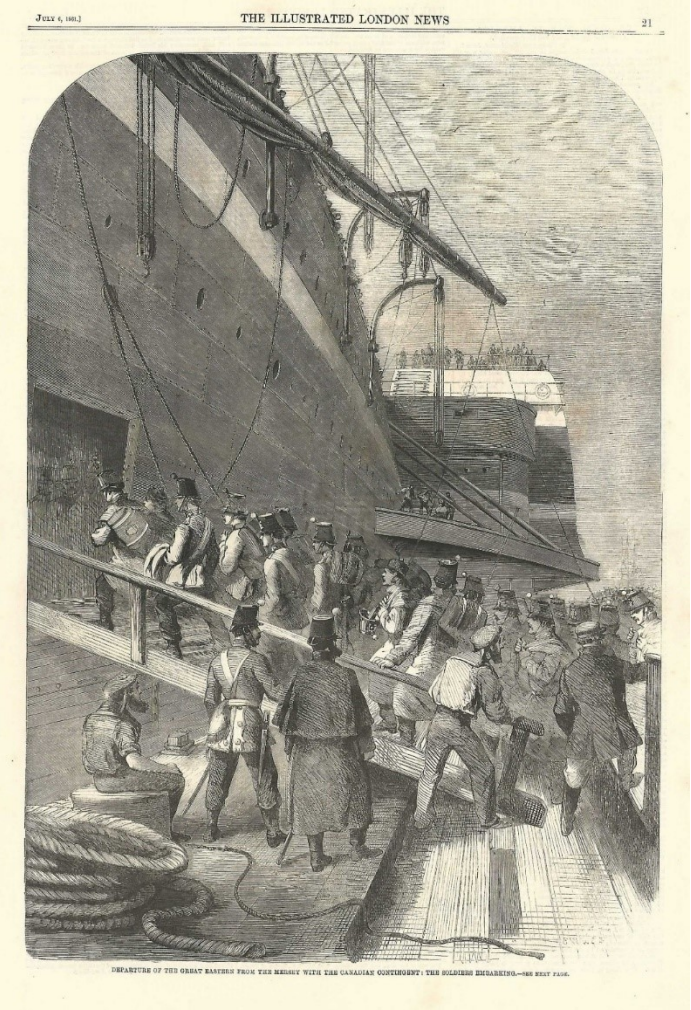

Figure 2.1: An illustration of British military troops boarding the *Great Eastern* at Liverpool on their way to defend the British North American colonies from the potential threat of invasion from the Northern United States. Source: "Troops Embarking for Canada", *Illustrated London News*, no. 1097 (London, UK), Jul. 6, 1861. Accessed via the British Newspaper Archive database.

[127] "American Character", reprinted from the *London Enquirer* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 13, 1862.
[128] Notice from the Queen (main column). Reprinted from the London *Record*, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 10, 1862.

Immediate tensions with Britain subsided, as the United States busied itself with the deepening Civil War. However, the near conflict left its mark: in Nova Scotia, fears about potential American incursions into the colonies intensified the push to finance and build the Intercolonial Railway. A reprint from the *London Canada News* demonstrated the reaction of the colonies to the London press' treatment of the subject, which the author wrote was discussed "in a very unfair and illiberal spirit."[129] In it, the author defends the cause of the railway, saying:

> Canada has provided for her own protection in time of peace, and has only asked of the Home Government to render her assistance in the construction of a road by which she could be assisted by Great Britain in case of foreign aggression. Canada is not likely to create any quarrel with the United States, and she therefore not unreasonably asks that if she is to be made the battle-ground for the mother country, she ought to at least receive such assistance as she may require to preserve her territory from occupation by an enemy.[130]

While Britain was beginning to tire of the expensive upkeep required to maintain the colonies, referring to the "Canadian tariff",[131] colonists contested this by emphasizing fervently Britain's responsibility to protect them. In an article that at once expressed the irritation of the colonies at the British press and argued the need for greater support from Britain's government, an author wrote in the *Quebec Chronicle*:

> The English papers show their ignorance of all that pertains to these Colonies in nothing more than in the exaggerated accounts they are now giving of the difficulty of marching troops from New Brunswick into Canada… one would imagine that to travel between St. John and Quebec was as perilous an expedition as to go from Quebec to the North Pole… This, however, will in the end perhaps benefit both Britain and ourselves, for it will supply a most convincing proof that it would be a measure of economy for the Imperial Government to pay the £60,000 per annum requested towards the building of the Intercolonial Railway.[132]

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[129] "The Intercolonial Railroad", reprinted from the *London Canada News* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 17, 1862.
[130] Ibid; see also "Legislative Council: Speech", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 14, 1862.
[131] "The Intercolonial Railroad", Jan. 17, 1862.
[132] "Marching Troops from New Brunswick to Quebec", reprinted from the *Quebec Chronicle* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 20, 1862.

Importantly, this article recalls the difficulty had by Upper and Lower Canada in 1838 during the Rebellions, when those governments struggled to get military reinforcement from the Maritimes. By returning to those earlier difficulties, the author underscored the vulnerabilities of the colonies, for audiences both local and abroad in Britain. At the same time, this type of editorial writing reinforced the case of the delegation which had been sent to advocate for the Intercolonial Railway and set a proposal before the British government for its financial support.

Figure 2.2: An image of British troops marching the route from New Brunswick to Quebec, between the sections of railroad. The arduous journey made the British government more inclined towards supporting the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Source: “British Troops on the March, Canada”, Coloured Engraving Supplement, *Illustrated London News*, (London, UK), Mar. 15, 1862. Accessed via the British Newspaper Archive database.

Another consequence to the colonists' unease about the fatigue Britain evidently had regarding its continued support was the heightened articulation of loyalty to the Crown. Nova Scotians frequently expressed a strong allegiance to Britain and there were deep ties to the British imperial project, politically and culturally.[133] In an article published in February, this time by a local, the author described the connection between Britain and the colonies as one of profound loyalty. As they wrote, with effusive dedication:

> Before the last year ended… came the tidings which told us that ere long our Colonies might be the scene of fierce and desolating war, that the Republic at our side might soon be engaged in deadly contest with the nation of which we form a part… [then] the news came, that Death had visited the Royal household, and left our Queen a Widow. A week before every heart in these Colonies beat with a desire to shew [sic] that we were with the mother country whatever the issue might be, and then each war-like sentiment was subdued, each hostile feeling gave way before the purer emotion of love and respect for our Queen. Loyalty, the universal passion of the people, found something in both these events to make it glow the brighter and stronger. When they heard of the first, each man was ready to put on his armour, to shoulder his rifle, and march to the defence of his home, – the British flag and British Institutions were his pride; and when they heard of the last, love and respect for the Queen displaced almost every other thought.[134]

This author, too, later turned to the Intercolonial Railway and its delegation, extending their description of the fellow feeling between Britain and the colonies into this discussion. As they wrote, "the delegation… found the Imperial Government somewhat

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[133] "Latest from Europe", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 1-8, 1862. The first edition of the *Halifax Morning Sun* for the year contains extensive reports of the Prince's death, including a detailed description of his funeral. The column "Latest from Europe" details mourning across Europe and messages of condolences from different royal courts. The opening of the legislative session for 1862 began: "The sudden death of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort has deeply afflicted our beloved Sovereign, and cast a gloom over the whole Empire. You will, I doubt not, be anxious to carry to the foot of the Throne an expression of sympathy and condolence, in accordance with the *universal sentiment* of Nova Scotia." (emphasis added), "Legislative Council", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 14, 1862. Formal condolences were published a week later: "To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, The Humble Address of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 21, 1862. With this, Nova Scotia joined the other parts of the British Empire in formal morning for Prince Albert's death.

[134] "1862", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 5, 1862.

disinclined to enter upon what they seemed to consider an extensive and difficult undertaking. But they found the people alive to the importance of the measure, to themselves as well as to us…"[135] For this author, such fellow feeling must eventually compel Britain to relent and support the project which would enable the colonies' unification by rail. At the end of the article, the author made mention of a potential future where the colonies would be unified politically, as well, while remaining loyal to the Crown. "The day may be far distant when such changes are made," they wrote, "but it is becoming that we should be alive to the interests of our Province."[136] Importantly, colonial unification and loyalty to Britain were not seen as antithetical.

The Apprehensions of Coloniality

In Britain, many questioned whether support for the colonies of British North America should be ongoing, and several powerful voices advocated in the British press to end colonial dependence. The *Liverpool Albion* reported that in the Throne Speech of March 1862, British Parliament had heard the position that:

> We have given to Canada and our other North American possessions the blessings of a free government, without any of the obnoxious appendages which have proved such a curse to their neighbours, and the consequences will be seen by the exemption from those internal troubles that have destroyed one of the most extensive Republics of modern times. What is now required is to profit by the lesson lately taught, – to assist in rendering Canada secure in her geographical position, by enabling her to organize a system of internal self-defence, as well as to stimulate her industry and enterprise, for it cannot be expected that the mother country is always to be looked to when the safety of her colonies is threatened.[137]

Interestingly, this too turned into an argument in support of the Intercolonial Railway. The speaker noted the great "importance of enabling the colonies to carry out this most

[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] "British North America", reprinted from the *Liverpool Albion* newspaper of Feb. 10, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 14, 1862.

necessary work of uniting all the provinces by means of the railway… union is strength – and the American provincial interest will find it so."[138] For some representatives in the British government, it was more cost and time effective for Britain to support the construction of the railway for colonial self-defense in case of American invasion, rather than continuing to provide military support to the colonies directly. Although they had sent troops to support the colonies against any American "surprise", some stated that this was to be considered an exceptional circumstance, and that it was to be "the nucleus of future independence" for the colonies.[139] By then, military expenses for British North America were projected to be £1,035,152 for the year 1862-1863, and Britain was looking at having to increase taxes to support military spending.[140] In considering taxation, the editors of the article depicted the commonly-held belief in Britain that the average colonist was wealthier than the average Briton and that, therefore, there was a greater capacity to sustain taxation in the colonies than in Britain.[141] Public finance spurred much of the conversation about colonial independence.

Britain's push to encourage colonial self-defense, ostensibly in support of self-government, was highlighted in the next edition of the *Halifax Morning Sun*: in the very first article, the editors wrote with dismay that:

> A notion seems to have possessed the House of Commons that the Colonies had better be let alone; that England had given them free constitutions, and so on, consequently they should be able to take care of themselves, – their defences and other contingencies cost the mother land entirely too much money.[142]

[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] "The Spirit of the Press", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 4, 1862.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "The London Press on British American Affairs", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 17, 1862.

On March 28th, an editorial piece further discussed British attitudes towards the colonies. In it, the editors wrote that Britain's Secretary of State for the Colonies was recently quoted giving a speech at dinner, saying, "If a colony wishes to separate from us – if colonies think their strength sufficient to stand alone, England will not seek to retain them by force."[143] The editor of the *Halifax Morning Sun* considered this "a gentle hint – *a first warning* – that the people of England are beginning to consider colonies in the light of incumbrances, rather than of helps-meet." In Nova Scotia, the idea that the colonies were a burden to the mother country was at once offensive, creating deep injury to colonial pride, and troubling, as Nova Scotians considered how they would possibly manage without British military support in the face of American aggression. While British troops were not to be recalled from the colonies until the American Civil War was over,[144] the *Sun* and the *Citizen* articulated anxiety about this impending reality and expressed the need for Nova Scotia to prepare itself for this seemingly inevitable outcome.

At the same time, both of these newspapers pushed back against the British press, which they saw as both misrepresenting and belittling the colonies, and against the logic that colonial independence was the ideal. Numerous complaints were lodged against the British press by colonists, some of which have already been described in this chapter, mainly on the grounds that they were not well informed about the realities of life in the colonies. During this period of contesting colonial dependence, however, there seems to have been significant backlash. As a Nova Scotian wrote in correspondence with the London *Star & Dial*:

[143] "Take Warning", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 28, 1862.
[144] Ibid.

> Up to a recent date the London newspapers have enjoyed an enviable reputation in the Transatlantic colonies… But so much that cannot bear examination has been lately said in disparagement of these colonies, especially the climate, by certain metropolitan journals, that the charm, it is feared, has lost its potency.[145]

One of the strategies that the *Halifax Morning Sun* used to resist the narrative of colonial incumbrance promoted in the British papers was to publish counterpoints about the utility of colonies to the Empire. In a letter originally published in the *Plymouth Times*, concerning the relationship between Britain and America, the author considered whether "'it is the natural tendency for colonies to separate from the mother country.'"[146] Interestingly, the author argues that Britain should attempt to get along with the colonies with "mutual consideration and forbearance",[147] rather than repeating the past experience of America's separation. As they wrote:

> …the question seems to lie entirely with the mother country whether she shall repeat the old folly of contriving to get rid of them… whereas she formerly alienated her offspring by over-strictness, but was anxious to retain them, she now possesses the warmest affection of the junior branches of the family, but perversely tries to imagine that she would be better without them.[148]

Ultimately, the author concluded that the colonies were of benefit to Britain. By bringing pro-Empire commentary to the fore, the *Halifax Morning Sun* pressed the point that colonial dependence could be profitable and advantageous to the mother country, enough so that even some Americans regretted independence.

Articles examining the effect of the colonies on Britain and the state of the British Empire more generally became common in the *Halifax Morning Sun*. In one article, the

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[145] "The 'Star and Dial' and its Nova Scotia Correspondence", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 7, 1862. An earlier editorial about this conflict appears in "The St John News on the Start and Dial's Correspondent", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 21, 1862.
[146] "On Two Ways of Reading American History", reprinted from the *Plymouth Times* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 19, 1862.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

editors evaluated Professor Goldwin Smith's analysis of this issue, discussed in the *London Daily News*. The editors contended with both sides of the argument, quoting Lord Brougham's publication on the colonies as saying, "It is a narrow policy which would consider colonies as separate and subservient appendages of the parent state; they are *integral* parts of the empire which is fortunate enough to possess them."[149] They also noted, however, that in the British House of Commons Mr. Mills stated recently, "colonies are an incumbrance to the parent state", going on to say that, "such possessions as Canada, Australia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, are of no practical utility to England; and that the true policy of the Mother Country is to withhold her military protection and abandon them to their own resources."[150] While these arguments evidently were not accepted wholesale in parliament, Mr. Goldwin Smith argued in the London press, that "the Canadians have nothing to hope for from continuing a dependency – nothing to fear from becoming a nation."[151] In response to this, the *Sun*'s editors wrote "so much was said… as to furnish colonists with a hint, which cannot be disregarded, that the time has arrived when they must exert themselves manfully to provide largely for their own defence against foreign aggression by land…"[152] Although the paper attempted to argue in favor of the rewards brought by maintaining the colonial attachment, much of that writing also demonstrated internal fears of abandonment by Britain.

Some reacted to the indication that Britain was considering severing her colonial ties with great annoyance and resentment; evidently, Nova Scotians felt to some degree

[149] "Professor Goldwin Smith and His Advice to the Canadians", reprinted from the *London Daily News* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 30, 1862; "Brougham on the War", *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 12, 1863.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

that this was an affront to their province. One such response is shown in an article entitled "Money too Plenty", printed in the first column of the May 5th edition of the *Halifax Morning Sun*:

> We are now and again reminded, gently, of the affectionate, maternal feeling, borne by the old mother land towards her offspring in either hemisphere. Commons-House-of-Parliament-celebrities revive reminiscences of the 'huge indebtedness' which these 'Colonies' have to answer for to the 'Parent State.' Then, the old lady threatens to cast us adrift, that we may shift for ourselves; *we are of no earthly utility to her*. The old lady is rich; she has more money than she knows how to invest at two per cent…[153]

To hear that such a conversation was ongoing in the British Parliament obviously smarted. Once again, however, the author tied this argument back to the responsibility of Britain to support the colonies in their bid to finance the Intercolonial Railway:

> Now, the Empire Colony, Canada, together with her sister colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, has lately gone, cap in hand, and modestly asked this old lady to pay? no! but simply to *accept the security of these colonies* for the payment of £60,000 interest, in order that the colonies may borrow some £3,000,000 for the building of an Intercolonial Railway, which, when built, must subserve the interest of old mother rather than those of her belongings.[154]

Importantly, this article describes the deal which the colonial envoy went to propose to the British government in detail not found elsewhere: the colonial governments did not ask Britain to pay outright for the Railway, but to assume the risk for the loan. To colonists, a denial of even this meagre request on behalf of the colonies would be cruel and unbecoming of the British government. Although the transition to colonial independence seemed imminent, clearly not all the colonists were pleased about it; indeed, such bitter tones indicated a real disheartenment at the prospect of receiving more political autonomy.

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[153] "Money too Plenty", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 5, 1862.
[154] Ibid.

Others in Nova Scotia, however, seemed more willing to tackle independence for their province, and looked toward the future with optimism. In April of 1862, a public meeting was held by the Mayor to discuss celebrating the 8th of June as the day the City of Halifax was founded. At this meeting, the Mayor described the purpose of such a celebration, saying that "Hitherto the feelings of Nova Scotians were not the most exultant in reference to their country", and that there was a common desire to "foster a spirit of patriotism among the rising generation."[155] Mr. Shannon, a city Aldermen, explained that this present lack of obvious patriotism was due to the older population's relationship to Britain, "which we had been accustomed to look to and speak of as, 'our Mother Country'",[156] as many had emigrated from there. However, as the Alderman pointed out, the most recent population estimate in Nova Scotia showed that most citizens had been born in Nova Scotia. Rather than attributing their patriotic love to the "mother country", he proposed, it was "now time to elevate ourselves as such",[157] and to centre those feelings of loyalty on the province of Nova Scotia, instead. Importantly, Mr. Shannon emphasized that this was not done to disrespect or reject Britain, but because "The season is appropriate for an endeavor to elevate ourselves. A new era is about to dawn."[158] Another Alderman, Mr. Haliburton, reinforced this in a speech which followed Shannon's, saying:

> Hitherto our loyalty to the mother country had absorbed our provincial feeling… the day is coming when we *must* be separated from Britain. The force of circumstances will compel this step. As yet we are disinclined to take such a step, for… we are fearful of assuming the responsibility of doing such things as fighting the Yankees by ourselves.[159]

[155] "The Eight of June", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 30, 1862.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

As Mr. Haliburton put it, there was a need for "increased energy" throughout the province, and this type of celebration was one way to stir it. While separation from the British Empire would come at a cost, there were many who seemed eager to make the best of it and prepared for Nova Scotia to strike out on its own.

Emigration and the Bonds of Empire

Interestingly, much of the "increased energy" sought by Nova Scotia came in the form of increasing immigration to the province. Indeed, at the very same meeting about the celebrations of June 8th, Alderman Shannon stated his belief that "Emigrants are about to flow in who will help us to build up our country."[160] From his position, it seemed likely that Nova Scotians who had been forced to seek work in the United States would now return due to the Civil War, and many would likely be able to remain, as there was more potential work for them mining in the gold fields. The speeches that day went further, articulating the hope that such a celebration might spur "a knowledge of our advantages sent abroad to induce emigration."[161] As Alderman Haliburton put it, deficiencies existed "especially to the want of suitable immigration arrangements… [there is a] necessity for circulating information about our province through the United Kingdom."[162] While Nova Scotia's public figures looked to model its social life on more locally-focused events and to turn the population's attention and spirit more toward the province, they similarly hoped to direct the attention of those seeking a new life in North America towards Nova Scotia. Events such as this one which celebrated Halifax's founding provided an opportunity for advertising the colony to potential emigrants

[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

abroad in Britain. Even as Nova Scotia developed its individual identity as a colony, in the face of impending autonomy, it relied on the "mother country" to sustain its population growth.

While demography had been the determining factor in Britain's success in finally establishing its colonies in North America, after the 1760s, British settlement was both slow and largely uncoordinated. In the early 1860s, Nova Scotians were very much alive to the need for immigration to the colony, and they sought out opportunities to demonstrate what their province had to offer as a means of advertising it for settlement. The International Exhibition in London proved an extremely important opportunity to educate the British public about Nova Scotia and to draw in potential emigrants. The International Exhibition was Britain's second World's Fair held from May 1st to November 1st, 1862 in the London district of South Kensington, on the site where the Natural History Museum now resides. Sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, Manufacture and Trades, the Exhibition showcased objects from around the world, with a particular focus on the technological and artistic achievements of the Industrial Revolution.[163] Nova Scotia sent several items for its part of the display such as minerals, including a large column of coal and samples from the gold fields, wood, fruit, preserved fish, taxidermied game animals, and local manufactures.[164] The large stuffed moose was

[163] John Hollingshead, *A Concise History of the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1862), Chapter X, 47-66. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/concisehistoryi00holl

[164] "International Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 20, 1862; "The International Exhibition Articles", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 24, 1862; "Nova Scotia at the Great Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862.

of particular interest and curiosity.[165] One article described Nova Scotia's contribution, saying:

> The hospitality of Old England is offered to all that the industrious inhabitants of this world of ours are capable of producing. Our own little Province will not figure insignificantly. At all events she will present herself in a form better calculated to impress the beholder with a correct idea of our real resources – mineral, agricultural and artistic – than she did nine years ago.[166]

Prior to sending all the items abroad, the International Exhibition Commissioners held an exhibition at the legislative council chambers and Dalhousie University to provide colonists with the opportunity to see their own contributions – an effort that was wildly popular.[167] For Nova Scotia, this was an opportunity to perform its relationship to the British Empire and exemplify itself as an ideal colony, able to hold its own as a place of worth in comparison to the other colonies and countries of the world.

[165] "The International Exhibition Articles", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 24, 1862; A.M. Uniacke, "Extract from a Letter dated London, Apl. 18, '62", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 12, 1862: "Our moose is placed in a prominent position in the centre, at the entrance of our court, and all stop and gaze on it as they pass."
[166] "The Great Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862.
[167] "International Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 22, 1862; see further an article of the same title printed on Jan. 24, 1862.

Figure 2.3: “We welcome All-The-World and his wife! Good farms, good homes, good schools and good government for all who will make good citizens.” Banners in the background read: “WELCOME ALL” and “Homes > Liberty”. A later cartoon demonstrating the intent of the colonies educate the world about their advantages and advertise themselves as an excellent place for habitation. This was the case both before and after the union of British North America. Source: *The Globe (1844-1936)*, (Toronto, ON), May 28, 1898. Accessed via ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* archives database available through the Toronto Public Library.

At the same time, Nova Scotians were deeply concerned with the need to dispel ideas that the colony was not a prime place for settlement: as Alderman Haliburton wrote in a letter to the editor, the British public "must not think the province a poor place for the emigrant."[168] Grand international events like the Exhibition enabled the colonies to induce immigration by demonstrating to potential emigrants what life was like here; indeed, Haliburton was very concerned that Nova Scotia be represented accurately:

> …we do not expect to compete with English artizans [sic] in sending manufactured articles to the Exhibition. The excellent quality of the specimens sent, however… will still more surprise the visitors to the Exhibition in London; many of whom consider that an emigrant coming here must bring an ample supply of clothing, furniture, &c., as he will otherwise leave not only the luxuries, but even the comforts of life behind. The manufactures sent home will convince strangers that we must have at least got beyond the age of bark canoes and stone axes; and that an emigrant coming here will find the inhabitants living in something better than 'tumble down shanties,' as the *Times* correspondent would lead the British public to believe.[169]

Haliburton was not alone in this concern. Another colonist wrote that "[The Englishman] now thinks Nova Scotia a bleak, a dreary land, approaching near the Arctic regions… Let it then be a duty to falsify his rude ideas."[170] For colonists, this was an opportunity to show Nova Scotia at its best, and to correct some of the impressions given to the public by the British press that the colonies were little more than backwoods. In an effort to encourage Britons to visit the colonies and investigate the quality of life for themselves, a company was set up around the International Exhibition to "make arrangements for the reception of foreign excursionists to this country during the Exhibition time."[171] The International Exhibition Commission made every effort to ensure that the Nova Scotia

[168] "Correspondence: Coal Fields of Nova Scotia", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 16, 1862.
[169] R. G. Haliburton, "Correspondence: The Coal Fields of Nova Scotia", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 16, 1862.
[170] E., "Correspondence: The Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 14, 1862.
[171] "Latest from Europe", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 10, 1862.

exhibit left a highly positive impression, and that this impression translated to greater interest and movement to the colony.

Evidently, these efforts seemed to have had the desired effect: the London *Star*, in reporting on the colonial exhibits, described enthusiastically the "abundance" of items offered by Nova Scotia, including the "obelisk" of coal, and the "large size" of the fish as compared to those available in Britain, such as the "claw of a single lobster [which] would furnish a hearty meal for a couple of persons."[172] Indeed, the *Star* reporter wrote that "an inspection of this department will go far to show the importance of this colony, and the necessity for its further development, as it contains within itself all the natural elements of unbounded wealth."[173] The efforts of Nova Scotia and the other Maritime colonies were even considered noteworthy by John Hollingshead in his *History* of the Exhibition, in which he paid little attention to the British North American colonies overall; in his view, "Canada has been rather tardy; but the Lower Provinces have taken great pains to send such collections as may give a fair idea of their chief products."[174] To impress the British Commissioners was one thing, but to attract the public was of greater importance. This project was an ongoing one, of which the Exhibition display played a significant part.

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[172] "Nova Scotia Abroad", reprinted from the *London Star* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 19, 1862.
[173] Ibid.
[174] John Hollingshead, *A Concise History of the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1862), 102. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/concisehistoryi00holl.

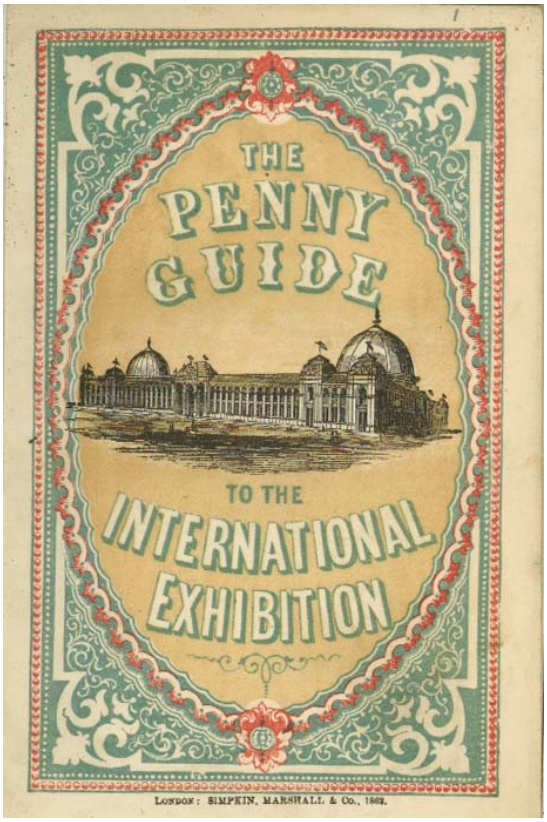
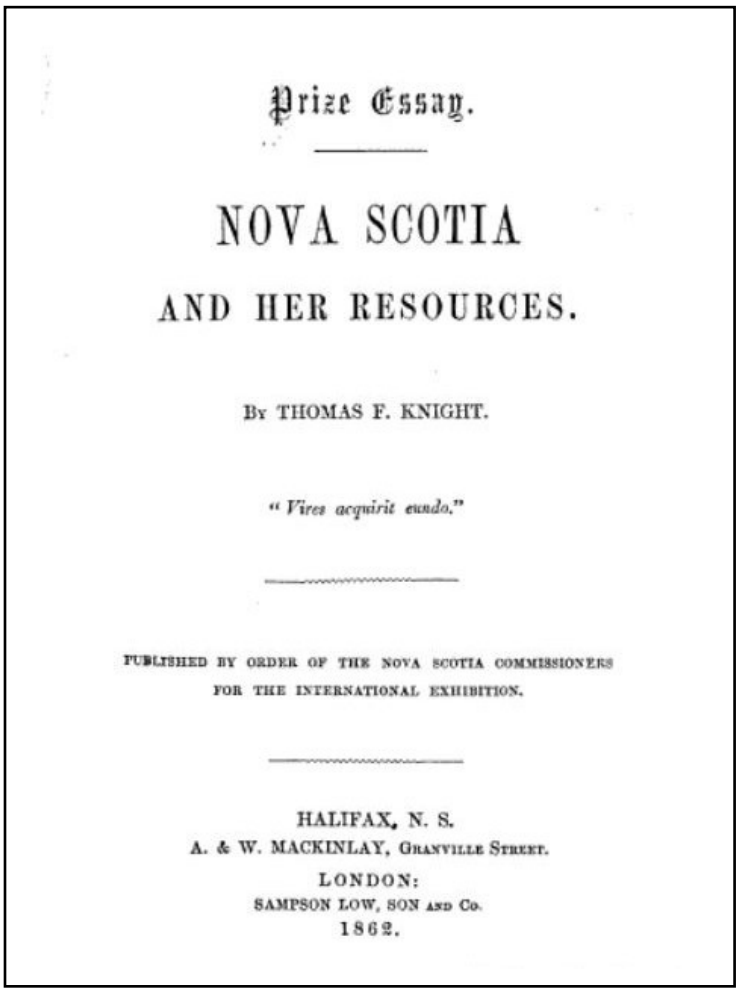


Figure 2.4: Items like the Penny Guide provided exhibition goers with an overview of the offerings on display. The Nova Scotia Exhibit was located in the North Eastern transept, with the other British North American colonies.[175] *The Penny Guide to the International Exhibition* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.), 1862. Source: University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

The Nova Scotia government clearly thought the International Exhibition was a worthwhile endeavor, even if it was of some expense to collect, house, and ship the items to London. In the Legislative Council, the opening speech noted that "it is reasonable to assume that the exhibition of these specimens will attract into Nova Scotia some portion of the surplus labor of Europe, and call home many of our people who have been seeking employment elsewhere."[176] However, the Exhibition alone was seen as insufficient for this work; indeed, the government remarked on the fact that there was more effort needed to ensure a "wide diffusion" of information about Nova Scotia's social condition and resources.[177] This is where the efforts of the province lay next, as the government

[175] "Nova Scotia at the Great Exhibition", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862.
[176] "Legislative Council: Speech", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 14, 1862.
[177] Ibid.

determined that "A geographical survey of the province would be invaluable, as an authoritative record of facts upon which capitalists, at home or abroad, and immigrants seeking employment may rely."[178] Latterly, a call was put out in the press for essays about the best qualities of Nova Scotia and its resources, with a prize of £100 offered by the Commissioners of the International Exhibition. On May 12th, the *Halifax Morning Sun* reported that the prize had been awarded to Thomas F. Knight, Esq., of Halifax, who was the first among 13 very worthy competitors.[179]



Prize Essay.

NOVA SCOTIA

AND HER RESOURCES.

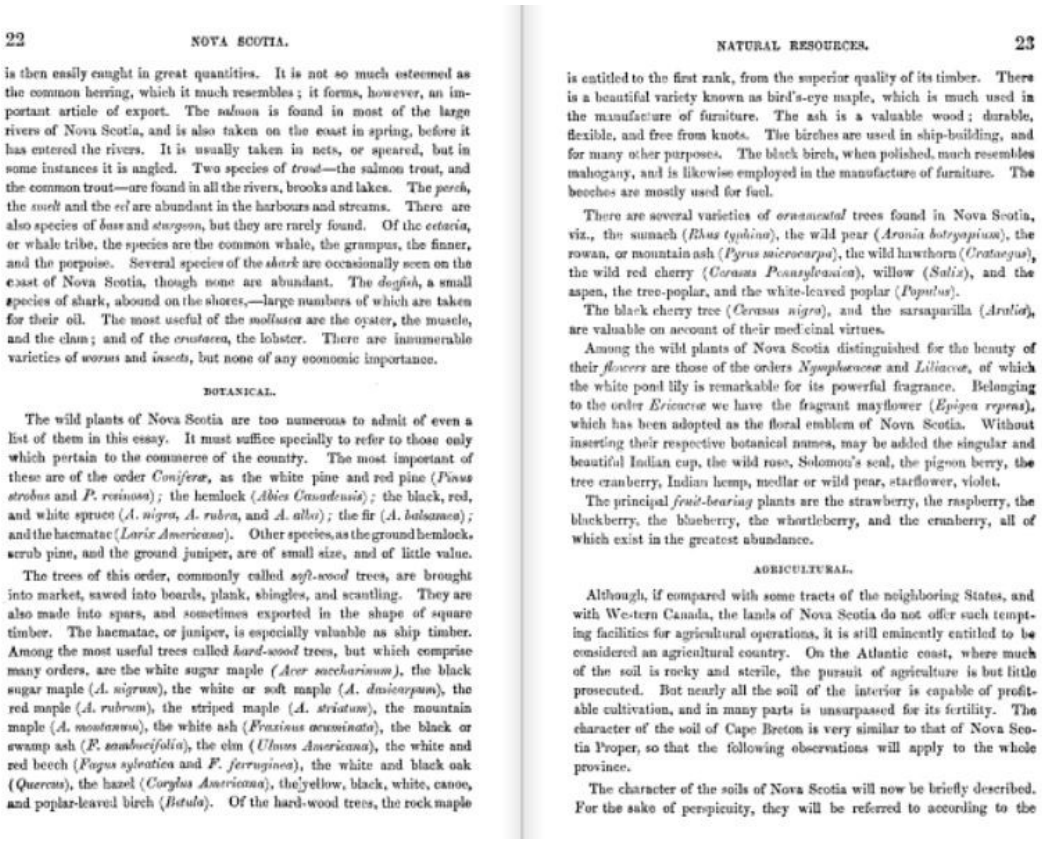
By THOMAS F. KNIGHT.

"*Vires acquirit eundo.*"

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE NOVA SCOTIA COMMISSIONERS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.

HALIFAX, N. S.
A. & W. MACKINLAY, Granville Street.
LONDON:
SAMPSON LOW, SON and Co.
1862.

[178] Ibid.
[179] "Sayings and Doings", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 12, 1862.



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is then easily caught in great quantities. It is not so much esteemed as the common herring, which it much resembles; it forms, however, an important article of export. The *salmon* is found in most of the large rivers of Nova Scotia, and is also taken on the coast in spring, before it has entered the rivers. It is usually taken in nets, or speared, but in some instances it is angled. Two species of *trout*—the salmon trout, and the common trout—are found in all the rivers, brooks and lakes. The *perch*, the *smelt* and the *eel* are abundant in the harbours and streams. There are also species of *bass* and *sturgeon*, but they are rarely found. Of the *cetacia*, or whale tribe, the species are the common whale, the grampus, the finner, and the porpoise. Several species of the *shark* are occasionally seen on the coast of Nova Scotia, though none are abundant. The *dogfish*, a small species of shark, abound on the shores,—large numbers of which are taken for their oil. The most useful of the *mollusca* are the oyster, the muscle, and the clam; and of the *crustacea*, the lobster. There are innumerable varieties of *worms* and *insects*, but none of any economic importance.

BOTANICAL.

The wild plants of Nova Scotia are too numerous to admit of even a list of them in this essay. It must suffice specially to refer to those only which pertain to the commerce of the country. The most important of these are of the order *Coniferæ*, as the white pine and red pine (*Pinus strobus* and *P. resinosa*); the hemlock (*Abies Canadensis*); the black, red, and white spruce (*A. nigra*, *A. rubra*, and *A. alba*); the fir (*A. balsamea*); and the hacmatac (*Larix Americana*). Other species, as the ground hemlock, scrub pine, and the ground juniper, are of small size, and of little value.

The trees of this order, commonly called *soft-wood* trees, are brought into market, sawed into boards, plank, shingles, and scantling. They are also made into spars, and sometimes exported in the shape of square timber. The hacmatac, or juniper, is especially valuable as ship timber. Among the most useful trees called *hard-wood* trees, but which comprise many orders, are the white sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*), the black sugar maple (*A. nigrum*), the white or soft maple (*A. dasicarpum*), the red maple (*A. rubrum*), the striped maple (*A. striatum*), the mountain maple (*A. montanum*), the white ash (*Fraxinus acuminata*), the black or swamp ash (*F. sambucifolia*), the elm (*Ulmus Americana*), the white and red beech (*Fagus sylvatica* and *F. ferruginea*), the white and black oak (*Quercus*), the hazel (*Corylus Americana*), the yellow, black, white, canoe, and poplar-leaved birch (*Betula*). Of the hard-wood trees, the rock maple

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is entitled to the first rank, from the superior quality of its timber. There is a beautiful variety known as bird's-eye maple, which is much used in the manufacture of furniture. The ash is a valuable wood; durable, flexible, and free from knots. The birches are used in ship-building, and for many other purposes. The black birch, when polished, much resembles mahogany, and is likewise employed in the manufacture of furniture. The beeches are mostly used for fuel.

There are several varieties of *ornamental* trees found in Nova Scotia, viz., the sumach (*Rhus typhina*), the wild pear (*Aronia botryapium*), the rowan, or mountain ash (*Pyrus microcarpa*), the wild hawthorn (*Crataegus*), the wild red cherry (*Cerasus Pennsylvanica*), willow (*Salix*), and the aspen, the tree-poplar, and the white-leaved poplar (*Populus*).

The black cherry tree (*Cerasus nigra*), and the sarsaparilla (*Aralia*), are valuable on account of their medicinal virtues.

Among the wild plants of Nova Scotia distinguished for the beauty of their *flowers* are those of the orders *Nymphaceæ* and *Liliaceæ*, of which the white pond lily is remarkable for its powerful fragrance. Belonging to the order *Ericaceæ* we have the fragrant mayflower (*Epigea repens*), which has been adopted as the floral emblem of Nova Scotia. Without inserting their respective botanical names, may be added the singular and beautiful Indian cup, the wild rose, Solomon's seal, the pigeon berry, the tree cranberry, Indian hemp, medlar or wild pear, starflower, violet.

The principal *fruit-bearing* plants are the strawberry, the raspberry, the blackberry, the blueberry, the whortleberry, and the cranberry, all of which exist in the greatest abundance.

AGRICULTURAL.

Although, if compared with some tracts of the neighboring States, and with Western Canada, the lands of Nova Scotia do not offer such tempting facilities for agricultural operations, it is still eminently entitled to be considered an agricultural country. On the Atlantic coast, where much of the soil is rocky and sterile, the pursuit of agriculture is but little prosecuted. But nearly all the soil of the interior is capable of profitable cultivation, and in many parts is unsurpassed for its fertility. The character of the soil of Cape Breton is very similar to that of Nova Scotia Proper, so that the following observations will apply to the whole province.

The character of the soils of Nova Scotia will now be briefly described. For the sake of perspicuity, they will be referred to according to the

Figure 2.5: The title page and sample interior pages of the prize-winning essay by Thomas F. Knight. *Nova Scotia and Her Resources* (Halifax: A. & W. Mackinlay; London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co.), 1862. Source: Google Books.

Materials such as Knight's book were of help to those Emigrant Agents who worked across the United Kingdom attempting to persuade newcomers to make a new life in the British colonies, rather than going to the United States. Agents typically worked their way from town to town, lecturing on the living conditions, material opportunities, and recreational activities available in the colonies.[180] On leaving, they would distribute promotional materials, such as Knight's essay, as Mr. Brown, the

[180] Extract of letter from Mr. Brown, Emigrant Agent for New Brunswick. Reprinted from the Fredericton *Reporter* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 13, 1862.

Emigrant Agent for New Brunswick, describes of his work to "give publicity… to the true character of the Province",[181] in a letter reprinted from the Fredericton *Reporter*:

> I have been careful to leave one or two sets of the Essays, Hand Book, Reports, &c., at every place where I have lectured, for the information of all whom the subject may concern. Those have invariably been added to the School Libraries, Reading Rooms, &c., and there retained for public use.[182]

In addition to the work of these agents, government officials took every opportunity to promote their provinces while abroad in Britain to advocate for the Intercolonial Railway. For instance, while in Manchester to do the work of the delegation, the Hon. Mr. Tilley attended a demonstration and dinner given in honour of his work for the Temperance Movement. When asked to speak to the gathering, he used the opportunity to promote the colony of New Brunswick, including such facts and features like the price of land, provisions laid out for schools and roads, wages, local governance, and the restrictions on taverns that were in place there. The Hon. Joseph Howe, who accompanied him as part of the railway delegation, was able to speak in the same respect and promote colonial settlement in Nova Scotia.[183]

The railway delegation also took the initiative, while in Britain, to help found the British America Association in London for the promotion of colonial interests in the mother country. One influential member, Lord John Dalrymple, had already published a pamphlet regarding the colonies, their constitutional makeup, and the need for the Intercolonial Railway. In it, he wrote with great praise of Nova Scotia, comparing it favourably to the ports of St. John and Portland: "[F]ortunately for us, the port of Halifax

[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] "Temperance Demonstration in Manchester to Hon. S. Tilley", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 3, 1862.

is always open; at all times of year it is accessible; and in its capacious and tranquil waters all the navies of the world may ride."[184] He goes on to urge Britain to aid in completing the Intercolonial Railway, saying: "…with its internal communication complete, and with its institutions perfected upon the English system, the kingdom of British America would bid defiance to all its enemies, and be a succor and support to its friends."[185] By relying heavily on tropes of imperial pride and superiority to provoke his audience, Lord Dalrymple was able to push the colonial cause quite powerfully and to exert all the influence available to the British North America Association.

In the House of Assembly, which reconvened after the return of the delegation, measures to improve immigration were somewhat more subdued. The government expected new prospects for gold mining to both bring in new migrants and keep young men at home who might otherwise go to the United States for employment.[186] However, there was disagreement about whether gold mining would incite significant increases in immigration since the scale of the mining required to be profitable was significant and needed to be undertaken by companies rather than individuals.[187] In the same session, the government also passed a proposal to regulate the fee for citizens' naturalization. As the parliamentary reporter put it:

> Mr. Tobin considered every facility should be given to persons who are desirous of becoming British subjects. He thought that parties desirous of being naturalized should be enabled to go before a Judge of the Supreme Court and take the Oath of Allegiance; and that five years residence should give all the rights of citizenship.[188]

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[184] "The British American Association", reprint of Lord John Dalrymple's pamphlet on the colonies, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 3, 1862.
[185] Ibid.
[186] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 28, 1862.
[187] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 3, 1862.
[188] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 19, 1862.

While the government put in some effort to enhance the opportunities for immigration by passing legislation directed towards this goal, these attempts were seen as meek and mild in comparison with what other colonies were doing to recruit more emigrants to increase the population. As each of the colonies grew, so too did the agonies around their resource development, prosperity, wealth, and stability. Competition between the colonies for population, among these other things, was only heightened further as anxieties rose about the burgeoning future of colonial independence in the midst of a rumbling America.

Colonial Competition

Much of the reporting in the *Halifax Morning Sun* in 1862-1863 evinced the competitive dynamics that existed among the colonies of British North America, as well as the other colonies of the British Empire. Halifax as a city competed for focus both regionally and in the British ethos as a place of military, cultural, and economic importance. One example of this occurred early in 1862. Just after the *Trent* Affair, when tensions were running high and trouble at the border seemed likely, the *London Times* published an article regarding the conveyance of troops to Canada for reinforcement. In response, the *St. John News* reported:

> It gives us much pleasure to see the increased intelligence with which the London Times and other English newspapers speak of the position of St John. We presume that Mr Woods… has enlightened the conductors of that journal considerably in Colonial matters.[189]

The *Sun* volleyed back, resisting the claim that the London papers were well-informed by Mr. Woods, the *Times* reporter who had accompanied the Prince of Wales on his trip to the colonies the previous year. The editor of the *Sun* replied sarcastically:

[189] "St. John as a Military Station", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 10, 1862.

> …it was very thoughtful and kind of the conductors of the Times to send out Mr. Woods to enlighten us poor benighted Colonists… how else should travellers ever have known that the best road to Newfoundland from London is to make a short cut by way of Toronto in Upper Canada!... No doubt, it is from the same enlightened source we get the 'increased intelligence' that St. John, New Brunswick, is the great centre of the timber trade of Canada![190]

The *Times* had privileged St. John over Halifax as the best location for the garrisoning of an army in the colonies, namely due to its "excellent railway" which ran uninterrupted all the way from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Bay of Fundy, and its people and government, which were "by far the most active and enterprising of all the lower provinces."[191] Clearly dismayed by this, the *Sun*'s editor was determined to reproach the quality of information attributed by the *Times* reporter, leaning on longstanding grievances about the British press' treatment of the colonies to dismiss the favour given by them to New Brunswick.

As a part of this atmosphere of rivalry, the *Sun* and the *Citizen* monitored closely the census reports and forthcoming plans for immigration programs in other colonies. For instance, in April 1862 the *Halifax Morning Sun* reprinted an article from the *Hamilton Spectator* regarding the high number of immigrants seen in the early part of the year, many of them Irish, which gave the possible indication of a large increase in the number of immigrants to Canada for the whole of 1862.[192] The colony of Vancouver seemed to command special attention from the *Sun*, as it was a potential competitor for migrants who would move to engage in gold mining. In one such article, the *Sun*'s editor provides some interesting commentary:

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[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] "Emigration Returns", reprinted from the *Hamilton Spectator*, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862.

> The editor of the *Weekly Colonist* draws a very flattering sketch of 'the vast territory' of Vancouver's Island and Columbia. On *paper* we view it as one broad expansive Eden; producing everything that is 'pleasant to the eye and good for food.' Above are ever genial skies; beneath the feet, a soil of exhaustless fertility; and all around huge nuggets of pure gold. The gentleman is of opinion that if the loyalists who in '83 settled New Brunswick, 'and the *filibusters* (very complimentary) who took Nova Scotia from the French, had known there was such a healthy climate, and *such* a country, they would have emigrated thither *en masse*.' Perhaps so. But still we have an idea that the New Brunswickers and Bluenoses who are now working their way to this El Dorado will perceive, when they find themselves compelled to pay 70 cents per lb. for flour, and $1.50 per lb. for butter, and for every other necessary of life in proportion, that they are paying too dear for the whistle.[193]

Once again, the competitive edge in the author's tone is striking, as they attempted to dispel any notion that Nova Scotia was not as good a location as Vancouver to stake a claim in the gold rush. A week after that article was published, the *Sun* returned that many miners had arrived lately from Boston. In addition to this new influx, the editor of the *Sun* remarked pointedly that "several men from Canada, lately returned from British Columbia, (and who were deterred from remaining there on account of the high price of provisions, &c.,) have arrived here with the purpose of trying the Nova Scotia gold fields."[194] This seemed to sustain the more generalized claim that "large numbers of persons are flocking to this province"[195] to take part in mining, although whether this was wholly true or not remained to be seen.

Further reports regarding immigration came from British colonies overseas. Early on in 1862, a brief report in the paper recorded that 315 immigrants had arrived in Demerara from Calcutta, with the Governor expressing the sentiment that "immigration on a large scale is absolutely necessary to sustain the prosperity of the Colony, and to

[193] "Vancouver's Island", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 2, 1862.
[194] "Mining Immigration", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 7, 1862.
[195] Ibid.

develop its resources."[196] This supported the overall settlement- and demography-driven growth mentality that British colonies adhered to across the Empire. In a similar report printed just over a month later, the *Halifax Morning Sun* recorded that the colony of Victoria was about to spend £120,000 on the promotion of emigration from Britain, most of which was to purchase "passage warrants" issued to those who had already bought land. The *Sun* report noted that "this holds out encouragement to small farmers who may possess a little capital. If they have any portion of an adventurous spirit, they might soon be large farmers, and realize an independence."[197] The fund was expected to assist 4,961 emigrants, "to the mutual advantage of both themselves and the colony."[198] In addition to funding passage warrants for new settlers, £5,000 of the total sum was to be spent on lectures on emigration in England, Scotland, and Ireland; indeed, this was seen as an important program component by the Melbourne *Argus*, which pointed to the "provoking blunders"[199] of the British press as proof that the British public was deeply uninformed about life in the colonies. That Nova Scotians attended to these kinds of investments made by governments in other colonies overseas speaks to both the desire to vie for British emigrants while at the same time investigating and learning about different formalized emigration schemes.

Intriguingly, the *Sun* and the *Citizen* also sometimes contained promotional articles which espoused the benefits of Nova Scotia over other provinces. Originally published as an insert in Scottish newspapers, one article compared the conditions of the British colonies, advertising the benefits of the Lower Colonies. While many Highlanders

[196] "West Indies - DEMERARA", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 21, 1862.
[197] "EMIGRATION TO VICTORIA", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.

had settled in Upper Canada, the author noted that they were in "poor personal condition" because "Ague and fever prevail… all over the upper provinces."[200] While the author described New Brunswick as passable, they claimed Prince Edward Island to be best for settlement, remarking: "I am safe in saying, that a more healthy, contented, or prosperous colony, cannot be met with in her Majesty's dominions… by ordinary perseverance, [a hard-working man] will raise himself far above the reach of want."[201] Despite favouring PEI, however, the author also stated that "for emigrants, Nova Scotia has good claims", and went on to enthuse about the prevalence of Gaelic among the population, particularly in Cape Breton.[202] That the language was maintained by many Scots in the Maritime colonies compelled the author to write, "in crossing to Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and the island, Highlanders only make a change of scene… [it would be] sheer folly on the part of emigrants to go [to] the Western States or Canada."[203] That the *Halifax Morning Sun* would reprint this insert is significant: evidently it was important to maintain pride in Nova Scotia and to enhance the public opinion of it, where possible, over and against the neighbouring colonies, likely in an attempt to discourage Nova Scotians from resettling elsewhere.

[200] "North American Letter", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 17, 1862.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid; the author writes that Northern Nova Scotia is very similar to Scotland, saying "in crossing to Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and the island, Highlanders only make a change of scene. It is like crossing from Ohan to Mull or Tyree. They will meet with Highlanders, and will hear their native language spoken almost at every door."
[203] Ibid.

Colonial Competence: Formalizing Immigration to Nova Scotia

Competition between the colonies for population was fierce, and a significant part of the public's anxiety regarding immigration was that present attempts by the government to encourage settlement were felt to be insufficient. Census reports in New Brunswick showed a decrease in the immigrant proportion of the population and a significant increase over the past 10 years in "native" population growth, or growth related to natural increase.[204] Canada was in a similar situation, with reports that the rate of natural increase outpaced the rate of immigration by about six to one.[205] However, as the *Halifax Morning Sun* reported,

> There seems to be the prospect of a large increase in the Emigration from Great Britain to Canada the present season… the United States no longer afford a working field. So long as war ranges within the borders of the republic there can be little encouragement to foreigners to settle in the country.[206]

From this account, emigrants were setting their sights more on the British North American colonies because of the instability brought by the Civil War to America. As the article's author went on to say, it was "creditable to the foresight of the Canadian government that agents have been sent to Europe to *advise* intending emigrants, and assist them in determining the point towards which they may most safely direct their

[204] "Irish Immigrants in the New Brunswick Census of 1851 and 1861", *The New Brunswick Irish Portal*, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, 2009-2012, https://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/Databases/Toner/?culture=en-CA: In 1861, approximately 79% of the population of New Brunswick was "native born." Of the 40,432 residents who were born outside of New Brunswick, approximately 3.3% were born in countries which were not British possessions.
[205] "Immigration – Analysis of the Canadian Census, 1861", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 28, 1862: "the growth of [Canada's] population has become, as in this Province [Nova Scotia], mainly dependent on the laws of *natural increase* ; and that the increasement from the influx of emigrants forms but a small proportion of the whole. In this view the Canadian journals are earnestly pressing on the government the necessity that obtains for legislative action in the matter of immigration… the increase of *natives* has been to the immigrant part of the population as six to one, having been maintained at a rate of 42 per cent."
[206] Ibid.

course."[207] Importantly, the Nova Scotian government had not made similar moves, a situation which was of concern for the *Halifax Morning Sun*. By failing to act boldly to recruit new citizens, as other colonies had, Nova Scotia risked losing out on the benefit of this new influx of emigrants choosing the British colonies over the United States for settlement; indeed, the colony was being outpaced in the race for population.

The lack of discussion about immigration in the House of Assembly was a further topic of concern in the *Sun* and the *Citizen*. For instance, on March 19th, 1862 the report from the House of Assembly noted a brief interlude in the debate where an exchange regarding emigration took place between the representatives: "(Incidentally a short discussion arose on emigration, in which it was pitiful to listen to the remarks made, shewing [sic] the great apathy in this province on the subject.)"[208] At the end of the session, the editor of the *Halifax Morning Sun* wrote that while it was a more harmonious and productive session than others had been recently, there were two great questions that the Government of Nova Scotia "appear[ed] afraid to deal with": education and emigration.[209] The editor continued on, pressing the point with some insistence:

> …our census returns show a most deplorable state of ignorance among the humbler classes. On all sides it is admitted that some provision is necessary to induce Emigration. Our leading men occasionally delight in boasting of our fine climate, productive soil, great resources, etc., but what, we would ask, has our Legislature done to draw in a population to aid in cultivating the soil, and developing our resources? In this particular we stand in strange contrast to most of the surrounding colonies.[210]

Clearly A. J. Ritchie's editorial opinion was that the government had left largely unaddressed this urgent policy area, and that the gap that this created in Nova Scotia's

[207] Ibid.
[208] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 19, 1862.
[209] "Close of the Session", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 14, 1862.
[210] Ibid.

functioning meant it lagged behind the other British colonies in bolstering its population. At a time when growth was paramount and population was tied both to the reinforcement of imperial presence and cultural dominance, such a failing of the government to address immigration seriously was unacceptable.

As a consequence of the anxieties tied to both impending colonial independence and the ongoing threat of American incursion, Nova Scotia developed its infrastructure, formalizing and codifying its previously ad hoc institutions. Much of this effort centred around the financing and construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which would link Nova Scotia's provincial line, ending at Truro, to the end of the line in Lower Canada at Rivière-du-Loup. In addition to increasing the value of land in Nova Scotia, the railway link was set to make the port of Halifax one of international significance, the rival of Portland or Boston, with the ability to transport military troops from Britain – in addition to all the goods of Europe – into Canada with ease.[211] In early May of 1862, the news came to the colonies that "The Imperial Government now offers to aid the undertaking": the British government had accepted the initial version of the railway proposal from 1851, to guarantee a loan for the amount that the colonies needed to build the rail link, and to access the necessary capital at a preferential rate of 3.5% interest.[212] For some, this was an indication that "beyond all doubt it evinces a deep interest in the undertaking, and proves that the Imperial Government are by no means prepared to cut these colonies adrift."[213] While it may have been an encouraging moment of support from the mother

[211] "North American Letter", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 17, 1862; while Canada was able to receive shipments and military reinforcements directly during some of the year, the St. Lawrence River would freeze in the wintertime, making transport by ship directly into Canada impossible.
[212] "Inter-colonial Railway", reprinted from the *Halifax Chronicle* newspaper, *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 7, 1862.
[213] Ibid.

country, it was also a definite push towards colonial independence for British North America. The House of Assembly moved a resolution to accept the British government's offer on March 11th, 1863.[214]

Part of the drive towards developing colonial institutions was the belief that a more established and mature society would be more attractive to potential immigrants. As a consequence, the House of Assembly worked to formalize other institutions and regulate major industries in Nova Scotia: in the 1862 session, representatives voted through the Militia Bill to increase the volunteer military corps and provide them with a large increase in funding; they incorporated the Atlantic Telegraph Company and the "Deaf and Dumb Asylum" [sic]; they ensured the regulation of gold mines; and they created bankruptcy and patenting laws.[215] In late March, a petition from the Medical Society was presented in the House, asking that a bill be brought forward to create an official registry of births, marriages, and deaths;[216] in 1863, the government subsequently passed that bill and afforded itself a better system of accounting for the population and its movements. The construction of the Office of Immigration was part of this broader fixation on development. On April 29th, 1863, the House of Assembly passed "An Act to Provide for the Distribution and Settlement of Industrious Immigrants".[217]

In 1863, the government's discussion regarding immigration was deeply embedded in two other issues of concern: ensuring a sufficient labour force, and "opening

[214] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 11, 1863.
[215] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 21, 1862; "Close of the Session", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 14, 1862.
[216] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 31, 1862.
[217] "Immigration Office", *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 19, 1863.

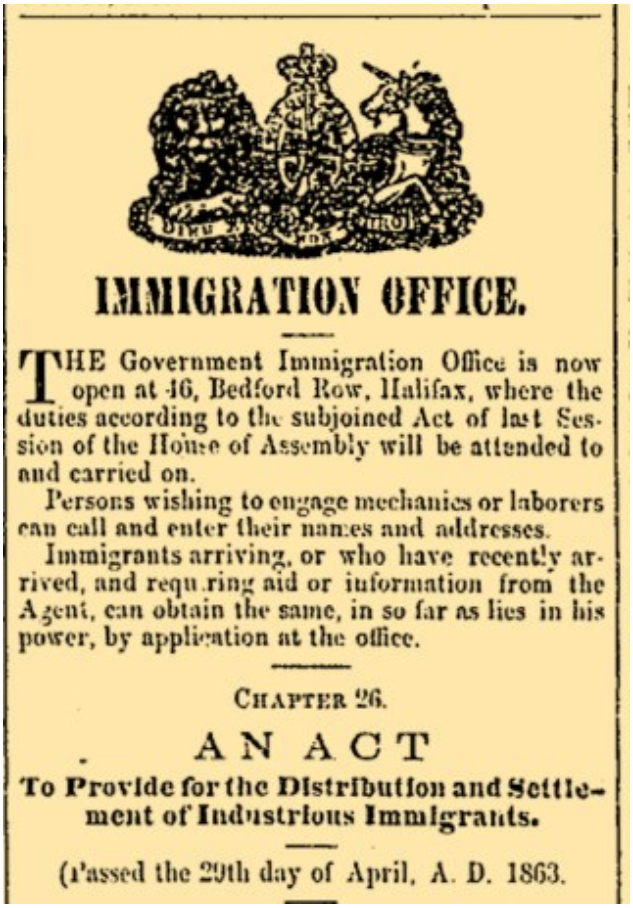
the waste lands of the Crown" for settlement.[218] In the throne speech to open the session, the Lieutenant Governor noted,

> For many years a stream of emigration has been passing the British Provinces into the United States. The Governments of Canada and New Brunswick have made very creditable efforts to draw into those Provinces some portion of the surplus labor of the Mother Country, and it is desirable that we should follow their example.[219]

Indeed, the need to support the "expanding industry of the Province"[220] was of increasing importance. After the significant budget deficit of 1862, related to the closure of American ports due to the Civil War, Nova Scotia's treasury had rebounded quickly. With an expanding coal trade, increasing efforts in gold mining, and continuing strong harvests of fruit and cereals, employers needed more labour. Simultaneously, the government sought to increase settler access to "wilderness land".[221] In the debate of Feb. 23rd, 1863, Mr. Churchill called the House's attention to this serious matter, saying, "Large blocks of land were now lying valueless, which if opened up by roads would be made available for settlement."[222] The Provincial Secretary agreed with him, noting the existence of "long tracts of ungranted Crown Lands, and also tracts which had, at some time or other been granted, but for which no owner could now be found."[223] One successful settlement measure in Canada and New Brunswick had been to offer free land grants as inducement for new immigrants. While the government would not profit directly, Mr. Cochran argued that "if each lot was given free to a settler, the province would benefit."[224] Clearly, the government saw land exclusively for its extractive use

[218] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 1, 1863.
[219] "Opening of the Legislature", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 13, 1863.
[220] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 1, 1863.
[221] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 23, 1863.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.

value, which could only become profitable if cultivated through the labour of "industrious" immigrant settlers. Taming the wilderness through labour was an important part of the government's plan for expanding and deepening the bonds of colonial society in Nova Scotia.



IMMIGRATION OFFICE.

THE Government Immigration Office is now open at 46, Bedford Row, Halifax, where the duties according to the subjoined Act of last Session of the House of Assembly will be attended to and carried on.

Persons wishing to engage mechanics or laborers can call and enter their names and addresses.

Immigrants arriving, or who have recently arrived, and requiring aid or information from the Agent, can obtain the same, in so far as lies in his power, by application at the office.

CHAPTER 26.

AN ACT

To Provide for the Distribution and Settlement of Industrious Immigrants.

(Passed the 29th day of April, A. D. 1863.

Figure 2.6: The public announcement of the opening of the Government Immigration Office, pursuant to the 1863 Act to Provide for the Distribution and Settlement of Industrious Immigrants. Source: the *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 3, 1863.

The Immigration Office opened at 46 Bedford Row and provided a space both for immigrants to receive aid and for businesses to seek new labourers. Importantly, the Act created an Emigration Agent position for Nova Scotia, of which one had been lacking prior to the Act's implementation. This was the individual who had the power and responsibility to correspond with the Board of Land and Emigration in London, its

agents, and local groups seeking to discuss emigration, and to provide them with representative information about Nova Scotia so that they could send emigrants "for whom there is likely to be suitable employment in this Province."[225] The Agent had further responsibilities, such as maintaining a registry of immigrants who were settled in the counties outside of Halifax, acting as the guardian for orphans who arrived in Nova Scotia and apprenticing them out to learn trades, and maintaining the accounts of the Immigration Office. The Act also authorized the Agent to draw funds from the Treasury to "provide for and distribute" immigrants, so long as the money was not used to pay for their travel fares, and to distribute 100-acre land lots to new immigrants for the purposes of settlement.[226] The opening of the Immigration Office and the establishment of the Immigration Agent's position finally brought Nova Scotia into line, as it matched the other British colonies in their efforts to attract immigrants to their province, making it more competitive. It also created a coherent scheme of immigration for Nova Scotia from the mother land, which would cement it as a distinctly British territory.

Conclusion: Retrenching British Space

The years 1862-1863 in Nova Scotia were marked by a feeling of precarity – militarily, politically, economically, and socially. Nova Scotia's government was rocked deeply by the events of these years, which included the alarm brought on by the *Trent* Affair specifically and the volatile situation with the American Civil War more generally, as well as concerns over Britain's flagging interest in sustaining the colonies of British North America. These events, in addition to a downturn in Nova Scotia's economy, propelled the government to commit to formalizing its institutions, maturing its social

[225] "House of Assembly", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 1, 1863.
[226] Ibid.

and political organization, and building up its sense of a distinctly Nova Scotian colonial identity. It also resulted in the *Sun* and the *Citizen* printing several renewed articulations of loyalty to Britain: these came not only from the government, but from members of the public who wrote to the paper and whose letters were reprinted in the "Correspondence" column. Ultimately, it was this confluence of events, opportunities, and threats which encouraged the British North American colonies to begin to consider unification, an undertaking which at this point expressed itself in the push to finish construction on the Intercolonial Railway. At the same time, these circumstances caused the public in Nova Scotia to demand increased attention from the government to the issue of immigration, in the interest of securing Nova Scotia as a distinctly British hegemonic space.

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the establishment of the Office of Immigration was part of the broader program of the Nova Scotia government in these years to codify its institutions and build up its infrastructure. Formalizing a program of emigrant recruitment from Britain was a substantial part of the colonial response to the existential threats which it faced; indeed, this was a crucial step to addressing all its most serious dangers. By increasing its population, Nova Scotia increased the number in its volunteer corps which could be called upon in case of attack from the Northern States. At the same time, it enhanced the ability of the colonial government to exercise and develop the physical occupation of the territory by British subjects; further, it brought much needed labour to Nova Scotia for the development of its resources. Lastly, it strengthened the tie to Britain through family, culture, tradition, and nostalgia. During this tenuous period of Nova Scotia's existence, opening the Office of Immigration and formalizing a

coherent immigration scheme retrenched the power of the colonial government and reinforced its loyalty to the Crown.

In the next chapter, I investigate what "types" of people the Nova Scotian public sought to welcome as immigrants and how this newly developed immigration scheme both supported and conflicted with the escalating discussion about colonial unification in British North America.

Chapter 3

1863-1864: Complexity and Contradiction: Immigration and Colonial Practice

While 1862 began with upheaval and the danger of war with America, the year 1864 saw the continuation, if in a less immediate way, of that political, social, economic, and military uncertainty which had become familiar for Nova Scotia. Indeed, 1863 had ended as 1862 began: with a major international incident, in the form of the *Chesapeake* Affair. The American Civil War raged on, with the incentives for military recruitment to the Federal Army becoming a topic of some concern in *The Sun* and the *Citizen*; however, the war began to turn in favour of the North by March, when President Lincoln placed Ulysses S. Grant in complete command of the Union Army. In Britain, the "Little Englanders" – a coalition of Liberal Parliamentarians who were opposed to continued investment in the British colonies – were firmly entrenched, and their commentaries promoting colonial independence had made a mark on the psyche of both their fellow Parliamentarians and on British colonists. Rumbles of Fenianism and rumors of a prospective invasion of the British North American colonies had begun to worry the public, although politicians consistently downplayed the significance, integrity, and organization of the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States. With all these dynamics unfolding, the British colonies of North America began to consider union seriously, and by Spring, the Nova Scotia legislature had voted to request a meeting of delegates to discuss a Maritime Union with New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.

At the same time, the immigration issue continued to find prominence in *The Sun* and the *Citizen*. As with the wars which had occurred in the North American theatre in

the recent past – such as the American War of Independence (1775-76) and the War of 1812 (1812-14) – Halifax as a city had been positively impacted by the economic activity and attention brought by the American Civil War.[227] For instance, it became a key port for exporting Southern goods to Europe and a place for resupplying before ships could attempt to run the Northern naval blockades.[228] Benefitted by Britain's declaration of neutrality, Halifax also saw increased trade from Northern ports, supplying those states with important staples like coal and fish, while the North was determined not to trade with the Southern States.[229] Consequently, Halifax needed additional immigrant labour to fuel and capitalize on the opportunities that war presented for the city to thrive. On a larger scale, it was an environment where states were still jockeying for prominence in the "new world", and Nova Scotia needed additional bodies to help extract resources and wealth from its fertile lands.

In this second chapter, I will investigate the conflicting anxieties espoused by the *Halifax Citizen* and *Halifax Morning Sun* (later *The Sun and Advertizer*) regarding immigration at the time of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, when the colonies of British North America began to negotiate unification in earnest. In the pre-Confederation period, the desirability of immigration for Nova Scotia largely hinged on economics, as the province desperately needed more labour and capital to extract wealth from the land, in the forms of fish, timber, crops, gold, coal, and other minerals, and the colony continued to compete for prestige and interest amongst the other growing colonies and newly formed nations of the world. As the colony with the earliest history of

[227] Claire Hoy, *Canadians in the Civil War* (Toronto: McArthur and Company, 2004), 254.
[228] Ibid, 185; Greg Marquis, *In Armageddon's Shadow*, 169.
[229] Claire Hoy, Canadians in the Civil War, 265.

settlement in British North America, Nova Scotia was seen by its citizens to be more established, and therefore more worthy of investment and further development by new settlers than the more westerly colonies. Nova Scotians were anxious for their country to be seen as thriving, prosperous, and brimming with future potential – developed enough to be comfortable, but not so far as for there to be no opportunity left for an industrious-minded entrepreneur.

Interestingly, Nova Scotians of the day also expressed a distinct apprehension about the settlement of people who were impoverished: many articles during this period describe concern about being overwhelmed by the poor, with no resources from the mother country to help with settling them. Instead, *The Sun* and the *Citizen* expressed a determination that Nova Scotia should attract a "good class" of immigrant.[230] However, Nova Scotia faced significant obstacles to attracting immigrants at all, let alone those who were upper class or were possessed of moderate wealth: it seems that the Emigration Agent, H. G. Pineo, was not very competent, and the competition from the United States for newcomers was overwhelming. The two newspapers espoused concerns that, if it cast the net for immigrants too widely, Nova Scotia would open the gate to "pauper" migrants – a class of people whom, in addition to upsetting the balance of social hierarchy, might fail to be independent, and need to rely on the government for support at such a politically precarious time. It is this difficult balancing act – the attraction of plenty of the "right sort" of immigration, while leaving alone the wrong sort – that Nova Scotians contended with, and in turn, agonized over in the editorial and correspondence columns of the day.

[230] "Correspondence." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 9, 1864.

The sources for this chapter derive from articles printed in the *Halifax Citizen*, as was the case in Chapter 1, as well as *The Sun and Advertizer*. The *Halifax Morning Sun*, published by Mr. A. J. Ritchie, became *The Sun and Advertizer* after Aug. 8th, 1864.[231]

Turning the "Tide" of Immigration

The general mood in the press during the 1860s encompassed a sense of needing to strive for greatness which informed a competitive mentality, a drive to growth, and a desire to become attractive to emigrants from Europe. As in earlier years, the colony of Nova Scotia was in competition for immigrants who would come, settle, and grow the economy – a competition it was losing, both to other British colonies and to the United States. As the Government of Nova Scotia slowly took steps towards developing an immigration scheme and growing its population, *The Sun* and the *Citizen* both bellowed about the opportunities that such a timid and meagre approach was costing the colony. To compete with other British colonies and the United States, Nova Scotia needed to generate wealth and develop its economy as swiftly as possible – and to do that, it needed immigration. In order to build up its immigration scheme, the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen* recommended imitating those existing in other colonies and countries, such as Australia and the United States, which were proving most successful.[232]

The topic of immigration was not, however, one which was discussed in an entirely rational manner; indeed, the feelings that many Nova Scotians displayed in their commentary published by *The Sun* and the *Citizen* were not entirely coherent, but were frequently marred with conflict, anxiety, and internal contradiction. These anxieties took

[231] "The Sun and Advertizer, Published Tri-Weekly by A. J. Ritchie, Editor and Proprietor." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 8, 1874.
[232] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865.

different shapes, including worries about how best to entice immigrants and how many the colony could bear. However, the main conflict discussed in *The Sun* and the *Citizen* at this time concerned *who* ought to be regarded as fit for settlement, and *from where* exactly new immigrants ought to come. Newspaper articles published between 1864-65 began to shape a contemporary vision of the "ideal migrant" for Nova Scotia: namely, one who was either a wealthy capitalist or a skilled labourer, such as a tradesman or farmer of moderate means, who knew how to work the land. Importantly, this "type" of ideal immigrant was actually a resurgent one, emulating the immigration waves of Nova Scotia's recent past. Settlers such as those New England Planters, Ulster Protestants, German farmers, and Loyalists who fled the American Revolution were highly desirable at this time. However, drawing immigrants of this type would prove more difficult than it had in the past, and the reception of those less desirable "types" – including the Irish poor and formerly enslaved Black people – was a less appealing, and even at times frightening, part of the immigration scheme.

"Situation Wanted": Labour and Immigration

In the 1860s, immigration to Nova Scotia was very much an economic proposal: the province needed labourers to help increase its development, and both *The Sun* and the *Citizen* worked hard to propagandize the benefits it brought. In April 1865, an article on immigration ran which described in enthusiastic terms the need for newcomers, and heartfeltly entreated readers to consider the value they brought to Nova Scotia:

> Immigration is the very life-blood of a new and sparsely settled country; and without it tracts of the best land and mines of the richest ore must remain like treasure swallowed in the ocean, useless and unprofitable. We are in need of help to till our fields, clear the country and work our mines; and we might have it if proper steps were taken to encourage settlers.[233]

[233] "Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 21, 1865.

Another similarly ardent article was succinct in describing the current situation, saying "[w]e want numbers, and must have them if the great resources of our Province are to be developed."[234] A later editorial stated the case with more flourish, seemingly in an attempt to inspire *The Sun*'s readership with profuse praise for the immigration project:

> We need help from over the sea; we need willing hands and loyal hearts to aid us in the development of our beautiful and richly yielding country. There are many in Britain's overcrowded cities who could gain a livelihood and confidence here, without changing or seeming to change their allegiance. The tide of immigration which sets in towards the shores of the great Republic might be diverted and sufficient measure to give us all the aid we require; and we are persuaded that thousands would hail as the greatest blessings of their lives the prospect of a plentiful home under the broad banner of England. We have not the compass of the United States; but we have enough space for many thousands to settle here. Our laws are the best in the world, (sometimes marred in the carrying out,) our land fertile and beautiful, our mines and fisheries inexhaustible, and our climate as healthy as any which exists. With a proper attention on the part of our rulers to what we require, we need long want help to bring our wealth to the surface… Let immigration, of the right sort, pour in to its fullest extent….[235]

By extolling the virtues of immigration, flattering the existing society of Nova Scotia, and linking that project rhetorically with strengthening the colony's loyalty to Britain, *The Sun*'s editor made a plea to expand the project. In this, the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen* used their influence to create a positive feeling towards immigration and play on the emotions of its readership. It was this combination of rhetorical performance with economic logic that made the most compelling case to enhance immigration to Nova Scotia.

While these newspapers shored up public opinion on immigration, they also described who would make up the preferable class of immigrants. Primarily, they argued, the government should seek to draw in people with wealth as well as those who would be

[234] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865.
[235] "Emigration and Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865.

able to develop wealth within the province, through agriculture, commerce, building, or production. They often discussed immigration in terms of the skills which were needed in Nova Scotia, or for the success of colonial settlement more generally. For instance, one article describing a philanthropic effort going on in England to assist with the passage of those emigrants who wanted to move to Nova Scotia, reads:

> It is to be hoped that Colonial Governments – our own included – will not be slack to co-operate with this patriotic and philanthropic society, making due and timely provision for the reception of the immigrants as they may arrive. What Nova Scotia needs are thorough farm servants of both sexes, skilled ploughmen, dairymaids, &c. We have room and to spare for a few thousands of a class of small capitalists who may come amongst us desirous of becoming land owners, but our primary need is as above stated. [236]

In another article, the *Citizen* noted the Government of Queensland (Australia) as assisting with the passages of those "domestic servants, agricultural and railway laborers, and country mechanics" who would willingly relocate to the colony.[237] In addition to these skills, experienced miners, as well as "Tradesmen - Carpenters, Smiths, locksmiths, shoemakers, &c.," were very much approved of as suitable immigrants for Nova Scotia by *The Sun* and the *Citizen*.[238] Evidently, the editors of these papers believed that without immigration, the development of the province's resources would be slow and difficult, particularly without an influx of people who already had the necessary training and experience to help with their advancement. In this way, the progress of the colony was conceptually tied to the immigration project.

[236] "Parliamentary." *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 20, 1863.
[237] "General News." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 23, 1864.
[238] "Sayings and Doings." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 18, 1865; "Government Immigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 5, 1865; "Government Immigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 27, 1865.

There were other ways in which the labour market in Nova Scotia was intertwined with the immigration project almost from its very inception, in part because of the initiatives of the Emigration Agent, H. G. Pineo. Once in office, he proceeded with his idea to create a registry of jobs available for incoming labourers and of the skills and work experience possessed by those incoming or newly arrived immigrants. These ads usually ran under the title "Situation Wanted", below which they described the character and business of the immigrant worker. On Aug. 8th, 1864, the first of this type of ad ran, portraying the job search of a newcomer from England:

> Notice: A YOUNG Englishman, who has been engaged six years in the DRAPERY BUSINESS in England and Jamaica, is desirous of meeting with any situation in which his services can be available. He can produce the best testimonials, and the highest references can also be given. He will be satisfied with a moderate progressive salary. Apply at the Government Immigration Office, 46 Bedford Row.[239]

Interestingly, this ad ran in every copy of *The Sun* from Aug. 8th to mid-October, so it seems questionable as to whether the young man found employment through this registry. However, this does demonstrate how the Immigration Office, under Pineo's influence, began to operate like an employment office: prior to or shortly after their arrival in Nova Scotia, immigrants could advertise themselves and their experience at no cost through the list held at the Immigration Office, which could be consulted by prospective employers for a small fee. At times, whole parties of prospective immigrants would seek information regarding employment prospects in Nova Scotia. As one advertisement requested:

> In consequence of information disseminated by this office, applications are being made by miners and others in Great Britain and the United States for special instruction as to rates of wages, and what prospects generally there are in Nova

[239] "Situation Wanted." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 8, 1864.

> Scotia for themselves and their families. It is requested that all who are in want of miners, mechanics and laborers, will communicate with this office, stating the number and description of men required, and what rate of wages will be given. Halifax 30th June, 1865.[240]

Indeed, prospecting occurred on behalf of both parties: emigrants sought to discover what kind of opportunities might be available to them in the colony, and Nova Scotia sought to entice migrants by facilitating the employment process to make the transition from the Old Country as smooth as possible.

Government Immigration Office.

WANTED—A SITUATION as Clerk or Book-Keeper, in a Grocery establishment or, or Drug Store, by a person lately from England, qualified for either business.
Apply at the Immigration Office, 46 Bedford Row. oct 29

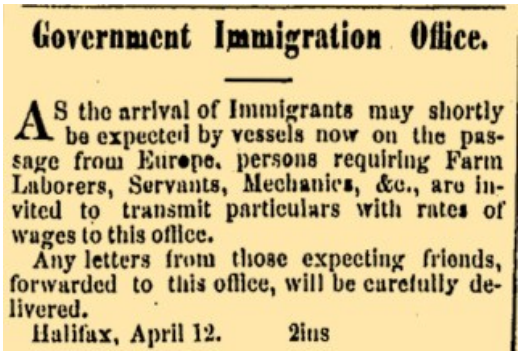
Government Immigration Office.

SITUATION WANTED, as Steward on board ship, bar-keeper, hotel waiter, butler, or gentleman's servant, by a young man lately arrived from England. He has before filled situations of similar descriptions; can wait at table, would be willing to make himself generally useful. Can be well recommended. Apply to the Immigration Agent, 46 Bedford Row. oct 15

GOVERNMENT IMMIGRATION OFFICE.

SITUATION WANTED, as Housekeeper or Nursery Governess, by a young German lady who speaks fluently, and can teach the German, French, and English languages. She can be well recommended, and would be willing to make herself useful in any capacity she is fitted for.
Apply to the Government Immigration Agent, 46 Bedford Row. oct 10

[240] "Government Immigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 5, 1865.

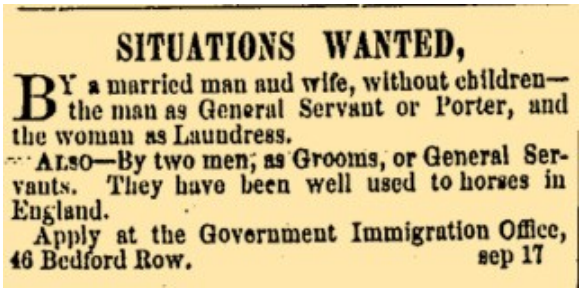


Government Immigration Office.

AS the arrival of Immigrants may shortly be expected by vessels now on the passage from Europe, persons requiring Farm Laborers, Servants, Mechanics, &c., are invited to transmit particulars with rates of wages to this office.

Any letters from those expecting friends, forwarded to this office, will be carefully delivered.

Halifax, April 12. 2ins

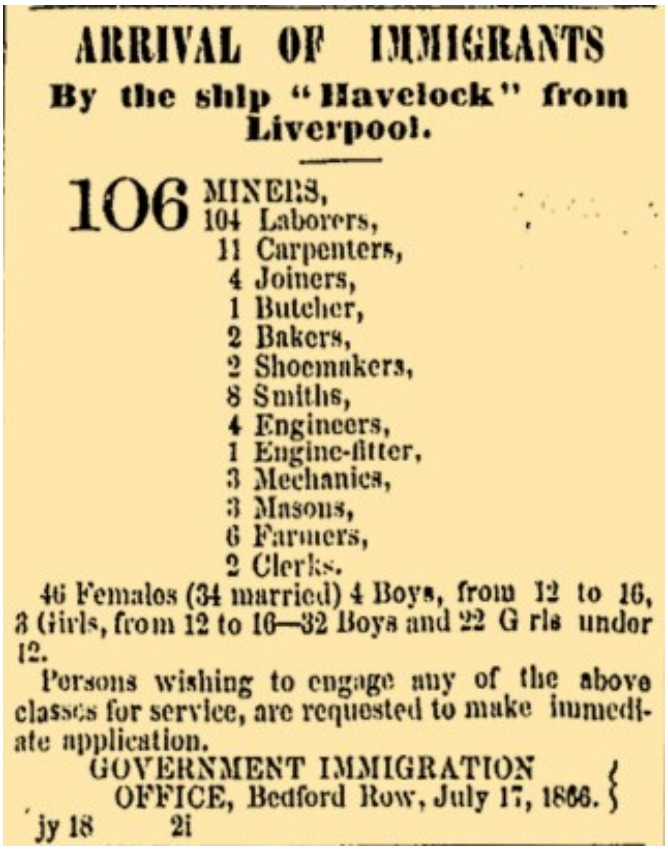


SITUATIONS WANTED,

BY a married man and wife, without children—the man as General Servant or Porter, and the woman as Laundress.

ALSO—By two men, as Grooms, or General Servants. They have been well used to horses in England.

Apply at the Government Immigration Office, 46 Bedford Row. sep 17



ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS

By the ship "Havelock" from Liverpool.

106 MINERS,
104 Laborers,
11 Carpenters,
4 Joiners,
1 Butcher,
2 Bakers,
2 Shoemakers,
8 Smiths,
4 Engineers,
1 Engine-fitter,
3 Mechanics,
3 Masons,
6 Farmers,
2 Clerks.

46 Females (34 married) 4 Boys, from 12 to 16, 3 Girls, from 12 to 16—32 Boys and 22 Girls under 12.

Persons wishing to engage any of the above classes for service, are requested to make immediate application.

GOVERNMENT IMMIGRATION OFFICE, Bedford Row, July 17, 1866.

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Figure 3.1: Examples of employment situation advertisements ("Situation Wanted" ads) published by the Office of Immigration in both the *Halifax Citizen* and *The Sun and Advertizer*.

Employment was not the only project that the Immigration Office tended to: it also possessed the newly created registry of farms and lands for sale. After 1865, landowners wishing to sell could list their property with the Immigration Office like this:

> 50 acres of land situated near Spryfield, about 5 miles from Halifax; with the exception of two acres which have been cleared, it is covered with wood. Price $120 or £34 Sterling. Apply to Robert Shaw, owner, 174 Water Street, or to the Immigration Office.[241]

The same column provided several other similar listings of property for sale with various amenities (i.e., orchard, house, barn, cleared acreage), and gave the distance from Halifax or large town, the nearest road, the price, and the contact information of the proprietor. It also included the relative productivity of the land; for instance, another one of these read "A TRACT OF LAND in Annapolis County, consisting of 1000 acres, 20 miles from Annapolis, offering every facility to the purchaser in the quality of land and timber (including white oak of a large growth) for farming and milling operations."[242] Another read: "[t]here is a considerable quantity of wood on the land, suitable for shipbuilding purposes…."; yet another claimed that "[t]he land is all of superior quality…."[243] These ads exhibit the clearly overlapping and interconnected nature of the work done by the Office of Immigration with the Commission for Crown Lands: while the Commissioner was responsible for surveying lands and determining their quality, the settlement project was, at length, carried out by the Immigration Office. These types of advertisements for property were made available only through the Immigration Office; consequently, the office acted as a 'one stop shop' for immigration, employment, and settlement.

[241] "New Advertisements: Government Immigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 25, 1865.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.

In addition to being the vehicle for these advertisements promoting both the employment and settlement opportunities for newcomers on the partially cultivated farms of Nova Scotia, *The Sun* and the *Citizen* also promoted the benefits of immigration as a wholesale economic good. One article, reprinted from the *London Daily News*, provided a breakdown of the remittances[244] sent back to Britain from its emigrants abroad. The author claimed that a grand total of £13,548,347 had been remitted to the United Kingdom from America and Australia between 1848 and 1864.[245] That settlers could send such large amounts of money in remittances was clear evidence of their economic prosperity and success. For Britain, "[n]o artificial system for promoting emigration could produce such results": the amount of these remittances was large enough to cover the entire cost of emigration for the country.[246] The author noted the circular or successive nature of emigration patterns, saying:

> It has already been shown that the direction of the stream of emigration through a series of years greatly depends on that of the emigration which has preceded it. This is owing to the habit which our emigrants, drawn from classes in whom family feeling is strong, have of sending for their friends to join them in their adopted country, transmitting also the funds for that purpose, and it is very interesting to observe the extent to which aid of this kind has been afforded.[247]

While millions were emigrating from the United Kingdom, family members and friends were following those who had gone before to those places where they found greater affluence. The *London Daily News* quoted another English journal:

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[244] A "remittance" is defined in this case as a sum of money or quantity of goods sent by an immigrant to their family members or other people of special importance to them who remained in their country of origin. It was common for immigrants to remit money back to family members to aid them with living expenses, or to help sponsor family members or friends to immigrate to the receiving country once the initial migrant was settled and employed. According to present day sociological research, this is still a common practice among immigrants in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere.
[245] "From the London Daily News: Where Emigrants Go to and What They Send Home." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 1, 1865.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.

> The immigration to the United States has been, therefore, nearly three times as numerous as to British North America; but the success has arisen only in the last 20 years, principally since the Irish Famine of 1847. The cause of the first instance was, no doubt, the inability of the British provinces to provide employment and subsistence for the large number of Irish who immigrated in the years immediately following 1847. The stream once diverted to the United States continued in the same channel.[248]

According to the report of the Emigration Commissioner, emigrating Britons were choosing America over British North America two-thirds of the time, and the British press put this down to the migration patterns established by the Irish, who preferred to relocate to the United States. The result was something of a paradox: without immigrants, the British colonies, Nova Scotia included, would not prosper – but to influence the course of immigration itself required existing prosperity.

The editorial tone of both *The Sun* and the *Citizen* indicated an admiration for the immigration project as it was being carried out by the United States: it had the fastest-growing economy in the world, and it was, as noted above, successfully "divert[ing]" attention and people away from the British colonies. Consequently, competition for immigrants who would help to build the economy was fierce; however, one suggestion that the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen* offered was to emulate the plan that the United States had established. Likewise, a correspondent from New York to *The Sun and Advertizer* (signed only as "R.") described how the Battery, formerly part of a military parade ground, had been seconded for use as an emigration depot: the depot was used by families as a place to land, and they could remain living there while they "look[ed] around".[249] In addition, the Battery hosted an employment office, as well as a baggage

[248] Ibid.
[249] "Editorial Correspondence." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 6, 1865.

area, where immigrants' belongings could be stored for months at a time. As the correspondent put it,

> Great pains appear to be taken in all emigration movements, and this, no doubt, is the reason, why so many seek a home here. (How widely different is it with us, and yet we wonder that we have no emigration.) While we write several other emigrant vessels are in port. The loss by the war will soon be made up.[250]

A great many emigrants were landing in New York at the time, and they were well cared for. According to "R.", this was just what Nova Scotia should strive for:

> On the day of our visit, there were a large number of passengers, principally Irish and German, – *a very respectable class, just such a lot as we want at home to fill up our Province*. Large numbers of these were met at the Depot by their friends, and a joyous time was experienced.[251]

Immigration societies, one each for Catholics and Protestants, aided in the settlement process of their fellows; importantly, these missionaries helped the migrant poor to find some foothold in their new land. These, in the opinion of *The Sun*'s correspondent, were the types of efforts Nova Scotia needed to make if it was to compete successfully for immigrants.

In a follow-up letter, "R." wrote that thousands of emigrants continued to arrive in New York, saying, "the stream continues".[252] He noted, "[t]hese passengers were all in a fine, healthy condition, and the infusion of Old Country blood into the Americans will doubtless improve both races."[253] Interestingly, it seemed that commentators in *The Sun* and the *Citizen* felt that there was some resistance to the idea of improving the immigration project of Nova Scotia by expanding it to include as much of this "Old World blood" as possible. In an article about sewing machine advances, published in late

[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid, emphasis added.
[252] "Editorial Correspondence." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 15, 1865.
[253] Ibid.

1865, one commentator wrote that "[i]ts adoption here would be an addition to the resources of the country, and would do much toward checking the rapid emigration going on."[254] The unwillingness of Nova Scotians to investigate and embrace new technology was, perhaps, akin to their lack of openness when it came to staying emigration and inviting in those immigrants who might be interested. As this commentator wrote:

> Nova Scotia, we say for the thousandth time, has all the elements of a wealthy and populous state. It only needs that we rid ourselves of wrongheaded prejudice, and learn to adopt these things our soil and climate make necessary. We have our inventors: their names are pronounced in all countries. Forbes' skate is known abroad, and others are not lacking. There are many things we can accomplish, if only we try… Let Nova Scotia be true to herself, and her people true to her, and she will advance to an honoured position as one of the states of the world.[255]

Indeed, for Nova Scotia to become a nation that was known and respected throughout the world – one which could hold its own on the international stage – it would have to discard its wariness of new ideas, peoples, and technologies. The future was filled with opportunities that would create wealth for those who were willing. This was, however, not to be the case in Nova Scotia.

[254] "Sayings and Doings." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 27, 1865.
[255] Ibid.

"Immigration of the Right Sort"

As much as the newspaper editors and public expressed their desire for more immigration, that desire was qualified by the realities of class, labour force capacity, limited land availability, and government administrative capacity. In earlier decades, processing the destitute Irish became a challenge for government officials and generated public health concerns in the colonies.[256] In the 1830s, fevers such as cholera and typhus were regularly transmitted amongst those aboard ships, presenting the threat of contagion; ports such as Quebec, for instance, began to build quarantine hospitals at the landing sites for emigrant vessels, such as those at Pointe-Levy and Grosse-Île.[257] Kelley and Treblicock refer to this as the "first major Canadian public health measure."[258] In response to the 1832 cholera epidemic, they write, Lower Canada implemented an immigrant head tax of five shillings, in part to assist with financing the hospitals. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia implemented a similar tax on immigrants following the 1847 famine migration, which ranged from 10 to 20 shillings, and varied based on the time of year.[259] As Schwinghamer and Raska point out in their recent book, which details the history of Pier 21, immigration as a process has always been selective: it is highly embedded in the machinations of the state and influenced by contemporary political ideologies particularly regarding loyalty, economics, and security.[260] As a site, Pier 21 "reflected changing bureaucratic views of immigrant admissibility, including admission, detention, refusal, and deportation."[261] They write that:

[256] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 45.
[257] Ibid, 51; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 65.
[258] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 51.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska, *Pier 21: A History*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2020), 9.
[261] Ibid, 201.

> …the official process for immigrants included a medical screening, civil interview, and customs inspection. Volunteers representing churches and service organizations came to the aid of newcomers – some of whom could not understand English or French – with translation services, basic necessities, child minding, spiritual guidance, and comfort.[262]

While this describes a much more contemporary immigration process – Pier 21 was an active immigration shed from 1928-1971 – it nonetheless provides a succinct illustration of how the immigration process did, after 1832, involve *processing* or evaluating the people who were attempting to enter the colonies of British North America, and later, Canada.

As I discussed in the previous section, Nova Scotians expressed, via *The Sun* and the *Citizen*, a positive attitude towards the immigration project: the press and public considered migrants on the whole to be desirable, convinced they would bring benefit to the economy, and the Immigration Office enacted programs to support this. However, Nova Scotians also evinced some conflict about this, and were concerned that immigration be targeted to those who were "of the right sort": [263] preferably those who would generate wealth through their labour, expertise, and "industrious" attitudes. Who exactly constituted the "right sort" was reasonably clear: Nova Scotians wanted tradespeople and artisans, preferably those already with some moderate wealth, and rich capitalists. Indeed, many Nova Scotians expressed concern about the ability of the province to sustain the migrant poor. This was, ostensibly, because Nova Scotia offered a much smaller – if just as valuable and fertile – field than either Canada or the United States. As one editorial in the *Citizen* put it:

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[262] Ibid.

[263] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 17, 1863; "Emigration and immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865.

> Nova Scotia differs so widely in her natural and commercial features from both Canada and the States that she cannot take up the same form of invitation which they utter in the ears of European emigrants, nor can she address the same classes of people. Our country offers a field for immigration as suitable as any of the others, but it is immigration of a different kind, and therefore to be conducted according to a different plan.[264]

Apparently, Nova Scotia could not make a universal offer to the emigrants of Europe that they might settle there and be prosperous; instead, its officers were advised to seek a more refined community of potential settlers. Unlike Canada and the United States, Nova Scotia did not have the benefit of large swaths of land "lying waiting for any amount of new population"; rather, it was the "anteroom of the continent", with limited capacity for the reception of migrants, and no possibility of contesting the wide-open lake and prairie regions.[265]

A second editorial from the *Citizen*, printed just a few days later, noted that "[a]ll the best arable land of our province is already occupied. Very little of the second-best lies unreclaimed from the forest…."[266] Importantly, although land was abundant, the editor considered the available Crown Lands to be of poorer quality than those already taken up, as they were rocky, "scrubby", and with poorer soil quality.[267] The lands which remained were scattered and without road access; as the editor wrote, "there is no one tract of our good wilderness lands out of which room for an entire settlement could be made."[268] This was, then, one legitimate justification to limit the immigration project:

> It is therefore evident that our province must be limited to Immigration of a peculiar kind. It cannot afford to give the same indiscriminate invitation to the British labouring class which so wide a region as Canada can do. Were a thousand poor labourers and their families to land here at once upon our shores we would

[264] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.
[265] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 17, 1863.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.

> be rather embarrassed to know what to do with them. Had the cargo of Irish emigrants, on board the *Adriatic*, decided upon staying here when that steamer called in the other day, we might have found it difficult to settle them. We might have given them grants of land, it is true, but how would they have been supported while clearing the ground?[269]

Even if the poor arrived to take up free land to farm, they could very well starve in the midst of getting their land cleared and the farming underway. An example of this was provided by a recent episode, whereby in the previous year, a wealthy London woman had sponsored the passage of several poor immigrants to Halifax; unfortunately, most ended up emigrating to the States when they were not able to find work as servants or labourers. Therefore, the *Citizen* editor reasoned, "the country wants an accession of capital quite as much as an influx of labor."[270] Interestingly, though immigration was much desired, it did not necessarily include all those of the lower classes or labouring poor.

However, that Nova Scotia did not need an "influx of labor" was not strictly true, even according to the *Citizen*'s assessment. It seemed that the agricultural prospects of the province were not meeting their potential, as some farms were considered mismanaged or less-than-ideally productive. Therefore, farmers were an exception, as they possessed important capital in the form of their agricultural knowledge:

> Such men would find in our Province a field for their high skill far surpassing that of the mother country. There the agriculturalist of moderate means finds himself called to employ the most expensive resources of science and labor to hold his own in an overstocked market. Here he would breathe freer. It would benefit him to farm so cheaply as he could do here, and his colonist neighbors would benefit by his example.[271]

[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.

While poor labourers were not overly desirable as settlers for Nova Scotia, farmers were. Indeed, immigration was even described in a later article using the metaphor of "transplanting":

> The growth of some countries, physically very circumscribed, renders it necessary and beneficial for a portion of the population to emigrate for the full development of its industrious element – not a weeding out, but a transplanting, which often brings a more abundant yield; brings help to the parent stock.[272]

The *Citizen* went so far as to posit that "an Immigration scheme, to be at all profitable, ought to be addressed to the class especially of which we speak. *There is room enough for such immigrants here even in our most cultivated settlements*."[273] To the editor, to attract capitalists and "respectable farmers and tradesmen" first would be the greatest benefit, one which would lead, naturally, to the increased need for general labour.[274] Then – and only then – could Nova Scotia open its immigration scheme further:

> We would then obtain that useful Immigration which we need, and would avoid the mistake of introducing classes for which there is no opening, – people who are unable to take up a proper position in the country, and whose inability to improve their circumstances would but burden it additionally and retard its progress… Immigration of the right sort would infuse new blood into every part of the commonwealth. The wrong sort of immigration – for our limited capacity must evidently make us choice [sic] in the matter – would be like diluting the lifeblood the country now possesses.[275]

Rather than stimulating the economy, allowing in "the wrong sort" – the poor labouring migrant hordes of Europe – would prove disastrous for Nova Scotia. A slow and steady approach was better: maintaining appropriately high standards, and allowing to

[272] "Emigration and Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865
[273] Ibid, emphasis added.
[274] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 17, 1863.
[275] Ibid.

immigrate only those who could be self-sufficient, might ultimately protect the economy – at least according to the editor of the *Citizen*.

For some commentators, it seemed natural that Nova Scotia would draw a "good class of immigrants", as it was "better suited" to that colony than to the United States.[276] In his correspondence, "Stavely" wrote that for Nova Scotia,

> Population only is required… her climate is as good, her soil is as fertile, and her natural resources, generally, far superior to any part of America, east or west. And, moreover, taxes in Nova Scotia are as pence to pounds when compared with the enormous rates at present imposed in the United States… it is a dryer and healthier climate. Then compare the natural resources of the country with those of any other of the same extent in the world and see the immense advantages it offers to emigrants. Abundance of coal, iron, and even gold, may be obtained with very little labour.[277]

Stavely, too, argued that Nova Scotia wanted for an accession of farmers instead of the general immigrant poor. He noted that, "[o]f course a good class of farmers would be required. *Paupers are not wanted in Nova Scotia*. Good, substantial farmers from the Old Country, if properly located, would make money in Nova Scotia."[278] According to Stavely, Nova Scotia could be quickly and easily populated if the capitalists of the province would join together and create a Joint-Stock Land and Immigration Company in Halifax – the risks were low, as an increase of population would drive business growth and increase to land values.[279] This was but one of many recommendations made in *The Sun* and the *Citizen*, as advice was offered quite freely on the subject of how to obtain and retain more immigrants. One correspondent who signed themselves only "A Colonist", felt that it was England's fault that the immigration project was proceeding so

[276] "Correspondence." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 9, 1864.
[277] Ibid, emphasis added.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ibid.

slowly. As they put it, England was happier to help its former colony, the United States, than it was to support its present colonial possession:

> England's best machinery, best mechanics, best laborers and money, flowed freely, yes! Like a flood, to swell that country to almost unbounded proportion; while this country, so expensive and rich in every way, was taken no notice of, except a veto any proposition to encourage manufactures, not even a hob nail… Are you not as able as our neighbours to give a free passage to all who would leave? Send with mechanics their machinery and those who will take land, give them free grants. We have plenty of it, doing us no good. Make your Colonies an integral part and parcel of England. Let your manufacturers come here, and emigration will follow. Let me ask what is to hinder your hundreds of idle ships that are rotting in your harbours from bringing every year hundreds of thousands to this country.[280]

If England would only supply Nova Scotia with tradespeople, such as good, hardworking mechanics, then a flood of emigration, this correspondent believed, would follow them. The colony wanted for nothing but an influx of industrious people with moderate wealth.

Some in Nova Scotia seemed to feel that they had already been proven right when it came to the question of pauper immigration. In an article reprinted from the *Montreal Transcript*, some 80 newly arrived immigrants, young women who had been assisted in their passage to the Canadas by the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland, were described as "thoroughly degraded characters" and "very abandoned persons", tarnished already by their "disreputable conduct" – a consequence, it said, of them being "graduates of those government schools of vice, the Irish workhouses."[281] Indeed, a letter from the Reverend Fr. O'Brien, caretaker of the home where these women were living, "state[d] that the conduct of these pauper immigrants was disgraceful above anything he ever witnessed", and that the home may not ever receive emigrants from the workhouse again.[282] Part of

[280] "Correspondence." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1864.
[281] "Queer Emigrants." Reprinted from the *Montreal Transcript*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jun. 3, 1865.
[282] Ibid.

their disreputableness, it seems, was due to these women not attending to their work situations competently, as they had "habits" which were "incorrigible" and "profane".[283] Some of these habits seemed to involve drinking alcohol, visiting taverns, and socializing with men while drinking; latterly, there was some inference that these women had resorted to prostitution after their work situations were rescinded. As the article concluded:

> The periodical deportation to Canada of the refuse of the populations of English, Scotch and Irish cities must be put a stop to, and the sooner our government take the matter in hand the better for the morals of the country.[284]

This immorality, as it was described, provided a clear example of the lack of worthiness inherent in those pauper immigrants; this, at least, was the position *The Sun* and the *Citizen* seemed to support. Nova Scotians continually asserted their need for immigrants who would be self-sufficient and contribute to the colonies' communities – anyone who did not was considered a bad investment on the part of the government.

By contrast, German farmers were doing very well, and the two newspapers extolled their virtues consistently: they were indeed the "right sort" of immigrants. An editorial from late 1865 noted:

> The great benefit of encouraging among us enterprising settlers, is clearly illustrated by the efforts of several Germans and Americans who have recently settled here. Take, for instance, the progress made by Mr. Elierhausen[?],[285] on the Windsor Road. There he has established farms, and formed the village of very fine dwellings, with all the evidences of comfort; has had a large tract of land cleared, which is now under evaluation. Now, Mr. E. is just such a man as the government might use in their efforts to draw in industrious Germans. Our suggestion would be to give grants of land, or forested[?] areas, on easy terms,

[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Those places in the quotation indicated with [?] is where the print of the newspaper is not clear; this is, however, my best approximation of what the text reads.

> and also assist in defraying the expenses of the passage where people might not be in a position to come out without such a system.[286]

For *The Sun* and the *Citizen*, and the public at large, this was just the kind of vital activity that Nova Scotia needed to improve its prospects and generate profit. Indeed, the editor went so far in his praise of Mr. Elierhausen as to call him a shining example for the population as a whole: "[f]ew colonies surpass us in varied resources; and the example set us by Mr. Elierhausen, shows what can be done where means, enterprise, and judgment combine." Another German settler, Captain Liebman, was described in the same article as considering the recruitment of more German emigrants for Nova Scotia, by "establish[ing] direct communication between Bremen, or Hamburg and Halifax."[287] Far from resisting the idea, the editor of *The Sun* proposed that Capt. Liebman, "understanding the language and habits of the Germans, and also knowing the class of men we want, would be a person whose services [the government] would be well to secure."[288] This was to be the case: two weeks later, *The Sun* reported that Capt. Liebman had been made Nova Scotia's Emigration Agent for Germany, with the editor of *The Sun* pronouncing that "we doubt not, [he] will be the means of bringing in a useful class of settlers."[289] Evidently, the two newspapers' editors thought well of these German settlers and considered them to be unquestionably of the "right sort".

Whether the colony's forthcoming Emigration Agents for England and Scotland would be as useful, remained to be seen – still, the editor hoped that "the present movement will be so guarded as to give us such a class only as will possess health and

[286] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid.
[289] "Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 29, 1865.

strength and will to work their way after they arrive."[290] Capt. Liebman was "well adapted for the mission", having "made this country his home, know[ing] its requirements"; therefore, it was in "his interests, as well as his duty, to select the class of emigrants best suited for the Province", and to accept only those who would succeed well in Nova Scotia.[291] The editor of *The Sun* was not, however, as trusting that the other agents might be similar. In his words:

> It may be that those appointed at home are equally well adapted, as agents. We trust they are. But if it should turn out that they are shipping agents, who care more about filling up their vessels with passengers, on each of which a specific sum is given, than they do about the suitability of the class they send, we may have cause to regret the opportunity made. The government cannot be too particular in this respect.[292]

While the class of immigrants themselves was of the utmost importance, the quality of the people recruiting and selecting those immigrants was almost equally so – they had to be discerning, reliable, and not just out to pad their own pockets, especially since they were being paid on a commission basis.[293] The editor of *The Sun* distrusted the immigration project ("what stipulation is there that the persons whose passages are paid, or partly paid, will remain in the province for any time?... We should like to know what inducements our agents are authorized to offer…."), especially after it had taken so long and such effort for the government to pay it any attention. However, the drive to increase immigration was no reason to allow Nova Scotia's standards to fall.[294]

Interestingly, it was not a universally held position that "pauper immigration" was a problem for the colonies. Indeed, the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee of Canada – who

[290] Ibid.
[291] "Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 29, 1865.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.

would later become the Minister of Agriculture, Immigration, and Statistics, after Confederation – made the point during a speech at a banquet during the Charlottetown Conference. As he put it:

> My sentiments on emigration as a source of national wealth to these new countries are well known, and need not be repeated now, yet when I hear some persons deprecate a pauper immigration as an evil, I cannot but protest. There is no such thing in these Provinces with their past and present rate of wages, as a man able and willing to work, being burthensome [sic] to the community. He may be poor: many a man would be poor if his debts were paid: but he is not a pauper. Give even the poorest emigrant a chance to acquire something - give him the means of learning the meaning of *meum* and *tuum*[295] not from a Latin dictionary, but from digging it out of a ditch, and you make him a man – a careful, a constitutional, and a conservative man.[296]

Indeed, the Hon. D'Arcy McGee was himself an immigrant from Ireland and had "at an early age become not only theoretically but practically acquainted" with the process.[297] Describing his own experience, he said he returned to "the old country", but "soon found myself 'surplus' again."[298] According to McGee, there had been no employment or opportunity even for someone like himself in Ireland, and, understanding the conditions there, he posited that one should not and could not judge an immigrants' future prospects based on their lack of wealth or status on arrival to the Province. As he put it, "[a] settled society instead of fearing should welcome the addition of such wealth-producing agents."[299] Though poor immigrants might arrive with little capital, the wealth they brought resided in their experience and their ability to labour. His opinion was shared by one correspondent of *The Sun*, "Saunders", who remarked despairingly:

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[295] "Meum et tuum" is a phase from Latin, translating as "what is mine, and what is thine." For one to have a sense of "meum et tuum" means that one understands the distinctions of private property.
[296] "Union Banquet." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Sept 30, 1864.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.

> From the present race of politicians in our province, in or out of office, there is not much to hope. Them who described our labouring classes as "trash," "men of the gutter," &c., and bar them the franchise – men who pass obnoxious and tyrannical laws, to oppress and keep them under – are not the men likely to encourage or entice a healthy immigration to the shores of Nova Scotia.[300]

While McGee and other Canadians may have been more sympathetic and supportive to welcoming poor immigrants, this was certainly not a common outlook in *The Sun* and the *Citizen* – Saunders' opinion, which blamed the failure of the immigration scheme on politicians' snobbery, was an unpopular one. Rather, the colony continued to seek those who would not risk its own prosperity by virtue of these newcomers' reliance.

The Challenge of Immigration

While there were lots of preferences discussed in *The Sun* and the *Citizen* about *who* should be allowed to immigrate, and *from where* they should come, there were also several unique challenges to pursuing the immigration project for Nova Scotia. In particular, the editors of these two papers voiced again and again that the Emigrant Agent, H. G. Pineo, was lax in his approach to the job, treating it more like a cushy pre-retirement project, and that his ineffectualness was deeply harming the Province. At the same time, Nova Scotia was losing Irish migrants to the States: while thousands left the island as part of the "Irish exodus", the vast majority went to America to settle in existing communities of prior Irish immigrants. What made the sting keener, for the Nova Scotian papers, was the fact that many Britons and Europeans were being recruited coercively, without their informed consent, to become soldiers in the Union Army, particularly after President Lincoln enacted conscription in the North. For British colonists in Nova Scotia, this waste of emigrant lives, especially the lives of fellow British subjects, in the name of

[300] "Correspondence: Are We to Have Immigration?" *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 27, 1865.

the American conflict was not only sorrowful, but untenable, given the dire need to settle and increase the population of the British colonies.

While other countries' governments were fulfilling their responsibilities, creating growth, and driving their economies through booming the population, the press consistently articulated that Nova Scotia's approach to development was inadequate because it lacked a similarly enthusiastic energy to attracting newcomers. By 1865, an editorial from *The Sun* described the Province's advancement in this way:

> Our country, it is true, is not one of recent discovery; but it is far behind some others which are more recent in settlement; and that is chiefly owing to the supineness of those whose duty it was to make known the advantages of our situation.[301]

The Sun and the *Citizen* consistently described Nova Scotia as lagging behind in terms of its societal progress. Importantly, they also linked this sluggishness to the immigration project – as *The Sun*'s editor noted, "Nova Scotia makes less effort to get immigrants than any other colony. From England, Ireland and Scotland, with proper representation, we certainly should be able to add at least two or three thousand yearly to our numbers."[302] Indeed, it was not Nova Scotians at large who were unenthusiastic about encouraging immigration – rather the opposite. The Immigration Office had been created largely to placate the public, when the government became "apparently desirous of appeasing the clamour of the people for an immigration measure."[303] Because of the government's slow action and inattentiveness to this issue, citizens became motivated to create their own local immigration societies. One brief note during the Spring of 1865 read:

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[301] "Emigration and Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865.
[302] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865.
[303] Ibid.

> A meeting was held recently at Bridgetown, to organize a society to promote immigration from the mother country to Annapolis County. Such efforts are praiseworthy, and will accomplish more practical good than comes from the labors of our Government Immigration bungle.[304]

The government's decision to neglect the immigration file, even after creating the Immigration Office, and despite the mobilization of Nova Scotia's citizens to support newcomers, was inexcusable and short-sighted. The press consistently printed articles attacking the government on this issue and, after the Office had opened, focused their critiques on one agent in particular.

H. G. Pineo, Emigration Agent

Henry Gesner Pineo, the Emigration Agent in the newly created Office of Immigration, was frequently the target of dissatisfaction from both news editors and the public about the insufficient numbers of new settlers. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the early 1860s saw an ongoing call in Nova Scotia to create an intentional, coordinated program of government-facilitated immigrant settlement. The public, and eventually the representatives in the House of Assembly, saw that the implementation of an immigration scheme would help to establish administrative and governmental competence. Finally, the Nova Scotia government had established an Office of Immigration, and it seemed that the immigration scheme might at last get underway. However, the establishment of this office was not the end of the conversation, nor did it resolve the many difficulties and obstacles that Nova Scotia faced with regards to bringing in new immigrants and increasing its population. That the government was slow to act on the issue of immigration was an ongoing point of criticism. In late 1863, one

[304] "Sayings and Doings." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), May 22, 1865.

article noted that "[p]erhaps the subject of Immigration has grown dustiest with neglect."[305] In some sense, the formal realization of the immigration scheme created new concerns: for instance, citizens and newspaper editors alike felt the Emigration Agent, H. G. Pineo, was slow to break from the gate in his new role, and eventually, his lack of action led them to believe his position in that office was little more than a sinecure in which to ride out the twilight of his career.

H. G. Pineo had made his foray into political life first as an organizer for the Tory party, and then in 1846, as an appointed member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia,[306] a career which lasted for 28 years.[307] Most notable among the events of that long career was his opposition to the Conservative government bill for the creation of universal male suffrage in 1859.[308] Initially, he attempted to reverse the bill; but, when that did not work, he went to some effort to unseat the Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper, leader of the Conservative party, a man with whom his "annoyance… became so acute that he decided the man had to go."[309] While this effort was unsuccessful, Pineo continued to oppose his own Conservative party, committing to vote in support of the "new Franchise Bill" proposed by the now-Liberal government led by Hon. Joseph Howe.[310] He did support the bill, which passed, but ultimately crossed Howe and voted for a Conservative

[305] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.
[306] At that time, the Legislative Council was a body modeled on the British House of Lords, similar in function to Canada's modern-day Senate.
[307] Smith, James F. *Henry Gesner Pineo, Sr. & Jr.* Pugwash: The Northumberland Historical Society, 1977, http://www.thinkerslodgehistories.com/uploads/2/2/1/9/22191330/pineo.bio.pdf, p. C-5.
[308] Ibid, C-7: The Franchise Bill passed by the Conservative led by Dr. Tupper extended the right to vote to any male above the age of majority, regardless of the amount of property or capital they owned. H. G. Pineo was absolutely opposed to universal suffrage. In the Legislative Council debate over the issue in 1860, he said: "Is it right to allow Tom, Dick, or Harry, who are the next thing to transient paupers, to swamp all the influence of men of property and standing in the community at elections?... Is it right and just that a man who is a beggar should have as much influence at elections as a man worth 10,000, thereby nullifying a respectable freeholder's vote? I think not." (Legislative Council Debates, 1860, 50-53).
[309] Ibid, C-7
[310] Ibid, C-9.

amendment which postponed the effect of the bill until after the nearing election.[311] At the next election in May 1863, the Liberal government led by Howe fell, largely on the issue of restricting the franchise, and the Tories were once again elevated into power. For his part in the Franchise Bill drama, Pineo was awarded the position of Emigration Agent.[312]

As Emigration Agent, Pineo did seek reforms. A notice in the *British Colonist* of his statement to the Legislative Council in regard to the position read that he had consulted with the Agent for New Brunswick, and he suggested carving out 100 acre lots for each new immigrant, with 1 acre being cleared and a log cabin erected by government workers prior to the newcomers' arrival, so as to better accommodate them immediately.[313] Further, he initiated a registry of farms for sale and of arriving emigrants seeking work, with listings of their skills and experience. Finally, he recommended:

> dispatching of an agent annually from Halifax to spend three months in the mother country to aid, by lectures and personal representations and suggestions, immigration to this Province… the services of such an agent, for three months, would be of more actual benefit than those of any resident agent in a year.[314]

By 1868, the Immigration Office did have four such overseas agents, in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Germany, in addition to a Deputy Agent of Emigration. That the Immigration Office was impacted by Pineo's oversight was certainly true and his developments remained in place throughout the Confederation period.

Whether the innovations introduced by Pineo were effective in increasing the real number of immigrants was a much more hotly contested question. H. G. Pineo was, by and large, a politician, rather than an administrator, and getting towards the end of his

[311] Ibid, C-11.
[312] Ibid, C-37.
[313] Ibid, C-37.
[314] Ibid, C-37.

career – he would die in September 1874 from galloping consumption.[315] The press of Halifax frequently evinced dissatisfaction with his work and with the minimal results which were seen from the expenditures of his office. As early as 1863, the first year of his tenure, the *Citizen* described him as "[a]n inefficient officer, with more regard to the emoluments than to the efficiency of the department, [who] might make the Immigration Act a dead letter."[316] Another article in *The Sun and Advertizer* read:

> Have all connected with this office fallen asleep? From the report of the agent, published in March, we expected that some stir would have been apparent in Immigration long before this time. Mechanics, miners, and domestic servants are in demand, but we hear of no arrivals. Lands were to have been laid off for settlement. Have any been laid off, and where are they? It is really time that the public should look to this branch of the public service which appears to have degenerated into a sinecure, notwithstanding the importance to which it might have arrived.[317]

Impatience abounded when it came to Pineo's work. In September 1864, an ad finally ran for the registry which Pineo had proposed in 1863, noting that a list would be posted in the Office of "all farms for sale or to be leased with the distance from Halifax."[318] While advertisements could be placed for free, the list was only available at a cost, although it was also to be provided to Emigration Agents and Emigration Societies in Great Britain as a help to their work enticing emigrants to Nova Scotia. Still, *The Sun* and the *Citizen* both monitored Pineo's progress closely, and *The Sun and Advertizer* particularly found it lacking – whether this was more to do with Pineo's Conservative politics, to which *The Sun* was opposed, cannot be said.

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[315] Ibid, 48 (excerpt).
[316] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 17, 1863.
[317] "Government Immigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 12, 1864.
[318] "Government Emigration Office." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 21, 1864.

By 1865, reports of idleness at the Immigration Office began to seem less based on partisanship and more on Pineo's real absence. An editorial column on April 21st reviewed the Report of the Emigration Agent for 1864 and found:

> By great effort he has managed to stretch his report over six pages – he could hardly do less – and we have there in the names, age, country and occupation of 86 immigrants. There are two farmers, 37 laborers, a surgeon, a clerk, a painter, and a compositor, besides two who are nothing in particular. The remainder are women and children.[319]

The article suggests that the salary for such an effort was perhaps excessive; indeed, on hearing that Pineo had attempted to lay the blame for his limited success on the inadequacies of the Officer of Crown Lands, the author became quite annoyed:

> Mr. P. thinks he has reason to complain of the Commissioner of Crown Lands [for] not coming up to the provisions of the Act, 10 May, 1864, which directed that Crown lands and lots of 100 acres each should be at the disposal of the Immigration Agent for the benefit of new settlers… The excuse of the Crown Land commissioner was that he could not get the land surveyed, &c. Thus it is in the "Circumlocution Office." One official does nothing, and another helps him in his work, and so on. Seriously, we are indignant at this trifling with the best interests of the Province.[320]

Finally, the author of the article made a scathing condemnation of Pineo's work. In closing, he wrote:

> We have in the appointment of this Immigration Agent another instance of political jobbery. Mr Pineo resides in Walton and probably visits his office not oftener than twice a year; and knows as much about the work which is ostensibly his, as an infant. The appointment of such a man to an office of so much importance is a farce – an insult and a wrong to the Province.[321]

In May, a similar article in *The Sun* entitled "Decrease of Emigration" noted more with a tone of resignation than of anger that the emigration numbers were still minimal. In it, the author concluded:

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[319] "Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Apr. 21, 1865.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.

> Our Emigration Agent has promised us great things in his Department this year. We hope he will redeem his pledge; for if he do not he will be called to account for his apathy, insufficiency, or whatever else obstructs the public interests in this branch of the service.[322]

Certainly, the implication was that someone else could and should do the job better than H. G. Pineo, who, it seemed, was given the job out of patronage rather than ability.[323]

The Immigration Report for 1865 showed an even more nominal addition of only 38 newcomers to the country, most of whom were Germans arrived on the ship *Donau*, which was originally directed to New York but became waylaid in Halifax.[324] By this point, Pineo was the butt of jokes, with the newspapers writing that "Hon. Mr. Pineo… knows but little in reference to Immigration matters…."[325] Ritchie, the editor of *The Sun and Advertizer*, described the Immigration Report with sarcasm, saying, "We have before us the very voluminous and highly pleasing report of the Commissioner of Emigration, which shows the vast amount of work done by that energetic functionary…."[326] Evidently the population had also increased somewhat by virtue of there being two recent shipwrecks in the area. *The Sun* editor again joked: "We will say he did it, anyhow, to let him have full credit; for his tact and energy deserve the greatest indulgence."[327] In closing, however, Ritchie became more serious. As he put it,

> [W]e think that, by this time, our government might plainly see that Mr Pineo's service is but a mockery… he is not the man for this work. He does not

[322] "Decrease of Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1865.
[323] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865: "A change of government led to a change in the immigration Bureau; and the present incumbent received as the price of his political support, and office for which he was totally unsuited in every particular; and from whose efforts, up to this time, not a particle of good has resulted. Indeed we do not believe, except when he comes up to his legislative duties, or about payday, that he ever sees the inside of the office; and as who's giving the government any assistance in the perfection of an immigration scheme, or being the means of drawing in any addition to our population , the thing is simply impossible."
[324] "Sayings and Doings." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 12, 1866; "City Intelligence." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 1, 1866.
[325] Ibid; "Immigration Report." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 21, 1866.
[326] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 21, 1866.
[327] Ibid.

> understand it. Unless he values his salary more than the interests of the province he will make way for a better man, else our mines and our lands may long want working and tillage; all because an inefficient servant occupies this important office. It would be more to the interests of the country if such men were allowed so much a year for keeping out of the way.[328]

Pineo was eventually replaced upon the election of a Liberal government in 1867 and did indeed spend most of the remainder of his career "keeping out of the way." He was not the man for the job – and while his Deputy Agent, Mr. Joseph Outram, and the overseas Emigrant Agents who worked for him, were described as much more "efficient", "obliging", and with a "heart [that was] in the work" it seems possible that Pineo hindered the immigration effort beyond all else during his years as the Agent.[329]

Conclusion: Nova Scotia's Liberal Order

As I argued in this chapter, Nova Scotians indicated via the *Sun* and the *Citizen* that they had mixed feelings about immigration. While immigration in general was desirable, and both the papers and public pushed hard to get the immigration project underway and making real progress, there was also a significant hesitancy when it came to what kind of people were fit for immigration to Nova Scotia. Specifically, Nova Scotians wanted immigrants that were going to be quickly self-reliant, who would bring skills and capital that would increase the wealth of the Province. In short, Nova Scotians pursued a vision of immigration that endorsed immigrant farmers as ideal prospective citizens – likely because they reflected the waves of immigration that had occurred in the colony in the recent past. However, drawing this "type" of emigrant to the shores of Nova Scotia was proving a challenge: there were more and often better opportunities to be had in the United States, particularly for Irish emigrants who were frequently impoverished,

[328] Ibid.
[329] "Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 13, 1865.

but had networks of friends or family in the States on whom they could rely for initial support as they got settled. Additionally, the British colonies were losing immigrants to recruiters for the Union Army at an alarming rate – the continued struggle to attract newcomers via the colonial immigration scheme is something I will discuss in my next chapter. It was, in some small part, this struggle to grow the population that encouraged Nova Scotians to begin to consider Confederation with the Canadas, despite widespread opposition.

As politicians turned towards Confederation as one way to solve their growth problem, the Nova Scotian papers continued to debate what criteria to use for evaluating the fitness of immigrants. Conversations about populating the colonies demonstrate the ideological frameworks in place at the time: importantly, the desirability of certain migrants over others demonstrates the philosophy of liberalism which underpinned the actions and assumptions of Nova Scotians.[330] By ensuring that new immigrants had some pre-existing capacity to participate as equal actors in the economy, Nova Scotians reaffirmed their commitments to individual rights, free market participation, and property ownership as foundational for their society. Nova Scotians did not want their government involved in supporting immigrants after their arrival; instead, they wanted newcomers to be able to immediately take their place in society as workers and wealth generators. Immigrants were there to serve Nova Scotia, not the reverse: a radical equality was intended to exist among the individuals of the colony, with a guarantee of freedom for each, and no group being privileged – or protected – over any other. The introduction of

[330] See also the work of Daniel Samson, including *The Spirit of Industry and Improvement: Liberal Government and Rural-Industrial Society, Nova Scotia, 1790-1862*.

pauper immigration threatened this ideal of individual independence and limited state intervention, and so was opposed by the colonists of Nova Scotia.

Chapter 4

1864-1865: Immigration and Imagination: The Road to Charlottetown and Nationhood

The Charlottetown Conference, the first in a series of inter-colonial meetings held to negotiate a colonial union, took place from September 1st to 9th, 1864; later meetings followed in Halifax on Sept. 10th and 12th, and finally, delegates convened at the Quebec Conference from October 10th to 27th to reach a final agreement about what form the colonial union would take. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island had originally agreed to send representatives to Charlottetown to discuss the possible formation of a Maritime Union. These discussions were not the first of their kind – Confederation had been debated as a long-term possibility for a decade, largely as a means of finally securing a deal for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. While the Charlottetown Conference was initially intended to include only the representatives from the three Maritime provinces – among whom Premier Charles Tupper, Attorney General William Alexander Henry, Robert Barry Dickey, Adams George Archibald, and Jonathan McCully were present to speak for the interests of Nova Scotia – Canadian politicians had discussed the meeting with Samuel Tilley, a delegate for New Brunswick, and determined they should attend. They plied the Maritime representatives with rhetoric of a "great and powerful nation" and arguments about the safety, security, and prosperity that a larger union would bring.[331] While their delegates to the Conference were favorable to the idea, many Nova Scotians were not.

In this chapter, I discuss Nova Scotia's transition from a colonial project to a national one through imagining the population of a nation instead of a growing colony.

[331] Ibid.

Nova Scotia had an ongoing struggle to recruit emigrants, despite the massive efflux occurring in Ireland; instead, Irish migrants were going to the United States, where they had family ties and well-established Irish American communities. While Nova Scotians saw the bypassing of their colony by fellow British subjects as an affront, their steadfast loyalty to Britain was part of what these Irish migrants sought to avoid; indeed, they valued that the United States was a former colony-turned-republic, which had successfully thrown off the yoke imposed by Britain's monarchy. Later, Nova Scotians found themselves even more despondent, as European emigrants – some of them Irish, but also many from Germany and Eastern Europe – sailed for the United States, only to be drafted into the Federal Army and die on the battlefields of the South. In an appeal to Nova Scotia's struggle, the Canadian representatives at the Charlottetown Conference posited that the immigration scheme would be more administratively coherent and more effective if the colonies united; further, the emigrants of Europe would, they said, be more drawn to an expansive country offering many kinds of opportunity than a smaller and more limited colony. At the same time, the Province feared that, should Confederation proceed, any future immigrants – and the existing population of the colony – would be more likely to migrate to the Canadas, rather than remaining in Nova Scotia, especially once the Intercolonial Railway was finished. Consequently, colonial union presented both an opportunity and a threat to the growth of Nova Scotia's population.

As with the two previous chapters, the sources for this chapter derive from articles printed in the *Halifax Citizen* and Halifax's *The Sun and Advertizer*.

The "Irish Exodus"[332]

As I discussed in the previous chapter, political hesitation and inefficiency in the public service were significant barriers to success. However, they were far from the only ones that Nova Scotia faced in acquiring immigrants, and the most significant was the "superior competition for immigrants so near our doors".[333] Other British colonies, including Australia and New Zealand, presented attractive options for European emigrants: the climate was excellent, there was a gold rush occurring in Australia, and there was no competition in that part of the world like that of the United States. New Zealand, the editor of the *Citizen* said, was "attracting more settlers than Nova Scotia a thousand fold", and even some Nova Scotians relocated there.[334] The British colonies faced enormous – and arguably insurmountable – competition for immigrants from the United States: the settlements there were older, more developed, and there was greater capital for investment. The same article noted that "[a]t the revolution the United States started as a well-appointed Commonwealth, just as loyal refugees, and adventurous emigrants were making their way through the woods of our lower Provinces."[335] While the Canadas were looking to open land further West, the Western States were already available for settlement, with "almost illimitable leagues of unencumbered and inexhaustibly rich and arable land [drawing] the streams of prospective farmers almost solely thither."[336] The United States offered a wide field for emigrants of different types. For farmers, the Western prairie "[lay] smilingly open."[337] For those who wanted

[332] Many news articles at this time referred to the "Irish exodus", and this was the title of multiple articles on the mass emigration from Ireland that occurred in the 1850s and 60s.
[333] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid.

industrial work, the States offered many developed port cities on the East coast. For Europe's "emigrating millions", there was no place better – and this is what the British colonies struggled to compete with.[338]

Even still, Nova Scotia's struggle to attract immigration occurred at an unlikely time, as emigrants seeking to come to North America were plentiful. According to a notice from February 1864, "[t]here are not emigrant ships enough on the other side of the Atlantic to bring the passengers across to the United States. The boarding houses of Liverpool are full of persons waiting for passage."[339] Tens of thousands of emigrants were departing Liverpool, and the Irish predominated among them.[340] For the Irish especially, many of whom left Ireland in deep poverty, the States truly afforded a land of promise and opportunity. As the *Citizen* noted,

> Before the outbreak of the war, enterprizing industry and steady persevering toil were so speedily remunerative that thousands, who had come across the Atlantic ragged and penniless, gradually [became] so comfortable as to be able to send off money to bring out relatives and acquaintances left in the old home, to share the prosperity of the new.[341]

John McHale, the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, wrote about the causes of this deplorable poverty among the Irish people in a letter to England's Chancellor of the

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[338] Ibid.
[339] Notice concerning emigration (third column). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 1, 1864.
[340] "Sayings and Doings." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 17, 1864: "Emigration from Ireland shows that an aggregate increase of 4,080 over corresponding period of last year."; "European Miscellany", *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 24, 1865: "The immigration from Liverpool during the past year shows of falling off, as compared with 1863, of 12,537 passengers. the total membership during the twelve month was rather over 194,000. More than 60,000 Irish immigrants sailed through her pool during 1864 for the federal states."; "S.S. 'City of Glasgow'", *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 25, 1865; "We were witness to the landing at New York almost daily, of vessel-loads of Irish emigrants, and the number which arrived this season far exceeded the previous one." Notice concerning Irish emigration from the New York *Herald* (third column). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 9, 1865.
[341] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.

Exchequer, stating that they were caused by "hopeless oppression, agrarian evictions, and the want of any land tenure to give security to industry."[342] Another article noted that,

> Within the last fifteen years some two millions of people have left the Irish shores; but can we wonder at it when we come to look into the condition of the Irish peasantry at home compared with that of their brethren in the States. In Ireland, the peasantry are more wretched than any peasantry in the world. The Russian serf is far better off…[343]

Poor Irish citizens faced the bleak reality of low wages, high taxation and rents, and the ongoing shift from crop cultivation to livestock pasturing, which led to significant unemployment.[344] By contrast, Irish emigrants who landed in America were employed well enough to send remittances to Ireland – remittances which, over time, became substantial, demonstrating the improvement of their circumstances beyond those who remained at home, and furthering the migration cycle.[345]

The scope of Ireland's emigration was huge, as "the tide flowed with the greatest volume from the Irish Shores, and threatened to leave the Emerald Isle without a representative."[346] The emigration from Ireland became so massive that it caused concern in Britain, as the lords and landowners grew worried about the depleted labour force. One notice in the *Citizen* of Nov. 1863 read:

> The drain on the farming population of Ireland is giving serious alarm to the landlords of that country. At a recent agricultural dinner, the Marquis of

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[342] "From Late English Papers – EMIGRATION." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 31, 1863.
[343] "Emigration from Great Britain: The Irish Exodus" (reprinted from the Caledonian Mercury, Jan. 9 1864). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 1, 1864.
[344] "Ireland's Interests." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 20, 1865.
[345] "Emigration from Great Britain: The Irish Exodus" (reprinted from the Caledonian Mercury, Jan. 9 1864). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 1, 1864. This article states: "Nothing, perhaps, shows more forcibly the improvement of the condition of the Irish emigrants in the United States as the astounding fact that the sum transmitted by Irishmen in America to their relatives in Ireland amounted, up to 1863, to £12,642,000. This is according to the official return; but a vast sum besides, of which no return can be given, has been sent. Immigration Commissioners calculate this at half as much again. The total, therefore, if this calculation be correct, is about £19,000,000. I confess that the total to me is astounding; but still the stream of gold is flowing in, and the stream of people is flowing out, and when it will stop no man can foresee."; "Hon. T. D. McGee's Speech." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 29, 1865.
[346] "Decrease of Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1865.

> Waterford declared that, if the emigration continued at the rate at which it had lately progressed, there would be no labourers left to till the soil, and Ireland would become a mere sheepwalk.[347]

Indeed, another article printed soon after noted that "[t]he Irish exodus is one of our modern marvels… Where is it to end? Soon, if this goes on, there will be left in Ireland no labourers to till the fields."[348] By mid-1864, the growing concern provoked discussion in the British Parliament. Opening the discussion,

> Mr. Hennessy moved that 'this house observes with regret that the agricultural population of Ireland are rapidly leaving the country; and that this house trust that her Majesty's government will direct their attention to the subject with a view of devising some means by which the Irish agricultural population may be induced to devote their capital and labour to productive employments at home'.[349]

There was little quibbling about the causes of the migration; indeed, even the politicians of England agreed that low wages and stagnation in the Irish economy, leading to unemployment, were to blame. Few, however, had any ideas about how to stem the outpouring of people leaving the country: as Lord Palmerston concluded his remarks, "'As long as the Irish peasantry can improve their condition by going to America… [i]t would be unkind to attempt to prevent them by Legislative interference'."[350] The editor of the *Citizen* agreed with this position, saying:

> It sounds like a melancholy joke to introduce the word capital in connection with the Irish labourer. His only capital lies in his bones and sinews, and these he is taking to other lands, where they will be better appreciated.[351]

Interestingly, Kelley and Treblicock note that during earlier waves of mass emigration from Britain, "[t]he official British posture towards emigration during this period was

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[347] "Latest from Europe." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.
[348] "Emigration from Great Britain: The Irish Exodus" (reprinted from the Caledonian Mercury, Jan. 9 1864). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 1, 1864.
[349] "The Irish Exodus." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 14, 1864.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.

generally to discourage it."[352] Consequently, they passed the Passenger Act of 1803, ostensibly to make emigration voyages safer; however, Kelley and Treblicock posit that this was "primarily designed to raise the price of passage beyond the reach of those seeking to leave."[353] Yet in 1864, while the position of the Irish was deemed unfortunate, there was little to be done according to the British Parliament, until "capitalist[s] could be assured life and property were as safe in Ireland as they were in England."[354]

In addition to the ample prospects it offered to immigrants, the United States had one benefit beyond all else which promoted it as a place to settle above the British North American colonies: republicanism. An article in *The Sun* read: "Have you seen the last emigration returns? America is adding to her population at the rate of a thousand Europeans per day, and three-fourths of these are Irish."[355] By landing in the States, Irish migrants would no longer live under the oppressive dominion of the British Crown, a reality which made the choice that much easier for those emigrating from Ireland; further, the Irish admired the United States as a former colony which had successfully claimed its independence.[356] Irish settlement began to grow exponentially: having "secured settlers who would have prospered anywhere, the States secured a multiplied influx of all whom the first could persuade or fetch across after them by love or money."[357] In such circumstances, the British colonies envied the massive and growing influx of population. The American Civil War, however, offered the colonies an opportunity: the "disordered

[352] Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 44.
[353] Ibid.
[354] "Ireland's Interests." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 20, 1865.
[355] "Emigration from Great Britain: The Irish Exodus" (reprinted from the Caledonian Mercury, Jan. 9 1864).
[356] "Immigration." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863: The press noted that there were "unfortunate political prejudices which led the emigrants from that country to select a Republic in which they supposed their enthusiastic hopes would be realized."
[357] Ibid.

state of society", resulting in the "reckless waste of Irish and German blood", meant that they might have a better chance to recruit immigrants.[358] The *Citizen* noted: "[t]o take advantage of this crisis is clearly the duty of the Provinces, so that at least British immigrants to America may be induced to steer for British soil."[359] Disaster in the United States spelled potential opportunity for the colonies, if only they would be bold enough to take advantage of it.

Some members of the press were somewhat sympathetic to the Irish cause, as fellow British subjects. *The Sun* provided its readers the commentary that they should:

> …remember all the wealth of both [farmers and landlords] is based upon the labors of the serfs below. It is created wealth, and the husbandmen are the real creators. Now, if landlords and farmers were wise, they would look across the Channel and learn a lesson, and begin at once practically to carry out the lesson they learned. They would pay their men better, treat them as human beings, and thus endeavor to hold them to the soil.[360]

Moreover, the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen* were annoyed that the government was doing so little to turn the "tide" of Irish emigration to the shores of the colony.[361] It seemed illogical and wrong that British subjects should flock to the United States instead of to the colonies where their labour was so sorely needed. In May 1865, an article in *The Sun* reported that:

> In all this outpouring of strength there has been no exertion made by our Legislature to direct a portion of it towards our soil, which, lying in all the richness of unimpaired fruitfulness, needs but the hand of the husbandman, to yield an overflowing abundance. We hope that this inexcusable indifference to a very important object will no longer hinder an adjustment of Labor; and that

[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid.
[360] "Emigration from Great Britain: The Irish Exodus" (reprinted from the Caledonian *Mercury*, Jan. 9 1864). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 1, 1864.
[361] Several articles in 1865 refer to the "tide" of emigration departing from Europe and arriving in North America. "Decrease of Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1865; "Provincial News: The Ebbing Tide." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 25, 1865; "American Affairs." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 23, 1865; "Emigration and immigration" *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865.

> many stalwart men and healthy women will be encouraged, when moving from a too densely populated country, to come where there is room and to spare, and a perpetual home, without looking for shelter and sustenance under another flag.[362]

Nova Scotians were not alone in this frustration: an article from the Saint John *Globe* wrote of the dissatisfaction of the Irish Immigration Aid Societies, who themselves said,

> We have repeatedly held and urged that the settlement of the country, and, consequently, its material interest, could be rapidly advanced, if, instead of great emigration schemes that are imposing only on paper, some well directed and powerful efforts were made to induce hundreds of the laborers and others now earning a scanty and precarious livelihood on the wharves and in the streets of the city to settle on the Provincial lands. Our public men are much more at home, however, in arguing out certain theories than they are in doing practical work. A general government scheme for the colonization of our lands is quite practicable, and is really worth trying, although perhaps beneath the dignity of a Government engaged in the grander and broader Confederation scheme.[363]

The limited effort the Nova Scotia government made to bend the tide of Irish emigration towards its shores was to send Dr. Honeyman off, once again, to the International Exhibition, held at Dublin in 1865. While perhaps effective in glamorizing the colonies – the coal specimen, now referred to as the column of "black diamond", was to be put on permanent display at the Winter Gardens, a result of "placing us in our proper light" – it was a paltry effort on behalf of the immigration project.[364] Instead of encouraging immigration to the colonies, it seemed that the governments of the British North Americas were indeed more enthralled with the prospect of piecing together a national enterprise, with Confederation as the vehicle.[365]

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[362] "Decrease of Emigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1865.
[363] Commentary on Irish Immigration Aid Societies (sixth column). *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 20, 1865.
[364] "The Dublin Exhibition." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 6, 1865; "Nova Scotia and the Dublin Exhibition." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jun. 26, 1865.
[365] "Correspondence: Are We to Have Immigration?." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 27, 1865.

These minimal efforts were no match for the United States. "Saunders", a correspondent for *The Sun and Advertizer*, made the comparison very clear:

> I noticed, with regret, but there was no reference in the Lieutenant Governor's speech, at the opening of this session of our Parliament, to the very important subject of emigration; and, I further regret that the present government appears to me to be almost dead, as well as silent, on this matter. In the presidential message, and in the neighbouring Republic, the question of immigration always receives prominent attention; and every information afforded to the citizens for the furtherance of this great and national object. In our Province little or nothing is done to promote immigration; and if it is done, it is certainly barren of result.[366]

The United States was adding to its population at a rate of hundreds of thousands per year, an addition which was of such great value that it was "beyond comprehension."[367] According to Saunders, the difference was not only in the government's attention to the matter, but its immigration laws, which were "of the most beneficial and encouraging character."[368] The free lands grants to the Western States, the Homestead Law, free schools, and high wages, were "induc[ing] millions of the poor, ill fed, and ill-clad population of Europe to seek their homes and comfort on the rich prairies of the great West."[369] These States were "thrown open to settlers from Europe": while Nova Scotia was determined to dissuade "pauper" immigrants, the United States was welcoming them whole-heartedly, and as a consequence, saw its population surge – stimulating a flourishing of the economy, with it.[370]

[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid.

Emigrants Bound for the Federal Army

While the governments of the British colonies dawdled in their efforts to pursue immigration, emigrants from Europe went to the United States: and many of them ended up being conscripted to the Federal Army by recruiting agents, even though it was illegal at the time to draft foreigners.[371] In his speech to Congress at the end of 1863, President Lincoln argued that foreign nationals who resided in the United States should be exempted from military service on the grounds of "alienage";[372] despite this and other legal measures, the practice of recruiting abroad for the Union Army continued. As one article put it, "there is not a shadow of a doubt about the recruiting for the Federal army that is going on in Ireland… the fraudulent recruiting system should be fully exposed."[373] A correspondent of the *Citizen*, known as Stavely, wrote that:

> In this city [Boston], in New York, and in Philadelphia, companies, societies, and associations are forming for the purpose of encouraging emigration from Europe, particularly from England, for the ostensible purpose of supplying the places of the manufacturing operatives and artizans who have gone or about going to the

[371] In Nov. 1864, the Superintendent of Immigration of New York sent a copy of this regulation to the Colonial Office: "Colonial SecretarySectary Cardwell forwarded [these regulations] to the Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick, [to be] published in the Fredericton Royal Gazette. Among other instructions, which apply to the treatment of immigrants generally on shipboard and otherwise, we find the following: – 'You will not approve any contract made with Immigrants in foreign countries to enter the military or naval service of the United States, and where it is practicable to do so, you will notify each Immigrant who may have made such contract that it is void. You will cause notice to be given to Immigrants that they cannot be compulsorily enrolled for military service during the existing insurrection, unless they shall voluntarily renounce under oath their allegiance to the countries of their birth, and declare their intentions to become citizens of the United States. And you will cause to be arrested all persons who by fraud shall attempt to compel involuntary service of Immigrants in the army or navy of the United States." Regulation to the Colonial Office. Reprinted from the Fredericton (NB) *Royal Gazette*. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 16, 1864; on Dec. 19, 1864, *The Sun and Advertizer* printed a notice that "The steamer 'Great Western,' [was] detained at Liverpool on the allegation that she had 600 able-bodied men from Lancashire on board as recruits of the federal army, was released on the 26th ult. The Home Secretary, after a full investigation into the whole circumstances, found that the parties on board were bona fide emigrants, and not recruits, as alleged. Messrs. Jones and Highat, two respectable Liverpool Merchants, were fined £50 sterling each for enlisting sailors for the Confederate service." "EMIGRATION AND ENLISTMENT." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 19, 1864.

[372] "The President's Message." Originally reported by the Saint John *Telegraph*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 14, 1863.

[373] "Spirit of the Press: Federal Recruiting in Ireland." Reprinted from the London *Post* of Mar. 3rd. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 22, 1864.

> war, but in reality, to fill up the ranks of their shattered armies, and to save themselves from the draft. I will venture to say that 75 out of every 100 able-bodied young emigrants now coming into the United States will be induced by "greenbacks" and "soft sawder" to enter the Army and, then, poor devils, God help them.[374]

Another correspondent, angry that such practices should continue, argued that the numerous Irish emigrants ought to be alerted to the deception laid before them by the recruiting agents:

> …in mercy to the poor deluded wretches who are leaving their native shores to be mown down by the Confederate artillery in a contest which concerns neither them nor their country, every effort ought to be made to validate the law… we would remind every Irishman that it is a bad exchange that he is offered.[375]

In March 1864, the *Citizen* reprinted an article from the *Standard*, which argued that this tactic of recruitment had aided the North to change the outcome of the war to its advantage. It claimed:

> Under the pretense of emigration… a regular and very numerous supply of recruits has throughout this war been forwarded to the North, and has produced no trifling effect upon the fortunes of a contest. We would not go so far as to say that without that supply the federal government could not have carried on the war, and perhaps advanced as far as it has hitherto done… But this much is certain: that if her Majesty's advisers had acted with due vigor and impartial activity in cutting off the Irish supplies, the Federal Government would have been brought much earlier to that which will be the test and trial of its strength…[376]

While the progress of the American Civil War may have been advanced, Britons at home and in the colonies were left to wonder at what cost the military gains of the Federal Army had come. At the very least, the recruitment of emigrants, particularly in Ireland, received a range of criticisms – from stern critique to outright condemnation.

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[374] "Correspondence – Written from Boston." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 9, 1864.
[375] "Spirit of the Press: Federal Recruiting in Ireland." Reprinted from the London *Post* of Mar. 3rd. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 22, 1864.
[376] "Spirit of the Press: Reprint from the London *Standard* of Mar. 3rd." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 22, 1864.

Figure 4.1: A recruitment poster advertising "Corcoran's Irish Legion", a dedicated Irish Regiment. Playing on Irish grievances with the Crown, it incites that "Irishmen, you are now training to meet your English enemies!" Source: New York Historical Society, Museum & Library database. Digital Collections: Civil War Posters, 1861-1865.

One article, published in March 1864, elaborated on the passage of Irish emigrants to Boston, by providing an account of one such journey of a group of migrants. It described the case of Mr. Finney, who lured 102 emigrants, including 86 young Irishmen from Dublin, with "inducements" and "promises of employment and high wages."[377] Evidently, Finney had offered them work on the railroads, in addition to "free passage, work immediately upon arrival, a new suit of clothes, and two pounds a month and found, for wages."[378] On arriving, however, there was no lodging or food ready for them except for liquor, and, being told that the work they had been promised was not available, they were offered that "they need not idle a single day; they could enlist at once, and [were] recommended [to] the 28th, an Irish regiment."[379] Without the promised provisions, plied with alcohol, and without money or networks of friends or family for their support, they were deeply vulnerable; in the end, the recruiting agents had their way, and "in the course of the day, gobbled up several" Irishmen.[380] Faced with the options of homelessness and destitution in an unknown land, or Federal Army service, most of the emigrants chose to enlist.

Other stories existed of this recruitment scheme, first gotten up in Boston, and titled the "Boston Dodge".[381] Another article, published in Aug. 1864, described a voyage of the British vessel *Bellona*, which brought several hundred emigrants from Ireland and Hamburg to enlist at Boston, their passages having been paid for on this condition. Importantly, this article details that the intensive recruiting abroad was directly due to the

[377] "Spirit of the Press: Recruiting in Boston." Reprinted from the Boston *Courier* of Mar. 19th. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Mar. 24, 1864.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.
[381] "The Boston Dodge: Ship Loads of Emigrant Recruits for the Federal Army." Reprinted from the New York *Evening Post*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 25, 1864.

conscription placed upon the Northern States, which were required to meet quotas for the supply of men to the Union Army. The article, reprinted from the New York *Evening Post*, described it in this way:

> The second company, as soon as they arrived at Boston, put on the Federal uniform, received their Bounty money, and went into the ranks, thus providing exemption from the draft for several hundred Bostonians, whose business engagements did not admit of their personal service in the field. Four hundred of the emigrants who came on the Bellona also entered the service, thereby exempting four hundred other Bostonians… The secret of this business, by which Boston obtained substitutes, and two or three persons obtained a large amount of money, was at first well kept.[382]

One of the recruits, apparently, divulged the secret of the *Bellona*'s voyages. Emigration Agent Julian Allen proved a capable recruiter: he had succeeded in mustering several hundred to sail from the port of Antwerp, and future voyages would bring more emigrants to the United States, with Mr. Allen profiting tidily.[383]

Figure 4.2: A recruitment poster for the American Civil War specifically targeting immigrant groups. The poster reads "Patrioti Italiani! Honvedek! Amis de la liberté! Deutsche Freiheits Kaempfer!" ("Italian patriots! Hungarians! Friends of liberty! German freedom fighters!") and asks immigrants to fight for their adopted country. Source: Dr. Don H. Doyle, "The Civil War Was Won by Immigrant Soldiers", *What it Means to be American* blog, hosted by the Smithsonian and Arizona State University.

[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid.

While one account claimed that the emigrant recruits were made to sign a contract, a "certificate that he went by his own desire,"[384] another account contradicted the claim that the emigrants had truly given free, prior, and informed consent to join the Federal Army. Isidor Sigismund wrote that he had sailed with Mr. Allen, a fellow Pole from New York, on his return from Europe after fighting for the failed Polish insurrection. On the trip he witnessed "federal man stealing": few of the emigrants, he said, could read the contracts they were required to sign binding them to their new employment.[385] Indeed, some men were forewarned that they would be forced to enlist on arrival in the United States. Although they wished to leave the ship while it was still in port at Antwerp, they were convinced to remain.[386] On arriving, they were "placed under a strict vigilance of police, and were informed that they would be mustered into the US army; that the contracts they had signed before their departure were to that effect, and on any one demurring, force would be used."[387] After that, wrote Sigismund, "[n]o further bounty (but the $100 received) was given them, and after a short time they were sent to Fortress Monroe, and from there they will be sent to the 'front', none of their friends knowing anything about it."[388] Unfortunately for these Europeans, the wealthy men of cities like Boston could buy their way out of Army service by importing bodies to take up

[384] Ibid: "The Belgian Government would not permit the embarkation of the emigrants without a careful examination of them, and the signing of a contract by each person, which was to be a certificate that he went by his own desire. This paper (or a copy of it) was to be left with the Customs officers, else the necessary clearance for the vessel could not be obtained. The contract bound the signers, when they should arrive in the United States, to do whatever might be required of them; and all the men were asked by the officers if they understood what the contract implied, and if they were willing to abide by it."
[385] "Spirit of the Press: Federal Man Stealing." Reprinted from the Boston *Courier*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 8, 1864.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.

a mercenary position on their behalf – it was not their fight, but they fought and died nonetheless.

All of this was of deep concern and quite alarming to British colonists. Stavely, the Boston Correspondent for the *Citizen*, wrote very frankly: "[w]hat is Nova Scotia about? Are Haligonians asleep? Why don't they wake up to the necessity of exerting themselves to turn the current of emigration in the right direction, namely, to Nova Scotia?"[389] Another correspondent to the *Citizen*, who signed themselves simply "A Colonist" of Wallace, Nova Scotia, blamed England for having "swelled [America's] military ranks by hundreds of thousands of her best men… *will you let the very bone and sinew of your country pass into your most deadly enemies' hand without any effort to arrest*?"[390] Rather furiously, the "Colonist" railed at England:

> The Yankees, I am told, this year will sweep away from your shores some two or three hundred thousands to swell the ranks of the battle field against those poor brave Southerners. Shame! shame! on England. Can we not plead if not but for humanity's sake to stay the butcher's hand? I'm sorry to say I much doubt England's purity, aiding as she has the North and standing by to see the earth soaked with human blood.[391]

This correspondent pleaded desperately for the British Parliament to do something to turn their emigration towards Nova Scotia – if not in the name of aiding the colonies, then for the sake of reducing the bloodshed in America, in particular the shedding of English blood. By the beginning of 1865, colonial politicians agreed at least in part with this assessment, as they worried about the young men of British North America who departed to fight in the American conflict. Confederation, perhaps, would offer them some alternative to leaving the colonies, as it would:

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[389] "Correspondence – Written from Boston." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 9, 1864.
[390] "Correspondence." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), May 17, 1864, emphasis added.
[391] Ibid.

> …open up a field for young men who were now compelled to quit the country of their birth to seek a living abroad. Now the blood of many hundreds of our men fertilized the blue fields of the South, the blood of brave fellows who, had they found scope and verge enough in their own country would never have departed from it.[392]

While Confederation was often touted as a method by which to stem outmigration to the United States, the loss of young British North American men to the battlefield of the Civil War gave the project an increased urgency for the colonies.

"A New and Sparsely Peopled Country"[393]

Prior to the Charlottetown Conference, the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee arrived in Halifax to give a talk about the proposal of Confederation. In it, he systematically analyzed and refuted each of the primary arguments against the project: that it had failed in the United States; that the Canadas brought with them a significant debt; the complexities of defense; the huge expanse of the proposed territory and the difficulty of governing it. In this speech, however, he proposed something else: that Confederation would be good for immigration. As he said:

> Why is it that the immigration to Canada is so small and that to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick almost *nil*? It is because emigrants come in mixed cargoes, and the large market brings the full emigrant ship. They go to New York by the thousands, and if there be no demand for them there, they can easily be distributed… When we have the large field we will have the large influx, and the cheap labor which makes a country prosperous. Not to foreigners alone would this advantage accrue, but to our own people.[394]

The Canadas, McGee noted, would offer the Maritimes a much larger market for the sale of their goods – and one consequence of this economic cooperation and diversification of

[392] "Confederation Meeting." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 2, 1865.
[393] "Great Colonial Dinner." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 14, 1864.
[394] "THE CANADIAN VISIT." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Aug. 18, 1864.

employment would be the increased influx of new population to the Maritimes. Going on, he pushed this further, asking:

> Why is it that we find 45,000 native Canadians in the State of New York alone? Are our limits expanded by population?... You will continue to lose the youth and flower of your people, until you give them a country where, if they are discontented they can go thousands of miles away and work off their discontent… you will then no longer be rearing sons to fight battles in which they have no concern, making themselves food for powder, like the mercenaries of the middle ages, who sold their blood to foreign Princes. They will perpetuate their institutions, do honor to their country, and hand down the legal liberties which they received from their ancestors.[395]

McGee even employed the diversity of the population in his rhetoric about the forthcoming greatness of the proposed nation. As he put it, in rallying words:

> Look at these [bountiful lands and sea] and all our other resources, and I say that if we do not make a great country of it between us all, with the English skill, the Scotch stability, and the Irish fervor, the fault will be with ourselves.[396]

Not only would the larger country be more inviting to newcomers, but it would aid Nova Scotia in retaining its young people, those who frequently left their homeland for seemingly greener pastures and brighter futures, only to end up embroiled in the Civil War without good cause. To McGee, a confederated nation, not a collection of colonies, is what was needed to promote both growth and the occupation of Nova Scotia's present population.

At the time of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, when the colonial delegates established their plan for the Confederation of British North America's colonies, the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen*, along with their correspondents, frequently articulated the opinion that "[t]he colonies contain within themselves all the

[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.

elements of strength and greatness, and all they require is population."[397] International prestige was important and increasing the population of the colonies was essential to gaining the esteem of other nations. The Canadian delegates proposed that colonial unification would bring Halifax into its own as a great city.[398] Population in the united colonies – and therefore, immigration – was a topic of much debate when it came to the principle of representation by population. At the same time, *The Sun* and the *Citizen* fretted over the potential loss of Nova Scotia's new and existing population to the Canadas via the Intercolonial Railway, should the colonies unite, a circumstance which would worsen population disparities between the Provinces.

[397] "Letter from Washington." Correspondence from P.W.C. written in Washington, D.C., on Sept. 6, 1864. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 21, 1864.

[398] "Union Banquet." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 13, 1864. Col. Gray of PEI noted: "I look on this city as destined to be the great London of the Western Confederacy." John A. MacDonald posited that the Intercolonial Railroad would make Halifax "the emporium of the West, and all the wealth of that great country will pour over this iron road to your magnificent harbour"; "Great Colonial Dinner." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 14, 1864. John A. MacDonald noted that, should Confederation – and therefore the International Railway – go ahead, "With such a road, Halifax could compete for the carrying trade of the West"; "The Confederation Meeting." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 13, 1864. Hon. A. G. Archibald argued at the public meetings on Confederation that Union would bring an increase in traffic to Halifax, giving it "a vast superiority and importance."

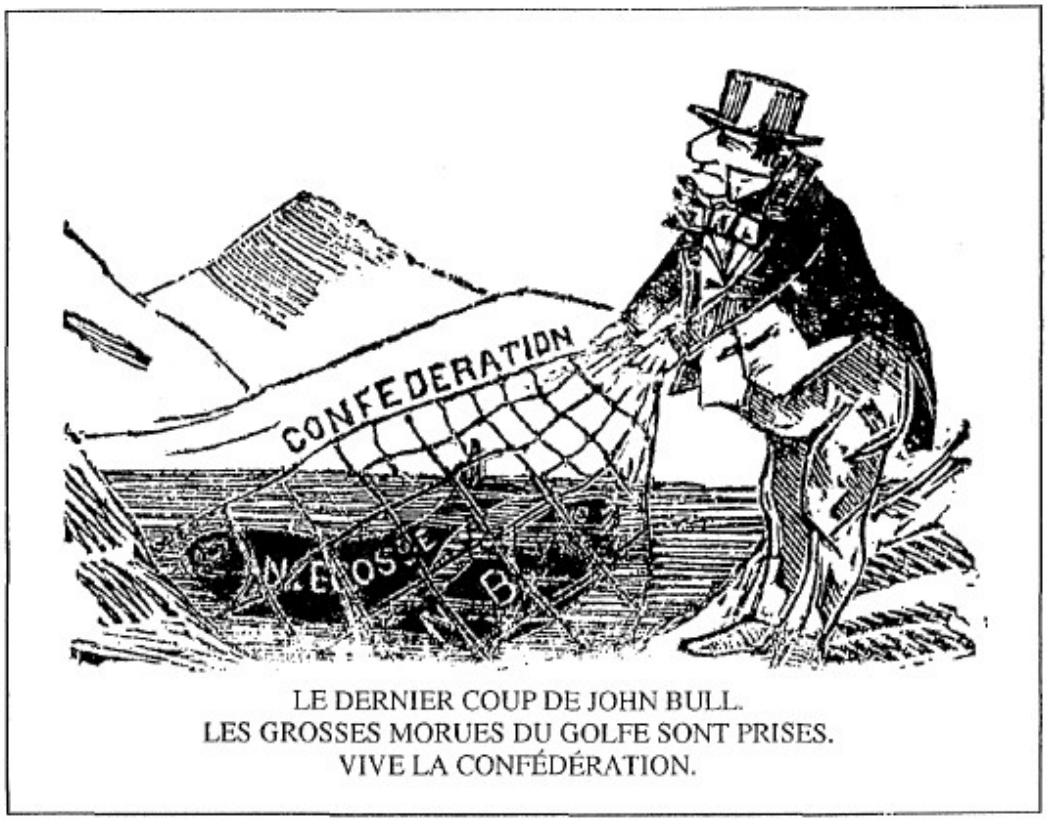

Figure 4.3: “John Bull’s Latest Catch”: A political cartoon demonstrating the Canadians efforts to “catch” the Maritime provinces in a union. The text reads, “The big cod of the Gulf are taken. Long live Confederation.” Source: Jean-Baptiste Côté, *La Scie*, Québec, 1864.

Importantly, one of the arguments that the Canadian delegates put forth was that the larger union of all the British North American colonies would help establish a more consistent stream of immigration. During the Charlottetown Conference, the press reported the Hon. George-Étienne Cartier as making the case that "[o]ne immediate and important benefit would be the introducing of European emigration, which a new and sparsely peopled country, so much required in its development…."[399] The Hon. George Brown agreed with this, positing that "the union would invite and promote immigration, which would soon give us an importance in the eyes of the greatest powers."[400] The colonial union of the British colonies into one nation, with one immigration scheme, would enhance their appeal to the emigrants of Europe; indeed, the cohesion and grandness of the new country's formation would also help to redirect some of the stream of immigration northward from the United States. By the end of the dinner at which they spoke, a toast had been made to "Immigration and Agriculture essential to the development of British North America."[401] An article published a week later described the proposed organization of the government and its distribution of powers: "emigration", the "settlement of wild lands", and "land tenures", were all reported to be made a partial responsibility of the central government.[402] Importantly, immigration was regarded at the time as one argument in favor of Confederation, as it would enable the Provinces to regulate their population at the scale of a country rather than as colonies.

[399] "Great Colonial Dinner." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 14, 1864.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] "Colonial Union." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Sept. 20, 1864; "Confederation Meeting at St. John." Reprinted from the St. John *Morning News*. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 28, 1864.

Early on in 1865, it seemed that the public were not so sure that Confederation would aid Nova Scotia in building up its immigration scheme. As one correspondent of *The Sun* by the name of "Saunders" wrote:

> What is the use of Confederation to us without an increase of population? If we are to bear[?] our share of the 100 million dollars of debt due by Canada, let us look for an increased population to help us bear the burden of our share. Our leading Statesmen and politicians, in place of devising and submitting plans for the encouragement of immigrants to our province, and for fostering and promoting agriculture, are doing nothing but devising schemes for disposing of us to the Canadians![403]

Indeed, the Confederation argument seemed to have overtaken every other plan for building up Nova Scotia. Saunders pointed out that Nova Scotians struggled to retain their young men, who would likely flock to the United States after the Civil War ended, and it was doing poorly at attracting sufficient numbers of "*bona fide* settlers from the Old Country", as "Immigrants pass us on every side, and here we are proceeding at a snail's pace."[404] Rather than focusing on the prospect of Confederation, Saunders felt that the government ought to be more involved in increasing immigration. Stating his case clearly, he said:

> Confederation, under existing circumstances, would be a curse and a ruin to us; our taxes would be trebled; and all hope of relief gone – gone forever… Mr. Editor, we must not trust to Canada, nor to any Botheration or Confederation Scheme. – We want industrious settlers, to improve our country and enrich themselves at the same time. We won't have them from Canada; and they are not worth having, if we could.[405]

[403] "Correspondence: Are We to Have Immigration?" *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 27, 1865.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.

While the representatives of the Canadas were adamant that Confederation would help promote immigration, clearly *The Sun*, the *Citizen*, and their reading public, were not convinced.

The Fear of Outmigration

For Nova Scotians, Confederation had the potential to be a double-edged sword. It might indeed help to people the Province, or to do so more successfully than the colonial immigration project had; yet, Nova Scotians feared that an inter-colonial union could draw away both their newcomer and their existing populations. As McGee argued in his speech, and its other proponents argued later, Confederation would provide the young men of Nova Scotia with greater opportunities and employment. One noted:

> What we want is facility to open up communication. The union of the Maritime Provinces would not give that, – we want a back country, – it is that which has built up cities in the states. With this union Halifax would soon equal Boston.[406]

As it was, Nova Scotia, and the city of Halifax in particular, was in want of "expansion" for the development of its resources.[407] The need to develop greater generational wealth was particularly concerning: as the Hon. Benjamin Wier said at one meeting, "[t]he father of a family might do well in the country, but what was he to do with his sons?"[408] The Hon. James Tobin, who spoke just after Wier, agreed, saying of a colonial union:

> Here is a country that is worth the ambition of our young men. Now thousands are fertilizing the plains and valleys of the South with their blood, forced to leave their native country because it gave them no means of employment. But a Confederation will enable us to give our young men a home indeed – a field that will satisfy the cravings of the most ambitious among them.[409]

[406] "Confederation Meeting." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 2, 1865.
[407] Ibid.
[408] "Great Meeting at Temperance Hall on Federation." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jan. 3, 1865.
[409] Ibid.

The Nova Scotian proponents of Confederation seemed to feel that young men were limited by the lack of opportunity existing in the Province, but also that young men had a natural tendency to seek adventure and new experiences, and to test themselves. Confederation, they argued, meant that these young men would not leave the country of their birth to obtain either work or broadened perspectives, and that they might indeed return home to Nova Scotia once they had had their share of freedom brought by exploits further West.

While the advocates of Confederation made the case that it was the younger generation that would benefit most from uniting with the other colonies, the editors of *The Sun* and the *Citizen* were not so certain. Soon after the public Confederation meetings occurred in Nova Scotia, the editor of *The Sun and Advertizer* posited:

> …the ambitious young men want a large field – a wider scope for their talents; although every British colony with even the mother country is open to them. They want a new nationality created to satisfy their ambition, do they? All very well, but we have a shrewd suspicion that it is more the ambitious middle-aged man, than the young man, who want a boundless territory to rule over – a large field for taxation, that they may, with power, enjoy wealth and luxury.[410]

The editor of the *Citizen* felt similarly suspicious of this justification for Confederation. Instead, he argued, the legislative representatives who had negotiated this deal, ostensibly on behalf of Nova Scotians, truthfully did so out of self-interest. As he put it,

> It may be all very fine for some of our public men to try and push their fortunes by pushing on this scheme. But [this] project…will hardly commend itself to the public because it is likely to give room for the rise of a few ambitious individuals, who feel our legislature too small for their capacity, and its rewards too trifling for their acceptance; who feel anxious to strut in embroidered court suits, plush breeches, silk stockings, and bagwigs before a Vice Roy at Ottawa, and enjoy fat salaries, far away from the Provinces whose best interests are to be shamefully voted away in return for a fortnight's feasting and a few private promises.[411]

[410] "The Confederation Story." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 27, 1865.
[411] Editorial (main column). *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 24, 1864.

For these two anti-Confederation newspapers, the politicians involved with negotiating Confederation had too much at stake for their own gain and could not be trusted to do what was best for the Province as a whole. While Nova Scotia might, perhaps, benefit from Confederation by no longer losing its young people to the attractions of the States, it was certain that these politicians would benefit by their enhanced position in the new federal government. Just as immigration schemes were laden with political calculations for colonial Nova Scotia, so too was the case for populating the nation that was yet to form.

Another article, published later in 1865, questioned the promise that Confederation offered to Nova Scotia, both in keeping at home those young people who were amenable to outmigration, and by helping to attract more immigration. In it, the author wrote, somewhat dejectedly:

> …we should not forget nor overlook the efflux of capital still more valuable. Year after year there has been, and there still goes on, a steady migration from our midst of the young men of the country – skilled mechanics, laborers, men of all classes and occupations – the very elements of our prosperity, for whose loss we never received the slightest compensation. It needs no profundity of wisdom to divine the cause of this Exodus. It is the want here of adequate remuneration of Labor.[412]

Rather than the youth of Nova Scotia lacking any scope from their Province, the author pointed squarely to the poor compensation that Nova Scotians were receiving for labour as the cause for Nova Scotian migration to the United States, which gave "twice the wages offered [here]."[413] This was plainly evident, the author argued: the young men of Nova Scotia cared little about the political schemes of the day but went to whatever place

[412] "Lost Capital." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 16, 1865.
[413] Ibid.

offered the best quality of life and creature comfort. The result was the decrease of labour and "depletion of a population already far too sparse and few".[414] Yet, at the same time, the reading public decried the want of new migrants. This commentator noted:

> We complain that Nova Scotia is not known, and to that fact alone we ascribe the paucity of immigrants to our shores. At great expense we send to England and Ireland specimens of our minerals and of our Harvests, in order to make known to the world our resources and our climate; but the world does not heed our advertisement. We strive to dazzle the eyes of the intending emigrant from the mother country with bars of gold – but we tell it not in Gath[415] that our own youth abandon us in large numbers, not to seek brilliant fortunes, but to find just reward for their labour.[416]

Indeed, for this writer, there was a deep irony and harmful contradiction in promoting the need for immigrants and attempting to attract them while simultaneously doing nothing to retain Nova Scotia's youth. In the future, he hoped, the "capital of flesh and blood will be applied at home", with young people being properly remunerated for their work.[417]

Evidently, the emigration of British North Americans was already a concern. At the end of 1864, the Hon. A. G. Archibald had asked "[l]et peace come, and where will the emigration flow?"[418] He assumed that peace following the Civil War. would come after the union of the British colonies, and he hoped that emigration would flow towards the new Confederated nation, rather than continuing to go to the States. By 1865, however, at the close of the American Civil War, the emigration to the United States was

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[414] Ibid.
[415] Here, "Gath" refers to the Biblical city of Gath, described in the Books of Joshua and Samuel, located in modern day Israel. The phrase "tell it not in Gath" is said by King David about the deaths of King Saul and King Jonathan – he wishes the news not to be discussed so that the enemies of the dead will not rejoice publicly (2 Samuel 1:20, King James Version). Proverbially, the phrase is meant to indicate that the speaker wishes to discourage the discussion of a shameful or difficult topic.
[416] Ibid.
[417] Ibid.
[418] "The Confederation Meeting." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 13, 1864: "Under these circumstances, is Canada to go on increasing only in the same rate as when she received but the dribbles of this tide of emigration; and can any reasonable man and say that the tide shall not be changed from its former course?"

said to be "alarmingly prevalent."[419] Whole "families emigrate[d] by ten or a dozen at a time", gathering their belongings and leaving for the States, causing the depopulation of towns and even districts.[420] These people were, ostensibly, hoping to find "greater prosperity and social freedom" in the United States.[421] As one article lamented:

> The truth is, Canada is no longer what it was before the commencement of the war now terminated. The markets for the products of the British provinces is, in large measure, closed up, and the business in all branches is exceedingly depressed, compared with former years. The Canadian people have become less hopeful in regard to the project of Confederation, the inter-colonial railway, colonization of the Hudson Bay territory, and other schemes, designed to give new impetus to the general prosperity.[422]

While the Confederation scheme was intended to reenergize the colonies of British North America, providing them with the excitement and vitality brought about by a new nation-building project, it seemed that some Canadians themselves found it hard to concur. Since the United States had settled its differences, it seemed a more "inviting" place to be, where all newcomers might thrive.[423]

At least some publishers in Nova Scotia wanted to resist giving any sympathy to those who chose to emigrate out of British North America. Referring to this "deplorable immigration",[424] the *Citizen* and *The Sun* agreed that those who migrated were making a mistake. As one article, originally printed in the *Montreal Transcript*, described it,

> Believing that because the war is over, the Republic is about to re-enter upon its career of prosperity, thousands of our people have gone over in the hope of improving their condition, and many more are doubtless preparing to follow. Most of these people will be sadly disappointed. A person in Montreal a few days

[419] "Provincial News." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), May 16, 1865; "American Affairs." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jun. 14, 1865.
[420] "Provincial News." *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 4, 1865; "Confederation." Reprinted from the *Courier de St. Hyacinthe*. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 7, 1865.
[421] "A Manifesto of French Canadian Liberals." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 31, 1865.
[422] "Confederation." Reprinted from the *Courier de St. Hyacinthe*. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 7, 1865.
[423] Ibid.
[424] Ibid.

> since received a letter from a relative in New York representing the prospects in the States as exceedingly gloomy, and strongly advising the friends of the writer to remain in Canada, as labour of all kinds was superabundant in the States, and employment of any description hardly to be obtained. Thousands of able-bodied men, mostly discharged soldiers and foreign emigrants – walk idly about the streets of the American cities and towns, and poverty and want prevail everywhere.[425]

Printing articles that articulated the disappointment of migrants who had gone ahead to the United States was one way of dissuading those Nova Scotians who might be considering it. By the end of July 1865, it seemed that the "alarming" level of emigration from the colonies was slowing. As an article reprinted from the St. John *News* put it: "[h]undreds are returning from the states disappointed and hundreds more will soon be on their way back to their Canadian homes. These people will make better citizens and be more content with their own country in the future."[426] By promoting the failure of those who had tried to emigrate to the United States, the regional press reinforced that outmigration from the British colonies was not a guarantee of greater prosperity or happiness; instead, such a decision brought with it a significant degree of risk and could result in increased financial strain. Still, the editor of the St. John *News* evidently hoped that such experiences would commit the citizens of British North America more deeply to life in the colonies and help them to better appreciate its benefits.

[425] "Provincial News: The Prospects of the Canadian Emigrants." Reprinted from the *Montreal Transcript*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jun. 3, 1865.
[426] "Provincial News: The Ebbing Tide." Reprinted from the St. John *News*. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 25, 1865.

Conclusion: The "Azure Nose"

This chapter ends where my thesis began: just after the Quebec Conference, back at those meetings in the Temperance Hall, with Nova Scotians questioning the fortitude of the Bluenose identity in the midst of confederating the colonies. The end of this period of pre-Confederation immigration was filled with difficulty: the colonial immigration scheme was not seeing much success, as emigrants passed Nova Scotia's shores in favour of the United States. Irish emigrants seemed like a natural fit for the colony, being British subjects; however, Nova Scotians' own loyalty to (a united) Britain made it hard for them to comprehend that the Irish sought relief from the oppression they faced under English rule. The lack of success Nova Scotia found with acquiring immigrants smarted even more as other prospective emigrants from Europe found themselves recruited as soldiers for the Federal Army – whether willingly, or coerced. Confederation, the Canadian representatives and Nova Scotian proponents told them, would facilitate immigration, and enable Nova Scotia to increase its population. However, this option too created great anxiety among the public, which was immediately used as fodder for the anti-Confederation movement. In their view, Confederation would result only in the movement of the existing colonial population Westward, or worse, encourage outmigration to the United States. Nova Scotians were caught between conflicting desires and held firm by these increasing political tensions.

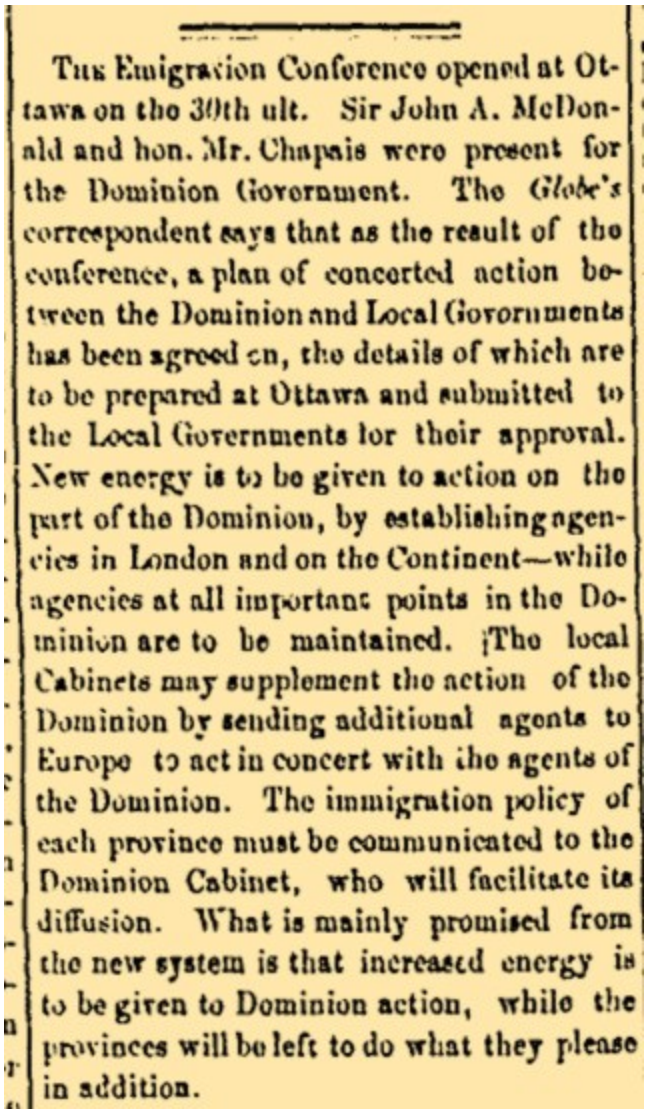
Both *The Sun* and the *Halifax Citizen* used these tensions and the unease of the public to further the anti-Confederation agenda. To enter a union of the colonies with Canada, they said, was tantamount to giving up the freedoms of Nova Scotians and submitting them to foreign rule, since the principle of representation by population would

ensure that they could never out-vote the Canadas in the new central parliament. Outmigration would mean a diminishing of Nova Scotia, both physically in terms of its population, and symbolically in terms of its identity. As the editor of *The Sun* wrote in an editorial at the end of 1865, "[a] young or sparsely settled country may gain strength by the infusion of foreign strength, but it must keep within its bosom its own offspring, the heart's blood of its vitality."[427] To lose the youth of Nova Scotia through emigration was a dire thing, akin to allowing the colony to die off – politicians ought to be most concerned with "keep[ing] at home the hope, pride, and strength of our Province."[428] The author continued to appeal to the public's sense of homeland and belonging, saying:

> What would it be to Nova Scotia, or any other land, if her fields were tilled, her forests felled, her mines explored, her ships built, her trade transacted, and shove all, her papers published by foreign hands, if her own true born sons were not present to preserve her individuality intact? Nothing. We might be Germans, or we might be French or Fenians, but the distinguishing of the Azure nose would be no longer distinguishable.[429]

This, it seemed, was what the Confederation debate might come down to: the "Azure nose".[430] While immigration was important, even crucial, in the face of a newly formed nation-state, A. J. Ritchie, editor of *The Sun*, implored Bluenosers everywhere to consider the importance of a colonial identity – one which might be made extinct by the drain of Nova Scotia's population away to the Canadas or the United States.

[427] "Emigration and Immigration." *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Dec. 11, 1865.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid.



THE EMIGRATION CONFERENCE opened at Ottawa on the 30th ult. Sir John A. McDonald and hon. Mr. Chapais were present for the Dominion Government. The *Globe's* correspondent says that as the result of the conference, a plan of concerted action between the Dominion and Local Governments has been agreed on, the details of which are to be prepared at Ottawa and submitted to the Local Governments for their approval. New energy is to be given to action on the part of the Dominion, by establishing agencies in London and on the Continent—while agencies at all important points in the Dominion are to be maintained. The local Cabinets may supplement the action of the Dominion by sending additional agents to Europe to act in concert with the agents of the Dominion. The immigration policy of each province must be communicated to the Dominion Cabinet, who will facilitate its diffusion. What is mainly promised from the new system is that increased energy is to be given to Dominion action, while the provinces will be left to do what they please in addition.

Figure 4.4: Sorting out immigration policies between the federal and provincial governments after Confederation proved to be no easy task. In 1868, the federal government held an "Emigration Conference" to coordinate and plan the strategy for immigrant recruitment. *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 7th, 1868.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Immigration, Colonization, and Colonial Union

By 1862, the days of mass migration waves to British North America were effectively over. With 800,000 people living in the Atlantic region in 1861, about 80% of whom had been born there, the population started to stabilize as colonial society matured.[431] By the time the Office of Immigration opened in Nova Scotia in 1863, the colony was seeking to recapture the prosperity of what was essentially a bygone era, at least in the Maritimes. The Dominion of Canada would later see the arrival of new waves of population: Chinese workers, struggling under the "head tax" and the thumb of the bureaucratic racism which reflected that of the larger society, would arrive to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, a Western extension of the Intercolonial Railway.[432] Mennonites, Icelanders, Russian Jews, and Hungarians would flee persecution and environmental disasters to farm on the prairies, soon to become the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.[433] New developments in farming practices and technology, making it more profitable, and the decline of the United States as a focus for settlement would "at last [make Canada] a preferred destination for immigrants."[434] The early Dominion governments would pursue aggressive policies of expansion, but they would focus almost exclusively on settling Canada's newly-purchased West. The Canadian immigration story would continue, but much of it would continue to pass by Nova Scotia.

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[431] Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History*, 117.
[432] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 71-74.
[433] Ibid, 75-79.
[434] Ibid, 83.

This thesis has examined, in detail, the treatment and perception of immigration as a topic of discussion in the public sphere. As my research demonstrates, the public discourse in pre-Confederation Nova Scotia was deeply concerned by the government's lack of initiative when it came to recruiting and retaining immigrants, and public attitude eventually compelled the government to establish the Office of Immigration. By evaluating 581 articles from the *Halifax Morning Sun* (later renamed *The Sun and Advertizer*) and the *Halifax Citizen*, I show the factors that were involved in promoting immigration to the colony of Nova Scotia, and eventually the opening of that Office, as well as the public's response to the immigration program. As the evidence I provide demonstrates, the Nova Scotian reading public deeply desired immigration but felt immense conflicting anxiety over both its future impacts, and potential lack thereof.

The first chapter of this thesis lays the groundwork by providing an overview of immigration as it occurred in the colony of Nova Scotia in the years prior to 1862. Unlike in the latter half of the 19th century, from the 1750s onward Nova Scotia's population was enhanced by wave after wave of settlement, from the New England Planters through to the Irish Famine refugees. While there are few critical analyses that discuss Atlantic immigration in the 19th century as a whole, I note the agreement of several scholars that, prior to the 1860s, colonial settlement in Nova Scotia was slow, tenuous, and generally undirected. I also discuss the basis for my own understanding of immigration historiography, particularly Franca Iacovetta's discussion of its siloing from other aspects of Canadian history, and her direction to better integrate the field and complexify our explorations of immigrant pasts so they may be represented more fully and accurately. Another area of agreement for the immigration historians I discuss, including Iacovetta, is

that the project of immigration is based on the colonization, violent expropriation, and occupation of Indigenous lands by governments and their settlers. It is integral for historians of immigration to keep this in mind as they work to illuminate more stories of the immigrants who have settled here.

Chapter 1 also traces the historiography around the Confederation debates in Canada. As I demonstrated, many scholars, such as Janet Ajzenstat and Ian McKay, maintain a consensus about the importance of political ideology – particularly the centrality of liberalism – to the foundation of the nation-state. Like Jerry Bannister, I attempt to work between this position and the more heavily materialist one of scholars who label settler-colonialism as the primary motivating factor for Confederation, taking his lead when he argues that these factors, in addition to the more slippery notion of "sentiment", are joined and synthetic, rather than providing a singular explanatory framework. I end the first chapter by examining some of the relevant literature about Canadian print culture and the formation of the 'bourgeois public sphere', relying heavily on Michael Eamon's work to examine the formation of a 'colonial print community' in Nova Scotia during the latter half of the 18th century. It is his understanding of the literary public that I engage with in this thesis.

The research chapters which follow this lay out my argument that the Confederation debates were convergent and, at times, confluent with the public discourse regarding the population and settlement of the colony of Nova Scotia. Chapter 2 picks up with an evaluation of the immediate factors which led, in part, to the government of Nova Scotia's decision to construct the Office of Immigration: while the American Civil War began in 1861, leading to fears of American invasion, Britain considered the gradual

withdrawal of its support from its British North American colonies. In response, Nova Scotia embarked upon a somewhat haphazard and minimal plan to solidify its geopolitical position by increasing its population, with the goal of becoming a more substantial colony and exercising its loyalties by attracting in more British settlers. Nova Scotia attempted other efforts at promoting the colony, such as printing literature which would portray it well to prospective immigrants and showcasing its resources and material goods at the 1862 World's Fair; however, these were not particularly successful. Eventually, under public pressure, it created the Office of Immigration, which it expected to help develop and solidify the colony as a political regime and assert governmental competence.

In chapter 3, I elaborate on the public discourse around the desirability of immigrants as generators of wealth and economic activity, and the complexities that arose around their selection: importantly, Nova Scotians wanted immigrants, but they also wanted them to be "of the right sort." This selectivity generally had to do with labour market capacity, the ease of integrating newcomers into the economy, and preventing immigration which would be a "drain" – in other words, excluding "pauper" immigration. This demonstrates one of the internal conflicts that existed within the dynamic of colonial immigrant desirability: while this was a period of high mobility for people leaving Europe, many of them were "paupers", and did not have the qualities and skills desired by the Nova Scotian public. I close this chapter by discussing the tenure of H. G. Pineo Sr. as the Emigrant Agent. As the agent, he was largely considered incompetent, and was assumed to have been awarded the role as a patronage appointment. As such, the official program of immigration was largely ineffective, even after the government took the step

towards administrating it. Importantly, however, the insights we can glean from the public discussion around immigration reveal the embeddedness of a liberal ideology during this period.

Chapter 4, the final research chapter of my thesis, deals with the other factors at play which hampered efforts to increase immigration in Nova Scotia. Returning to themes from the previous chapter, I provide a discussion of migratory flows. Notably, emigration from Britain was high, but it was primarily impoverished Irish migrants who were directing their course to the United States, which was more attractive and welcoming for a number of reasons. At the same time, the American Civil War negatively impacted Nova Scotia's efforts to attract immigrants, as recruiters were routinely making trips to Europe and collecting (often coercively) soldiers for the Federal Army, despite it being illegal for foreign citizens to engage in the War. Importantly, the Canadian delegates to the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences used Nova Scotia's demographic struggles as a pressure point for urging Confederation, attempting to convince them that one merit of the arrangement was that it would help to increase the population. However, Nova Scotians once again vacillated about the real benefits of the scheme, fearing that Confederation would draw their population away as much as help it to multiply.

To conclude, the argument I present in this thesis is that the debates surrounding Confederation in Nova Scotia, prior to its occurrence, were as much about colonization and demography as they were about political philosophy and state-making. By understanding the formation of the Canadian nation-state in this way, we can see that that process was not only political, but pragmatic: for colonists, it was essential to shore up

the population in order to assert control, authority, and ultimately sovereignty over the territory of Nova Scotia. It may seem trite to say, but physically occupying space in the colony with settlers was critical to colonization, and the Province increased settlement by enticing more immigration. While the colony was one of the oldest and most established in British North America, with a responsible government, it faced numerous existential threats: not only did the United States menace it with the possibility of invasion, and Britain propose to sever it from the Empire, but it still faced the reality of its own geographic remoteness from the other colonies and the ever-present need to assert its own legitimacy and dominion over what had been Indigenous space. The state of Nova Scotia was, arguably, forced to maintain a defensive posture, essentially from the time of its creation as a British colony. Beyond this, Nova Scotia's political leaders desired for the colony to attain a place of prominence in the British Empire, making its mark as a centre of importance in a world growing rapidly larger.

In looking back, many of the concerns Nova Scotians posed about Confederation turned out to have some legitimacy – everything is clearer in hindsight. By any estimation, the principle of representation by population in the House of Commons has been most beneficial to Ontario and Quebec, ensuring that the concerns of central Canada are addressed more readily than those of the Atlantic provinces. The immigration flows of the 20th and 21st centuries have worsened the problem and created greater population (and representational) disparity between the regions of Canada. This is especially the case as, statistically speaking, Toronto accepts the largest number of immigrants to Canada by

a wide margin (35% of the overall total in 2019).[435] The Atlantic provinces are, by virtue of simple mathematics, relegated to relative obscurity when it comes to the power of voting as a bloc on regional matters. As one article from the *Citizen* speculated, "in narrow Nova Scotia, representation by population will soon reach its limit, and leave us far in the wake of the gigantic Canadas… it is simply national suicide to accept it."[436] While perhaps overly dramatic – polemical, even – there is no denying that the arguments surrounding Confederation were partially based on present and future demographic inequities. Interestingly, the Atlantic provinces are now growing with the tentative success of the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program, which has been underway for the past three years.[437] The demographic realities that have occurred since Confederation have resulted in unequal standards of representation for citizens across the country; however, whether these differences will ever be remedied remains a question for the future.

[435] Statistics Canada, *Focus on Geography Series*, 2016 Census, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-404-X2016001 (Ottawa, ON, 2017); Kareem El-Assal, "Which cities in Canada attract the most immigrants?", *CIC News*, Feb. 21, 2020.
[436] Editorial Concerning Confederation. *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Nov. 22, 1864.
[437] Xu, Lu, "First overview on Atlantic Immigration Pilot: We can be cautiously optimistic, expert says", *The Chronicle Herald* (Halifax, NS), Feb. 10, 2021, accessed Feb. 24, 2021, https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/news/provincial/first-overview-on-atlantic-immigration-pilot-we-can-be-cautiously-optimistic-expert-says-550989/.

Figure 5.1: "Your Majesty, before this pretty lass, Nova Scotia, was stricken with a speech impediment, she delegated authority to me to say 'I do' on her behalf at this wedding!" Recent commentaries continue to question the legitimacy of the terms by which Nova Scotia was brought into Confederation. Dawson, *The Halifax Herald* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 7, 1976.

The salience of this research, in part, also lies in the comparative power that this work gives us to evaluate how much the conversation regarding immigration issues has changed in Nova Scotia since the time of Confederation. From my perspective, our immigration discourse maintains some significant continuities: much like those expressions of immigrant desirability from the past, discussed primarily in Chapter 3 of my thesis, immigrant desirability in Canada today is demonstrably linked to labour market criteria. Prospective migrants are not only evaluated based on age, health, and language abilities, but they are often required to prove that they have a certain amount of capital to bring with them, have an active offer for a full-time, permanent job, meet minimum education level requirements, and have a certain number of years of relevant

work experience (dependent on the stream of entry that they apply for).[438] Importantly, these evaluation criteria are based primarily on the ability of a prospective migrant to participate easily and have immediate access to the Canadian economy. As Ian McKay argues, the liberal order framework determines the ongoing function and actions of the Canadian state, an arguably, it is at work in the Canadian immigration system, both past and present, which has evaluated immigrant fitness principally based on their ability to compete in the labour market, own private property, and exercise their economic agency.

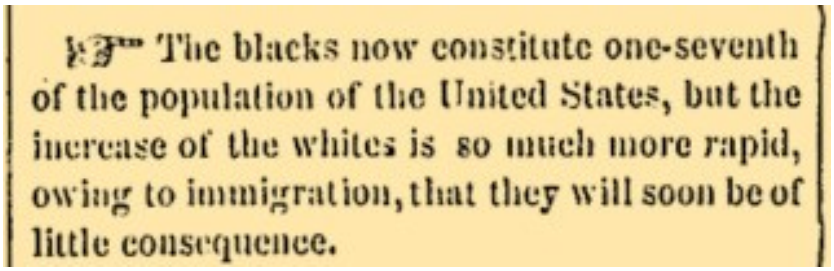
The blacks now constitute one-seventh of the population of the United States, but the increase of the whites is so much more rapid, owing to immigration, that they will soon be of little consequence.

Figure 5.2: Racial distribution among the population was a concern for the British North American colonies, especially after the American Civil War ended. Overwhelming the population of formerly enslaved Black people via demography was one motivating factor for open-door immigration policies in North America. Clearly, this was a racist approach intended to marginalize the Black population further. Source: *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Oct. 28th, 1868.

Although it was not said explicitly in print at the time of Confederation, for Nova Scotians, immigration "of the right sort" was exclusive to white people. Evidence from *The Sun* and the *Citizen* shows that the public was concerned about the population numbers, welfare, and mobility of formerly enslaved people after the Civil War ended,

[438] The Province of Nova Scotia, "Immigrate Here," Official immigration website of the Government of Nova Scotia, accessed February 24, 2021, https://novascotiaimmigration.com/move-here/.

and particularly, the series of editorials printed at the time evinced apprehension regarding "Negro suffrage".[439] That author noted the objections of Americans:

> Even many men of the north who have gone Heart and Hand with the government to quell the Rebellion, have objections to the suffrage of the Negro. They think it is enough for him that the chains of slavery are taken off, so that he may go and come where and when he pleases, and that compelled servitude is no longer laid upon him. Doubtless this is great work; but it is no more than his right, nor all his right. "But," says one, "would you make the n----r as good as the white man?"[440]

While this contributor to *The Sun* did not go so far as to agree with those he described, he seemed to think the premise of racial equity was a question worth discussing. As Raska points out, the process of immigrant selection is highly political, and always has been. While we no longer explicitly bar people of certain races, ethnicities, religions, or countries of origin in Canada, and have not since Order-in-Council P.C. 1967-1616, the regulation which introduced the "points system", was passed, ethno-racial and nationality-based discrimination was legal and normal for a century.[441] Though overt racism is no longer acceptable within the immigration system, this is not immune to change: this was demonstrated recently when former President Trump issued Executive Order 31769, which prevented people from the Middle Eastern nations of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen from entering and immigrating to the United States.[442] Ostensibly done to enhance American security, many have argued persuasively that these changes to the immigration system were racially and religiously motivated.[443]

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[439] For example, "The Continental Magazine", *Halifax Morning Sun* (Halifax, NS), May 5, 1862; "Latest From the States", *Halifax Citizen* (Halifax, NS), Jun. 13, 1865; "Negro Suffrage No. 3", *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 31, 1865.
[440] "Negro Suffrage No. 3", *The Sun and Advertizer* (Halifax, NS), Jul. 31, 1865.
[441] Jan Raska, "Who is Adissable?", 2015.
[442] Executive Office of the President, *Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States*, the White House, Executive Order 13769. Washington, D.C.: The Federal Register, Jan. 27, 2017.
[443] Jamelle Bouie, "The Racism at the Heart of Trump's 'Travel Ban'", *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), Feb. 4, 2020, accessed on Feb. 24, 2021.

Seemingly progressive Western liberal democracies have made racist immigration decisions, and continue to do so in the present, despite working within a supposedly egalitarian and meritocratic political model.

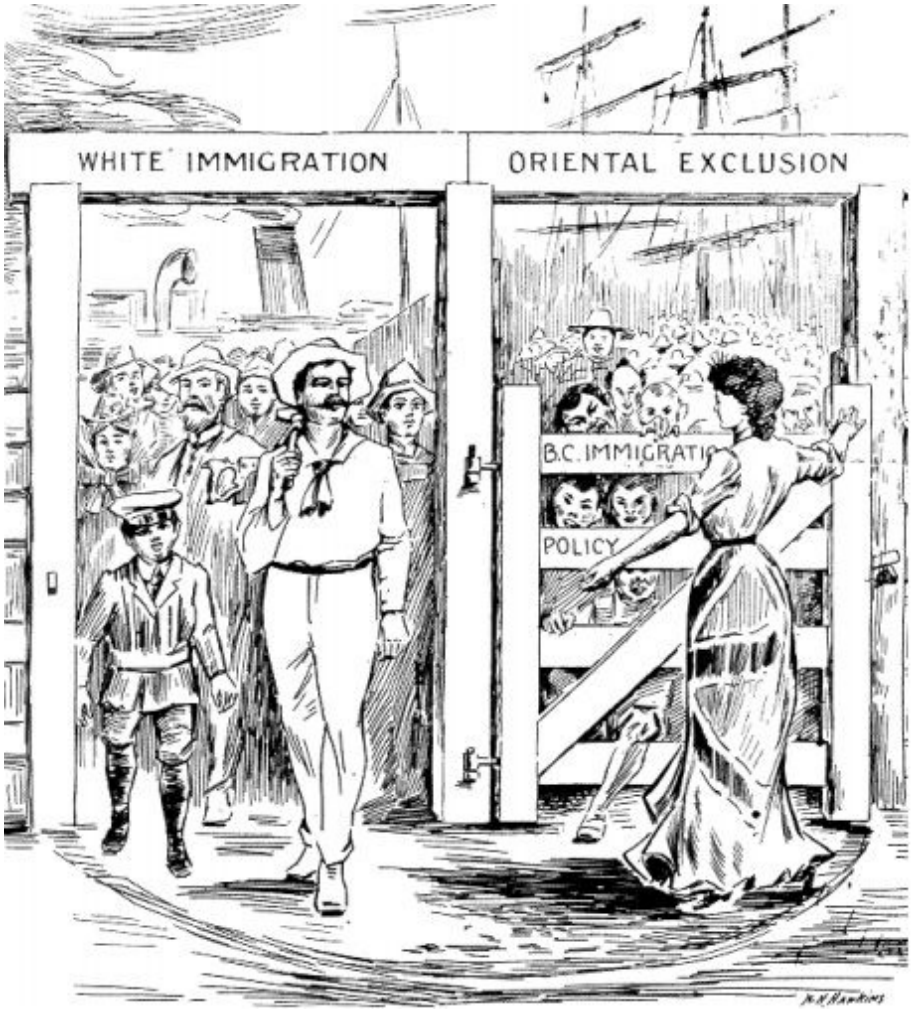

Figure 5.3: Caption reads, "The same act which Excludes Orientals should open wide the portals of British Columbia to White Immigrations." Immigration in Canada was explicitly based on race from the origins of the *Immigration Act* (1869). The *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1885 implemented the infamous head tax on Chinese immigrants. This 1907 illustration was published following revisions to the *Act* in 1906, which established new prohibited categories of immigrants. Source: N. H. Hawkins, *Saturday Sunset* (Vancouver, B. C.), 1907. Accessed via the Simon Fraser University Library Digitized Newspapers database.

I am abundantly aware that my research is at risk of falling into that category of work which, as Iacovetta describes, mythologizes immigration as central to Canadian "nation-building".[444] However, what I have attempted to do in this thesis will, I hope, contribute to an understanding of how complex, politicized, and contested the immigration program was in pre-Confederation Nova Scotia. As Iacovetta writes, immigration history is Canadian history. In my view, this makes it critical to understand how immigration was taking place at the time of the formation of the nation-state. The project of Confederation required a discussion of population – and therefore, of immigration – because it was a colonial project that raised the question of sovereignty and the legitimacy of a new state. While this work provides no insight into the lives of the immigrants who arrived here, it does provide some insight into how Nova Scotia as a receiving society perceived and interacted with immigration. There are limited sources that remain which can tell us about the immigration experience to Nova Scotia during the 1860s; however, what we do have is information about how immigration was treated as a subject of debate in print, which gives some idea of how it was dealt with in the public sphere to a larger degree.

In this thesis, I have attempted to excavate stories and ideas that were prevalent at the time when the nation-state of Canada was forming, in order to expose some of the machinations of colonization through government settlement projects. While political historians have addressed the ideologies which informed and inspired Confederation, and Indigenous scholars and others have exposed the practical realities of colonization through settlement, the story has remained incomplete. To understand Confederation as a

[444] Franca Iacovetta, "The writing of English Canadian immigrant history", *Canada's Ethnic Group Series*, Booklet 22, (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 2.

settler-colonial project, we must understand how the settlement process worked, and who was being invited in to settle. Who were the people who were to become Canadians? How did colonial settlement programs attract immigrants? How did settling Nova Scotia impact the governments' decision making when it came to confederating the colony? In providing some initial analysis and response to these questions, I hope I have unearthed and brought to light something more of the process of colonization.

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