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Public Celebrations in
Victorian Saint John and Halifax

by

Bonnie L. Huskins

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August, 1991

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Public celebrations are useful arenas in which to study changing social relationships in nineteenth-century urban society. In Saint John and Halifax, early Victorian celebrations encouraged the participation of the lower orders in ox roasts and folk sports. By mid-century, however, these activities had begun to decline, in response to the pressures of urbanization, class development, and urban reformism. Urbanization fragmented the communal atmosphere of early Victorian displays, while class differentiation created a desire among the emerging middle class to maintain social distance through exclusive and "respectable" celebration activities. Urban reformers attempted to create the "respectable celebration" by eradicating the objectionable aspects of "traditional" celebrations—drunkenness, rowdiness, and animal sports—and by providing instead more discerning and instructive alternatives. By the late nineteenth century, the emphasis of public celebrations had shifted from physical to aesthetic gratification, as celebrations were transformed from participant to spectator events. Nonetheless, celebrants adapted to these changes by informally participating in the spectacles, and by taking advantage of the alternatives created by commercialization.

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<tr>
<td>Colls.</td>
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<td>NAC</td>
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<td>Natural History Society</td>
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<td>NBHS</td>
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<td>PANS</td>
<td>Public Archives of Nova Scotia</td>
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<td>SPC</td>
<td>Society for the Prevention of Cruelty</td>
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<td>SPCA</td>
<td>Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals</td>
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<td>SJRL</td>
<td>Saint John Regional Library</td>
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<td>Young Men's Christian Association</td>
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I would like to thank Judith Fingard for her untiring encouragement and supervision. David Sutherland has also provided many helpful suggestions, as have members of the Halifax History Group, and the Dalhousie History Department faculty-graduate seminar. The staff at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the National Archives of Canada, the New Brunswick Museum, and the Saint John Regional Library have been very patient and supportive. I would not have been able to reproduce the thesis without the cheerful assistance of Tina Jones. Finally, I wish to thank Darryl for enduring my trials and tribulations, and for keeping me sane.
INTRODUCTION

The celebration is a symbolic act which marks a special occasion, event, or personage, and may encompass such activities as "festivals, rituals, ceremonies, spectacles, pageants, fêtes, holidays, extravaganzas, and partakers of all these elements".1 Some celebrations are spontaneously-generated, but most "cultural performances" have a "pre-existing script" which separates them from normal "action". As Milton Singer has succinctly put it, there can be no performance without "pre-formance".2 The prominent anthropologist, Victor Turner, has also argued that celebrations are generally connected with "expectable, culturally shared events", such as individual and social rites de passage, work cycles, seasonal observances, religious rites, and commemorations of the community. The celebration can therefore be located within an individual's life-cycle, the family, the neighborhood, the village, the city, or the nation.3

The celebrations discussed in this thesis took place


3 Turner "Introduction", p. 12.
within the nineteenth-century urban context of Halifax and Saint John, and commemorated shared community events, notably royal, national, and local anniversaries. The analysis begins in 1838 with the celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation, and ends with the monarch's diamond jubilee in 1897. In the intervening years, Saint John and Halifax also celebrated other royal occasions—the Queen's marriage in 1840, the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1860, Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, and the visits of the Prince of Wales in 1860, and of Lord Lorne and Princess Louise in 1878. Local and national milestones included the cities' centenary anniversaries, and the celebration of Confederation in 1867. In addition, a regular array of local, national, and royal anniversaries occurred annually.

Nineteenth-century commemorative celebrations are particularly interesting for the discrepancies which frequently arose between rhetoric and reality. Contemporaries argued that by bringing people together, commemorative celebrations forged a consensus which transcended all social and political boundaries. During the visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax in 1860, a resident commented:

Tho' political feelings run awfully high!  
Tho' each party for power good-natur'dly try!  
Yet amidst other flags that surmounted the spruce,  
Was the best of them all—the glad ensign of truce,  
Which caus'd us to throw ev'ry discord aside,  
And go heart and soul with the popular tide.
Then hip! hip! hurrah for both mother and son, Nova Scotians rejoice, we'll not be outdone, Here's a health to the Prince, double health to the Queen, Let us banish all squabbles, and live—"quite serene!"

Functional theorists have adopted this imagery at face value. French sociologist, G.S. Metraux has argued that:

Traditional feasts and festivals recall the origins—whether mythical or historical—of a community of men. They are occasions when cultural and national identity can be reasserted and feelings of self-awareness and participation in common experiences reaffirmed.

This analysis is applied not only to "traditional" festivities, but also to modern celebrations. The most well-known functional analysis of a royal ceremonial celebration is Edward Shils' and Michael Young's study of Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation in 1953. Drawing on the theories of Émile Durkheim, these two English sociologists interpreted the ceremony as a collective reaffirmation and perpetuation of "sacred" values embodied in the monarchy, such as charity, loyalty, and a "reasonable respect" for

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4 Lines picked up under one of the Triumphal Arches in Granville Street, being dedicated without permission, to the Mayor and Corporation, by a devoted admirer of the Prince of Wales—Evening Express August 15, 1860. For other references to the ultimate harmony of the celebration, see Evening Express August 8, 1860; Morning Journal August 6, 1860; Acadian Recorder September 8, 1860.

5 G.S. Metraux "Of Feasts and Carnivals", Cultures, Vol. 3, no. 1, 1976, p. 7. Similarly, Jean Duvignaud "Festivals: A Sociological Approach", Cultures, Vol. 3, no. 1, 1976, p. 21 argues that commemorative celebrations "serve to dramatize a founding act in order to reanimate the spiritual life of the community by recalling its basic covenant or the sacrifice of a leader".
authority, which they believed held British society together. Episodes of excess and behavioral license are understood within the functional perspective as temporary safety-valves to let off steam, and thereby preserve and strengthen the status quo.

The functionalist perspective is not without merit, for some nineteenth-century commemorative celebrations did generate a degree of consensus. However, this emphasis on concord does not take into account the complexity of celebrations or of the nature of the modern social order. Revisionists of the last two decades have depicted modern celebrations as dialectical and dynamic processes, operating in a complex and conflict-ridden society. In their study of Victorian festivities, Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine emphasize the dialectical nature of the celebration, as an event which embodies the "tensions


and conflicts" as well as the "links and shared assumptions of...society". Frank A. Manning identifies a "radical contrast within celebration" between the "ritual mode" of celebration, which replicates and upholds the social order, and the "play mode", which reverses and inverts "ordinary reality". According to Victor Turner, the celebration is a manifestation of symbolic pluralism: it can be "multivocal", speaking in "many ways at once"; "multivalent", having "various meanings or values"; and "polysemous", having or being "open to several or many meanings".

The celebration can also be understood both as an "interpretative" statement about the social order, and as an "instrumental" arena for the mobilization of social and personal objectives. Steven Lukes, a political scientist, assigns an instrumental role to celebrations as "symbolic strategies used by different groups under specifiable structural conditions to defend and attain power vis-à-vis other groups", by "draw[ing] people's attention and


10 Turner "Introduction", p. 16.
invoking their loyalties towards a certain powerfully evoked representation of the social and political order". Similarly, Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff argue that celebrations not only "mirror existing arrangements and existing modes of thought", but "can act to reorganize them and even help to create them". Roberto DeMatta merges these various perspectives by pointing out that the celebration "does not have to be coherent or functional, and can contain elements which are competitive or concurrent, which express different ways of seeing, interpreting, and realizing social structure".

While social scientists continue to ferret out the complexities of contemporary celebrations, and the festivals and rituals of other cultures, historians have been relatively silent about such occasions. The dearth of historical studies is certainly not a reflection of a poor resource base. Indeed, in 1897, the Acadian


13 Roberto DeMatta "Constraint and License: A Preliminary Study of Two Brazilian National Rituals", in Manning The Celebration of Society, p. 254.

14 See the two relatively recent collections of essays edited by Manning The Celebration of Society, and Turner Celebration.
Recorder commented that a "full account" of the diamond jubilee would be "work" for the "future historian", for there were ample materials for his pen". It may be that the "prominence" of public festivities has not been "sufficiently recondite" to "suit the tastes" of many historians, or that the "popular dimension" of celebrations has led to accusations of triviality. But probably the greatest disincentive for historians has been the fragmentary and dispersed nature of the rich documentation. Indeed, the evidence for this thesis is culled from a variety of discrete sources, including newspapers, pamphlets, programs, government documents, institutional records, correspondence, and diaries.

Most of the historical literature that has been published on celebrations focusses on early modern Europe and pre-Victorian England. Indeed, the genre of commemorative celebrations can be traced back to late sixteenth-century England, and the emergence of a national, secular, and dynastic calendar, based on the anniversaries of the Protestant monarch, and symbolic historical deliverances. This emphasis on the

15 Acadian Recorder June 26, 1897.


17 David Cressy Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England (Berkeley, 1989). Also see Natalie Zemon Davis
celebrations of early modern Europe reflects their prevalence and importance as part of the contemporary secular and religious calendar. The largely rural and communal celebrations of the early modern period became less frequent and probably more difficult to stage and to study, as the processes of urbanization and industrialization created a more complex and fragmented society, and the influences of evangelicalism and reformism dampened the vitality of popular amusements. Indeed, historical accounts of later Victorian celebrations are much more obscure. Jeffrey Lant has examined the mismanagement of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in London, while Thomas Richards has studied the commercial image of Queen Victoria as it emerged during the same celebration. The diamond jubilee has received attention from Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine,


18 Lant, Insubstantial Pageant.

who have analyzed its celebration in Cambridge. In a more general vein, Patrick Joyce has briefly touched on the role of late Victorian royal events in furthering town patriotism in northern England. There are a few analyses of national observances in the United States, particularly Independence Day and Memorial Day. In the Canadian context, the Quebec winter carnival of 1894 has been analyzed, and a master's thesis has been written on Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in Winnipeg.

These analyses of individual celebrations are important for detailed insights, but it is only by studying celebrations over time that one can understand the process and dynamics of celebration. Useful studies of the historical development of celebrations include David Hammerton and Cannadine's "Conflict and Consensus", pp. 111-46.


Cannadine's examination of changes in the meaning and performance of monarchical ritual in London between c.1820 and 1977,25 and William H. Cohn's discussion of the changing definitions of "appropriate ceremonial" for the July 4th celebrations in the United States.26 Insights into the evolving nature of celebrations can also be gleaned from studies on related topics. For example, Mary Ryan throws light on the changing experiences of a specific group of celebrants, by delving into the role of women in public celebrations in nineteenth-century American cities.27 Also, Peter Bailey's study of leisure in Victorian England,28 and Robert W. Malcolmson's analysis of popular recreations,29 provide a framework in which to place the nature and evolution of celebratory


26 Cohn "A National Celebration", pp. 141-54.


events. Susan G. Davis concentrates on the development of a particular mode of celebration in her study of processions in nineteenth-century Philadelphia.30

Celebrations of the early Victorian period largely resembled those of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their emphasis on bellringing, "health-drinking", feasting, illuminations, and bonfires.31 However, just as the Victorian middle class strove for more rational recreations,32 celebration organizers and reformers attempted to provide more respectable and appropriate public ceremonies and events, in honour of the venerated symbols of monarch and country. The definition and articulation of the respectable celebration, like the nature and meaning of respectability itself, was "not uniform throughout society but varied, indeed, conflicted, according to class situation and experience".33


31 Cressy Bonfires and Bells, p. xii; for similar celebratory events in the United States, see Cohn "A National Celebration", pp. 144-45.

32 Bailey Leisure and Class.

"Class situation" is defined both in terms of socioeconomic position and association. The latter criterion allows for a degree of elasticity and flexibility, which is necessary when discussing the transient and formative nature of class in the nineteenth century. The term "middle class" is used to refer to the prominent merchants and professionals in Saint John and Halifax, as well as members of the "governing elite"—military officers, imperial officials, and provincial administrators. These leading citizens frequently joined forces on celebration committees and in exclusive entertainments. The "lower middle class" is comprised of two main groups, the petty bourgeoisie of shopkeepers and small businessmen, and the new white collar salaried employees—clerks, managers, lesser professionals, and minor civil servants—all of whom shared a similar position of economic and social marginality to the established bourgeoisie. Members of the lower middle class often mixed with skilled tradesmen in celebrations and voluntary organizations, and are sometimes referred to collectively as the "middling strata". A grey area certainly existed between shopkeepers and master artisans who operated their own establishments, though a number of factors differentiated

161; Peter Bailey discusses respectability as a role—Peter Bailey, "`Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?' Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 12, no. 3, Spring 1979, pp. 336-53.
the artisans from white collar workers. White collar workers enjoyed the promise of some kind of salary scale, and more relative security than the artisan, whose income was related far more to vagaries of the trade cycle, local employment fluctuations, illness and injuries, and overtime. The former distinguished themselves from the latter by cultivating a status consciousness as salaried employees and non-manual workers. The individualism and family-centeredness of the lower middle-class lifestyle also generated an ideology of personal mobility, whereas the craft pride and collective support structure of the tradesmen created a more corporate identity.34 While class, as well as ethnic, racial, and gender identities can be distinguished at certain times during the celebrations, the social composition of the celebrants who attended many of the large public attractions is difficult to discern. Thus, they are necessarily described in this study in rather general and vague terms like "the crowd", "the populace", "the lower orders", "the plebeians", and "the poor".

Saint John and Halifax provide the context for this case study of public celebrations. The two cities were chosen for comparison because, as the two most populous

centres in the Maritimes, they exhibited a number of similarities and differences. The celebration of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax and Saint John in 1860 helps to illustrate some of these factors. During the visit, Halifax touted its "institutions, conventions, and scenery" before the Prince and his royal suite. Local dignitaries entertained the Prince and his companions at a levee and grand ball, held in two of Halifax's most impressive public buildings—the Government House and the Province Building. The visitors also appreciated the scenery of the Bedford Basin, as they watched a regatta and rode a steamer to the Prince's Lodge in Bedford, and admired the panoramas of the Northwest Arm, on their trip to Andrew Down's Zoological Gardens. Nicholas Augustus Woods of the London Times, described the scenery of Halifax as "wild and romantic". Military reviews, and the displays of naval vessels, decked out in flags and bunting, also greeted the celebrants.

In Saint John, "commerce, capacity and capabilities" were the "features paraded before visitors", in the form of several symbols of commercial progress. One of the


foremost symbols of commercial progress was Saint John's Suspension Bridge over the reversing rapids, which the Prince crossed a couple of times during his sojourn in the city. The Prince also visited the sawmill of John Robertson in Carleton, where he was shown how to manufacture deals. Celebration organizers tried to boost Saint John's partially-completed European and North American railway, and the natural resources of the province, by sending a deputation to persuade the Prince and his entourage to ride the railway to Shediac on his way to Prince Edward Island, and thus see Sussex Vale, the most fertile part of the province.38 Although the Prince stuck to his original plan of travelling to P.E.I. via Windsor and Pictou, he rode the new railway to Rothesay en route to Fredericton, accommodated in a lavishly decorated "Prince of Wales" car,39 a moving exhibition of the "credible specimens of Saint John manufacture".40

The symbols of progress promoted by Saint John boosters reflect the commercial nature of the city. Saint John and Halifax were both commercial entrepôts in the nineteenth century. Halifax relied on the salt fish trade, particularly with the West Indies, and a general import trade. Saint John extracted and processed timber from a

38 Morning News June 7, 1860.
39 Woods The Prince of Wales, p. 49.
40 Freeman August 4, 1860.
large wooded hinterland along the St. John River, and
engaged competitively in an international timber trade and
ship building industry. Saint John was a larger centre than
Halifax at mid-century. Between 1851 and 1861, the
population of Saint John (and Portland) grew from 31,174 to
38,000,41 while Halifax was a good deal smaller, at 20,000
in 1851, increasing to slightly over 25,000 in 1861.42 One
Haligonian noted in comparing Halifax with Saint John: "Both
cities engage largely in commerce, but in our city it holds
a secondary place, in the other it is everything".43 In
1860, Nicholas Woods agreed that Saint John was the superior
commercial centre:

St John's [sic] which is the real, though not the
legislative capital of New Brunswick, is one of
the most picturesque and flourishing cities of the
North American Provinces...there is an air of
business and prosperity about the place very
different from the languor that ordinarily
prevails at Halifax.44

Woods' comments ignited the fires of civic rivalry between
Saint John and Halifax. The Saint John Morning News gloated:

41 C.M. Wallace "St. John", Urban History Review, No. 1-
75, 1979, p. 15.

42 Census of Canada, Halifax, 1861.

43 As quoted in Wallace "Saint John Boosters", p. 73.

44 London Times in Freeman September 13, 1860. The
Toronto Leader also thought that Halifax could not compare
with Saint John--P.B. Waite "A Visit to Nova Scotia and
2, no. 2, 1972, p. 131.
we are not a little amused at the cavalier way in which he treats our rival city, when comparing it to St. John. Our friends over the way won't like it, but it is fun for us, and we hope they will not think hard of St. John because the leading paper of the world says (through its correspondent) 'On the whole, however, though large and flourishing, struggling Halifax seems in every way inferior both in beauty and importance and wealth to St. John's [sic], New Brunswick.45

By the 1890's, Saint John began to fall behind, in response to the pressures of industrialization, the decline of the timber trade and the ship building industry, outmigration, and the Great Fire of 1877, among other problems. Between 1881 and 1891, the city experienced a 5.3% net loss of population, whereas Halifax's diversification as an administrative and military centre ensured a minor growth of 6.6%.46

Halifax's status as the provincial and administrative centre of the province allowed the city to parade its institutions and conventions before the visitors in 1860. In addition, the city's major British garrison and naval station generated the large military displays. Halifax's military spectacle particularly exceeded that of Saint John's after 1870, when the British army withdrew from all Canadian bases except for Halifax, where it remained until 1906. The continuous influence of the professional army in Halifax stimulated several service industries, and

45 Morning News August 29, 1860.

46 Census of Canada, Halifax, 1881-91
profoundly affected the nature of the city's pageantry and social life, as officers became entrenched in the ranks of the local elite. Woods, the Times correspondent, commented that the presence of the garrison and naval station "secures to the inhabitants of Halifax more of what is termed 'good society' than can be found in any other of the provinces". 47 Rank-and-file soldiers, numbering between 2000-4000, also comprised close to 25% of the resident male population of Halifax in the nineteenth century. 48

Saint John was distinguished by the demonstration of the Orange Lodges during the 1860 visit. 49 The Orange Lodge expanded in Saint John in the 1840's as a means of protecting British institutions, Protestantism, and Protestant jobs from the encroachment of thousands of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants who descended on the city during the Irish potato famine. Collective violence eventually erupted in 1845, 1847, and 1849, between the


49 The scale and nature of the demonstration are unknown, since the newspapers refused coverage for fear of encouraging it—Freeman September 8, 11, 15, 1860; Morning News September 7, 1860.
Protestants and Irish Roman Catholics during the public celebration of symbolic holidays, primarily the Orangemen's July 12th anniversary of the victory of the Prince of Orange (William III) at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, and the Irish Roman Catholics' observance of St. Patrick's day. Halifax also endured an element of anti-Catholicism, but besides the "Gourlay Shanty Riot" of 1856, initiated by the protests of Irish Roman Catholics over Crimean War recruitment, most of it was rhetorical in nature. Halifax's anti-Catholic movement in the mid-nineteenth century was less violent than Saint John's, probably because of the smaller numbers of Irish Protestants in the city, and the relative weakness of the Orange Lodge.

Saint John also differed from Halifax in exhibiting more colorful working-class pageantry during the visit, in the form of a trades procession, and a burlesque demonstration, the latter of which was orchestrated by a working-class organization called the Calithumpians. The participation of the trades reflects the primacy of the skilled workers in Saint John's commercial development.


52 See Chapter 6.
The city's dock laborers also cultivated an active role in civic affairs through the considerable bargaining power attained by the seasonal pressures of the timber market.53 Furthermore, the early establishment of the Saint John common council in 1785, provided the lower middle and upper working classes of that city with a longer legacy of participation in public life than their counterparts in Halifax, who did not form a corporation until 1841. The eighteenth-century incorporation of Saint John also meant that the common council had already worked out many of its responsibilities and powers by the early nineteenth century, unlike the aldermen and city councillors of Halifax, who had just begun to define and negotiate their powers and privileges.

Although only a handful of Indians appeared in the nineteenth-century census records for Halifax and Saint John,54 because of seasonal migration and segregation in the reserves,55 the former city made greater use of its


54 According to census records, no Indians resided in Saint John from 1851-81, and only two were noted in Halifax in 1881. A few appeared on the Northwest Arm and in Dartmouth, and also in Saint John's neighboring city of Portland, and the nearby communities of Indiantown, Lancaster, and Simonds--Census of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1851-81.

55 According to Elizabeth Hutton "Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia, 1760-1834", in H.F. McGee (ed.) The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada (Ottawa, 1983), p. 80, the
aboriginal population during the 1860 visit. In Halifax, three private citizens opened a subscription in 1860 to provide "traditional costumes" for a deputation of Micmacs to appear in the ceremonies. These aboriginal representatives were the first to receive the Prince of Wales with an address in Chebucto Harbour, and provided an escort of canoes to lead the royal barge to the Halifax wharf. Micmacs also appeared at the levée, and participated in bow and arrow competitions and foot races on the common, and in canoe races during the regatta. The Micmacs personally presented the Prince with a number of crafts, including a quilled box and lid, containing fourteen placemats. The greater visibility of the Micmacs in Halifax's public ceremony may be a result of the proximity of the Micmac camp across the harbour in "broad outline" of the reserves was "operative" in Nova Scotia by 1834.

56 For elaboration, see Chapter 7.

57 Woods The Prince of Wales, p. 21.

58 Acadian Recorder August 11, 1860.

59 See Chapter 8.

60 For a description, see R.H. Whitehead "Micmac, Maliseet, Beothuk Collections in Great Britain", N.S. Museum Curatorial report, no. 62, January 1988, p. 12. The collection, pp. 13-16, also lists a number of other items which were either represented to the Prince of Wales in 1860, or to Prince Arthur in 1869, including a tobacco pipe and pipe stem, four canoe models and wooden furnishings, two male and three female dolls, and a pair of moccasins.
The less visible participation of the aboriginals in Saint John's public celebration is probably a product of the New Brunswick government's general disregard for its native population. Unlike Nova Scotia, New Brunswick had no safeguards regarding Indian lands and indebtedness, a pattern of neglect which undoubtedly occurred in social and cultural affairs as well. Indians also played a relatively small role in Saint John's historical memory and sense of civic identity. Saint John had a forward-looking and commercial image as the "Liverpool of the British North American Provinces". When the city did look back, it centred on the Loyalists as the honorary founders of the city. In Halifax, on the other hand, the native people figured largely in Cornwallis' establishment of Halifax in the wilderness of 1749. Indeed, one Haligonian referred to the Micmacs in 1860 as the "real representatives of the Province". The significance of aboriginal symbolism is reflected by the presentation of a portrait of Mary Christianne (Morris) Paul, Micmac artist and model, to the Prince of Wales as a

61 Woods went across the harbour to visit the camp during his sojourn in Halifax—Woods The Prince of Wales, p. 36.


63 "A Highlander" in Morning Sun July 20, 1860.
memento of Nova Scotia. Visitors also identified the participation of the Micmacs as a peculiar characteristic of Halifax's celebration in 1860. The London Times correspondent devoted much of his commentary on Halifax to descriptions of the native people and their role in the festivities.

In both cities, direct participation for women was largely restricted to elite entertainments and the grand ball in Halifax, a pattern which continued well into the late nineteenth century. Children had also been relatively neglected in celebrations until the visit in 1860, when a concern over the free reign of large numbers of children led celebration organizers in Saint John and Halifax to contain them in a separate children's demonstration. Saint John and Halifax also experienced the effects of evangelical Protestantism, which saw children as inherently innocent, and thus contributed to the sentimentalization of childhood and the need to segregate children in a morally correct manner.

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65 Woods The Prince of Wales, pp. 14, 21, 26, 34, 35-37.
66 See Chapter Three.
67 See Chapter Four.
Public celebrations provide an insightful arena in which to study interweaving social relationships in nineteenth-century Saint John and Halifax. The first chapter of the thesis examines the social composition of the celebration organizers, and the tensions and conflicts which arose in the process of orchestrating the celebrations. The focus then shifts to the instrumental role of celebrations, and their utilization by certain parties in Nova Scotia to question and challenge the powers and privileges of the Lieutenant-Governor, the most prominent member of the organizational elite. This discussion of the "movers and shakers" is followed by an analysis of the social relationships and developments embodied in celebratory events. Chapter 3 examines public drinking and feasting, and the factors which contributed to the demise of traditional ox roasts. After public feasts fell out of favour, spectacles became the primary mode of celebration. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss demonstrations and processions as rituals which inculcated patriotic values and presented orderly and respectable versions of the social order. A contrasting culture of celebration is offered in Chapter 6, which

68 Janet Guildford "'I often run in the streets of Halifax': Middle Class Attitudes to Children in Halifax, 1850-1870", unpublished paper presented to the faculty-graduate seminar, Dalhousie University History Department, 1989, p. 1.
focusses on the antirespectable tradition of social inversion in burlesque processions. The idea of the "respectable celebration" found its most extreme expression in the desire of some middle-class men and women to shift the emphasis of celebration from short-term pageantry to the founding of long-term memorials, as discussed in Chapter 7. By the late nineteenth century, the respectable celebration had to share the stage with the commercialized celebration. Chapter 8 traces the development of celebratory sports from public contests to organized spectator sports, while Chapter 9 centres on the role of the entrepreneur as the provider of commercialized alternatives, and the creator of tourist attractions. This thesis concludes that, in the course of the reign of Queen Victoria, celebrations were transformed from participant to spectator events, organized by experts with scant respect for folk customs.
CHAPTER 1

ORGANIZATION

Historical and sociological studies often describe celebrations as vehicles used by middle-class organizers for the perpetuation of bourgeois values, and the reinforcement of the status quo. 1 While this may be true, it obscures the complexity of the organization of celebrations, as well as the competition of various constituent elements within the leadership group. David Cannadine and Elizabeth Hammerton argue that in order to understand, reconcile, and explain the "contradictions and paradoxes which obtrude at the level of theory", it is necessary to piece together the "actual way in which a community planned and enjoyed" celebrations. 2 This chapter focuses on the organization of nineteenth-century celebrations in Saint John and Halifax, especially the changing composition of the organizing committees, and the debates and conflicts which arose over the financing of the festivities.

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CELEBRATION COMMITTEES

An "organizational elite" planned most celebrations in Saint John and Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. Leading citizens filled the ranks of the organizational elite, including imperial administrators, members of the provincial, civic, and military authorities, and prominent merchants and professionals. The lower middle and respectable working classes were represented by the civic councils, which, by mid-century, were primarily comprised of shopkeepers and tradesmen.3

The lieutenant-governor usually proclaimed and initiated royal celebrations. Upon the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, Robert F. Hazen, the Mayor of Saint John, received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor's office, instructing him to "cause Her Majesty to be forthwith proclaimed, with...ceremonies at Saint John".4 Civic authorities usually needed little prodding to celebrate.5 Saint John's common council organized most of


the city's celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838, and her marriage in 1840. Since Saint John had been incorporated by royal charter in 1785, unlike Halifax, which did not become a corporation until 1841, Saint John's common council had, by the Victorian period, a longer, more ingrained tradition and sense of responsibility for providing festivities for the citizens. Halifax followed the Saint John practice when its new city council took over the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1841.

Military officers sometimes teamed up with the lieutenant-governor to provide entertainments, particularly in Halifax, the residence of the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and the site of a large British garrison and naval station. The Times and Courier commented in 1849 that the lieutenant-governor, garrison, and public departments should be directly involved in celebrations in Halifax, for they had the "means and appliances" which were "altogether beyond our reach as mere civilians".6 The lieutenant-governor and the military furnished the only officially organized attractions during the nuptial celebrations of Queen Victoria in 1840 and those of her son, Prince Albert in 1863, which included a ball during both occasions, a military review in 1840, and

6 Times and Courier April 10, 1849.
a sleigh ride in 1863. In 1863 Haligonians complained that "we can get nothing up in Halifax without the aid of the military". Military displays sometimes comprised the only visible observances of annual anniversaries like Queen Victoria's accession and coronation, royal birthdays, natal day and dominion day. The military authorities tired of waiting for the Halifax city council to act in regard to the diamond jubilee in 1897, so they held their own meeting, appointing a committee to confer with the Mayor.

At other times, voluntary organizations initiated the proceedings. The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society instigated the celebration of the anniversary of the settlement of Halifax in 1839. National societies also

7 Acadian Recorder April 11, 1840; Times April 14, 1840; Morning Chronicle March 12, 14, 1863; Evening Express March 11, 1863; Halifax Reporter March 17, 1863; Morning Sun March 11, 1863; British Colonist March 12, 1863. Civilians organized other activities at a later date.

8 "Things Talked of in Halifax" in Halifax Reporter March 14, 1863.


10 Daily Echo May 6, 7, 1897.

11 For the first "Nova Scotian Festival", see Novascotian June 12, 1839; see D.C. Harvey "Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society", Dalhousie Review, Vol. 19, October 1939, pp. 287-97, for discussion of some of the original
furnished the bulk of attractions for Halifax's marriage celebration in 1840: the Charitable Irish Society provided dinners for the poor, the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society held a procession, church service, and a feast for the Micmacs, while the St. George's Society enjoyed a special dinner, and the North British Society hosted a ball and banquet.12 Halifax's centenary celebration in 1849 was also organized primarily by the national societies.13 Furthermore, a joint committee of the North British, Irish, and St. George's Societies helped to initiate the diamond jubilee celebration in Halifax in 1897, by sending a letter to the city council, urging the aldermen to appoint a committee to confer with the societies.14

The composition of Halifax's Charitable Irish Society reflects the membership of these benevolent organizations. While the Irish society boasted a high proportion of government officials, military officers, and merchants for about fifty years after its founding in 1786, in the 1840's it began to attract a broader cross-section of members, and the origins of Natal day.

12 *Acadian Recorder* May 2, 9, 1840; *Novascotian* May 7, 1840; *Times* April 28, May 5, 12, 1840.


14 Halifax City Council, *Minutes*, December 10, 1896, pp. 112-13, PANS.
society, including artisans and workers. In 1838, over half of the society belonged to professional and white collar groups, such as clerks, editors, and minor civil servants, and just over one-third to the artisans. By 1848, the professional and white collar groups fell to 41% of the membership, and the workers and artisans rose to nearly 60%. Despite a broadening membership, the leadership of national societies (those who were responsible for organizing celebrations) remained primarily in the hands of the elites.15

These initiators often held public meetings to discuss the major celebrations. The public meeting served as a "forum for the views of the most prominent elements" in Saint John and Halifax.16 For example, the public meeting in Saint John for the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860 was attended primarily by leading citizens, and members of the common council and legislature.17 Similarly, in Halifax, "toadies" of the reform government dominated the 1860 meeting. 18

At these meetings, the citizens often appointed committees to help in the organization of the


16 Acheson Saint John, pp. 55, 185.

17 Freeman June 28, 1860.

18 Acadian Recorder May 26, 1860.
celebrations. Members of the organizational elite usually dominated the committees in the early Victorian period. The organizing committee for the Queen's coronation celebration in Halifax in 1838 was comprised of provincial dignitaries and leading citizens, such as the executive councillors, Michael Tobin and T.N. Jeffrey, assemblyman, William Young, Judge and High Sheriff, J.J. Sawyer, the attorney-general, Samuel G.W. Archibald, provincial treasurer Charles W. Wallace, and leading merchants, businessmen, and barristers, chaired by the barrister and executive councillor, James Boyle Uniacke.19 The citizens appointed to the celebration committee for the Queen's marriage festivities in Saint John in 1840, were also very elitist, encompassing leading merchants and shipbuilders, such as William Black, John V. Thurgar, and William Wright, barristers Robert L. Hazen and William Jack, a couple of physicians, civic officials, and the mayor, Robert F. Hazen, who was also a barrister by occupation. By some "unfortunate moving of the pieces of the Corporation chessboard", government officials and ex-officials similarly predominated in Saint John's celebration committee for the Prince's 1860 visit.20 In Halifax, the 1860 citizens' committee also embraced

19 The names of the individuals on most of the committees can be found in Appendix 1.

20 Morning News July 9, 1860.
members of the provincial and civic administrations, as well as a number of prominent merchants, businessmen, professionals, and journalists. The *Acadian Recorder* complained that these middle-class organizers monopolized the celebration in Halifax: "These people... make their appearance on public occasions, push themselves forward, and take to themselves airs".21

The committee appointed to organize Halifax's anniversary of settlement in 1862 drew a few more representatives from the ranks of the lower middle and respectable working classes. Shopkeepers, tradesmen, and delegates from the fire companies and the military volunteers assisted the usual contingent of aldermen, lawyers, and merchants. Prominent citizens continued to exert a degree of hegemony on Halifax's golden jubilee executive committee in 1887. Col. Ronald B. Lane, the general's aid-de-camp, William Ross, the collector of customs, and insurance agent, A.C. Edwards, orchestrated the celebration, with the assistance of W.J. Stewart, jeweller and silversmith, J.D. Mackintosh, lt. col. of the 63rd Battalion of the Halifax Rifles, and Matthew Condon,

21 *Acadian Recorder* June 9, 1860. A correspondent warned that "If it should be made a Barnum affair, and the Prince be surrounded with the military and other officials of the Government, to the exclusion of the people, then I say it will most certainly be a sad affair"--"Malachi Malagrowther" in *Morning Sun* May 30, 1860. The *Evening Express* August 15, 1860, thought that the government surrounded the Prince with an over-abundance of "starch and etiquette".
captain of the Union Engine Company. Although D.A. Sutherland argues that wholesale merchants and lawyers continued to dominate Halifax society in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the "middling strata" of lower middle- and upper working-class citizens did move into the organization of celebrations in Saint John and Halifax during this period. Indeed, by the time of Halifax's diamond jubilee celebration in 1897, representatives of various voluntary organizations comprised the backbone of the celebration committee, replacing the "most distinguished people", who appeared to have got "out of that line altogether". Perhaps the "most distinguished people" withdrew from celebration committees because of the enormous volume of work generated by the larger celebrations of the late Victorian period, and a loss of prestige, as their places were increasingly usurped by the upwardly mobile artisans and white collar workers. The general composition of the jubilee committees in Saint John reflect the growth of the lower middle class in the late nineteenth century, boasting not only professionals and merchants, but also

22 D.A. Sutherland "Halifax, 1871: 'Poor man's city?'", paper presented to the faculty-graduate seminar, Dalhousie University History Department, March 1, 1991, pp. 11, 21.

23 The Acadian Recorder July 3, 1897, commented that the exclusion of these elites from the organization of celebrations was like unto the "attempted manufacture of bricks minus the straw".
the petit bourgeoisie (shopkeepers, grocers and druggists), representatives of the growing white collar sector (clerks, bookkeepers, and accountants), and a handful of upper working-class tradesmen.

The need for collaboration between the citizens, and the civic, provincial, military and imperial authorities became particularly evident during the Prince of Wales' visit to Halifax in 1860. Since the visit was a provincial affair, the proceedings were overseen by a tripartite committee, consisting of three representatives from the executive government (Joseph Howe, William Young, and Benjamin Wier), the city council (mayor Samuel Caldwell, and aldermen William Twining and Hugh Bell), and the citizens (Mather B. Almon, Andrew M. Uniacke, and John Tobin). The Halifax celebration encompassed three major programs: 1) that of the admiral, consisting of the landing and arrival of the Prince at the Dockyard, royal salutes, and other naval observances; 2) the major-general's, comprised of various military observances, the Guards of Honour, and a special military review, and; 3) the executive managing committee's, covering all of the remaining public events. Similarly, committees from the

24 The theme of collaboration is explored in a different vein in Guildford "Public School Reform".

25 Novascotian June 11, 1860.

26 Acadian Recorder July 14, 1860; Morning Sun July 16, 18, 20, 23, 27, 30, 1860.
provincial government and city council collaborated to celebrate the Prince of Wales' nuptials in Halifax in 1863. Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883 was largely organized by the common council, with help from the polymorphians and the firemen.27 This pattern of cooperation continued in Halifax in the late nineteenth century, as Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilees in 1887 and 1897 were jointly organized by the city council, the provincial government, and committees of private citizens.

Women also collaborated with male organizers, primarily as a "silent working army",28 making costumes or decorating floats for processions. The "superior taste" of the firemen's turnout on Halifax's natal day in 1862 proved that the "fingers of the wives and sweethearts" were "not idle".29 After the Loyalist centennial in 1883, the Saint John fire brigade and Portland firemen published a card of thanks to the women for their assistance in

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27 See Chapters 5 and 6.


trimming the engines.30 Women's auxiliaries frequently made or procured flags and colours for male organizations as a means of showing their loyalty. The women of Saint John presented a stand of colours to the military volunteers during the Queen's birthday in 1867,31 and a banner to the St. George's Society, to be unfurled during the diamond jubilee celebration in 1897 in testimony of their loyalty.32

Women also served as hostesses, which improved their organizational and administrative skills. Indeed, the hostess was a "stage manager", responsible for her own conduct, as well as the decorations and physical setting, and maintaining the genteel politeness of the occasion.33 Mrs. Jeremiah Francis Kenny, a prominent woman in late

30 Daily Sun May 21, 1883.

31 Morning News May 27, 1867. Minnie" in Morning News September 24, 1860, urged the ladies to do all they could for the volunteers. Indeed, women were urged to nurture their men as fighters--Letter to editor in Daily Sun May 18, 1885.

32 Daily Sun June 20, 1887; Souvenir of the Queen's Jubilee: An Account of the Celebration at the City of Saint John, N.B., in the Year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria (Saint John, 1887), pp. 9-12. The female friends of the newly created Victoria Division, Knights of Pythias, Saint John, presented them with colors in 1887--Daily Sun June 17, 1887.

Victorian Halifax society, and wife of a dry goods merchant and insurance salesman, designed the table decorations for the dinner given in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Government House in October, 1890. She also helped to decorate the Halifax Club for a dinner to Prince George, and wrote the menu, which she commented "accounts for faults". The hostessing skills of the wives of high ranking officials were recognized as being "essential" to their husband's career. The lieutenant-governor's wife, probably the most prominent hostess in the colonies, was ultimately responsible for extending invitations to the various attractions held in Government House during celebrations.

By the late nineteenth century, middle-class women became involved in founding celebration memorials, ______

34 Sketches and measurements of an elegant 38 foot long table indicate the placement of mirrors, candelabras, ferns, ornaments, and lamps-- Scrapbook of J.F. Kenny, no. 60, also see no. 51 for plan of Supper Table, probably used at Haberdashers' Hall in 1889, PANS.

35 Scrapbook of J.F. Kenny, no. 60.

36 Davidoff The Best Circles, p. 32.

37 After inquiring why he and his wife were not invited to a special garden party at Government House in 1894, J. Chipman, a wholesale merchant, complained that Mrs. Daly had not even been to call on his wife to see if she was a "proper person or not". He was informed that invitations were sent only to those ladies and gentlemen who had "favored Mrs. Daly by calling upon her"-- J. Chipman to Col. Clarke, private secretary, Halifax, August 21, 1894, in RG 2, Vol. 12, no. 2763, PANS.
including charitable and cultural institutions. They also began to appear more frequently on official celebration committees with the men. The *Acadian Recorder* commented that "the ladies especially, assisted by their gentlemen associates on the committee of management" made Halifax's golden jubilee ball "a perfect paradise, artistically and sociably." Furthermore, as part of the National Council of Women's effort to urge local councils to secure representation on various civic boards, Saint John's local council was given permission to have representatives on the general celebration committee of the diamond jubilee in 1897. The ladies committee of the free public library also joined the committee.

The increasing collaboration between different groups in the organization of nineteenth-century celebrations in

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38 See Chapter Seven.

39 *Acadian Recorder* June 22, July 4, 1887.


41 See Appendix 1. There is some evidence of female involvement in pre-Victorian celebrations. Colley "The Apotheosis of George III", p. 125 mentions considerable female investment in royal celebrations during the reign of George III, due to his domesticity, and a rise in female politicization. Thomas W. Laqueur "The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV", *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 54, September 1982, pp. 442-47, discusses the prevalent role of women in defending Queen Caroline against accusations of sexual promiscuity, and in organizing their own celebrations upon her acquittal.
Saint John and Halifax did not necessarily mean harmonious and unanimous cooperation. Dissension frequently occurred over financial responsibility and the preferred mode of fund-raising.

FINANCING

Before 1860, celebrations were funded by private subscriptions or civic assessment. Because Halifax was not incorporated until 1841, citizens subsidized Queen Victoria's coronation and marriage celebrations by private contributions. Even after incorporation in 1841, the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales was financed through private collections. The national societies also cadged for voluntary subscriptions to defray the expenses of Halifax's centenary in 1849. Saint John's earlier incorporation meant that it more frequently financed celebrations through civic assessment. The Saint John common council taxed the citizens to pay for the coronation and marriage festivities in 1838 and 1840, although boating enthusiasts opened a private

42 Excerpt in Acadian Recorder June 20, 1887; Times June 12, 1838. In 1840, the national societies provided the entertainments.

43 Novascotian December 16, 1841.

44 Times and Courier May 24, 1849; Novascotian May 21, 1849.
subscription for the coronation regatta.  

During the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, conflicts ensued in Saint John and Halifax over the financial responsibilities of the city and province, and the method of raising money for the event. In the case of Saint John, the city's responsibility to provide for the celebration seemed to be accepted without incident, probably because of the established practice of the city council in providing festivities for the inhabitants. At a special meeting in Fredericton, the mayor of Saint John, the provincial secretary of New Brunswick, and a couple of government members discussed cooperation between the civic and provincial authorities in organizing the reception. It was generally agreed that the city would take care of the decoration of the streets and squares, the firemen's procession, and other purely civic affairs, while the provincial government would finance the rest of the reception.  


46 Morning News June 1, 1860; Freeman June 2, 1860. On June 1, 1860, the Saint John common council requested that a bill be brought forward in the legislature to raise money for the decoration and "ornamenting" of the city, and "other preparations"—Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 1, 1860. At Saint John's public meeting to discuss the celebration, it was reported that the province had contributed money to provincial events—Freeman June 28, 1860. In the council meeting of June 26th, several communications from the provincial secretary were read regarding the "arrangements" which the Government "is
responsibilities for the celebration, representatives from Saint John's common council and the provincial executive council met later in Fredericton to discuss the amounts to be expended for the Prince's reception. The city's responsibilities were estimated at £1500, which the common council resolved should be raised by assessment.

Despite Saint John's tradition of taxation for public celebrations, and the emergence of the "city" as the primary unit of finance and organization, some citizens opposed assessment because they objected to making the poor pay for celebrations. The common council attempted to circumvent the problem by assessing only those who paid taxes of £5 or more. The mayor and citizens formed a committee to raise the money in anticipation of the assessment, but were unsuccessful, so they returned the disposed to advance to cover" the necessary expenses—Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 26, 1860, p. 373.


48 Acheson Saint John, see chapters on "Common Council" and "Political Reform".

49 See resolutions of common council, requesting the members of the city and county of Saint John to give their assent to the bill for assessment, to be brought forward at the next session of the legislature—Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 1, 15, 1860. It was estimated that the £1500 would be covered by about 540 ratepayers, in taxes varying from 30s to £30, or even more for a select few—Morning News June 4, 1860; Freeman June 2, 5, 1860.
responsibility to the corporation. The civic authorities were denied a provincial grant because former advances had not been repaid. An element of class tension probably also played a role in the province's decision to refuse the loan. In his poem on the visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John, John A. Mace implied that the provincial government (mainly comprised of professionals and merchants), saw the common council (dominated by upwardly mobile artisans and shopkeepers) as "upstarts" only interested in using the celebration to get ahead, while the common council resented the provincial government's control of the public purse:

Legislatings men of justice
Friendly meet our Civic board;
Do not be afraid to trust us,
And your gold in coffers hoard.
Help to ornament our city--
Raise the Royal arch of fame,
We've no plot like the banditti,
Only think to gain a name.

50 The city recorder reported that there would be no difficulty in raising the money--Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 15, 1860.

51 The mayor requested a conference with the provincial government--Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 15, 1860; draft of a petition to the Governor-in-Council for a loan of L1500--Saint John Common Council Minutes June 19, 1860; the government could not accede to the request, so the council asked the mayor to call a public meeting--Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 23, 1860; Freeman June 23, July 5, 1860. The nature of the corporation's unpaid advances are not specified.

52 John A. Mace "LINES. Composed upon the approaching visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to New Brunswick" in Morning News July 30, 1860.
The common council eventually authorized mayor McAvity to raise £500 for the East Side celebration committee and £100 for the West Side committee, by borrowing on the security of the £4000 Water Debentures, to be raised the following year by assessment. Eventually, in 1862, the expenses of the Prince's reception, which came to $986, were defrayed by assessing persons paying over $12 in taxes.

Like their Saint John counterparts, the Halifax city council formed a committee to confer with the provincial government over the organization of the Prince's reception. At the public meeting convened by mayor Caldwell to discuss the celebration, executive government member Joseph Howe put forward a resolution that the corporation be authorized and requested to make suitable preparations for the reception. Tory opposition

53 Saint John Common Council Minutes, July 17, 1860.

54 "Street Committee Report" in Saint John Common Council Minutes, April 9, 1862.

55 Acadia Recorder May 12, 1860; Morning Journal May 9, 1860; British Colonist May 9, 1860; Evening Express May 7, 1860; Morning Sun May 11, 1860. Meeting of city council to discuss resolutions with the provincial government--Morning Sun May 28, 1860; letter from Joseph Howe to the mayor, May 14, 1860, regarding the appointment of the executive council committee, and a meeting scheduled with the mayor and friends on May 15th--RG 1, Vol. 160, 1860, p. 24, PANS.

56 Requisition requesting the mayor to convene a meeting--Morning Sun May 23, 1860; Evening Express May 23, 1860; Morning Journal May 23, 1860.
members and sympathizers, like Judge J.J. Stewart, John Tobin, Dr. Charles Tupper, Andrew M. Uniacke, and J.W. Johnston, argued that the province should bear all of the expenses, since the visit was a provincial affair, and the provincial parliament had unanimously passed an unlimited vote of credit to the lieutenant-governor for the subsidization of a public reception for the Prince of Wales.57

Disagreement also arose over how the money should be raised. Members of the opposition favoured subscription over assessment, arguing that the citizens, particularly the poor who could not meet their current expenses, should not be taxed. John Tobin felt that it would not be fair to tax the Haligonians twice, once for the province, and then for the city. J.W. Johnston contended that the present meeting was not representative enough to assess for next year's expenses. As darkness descended, and people got increasingly impatient, John Tobin, against his better judgement, successfully moved that the resolution in

57 Parliament's unanimous vote of credit—Morning Sun May 23, 1860; Novascotian May 14, 1860. On May 7, 1860, the house of assembly sent the vote of credit to the legislative council—Morning Sun June 8, 1860. The lieutenant-governor gave thanks for the grant during his prorogation speech—Morning Sun May 14, 1860; Novascotian May 14, 1860; Morning Journal May 14, 1860; British Colonist May 17, 1860.
favour of civic contribution be passed.58

The press also echoed this debate over the financial responsibilities of the city and province, and the preferred means of fund-raising. The Tory British Colonist accused the Liberal government of throwing the expense and responsibility of the celebration on whomever wanted to assume it.59 The Liberal Novascotian, on the other hand, complained that the citizens who wanted the city to host the reception, but the province to pay for it, had the "most extraordinary ideas of the relative importance and rights of their city in comparison with the rest of the province", and treated the province as a sort of preserve for their own uses. The resolution to make Halifax bear some of the expense followed a reassessment of the financial difficulties of the administration, and the realization that Halifax would receive most of the benefits of the visit.60

In a letter to the editor of the Evening Express, "An Economical Citizen" argued that "the poor should be protected, and I think it would be wrong to impose an additional tax on that which he is now bound to pay". A

58 Accounts of the public meeting—Novascotian May 28, 1860; Morning Sun May 25, 1860; Morning Journal May 25, 1860; Evening Express May 25, 1860; British Colonist May 31, 1860.

59 British Colonist May 24, 1860.

60 Novascotian June 11, 1860.
subscription, on the other hand, would "give the men who are now sucking the very vitals of the province dry, a chance to contribute and show their loyalty". In response, "A Right Loyal Citizen" maintained that voluntary subscriptions usually fell upon a few liberal individuals who dispensed substantial amounts. This effectively shut out the poor, who, although they wished to contribute, were ashamed to put their meager gifts beside the larger donations of the affluent. Assessment permitted every citizen to contribute regardless of means, and gave them an interest in the ceremony. "A Right Loyal Citizen" estimated that the poor man taxed ten shillings would be called upon for one shilling and three pence for the celebration, about the same amount expended for a night's amusement at Temperance Hall, and the proposed attraction was even better, for it was a three day extravaganza. Some correspondents advocated a modified assessment, such as that enacted in Saint John, in which assessment was only levied on those who paid taxes over L5.

61 "An Economical Citizen" in Evening Express May 30, June 6, 1860. He criticized the impertinence of Howe in initially proposing the taxation of Halifax, and declared that the city council would be unfit for office if they succumbed to the government on this issue.


63 Acadian Recorder June 9, 1860.
As the Tory antagonists withdrew from the controversy, Halifax's celebration committee eventually ironed out the various money-related disagreements. The committee agreed that the city should be responsible for the cleaning, ornamentation, and illumination of city streets and civic buildings, the erection of local arches, and invitations to neighboring mayors, while the province was accountable for the renovation and decoration of public buildings, provincial arches, state dinners, and the levée. The method of fund-raising was also determined, as the city council agreed to authorize the borrowing of L1000 for their part in the reception, to be assessed and repaid in 1861.

Financing continued to be a bone of contention in later celebrations. In Saint John and Halifax, disputes arose over the amount of the expenditure for Queen Victoria's golden jubilee celebration in 1887. Because the jubilee was a civic event, divisions occurred over the authority of the civic government and the citizens' committees, not over the responsibilities of the province

64 Committee Meetings June 4, July 7, 1860, Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860.

65 Evening Express May 30, June 6, 1860. Morning Sun June 4, 11, August 20, 1860; British Colonist June 7, September 27, 1860; Novascotian October 1, 1860. The total expenditures of the city council slightly exceeded the authorized amount, at L1175.

66 Herald May 3, 1887; Acadian Recorder May 3, 1887.
and city as during the 1860 visit.

In Saint John, the citizens adopted a program at their public meeting, which required $1750-$2000. They proposed to ask the common council for only $1500, the remainder of which was to be raised by subscriptions. However, when the jubilee committee submitted the report to the common council for approval, controversy erupted over the size of the amount requested. Some common councillors contended that $1000 was sufficient, while another proposed that no assessment should be made because of the "depressed state of business". Eventually the original request for $1500 was passed, but only by a margin of one vote.

A much more serious dispute arose in Halifax over the financing of the golden jubilee. John Allison Bell, an elderly Haligonian, commented regarding the celebration:

There has been much squabbling about it for some months back, how and when it was to be done, who should have the management or it, and the foremost places in it, how much should be spent and who should spend it.

A few months before the celebration, a city council report thought that the recommendation of $1500 would not meet the approval of a majority of the taxpayers, who would draw the line at $1000. Along with the council's $1500, the citizens also subscribed $926, which made a total of $1926 for the celebration—Daily Sun June 28, 1887.

Diary of John Allison Bell, June 23, 1887, PANS.
containing recommendations for the event was adopted without amendment at a public meeting. The citizens of the meeting instructed the city council to apply to the legislature, requesting the power to borrow $8000, $3000 of which was for the founding of the Victoria School of Art and Design, designated as a jubilee memorial, and the remainder for the rest of the jubilee program. Despite some disagreement over the size of the grant, the legislators passed the bill. 70 Shortly after, the general organizing committee adopted the same report. 71 However, when the jubilee finance committee (the executive of the general committee) presented their proposal to the city council, several aldermen opposed what they considered to be an overly large expenditure, and proposed various alternatives, all of which were rejected. In the end, the council appointed a special committee to discuss the celebration expenditure with the citizens' committee. 72

A degree of class tension arose as prominent members of the general organizing committee, like Col. Ronald B. Lane and William Ross, aligned themselves against the tradesmen of the aldermanic committee, accusing them of

70 Citizen May 3, 1887; as related by A.C. Edwards in a letter to the editor of Citizen and Evening Chronicle May 31, 1887; Critic March 18, 1887; Herald May 3, 1887; Acadian Recorder May 3, June 2, 1887.

71 Herald May 3, 1887; Acadian Recorder May 3, 1887.

72 Acadian Recorder May 24, 1887; Herald May 24, 1887; Citizen May 24, 1887.
disloyalty because of their refusal to grant a large expenditure. However, the composer of a letter to the Acadian Recorder did not think that the "extent of our loyalty" should be "gauged by the amount of our expenditure". He advocated a modest appropriation, to be supplemented by a subscription if desired.73 The editor of the Acadian Recorder agreed: "we should regret to hear the word 'loyalty' too much bandied about in relation to this celebration". He also urged moderation:

We must respectfully beg our enthusiastic friends of the committee to go slow. Perhaps everybody is not as enthusiastic over the matter as their dear selves...Nothing very marvelous is going to happen anyhow. We must not make ourselves ridiculous by a bombastic attempt at something very large, when in reality there 'ain't nothin' to it'.74

Rumours developed that the organizing committee wanted a large expenditure to help finance their own private festivities. Initially, $325 of the celebration fund had been earmarked for "incidents". "The Tax Payers" sent a letter to the Acadian Recorder, raging: "He must be a thick-headed person who does not know what this means. A Jollification all to themselves by the committee and their particular friends."75 Another correspondent requested that the committee be more explicit regarding

73 "V.P." in Acadian Recorder May 26, 1887.
74 Acadian Recorder May 24, 28, 1887.
75 "The Tax Payers" in Acadian Recorder May 24, 1887.
the incidentals: "If our money is going to be wasted, at least let us know what for!" Since the eventual financial statement did not include a category for "incidentals", it is probable that this money was allocated for more explicit expenses.

Hard feelings between the citizens' committee and the city council erupted in a serious way when an amended program for $3000 was adopted at a private meeting of the city council committee, and published in the *Acadian Recorder*. At a joint meeting of the committees, a number of citizens, including William Ross, thought that the council committee had gone beyond its power and intended authority in drafting the program. Although the jubilee committee had been "over-ruled" by the city council, Prof. Sumichrast, a representative of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Club, and W.S. Fielding, the provincial secretary, pointed out that it would be even more humiliating to the honour of Halifax if the committee was to renege on its responsibilities entirely. Fielding suggested that they should go through the program and see if there was anything they could change or reduce. Several angry members thought that the functions of the citizens' committee.

76 "V.P." in *Acadian Recorder* May 26, 1887.


78 *Acadian Recorder* May 27, 1887.
committee had been taken away. It was moved that the executive should resign and leave the matter to the city council, but the motion was eventually withdrawn. The discussion went on until well after midnight, with little resolved.79

The council committee defended itself at a meeting of the city council. They argued that the citizens had forgotten the veto-power of the civic authorities; the legislature had passed the act for the loan, subject to the approval of the council, stipulating that only the "necessary" part of the amount was to be expended. If the citizens had done extensive planning, it was "unauthorized", and their action was a contempt of the city council. Alderman Worrall repeated the accusation that the executive committee intended to divert much of the money into a fund for private incidentals. He could not justify a large expenditure on a spectacle, when they needed the money for streets, roads, water, lighting and other public services. The committee also pointed out that prominent rate-payers, particularly from Ward One, the "court end" of town,80 threatened to hold protest meetings...
if a large expenditure was permitted. Furthermore, the poor, who paid the "bulk" of the taxes, undoubtedly did not wish to "see their hard earned money wasted in jollifications in which they had no part". The city council passed an amendment that a council committee be appointed to work with the general committee in planning a program, the cost of which would not exceed $3000.

A simultaneous meeting of the citizens' committee incurred further animosity. After hearing of the city council's decision, the citizens agreed to pass the entire affair into the hands of the city. Again playing the role of the mediator and pacifier, W.S. Fielding added that the amendment should not be understood as a defiant gesture, but as an act which was made in the best interests of the city and the celebration, a statement which undoubtedly did not represent the views of all members. Fielding also did not wish to exclude those who still wanted to be involved in the celebration, adding to

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81 "The Tax Payers" in *Acadian Recorder* May 25, 1887. Also see reports of the city council committee meeting in *Acadian Recorder* May 27, 1887.

82 "V.P." in *Acadian Recorder* May 26, 1887.

83 *Acadian Recorder* May 28, June 1, 1887; *Herald* June 1, 1887; *Citizen* June 1, 1887.

84 "A Member of the Executive Committee" criticized the condescension of the council committee, only half of whom turned up at the citizens' meeting, which meant that the citizens' committee ended up waiting on the former, instead of vice versa—*Citizen* May 31, 1887.
the amendment that the celebration be left to the city council "and such citizens as they may wish to associate with them for that purpose". The Citizen and the Halifax Herald recorded a unanimous vote for the amendment, but the Acadian Recorder sensed no particular interest "pro or con", as the motion was hurriedly put and passed, and the meeting confusedly "broke-up". The council committee reported back to the city council with the decision of the executive, and with the recommendation that the mayor and aldermen form the committee of management. The city council unanimously passed the recommendation, and formulated a program on a $3000 limit.

The Critic saw the transfer of responsibility as the best move for all involved, but the Halifax Herald blamed the resignation of the citizens' committee on the "vicious element" of the city council, who "caviled" over and obstructed the progress of the committee, preventing any continuation with their self-respect intact. The editor feared that certain events, like the sports and races, which "require skill and experience in their management, such as

85 Citizen June 1, 1887; Acadian Recorder June 1, 1887; Herald June 1, 1887.

86 Citizen June 4, 1887; Acadian Recorder June 4, 1887; Herald June 4, 1887.

87 Morning Sun May 24, 26, June 28, 1887, for wrap up of financial matters.

88 Critic June 3, 1887.
the city council does not possess”, would consequently suffer.89 The secretary of the executive committee, A.C. Edwards, submitted a couple of letters to the press, explaining the position of the committee. He contended that what particularly provoked the citizens’ committee was the sudden negation of their authority and hard work, and its replacement with a hurriedly drawn-up proposal.90

As the details of the 1887 debacle illustrate, collaboration during public celebrations often degenerated into conflict. The rhetoric of public occasions usually painted a neo-Durkheimian image of celebrations as ceremonial activities which "tend[ed] to promote a good understanding among persons of all classes", and encouraged men to "forget their political feuds, and their sectional

89 Herald June 1, 1887.

90 Secretary Edward's letter in Citizen May 31, 1887; Herald May 31, 1887. Also see letter in Citizen June 2, 1887; Herald June 2, 1887. Similar issues were discussed in the letter submitted by "A Member of the Executive Committee" in Citizen May 31, 1887. In 1897, the Nova Scotia government refused Halifax a grant for the diamond jubilee celebration—Acadian Recorder May 14, 1897; Daily Echo May 14, 1897. The Daily Echo worried that the $1500 raised by the city council in 1897 was too small, and that Halifax would be outdone by other colonial cities—Daily Echo May 8, 12, 1897. The "City Auditor's Report" in City of Halifax, Annual Report, 1897-98, p. 67, notes that the council voted $1500 for the diamond jubilee celebration. The eventual expenses came to $1732.43, the difference being charged to the contingent account.
jealousies". Indeed, by 1860, celebrations were marked by an increasing collaboration of the civic, provincial, imperial, and military authorities, voluntary organizations, and citizens' committees, the latter of which had widened by the late Victorian period to include women and members of the lower middle and upper working classes. However, the cooperation of these groups often led to disagreement, particularly over the financing of the celebrations. The disputes over money instigated tensions and conflicts between the lower middle- and respectable working-class members of the civic councils, and the professional and merchant elites of the provincial government, as well as between celebration organizers and rate-payers. This dissension suggests that the organizational elite and indeed the middle class itself, was not unitary and cohesive in the nineteenth century, but was comprised of a number of competitive groups and individuals, often at cross-purposes with each other. As Frank E. Manning has commented:

As a public and participatory phenomenon, celebration is unusually open to conflicting claims. Social rivals contend for power, prestige, and other objectives within the context of celebration and beyond it. Like other cultural productions, therefore, celebration does not simply 'reflect' the political field. It is integrally, and influentially, part of

91 Novascotian May 24, 1858.
An analysis of the role of the lieutenant-governor in public celebrations reinforces the competitiveness and ill-defined nature of the respective powers and responsibilities of the authorities and the citizens during the Victorian period.

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In the early nineteenth century, the lieutenant-governor functioned as the imperial representative, and the head of the colonial establishment. He appointed the executive councillors who constituted (with him) the ruling oligarchy. During public celebrations, he hosted and attended balls and levées, and exercised royal prerogatives, such as the proclamation of public holidays, the reception and transmission of congratulatory addresses, and the pardoning of prisoners. By mid-century, however, colonists had begun to question the character of the existing government. Lower middle-class shopkeepers in Nova Scotia hoped for more political representation in the new corporation of Halifax in 1841, but were largely disappointed, as members of the ruling oligarchy assumed control of the first civic government in an effort to maintain their hegemony. The first mayor of Halifax, Stephen Binney, and fellow Tory members of the oligarchy, used the celebration of the visit of the Prince de Joinville and the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1841 to usurp the vice-regal prerogatives of the lieutenant-governor, and expand their personal powers and those of the new corporation. In this context, the celebration represented and promoted "dynamic political processes, including the realignment of forces and interests within
the body politic.¹ The lieutenant-governor suffered serious challenges a few years later, as the achievement of responsible government in 1848 officially reduced his status to that of an impartial arbitrator. The strengthening of party lines meant that attacks on the lieutenant-governor became largely partisan in nature. Members of the opposition frequently attacked the lieutenant-governor during public celebrations as a means of publicly censuring his administration. Confederation eventually transformed the lieutenant-governor from a royal representative to a federal officer, thereby removing his royal privileges.

This analysis of the changing role of the lieutenant-governor focusses on Halifax, the residence of Nova Scotia's imperial representative, and the seat of the provincial government. Since Saint John was not the centre of provincial politics in New Brunswick, the lieutenant-governor was not as visible and thus not as politically controversial. Furthermore, Saint John's incorporation in 1785 meant that the common council had ironed out its civic responsibilities much earlier than Halifax, jealously guarding its civic territory from the incursions of "proprietorial families", the garrison, and even the

lieutenant-governor, although in essence, the mayor was the governor's man by virtue of the city's royal charter. In any case, the Saint John common council did not experience the same degree of vulnerability in struggles for power and recognition with the provincial government and imperial authorities during the nineteenth century, as did the relatively new Halifax city council, which had yet to chart out its responsibilities and powers.2

The emergence of the new corporation of Halifax in 1841 served to challenge the authority of the province's lieutenant-governor. Prior to incorporation, Halifax had been governed by magistrates, dominated by a merchant/professional gentry, who were appointed by the lieutenant-governor, or through a process of co-option, and a grand jury, chosen by lot from among the more affluent rate-payers. In the early nineteenth century, the "shopocracy" of Halifax cultivated a desire for the reform of the municipal administration of Halifax. These master craftsmen and retailers had experienced increased property accumulation, yet were not accommodated within the existing governmental structure. The loss of income and security as a result of the hard times of the mid-1830's also fostered dissatisfaction with the merchant community, and a demand for the liberalization of the gentry-

dominated Anglican Tory administration. Thomas Forrester, an influential dry goods retailer, encouraged Joseph Howe, the leading Nova Scotian reformer, to adopt incorporation as an attempt to penetrate the boundaries of the urban gentry. Despite Howe's initial reservation that corporations would remain "strongholds of oligarchy", he was swayed by England's 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, which reorganized local government in a more liberal manner. That year, Howe won a libel suit for publishing a letter condemning the corruption of the magistrates and police. Both Howe and Forrester won seats as reformers during the provincial election in 1836. They presented a bill for the incorporation of Halifax to the assembly on March 21, 1837, February 14, 1838, and in January 1839, but were met by elite opposition to the expense and levelling potential of incorporation, and the hinterland's suspicion of "urban aggrandizement".

Only the visit of Governor-General Charles Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) to Halifax in 1840 could bring about some positive action. During his visit, the governor-general created a coalition government between Reformers and moderate Conservatives in Nova Scotia, and gave general approval to elective municipal institutions as a concession to Joseph Howe for his entrance into the coalition. He left the details of incorporation to the new lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Lord Falkland. The
coalition went to work behind the scenes and on April 10, 1841, Halifax was incorporated.3

Controversy eventually erupted over the narrow qualifications for voters and office-holders.4 Voters had to own or lease a dwelling house having an annual value of £20, which limited the franchise to about 800 of Halifax's 2,500 ratepayers. The city council positions were restricted to those owning or occupying a dwelling house having an annual value of £30, and possessing real and personal property valued at £500, while the aldermen and mayor had to meet the parallel qualifications of £50 and £1000. Only about 100 residents were subsequently eligible to run for civic office.5 Despite declared opposition to municipal reform, "considerations of self-preservation" forced members of the merchant oligarchy to contest for

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5 Sutherland "The Incorporation of Halifax", pp. 16, 17; Beck The Evolution of Municipal Government, pp. 14, 15. In 1849, the position of the city councillor was abolished, and £500 of real or personal property above all encumbrances was prescribed as the qualification for mayor, aldermen, and assessors.
seats during the first civic election on May 12, 1841.6

According to William C. Borrett:

the most bitter opponents of that principle [incorporation] were among the first to offer themselves as confidantes, and thereby get control of the new civic government, and so their own interests, and maintain their old policy of social and political exclusiveness.7

In the first civic election, merchants captured the mayorship, as well as all of the aldermanic positions, eleven seats on the city council, and four of the city assessors' posts. The shopocracy picked up the remaining eight positions as assessors, and seven seats on the council. Thus, incorporation served to "modify" but not "terminate" the tradition of merchant/gentry "ascendence".8

The disputes over incorporation seemed to disappear by June 8, 1841, as the celebration of the founding of the city was combined with the celebration of incorporation. At the joint festivities, the new mayor, aldermen, city council, and recorder enjoyed a procession and enthusiastic reception. After a boat cruise, an escort of

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7 William C. Borrett "The First Mayor. A Pompous Gentleman", in East Coast Port and Other Tales Told Under the Old Town Clock (Halifax, 1944), pp. 83-84. For names of men on the first council, see Acadian Recorder January 17, 1872.

8 Sutherland "The Incorporation of Halifax, 1841", p. 19.
approximately 3,000 waited on the mayor at his residence, and offered cheers for him and his new civic government.9

A few months later, however, a feud developed between the new mayor, Stephen Binney, and Lieutenant-Governor Falkland. Their respective personalities and backgrounds seemed to ensure antagonism. Stephen Binney came from an established Tory Anglican family. His father, Hibbert Newton Binney, served as the collector of impost and excise for over fifty years, a job which was later taken over by Edward Binney, Stephen's brother. Stephen Binney married the daughter of William Pryor, a prominent merchant, while his brother, Stephen Newton Binney, married into the merchant family of W. A. Black.10 Lord Falkland, on the other hand, was an aristocrat, with an "egocentric temperament", who "lacked adroitness, pliancy, and self-effacing detachment to be an adept manager of colonial politicians or a skillful moderator of their factional rivalries". He loathed the "upstart pretensions" of the "die-hard Tories of the old official and merchant clique" in Nova Scotia, such as Stephen Binney. Indeed, Falkland described Binney as "a weak vain man, proud of

9 Borrett "The First Mayor", pp. 82-83.

his office, with somewhat ultra ideas of his own importance.\textsuperscript{11}

The dispute in question between Falkland and Binney began when the mayor refused to lift the city's quarantine restrictions to allow the smallpox-infested ships of the visiting French Prince de Joinville (son of King Louis Philippe of France), to land in Halifax on September 6, 1841.\textsuperscript{12} The prince and the lieutenant-governor defied the restriction, and held a number of events to mark the occasion, including a ball and a couple of dinners. Although the new mayor and Mrs. Binney were invited to Government House on their way to the ball to be presented to the Prince, Mayor Binney declined the invitation, believing he should have been invited to dine with the prince, since, as he pointed out, he was next in power and authority to Lieutenant-Governor Falkland. This impertinence angered Falkland, who proceeded to dismiss

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Novascotian} November 4, 1841; Lord Falkland to Lord John Russell, December 20, 1841, as quoted in Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", p. 354. Even a correspondent who supported Mayor Binney admitted that the mayor could be an "offending and obnoxious...individual"--"A Citizen" in the Halifax \textit{Times} January 18, 1842, p. 23. For the description of Falkland, see Peter Burroughs "Lucius Bentinck Cary, 10th Viscount Falkland", \textit{Dictionary of Canadian Biography}, Vol. 11, pp. 155-56; Thomas H. Raddall also notes that Lord Falkland had no tact when it came to dealing with "colonials", and that he was the last of a long line of governors with the same problem--Thomas H. Raddall \textit{Halifax Warden of the North} (London, 1950), p. 194.

\textsuperscript{12} Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", p. 354.
Binney from his staff as militia aid de camp, to be replaced by Captain John McNab, a relative of Joseph Howe's wife. Howe played down the significance of the office, and Binney's predicament, joking that 99 out of 100 Haligonians could not have cared less "whether Colonel Binney or Capt. McNab cut up the Governor's Turkies or [led] Dowagers into Dinner". Although the Mayor later presented an address to the prince, and was invited to the regatta ball, he reportedly "never forgave the social affront of ranking him below the members of the Provincial Government".

In the aftermath of the prince's visit, anti-Falkland papers, such as the Halifax Times, began a tirade against the lieutenant-governor for his treatment of Mayor Binney. In response, Lord Falkland contended that since the "Prince de Joinville affair", Binney had become a tool of a party opposed to his administration, and had also shown considerable bitterness to the lieutenant-governor personally.

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15 Borrett "The First Mayor", p. 85.

16 Novascotian December 23, 1841; Times December 7, 14, 1841; Falkland to Russell, December 22, 1841, RG 1, Vol. 116, pp. 126–29, PANS.
of Lord Falkland at this time, commented that Mayor Binney "considered the city insulted, wrote impertinent notes, and kicked up a deuce of a row [into] which I was dragged of course, having to defend Falkland who did not know how to defend himself". As well as being Falkland's defender, Howe acted as "protocol officer", pointing out that no mayors were listed in the Colonial Office's Table of Precedence. He commented:

I proved, conclusively, that being only Mayor of one town, he had no right to take rank among the Provincial officers, and that there were hundreds of persons who in England would be asked to meet a foreign prince before the Mayor of London or Bristol.17

The Novascotian, a reform organ, proceeded to publish several pages of instruction for Mayor Binney on the etiquette of international courtesy.18

The antagonism between Binney and Falkland intensified during the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales three months later. During this celebration, Mayor Binney exercised certain privileges thought by the imperial and provincial authorities to be prerogatives of the lieutenant-governor. By attempting to usurp these powers, Mayor Binney questioned the legitimacy of the authority held by the imperial representative and

17 As quoted in Beck, Joseph Howe p. 233. Unfortunately, I could find no original table of precedence for this period in Nova Scotia.

18 Borrett "The First Mayor", p. 85.
his administration, and showed the lack of confidence in the
definition of the government's powers at this time.

Initially, the celebration seemed to proceed relatively harmoniously. At a public meeting to discuss the festivities, most disagreements revolved around the mode of celebration: many objected to holding a ball and called for more common amusements. The city council was deemed premature in opening a subscription for a public ball. Joseph Howe, in an effort to smooth the waters between Falkland, his administration, and the explosive mayor, voiced his approval of the actions of the city council. In the end, a unanimous vote placed the organization of the celebration in the hands of the corporation, and Joseph Howe called for cheers for the city council and their efforts.19

The harmony of the celebration disintegrated when the mayor offered to present congratulatory addresses to Queen Victoria in person, instead of going through the lieutenant-governor, the usual channel for such affairs. The Novascotian saw the mayor's offer as part of a Tory plot to "play off a mayor outspokenly hostile to the political changes that had taken place against the governor who had made the changes".20 The paper also contended that the

19 Novascotian December 16, 1841.
20 Novascotian September 30, 1841, as quoted in Beck, Joseph Howe, p. 234.
Tories attempted "under cover of a National Holiday, to play off political tricks".21 Using his influence as mayor, Binney managed to convince the city council to entrust him with their address, but only after they consulted with Lieutenant-Governor Falkland, and resolved to present him with a separate congratulatory address.22 In their discussions of the career of Stephen Binney, C. Alexander Pincombe and William C. Borrett short-change the significance of this incident. They correctly explain Binney's success in convincing the city council to entrust him with their address, but they overlook Binney's efforts to transmit as well the addresses of the national societies, which instigated the controversy.23 The Tories' domination of the St. George's Society, with Stephen Binney as a vice president and his brother as treasurer, meant that Binney had little difficulty in passing a resolution in favour of mayoral transmission, although, like the city council, they also agreed to present a

21 Novascotian December 16, 1841.

22 Novascotian December 16, 1841; Times December 14, 21, 28, 1841, January 4, 1842. To no avail, the Hon. Hugh Bell, a brewer, who had lost the mayorship to Binney, presented his personal protest regarding the mayoral transmission of the council address--Novascotian December 30, 1841.

separate address to Falkland. Lieutenant-Governor Falkland thought it reasonable, albeit irregular, for the mayor to present the address of his council, but declared to Colonial Secretary Lord Russell, that the actions of those backing the mayor's transmission of the address of the St. George's Society was an attempt to induce a "belief in England that my Government is unsatisfactory to the majority of the residents in Halifax" and for the "express design of casting reproach on myself". Falkland feared that this Tory faction would convince Lord Russell and the Tory administration of Sir Robert Peel, that they deserved more attention than was warranted. Lord Falkland explained that although the coterie surrounding Stephen Binney was "respectable from position and character", constituting a considerable part of "the Society of Halifax", and was responsible for his own failure to cultivate better feelings in the colony, he assured Russell that the group was "insignificant in point of number and almost entirely devoid of political influence".25

Stephen Binney's gift of L5 to the Charitable Irish

24 Novascotian December 23, 1841; Times December 21,28, 1841; Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", pp. 354-55. According to Belcher's Almanac, 1842, p. 54, Binney was an assistant vice president, while his brother, Edward Binney, was a treasurer, although the Novascotian described him as a secretary.

Society did not convince them to convey their address through him; instead they agreed that it should be sent through the usual channel, Lieutenant-Governor Falkland.26 The mayor also attempted to influence the North British Society and the Highland Society with a £5 donation, but according to the Novascotian, the "Scotchmen were too shrewd and intelligent". The Scottish societies, dominated by Joseph Howe and his supporters, refused to give Mayor Binney permission to transmit their addresses.27

Stephen Binney's proposal caused considerable strife and division among the members of the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society. Beamish Murdoch, a lawyer who disliked political intrigue, described the Philanthropic Society as a non-partisan "centre of union" for Nova Scotian natives, a "rallying point" for Nova Scotian loyalty, containing members of all political persuasions.28 The issue of the transmission of the congratulatory address divided the members. Howe argued in favour of transmission through the lieutenant-governor, contending that, since no precedent existed for mayoral transmission, Binney would probably not be accepted by the

26 Charitable Irish Society Minute Book, December 15, 1841, PANS; Novascotian December 16, 23, 1841; Times December 21, 28, 1841; Acadian Recorder December 18, 1841.

27 Novascotian December 23, 1841; Times December 21, 28, 1841, January 4, 1842; North British Society Minute Book December 14, 1841, p. 34, PANS.

28 Times December 21, 1841.
colonial secretary. The mayor and his supporters waxed eloquent about Nova Scotians being "serfs and slaves", becoming very "indignant at anybody supposing that he [the mayor] could not make his way to the Throne", whether the colonial secretary would "let him or not". Eventually, William Sutherland, a friend of Binney, moved that there be duplicate copies of the address, one sent through the lieutenant-governor and the other through the mayor, which was carried by a majority of about fifteen members. 29 The protests of Howe and his colleagues gave rise to another meeting, where the members expressed more hard feelings on the subject. Beamish Murdoch, who had not been present at the previous meeting, worried about the "welfare" of the society, fearing that the "array of forces and feelings on each side threatened its dissolution". He acknowledged their difficult position, for if they retained the resolution from the previous meeting to provide a duplicate address for the mayor, they risked slighting the lieutenant-governor, but if the resolution was rescinded, they would offend Mayor Binney, an honorary member of the society. In an attempt to restore peace, and as proof that they meant no disrespect to Falkland by giving an address to Binney, he moved that instead of rescinding the former resolution, they pass a resolution of respect for Lord

29 Novascotian December 16, 23, 1841; Times December 14, 1841.
Falkland, and maintain their trust in Binney. It was also moved that they present an address to Lord Falkland, asking him to transmit their address to Queen Victoria. These resolutions were passed unanimously, and the members reportedly left in a good humour.30

The invitation of Lord Falkland to a ball given by the mayor and citizens also generated some controversy. Government members saw this as a measure to embarrass the lieutenant-governor and his administration. However, the Times, which supported the mayor and his friends, argued that the executive councillors "warred against" the mayor's ball, as an attempt to sabotage the credibility of the city council.31

The executive councillors and other government supporters felt so strongly about Stephen Binney's actions, that they issued a requisition to the mayor, calling for a public meeting to discuss his attempts to mix "party and personal feelings" with the celebration.32 At the public meeting, Joseph Howe moved a resolution censuring the mayor's effort to transmit addresses, which was seconded by the moderate Conservative, J.W. Johnston, and supported by other coalition government members.

30 Novascotian December 23, 1841; Times December 21, 1841.  
31 "Office Lover" in Times January 11, 1841.  
32 Novascotian December 23, 1841.
Beamish Murdoch disapproved of Howe’s resolution, contending that Binney’s efforts were "too trifling" for such "serious actions". As during the meeting of the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society, Murdoch supported the transmission of an address to Lord Falkland and Queen Victoria, but not a condemnation of the mayor, for it would elevate Binney by casting him as the head of one party and Falkland as the head of another. The Novascotian reported that Mayor Binney and his friends left when they could not restrict the voting to £20 households (in other words, their own wealthy clique), and that the remaining majority supported Joseph Howe’s resolution.33 The Times, however, contended that the government supporters lost their motion to dump the condemnatory and controversial resolution by putting forth a more conciliatory amendment (Beamish Murdoch's), but due to the confusion, the impending darkness, and the smallness of the building, no vote could be contested.34 In any case, the mayor proceeded to leave the meeting with his friends, who carried him on their shoulders in victory through the city to his residence. Those remaining at the meeting resolved to transmit another address from the "citizens" of Halifax to Queen Victoria through the

33 Beck Joseph Howe, p. 234; Novascotian December 30, 1841.
34 Times December 21 1841.
lieutenant-governor, and appointed a committee to carry it into effect.

The *Times* questioned the legitimacy of this address committee, contending that they had undertaken measures to force heads of departments and clerks of offices to append names to the address. Consequently, this address was destroyed, and a more representative address circulated, signed by people of "various political opinions", who believed that the lieutenant-governor should be used to transmit addresses under such circumstances. In response, Mayor Binney's camp composed a rival "citizens'" address, to be conveyed through the mayor.35

While the coalition government supported Lord Falkland during these incidents, the Halifax *Times* rallied to the defense of Mayor Binney. The *Times* argued that the executive councillors and supporters instigated the conflicts, not the mayor. In a letter to the editor, one commentator considered it atrocious that the "whole weight and influence" of an administration should be brought down upon one individual. In their efforts to "lessen the Mayor in the estimation of the city", these government members, especially Howe, influenced the North British Society's decision against mayoral transmission, and the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society's protest meeting, but were not

entirely successful in banning the mayor in the latter instance. The newspaper supported the mayor's right to transmit addresses by noting the absence of precedents against the practice. According to the Times, the government misconstrued the mayor's invitation of Lord Falkland to the citizens' ball; rather than being an attempt to embarrass the lieutenant-governor, it was meant as a "tender of reconciliation". Furthermore, the paper accused the provincial executive of "intentionally" delaying the communication of the Prince of Wales' birth to the civic authorities, and when they did, of announcing it to the city clerk, not to the mayor, and also of purposely neglecting to invite the mayor to Government House to celebrate the birth. In any case, the Times hoped that this would be the "last attempt of Lord Falkland's Responsible Councillors, to set themselves as a power over the heads of the civic authorities of Halifax", for they did not have the "least right to intermeddle in civic affairs, except to veto an ordnance". The newspaper voiced a feeling of incredulity and anger at the "effrontery" of the executive government in telling Haligonians, as members of societies and as citizens, that they could not manage their own affairs. This position was seen to be at

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36 James Stewart Clark, City Clerk, from Lieutenant-Governor's office, December 7, 1841, regarding Birth of the Prince on November 9th, 1841, in RG 1, Vol. 151, p. 71, PANS.
variance with the principle of popular rights, which Joseph Howe had formerly advocated.37

During the celebration itself, the ball seemed to pass off without much incident, despite the lieutenant-governor's refusal to attend.38 The societies proceeded to Government House, where the St. George's Society and the city council presented congratulatory addresses to the lieutenant-governor personally (since their congratulatory addresses to Queen Victoria were being transmitted by Mayor Binney), while the other societies respectfully requested him to dispatch their addresses to the Queen. Despite the dissension over the mode of transmitting the addresses, the procession and presentation were reportedly "not disgraced by a word or an act".39

However, Stephen Binney had yet to perform his pièce de resistance. Toward the end of the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales, Mayor Binney waltzed into the Bridewell, the city prison, and promised to pardon the prisoners. Royal clemency was often extended during public celebrations, as a symbol of humanitarianism, as well as


38 There were aspersions of a little disorder—Novascotian December 16, 28, 30, 1841; Acadian Recorder December 25, 1841.

39 The Scottish societies presented their addresses earlier—Novascotian December 30, 1841; Times December 28, 1841, gives texts of addresses.
to alleviate the overcrowded conditions in the public carceral facilities.40 While officially a royal prerogative, in reality it was an ad hoc procedure, practiced by magistrates and members of the aldermanic prison committee.41 Thus, Mayor Binney's promise to liberate the prisoners does not seem unusual. However, Binney went too far. The Novascotian assumed that the council would finance the debts of poor debtors out of the celebration subscriptions, and then, if they went any further, to make a "judicious selection" of deserving prisoners, with the sanction of the lieutenant-governor. Instead, the paper reported that Binney tried to free all of the inmates, including those convicted and awaiting sentence. The sheriff managed to save the day, by turning the keys on the Bridewell inmates when the mayor turned away, much to their surprise.42 Joseph Howe also asserted later that the mayor gave the prisoners an "unconditional pardon", and promised to give them 10s so they would not be destitute when they got out.43 In the context of Mayor Binney's previous actions during the celebration, critics


41 Fingard The Dark Side of Life, p. 46.

42 Novascotian December 30, 1841; reprinted in Morning News January 5, 1842.

43 Novascotian January 6, 26, 1842. For rebuttals, see Acadian Recorder January 16, 1842; "Mag" in Times January 4, 1842.
interpreted his Bridewell incident as an effort to "seize upon and trample under his feet the highest and most hallowed prerogative of the Crown".44

Mayor Binney, on the other hand, had quite a different story. He asserted that the civic authorities had forgotten to make the requisite application to the proper authorities for royal clemency, so he proceeded to the Bridewell with the intention of releasing a few worthy debtors, but decided against it when the jailor wavered in identifying the prospective prisoners. According to a supporter of Mayor Binney, the sheriff, who allegedly turned the key on the inmates, was not even present during the incident.45 Mayor Binney admitted that he may have been a bit overzealous in the emotion of the moment, but contended that this could not be construed as a "trespass on the privileges of others", or a misconception of his own. The mayor ultimately blamed the incident on the legislature's poorly drawn-up charter of incorporation for Halifax, which did not clearly lay out the rights and responsibilities of the newly incorporated city.46

44 *Novascotian* December 30, 1841.

45 "Fair Play" in *Times* January 11, 1842; Borrett "The First Mayor", p. 87, accepts the *Novascotian*'s version at face value. Joseph Howe said he knew several gentlemen who could refute Binney's story—*Novascotian* January 6, 26, 1842.

46 Letter from Binney in *Times* January 4, 1842; *Acadian Recorder* January 1, 1842.
**Times** not surprisingly implicated the lieutenant-governor, noting "how easy it was for a Governor to balk a few poor devils their liberty, if he had a personal quarrel with the Mayor".47

After being presented with a testimonial, Binney left for England on January 3, 1842 to present his addresses. The colonial secretary had informed Lord Falkland that the corporation address would be laid before Queen Victoria, but that the other addresses had to be submitted by the lieutenant-governor, as the "authorized medium of communication" between Nova Scotians and "this Department".48 Although Lord Falkland transmitted most of the addresses,49 Stephen Binney presented the addresses of the city council and the St. George's Society, having assured the new colonial secretary, Lord Stanley, that he intended no disrespect toward Falkland.50 After hearing of

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47 *Times* January 18, 1842.

48 Stanley to Falkland, January 28, 1842, RG 1, Vol. 81, pp. 10-11. Binney was personally informed that he had the opportunity to transmit the address from the city council at the next levée at St. James' Palace—G.W. Stoke, on behalf of Lord Stanley, to Binney, March 5, 1842, RG 1, Vol. 81, p. 29.


50 The addresses from the African Friendly Society and the Youths Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society were also officially acknowledged as coming from Binney—Falkland to Russell, December 22, 1841, RG 1, Vol. 116, pp. 126-29; Stanley to Falkland, March 10, 1842, RG 1, Vol. 81, p. 33;
Binney's successful presentation of the addresses, the Tory gentry of the St. George's Society drank toasts of victory. When J.B. Uniacke, Falkland's solicitor-general, proposed toasts to the lieutenant-governor, he was greeted by a "rattling of plates—stamping of feet—thumping with hands—accompanied by cries of 'no Falkland's here'".51

Binney's leave of absence from the city council expired in March, and the council elected Edward Kenny as the interim Mayor. Mayor Binney's expired leave of absence suggests that he may have decided to go overseas not only to present the addresses, but to get away from financial hardships of a personal nature. He had entered into a co-partnership with Michael Wallace Porter in June 1841, (to be conducted under the firm of S. Binney and Co.),52 the same month that a recession hit Halifax's merchant community. The resulting credit squeeze drove a number of merchants into bankruptcy.53 It is not known when Binney returned to Halifax,54 but in February 1843, his business


51 As quoted in Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", p. 356.

52 Novascotian June 17, 1841.

53 Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", pp. 325-32.

54 In May 1842, Stephen Binney, as well as two of his brothers, were listed as shareholders of the Bank of British North America, albeit only with one share each, and thus not eligible to vote—Alphabetical list of the Proprietors of the Bank of British North America On the 31st May, 1842, p. 7, MG 100, Vol. 106, no.41b, PANS.
went bankrupt, and he fled the city as an "absconding debtor". By November 20, 1843, Binney was residing in Moncton, N.B., where he subsequently made a positive contribution to the economic and cultural life of the city, as a wholesale merchant, a proponent of the railway, and a leading member of the Anglican Church.

While Stephen Binney's actions were probably motivated by personal factors, such as financial distress, and the desire to enhance the "dignity" and "status" of his office, he did not act entirely on his own behalf. Binney's Tory colleagues undoubtedly "egged" him on, for his attacks on Falkland were a way of getting at the coalition government, which they loathed. Through their support of the mayor's assumption of imperial prerogatives, the Tories pressed for greater powers for local government, which is the opposite of what one would usually expect from the stereotypically royalist Tories. As the head of the new corporation, Binney also instigated a debate over civic privilege, including the power of the provincial executive to meddle in the affairs of the city.

55 Sutherland "The merchants of Halifax", p. 384, endnote 21; Beck The Evolution of Municipal Government, p. 15. The Halifax Guardian February 17, 1843 notes that Binney's co-partnership was dissolved on February 14, 1843. Although this reference is noted on a PANS biography card, the actual newspaper for this date is no longer in existence.


57 Beck The Evolution of Municipal Government, p. 15.
and the extent of the prerogatives of the lieutenant-governor. Incorporation had provided Haligonians with a "voice of their own", and had "brought [them] into a closer approximation with the throne", a new channel which they would continue to guard with jealousy.58

After the 1841 controversies, Lieutenant-Governor Falkland continued to endure a barrage of criticism from the Tories and the Binney family. When Hibbert Newton Binney died in August 1842, a number of prominent merchants petitioned to have the collectorship assigned to Stephen's brother, Edward Binney, who had acted as his father's assistant for sixteen years. The Novascotian argued that Edward's candidacy had been engineered by Stephen, as part of a "continuing campaign" to "harass" Lord Falkland.59 As party lines strengthened between Liberals and Conservatives, Falkland's coalition experiment dissolved, and the Conservatives took power in 1843. After a Conservative patronage appointment by Falkland, Howe and the Liberals turned against him, taking up the cry of single party government, and a reduction in the powers of the lieutenant-governor.60 Having endured three years of personal insults, Falkland left for England

58 "Civis" in Times December 21, 1841.
60 Burroughs "Lucius Bentinck Cary, 10th Viscount Falkland", p. 156.
in 1846 to the sound of a single defiant Tory salute.61

The Liberals continued their crusade for single party government, and in 1848 managed to oust the Conservatives on a vote of non-confidence, and to inaugurate the British cabinet system known as responsible government. A local elite of middle-class officials, professionals and businessmen entered the provincial government and suddenly realized that they were "dependent on their own exertions".62 Under this new system, the power of the lieutenant-governor waned as the balance of power shifted from a chosen council to a cabinet reflecting the majority in the assembly. The new lieutenant-governor, Sir John Harvey, was instructed not to interfere with the provincial government, and to act as an impartial arbitrator to deter "blatant breeches of colonial politicians".63 As a Whig, Harvey attempted to be a conciliator, but it became increasingly difficult to monitor colonial politics because of increasing partisanship. Having "practically abrogated any real powers" as lieutenant-governor, Harvey became a cipher of


the executive government, and thus became a partisan in the eyes of the opposition.64 After the appointment of a number of Liberals to the magistracy, and the dismissal of Tory officials, the Conservative party began a "factious opposition" to Harvey and his government.65

The Conservatives used the Halifax centenary celebration in 1849 as a medium for expressing their opposition to Lieutenant-Governor Harvey and his administration. After the celebration organizers unveiled plans for a public oration and the presentation of addresses on the common, the Conservative British Colonist complained that the government was "taking advantage of the public nature of the day" to entrap them into a show of approbation for the lieutenant-governor, by making them cheer for him, and thus for his ministry.66 One citizen requested that the Conservatives withdraw from the centenary procession, for it was considered to be a "profanation of the banners of a society to salute one [Harvey] of whom such an opinion is entertained as that above expressed".67 According to the Novascotian, a member


65 Buckner The Transition to Responsible Government, p. 303.

66 British Colonist May 29, 1849.

67 British Colonist June 7, 1849.
of the late Conservative government informed the Sons of Temperance that he would not process with them for fear of a row.68 The Conservatives also resented the government's call to celebrate when the colony suffered from economic depression and out-migration.69 One correspondent suggested that the centenary committee solicit subscriptions from the members of the government, the only inhabitants prospering during the depression.70 On the other hand, the Novascotian criticized the opposition "croakers", who complained of hard times and clothed themselves in "sackcloth and ashes", yet "button[ed] their pockets, shut up their bowels of compassion, and refuse[d] to aid by their means, the Centenary committee".71 Despite the concerns of the Conservatives, no disorder plagued the celebration, and while some cheered for the lieutenant-governor on the common, there was none of the "obnoxious cheering" feared.72 Lieutenant-Governor Harvey attempted to conciliate the partisan antagonism of the colony in his celebration speech by referring to the centenary as an

68 Novascotian June 11, 1849.

69 British Colonist May 24, 1849.

70 "Theta" in British Colonist May 22, 1849.

71 Novascotian June 4, 1849.

72 British Colonist June 12, 1849; Novascotian June 11, 1849.
occasion "to lay aside all Party feuds". Nonetheless, the British Colonist continued to make political mileage out of the celebration, with the publication of "The Honorable Joseph Howe's Centenary Poem," entitled "The Government Shout", which "WAS to have been delivered on the day of the Centenary, but WASN'T".

Lieutenant-Governor LeMarchant replaced a demoralized Harvey in 1852. Mid-century was not an auspicious period to be a lieutenant-governor, for as inhabitants were forced to contemplate the disruption of commercial ties with Britain, and a growing disillusionment with Britain's handling of colonial affairs in Washington, it became increasingly "fashionable and politically profitable to assume that the provinces were competent to deal with all aspects of public affairs". The office of the lieutenant-governor came under increasing fire from Conservative politicians, who lectured audiences on the "dangerous influence of alien governors from across the water, especially upon the unnecessary luxuries of gold braid and cocked hats, of frills and foibles that told heavily upon the public purse". Indeed, in 1856 the Acadian Recorder

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73 Harvey's reply to congratulatory address from citizens, MG 100, Vol. 153, no. 10, PANS. Harvey was a "peace maker" at heart--see Philip A. Buckner "Sir John Harvey", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 8, p. 384.

74 British Colonist June 16, 1849.

75 MacNutt The Atlantic Provinces, pp. 258, 262.
reported that there would be no military review or "universal turn out of the Charitable and other societies" for Halifax's natal celebration "to sycophantise 'His Excellency' and bedaub him with soft soap".76

Lord Mulgrave, who replaced LeMarchant as lieutenant-governor in 1858, had an even rougher time with colonial politicians. Like Harvey, Mulgrave attempted to be a truly constitutional governor, but extreme partisan rivalries marred his efforts. 77 When the Liberals took office in 1860, after defeating the Conservatives on a vote of non-confidence, Conservatives alleged that certain Liberal members should be disqualified because they were holders of public office. However, the Liberal-dominated committees appointed to look into the allegations decided in favour of their party. The furious Conservatives demanded a dissolution of government, which Mulgrave, as a constitutional governor, denied.78 The Conservatives, therefore, refused to render universal cooperation and loyalty during the approaching visit of the Prince of

76 *Acadian Recorder* May 24, 1856.


78 See written advice of executive council for Mulgrave, February 4, 1860, in RG 2, Vol. 1, Misc. no. 12, PANS.
Wales. The **Acadian Recorder** feared that the "people of this Province were never in a worse humour for taking part in anything like a Jubilee," for their Queen had sent them a representative who "upheld a wretched unprincipled faction in trampling upon the rights and liberties of the people and outraging the Constitution of the country".

In the event, the prince's visit not only engendered bad feelings and partisan rhetoric, but politicians also used the celebration as a catalyst for political action. During the royal suite's sojourn in Halifax, the leader of the Conservatives, J.W. Johnston, had an audience with the colonial secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, to discuss Mulgrave's refusal to dissolve the government. The Duke of Newcastle informed Johnston that action of any kind was incompatible with the nature of his visit, but that he would attend to the matter as soon as he returned to England. Ultimately, the Duke of Newcastle supported

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79 **British Colonist** May 31, 1860.

80 **Acadian Recorder** May 19, 1860. There was a considerable amount of abuse of the lieutenant-governor in the papers: "An Economic Citizen" generated a wave of hostile retorts to his contention that there were some who would not contribute a cent to the proceedings, because of the conduct of the lieutenant-governor—**Morning Journal** May 30, June 1, 1860; **Evening Express** May 30, 1860, June 1, 4, 1860.

81 For letter written by Johnston, see "Change of Administration" in RG 2, Vol. 1, misc no. 14, PANS; audience with the Duke of Newcastle—**Acadian Recorder** August 4, 1860; **British Colonist** August 9, 1860; **Novascotian** October 1, 1860.
Mulgrave's policy of non-interference, pointing out that governmental appointments were in the hands of the assembly.82

Lieutenant-Governor Mulgrave and the executive council also came under attack for their treatment of the legislature during the visit. The opposition had proposed that the legislature should come together to receive the Prince of Wales, but much to their chagrin, the legislature had prorogued without resolutions for a joint congratulatory address.83 Howe sent out a circular on behalf of Lord Mulgrave, stating that it was "unnecessary officially to summon the Legislature at a season which may be inconvenient", but welcomed members from both branches of the legislature to Halifax, offering them accommodation at the Dockyard for the prince's landing ceremony.84 Charles Tupper, one of the leading opposition members, would not accept the invitation, clearly angered that the people were not permitted to "receive their Royal visitor.

82 For reply of Newcastle, see August 30, 1860, RG 1, Vol. 104, pp. 286-292. A few months previous, Newcastle had written in support of Mulgrave's moderation—Newcastle to Mulgrave, March 4, 1860, RG 1, Vol. 104, pp. 67-68.

83 British Colonist May 31, June 7, July 12, 1860. Assuming that an address was necessary, the British Colonist complained that another meeting of the assembly would cost about £1000.

84 Acadian Recorder July 7, 1860; British Colonist July 5, 1860; Evening Express July 6, 1860; Novascotian July 9, 1860. See circular in Provincial Secretary's Letterbook, June 30, 1860, RG 1, Vol. 160, p. 43, PANS.
in any official capacity recognized by the Constitution”, a situation "wanting in respect to the Prince of Wales, and thus discreditable to the Legislature and Nova Scotians".85 Similarly, J.W. Johnston contended that he had "no intention to be at the Dockyard as a Member of Assembly upon the invitation of those who have denied the Legislature the opportunity of officially receiving guests."86 The disgruntled assembly members accused Lieutenant-Governor Mulgrave and the executive government of usurping the places of the legislature and the people of Nova Scotia at the landing, and in presenting an address on behalf of them, in which they had no part.87 It

85 Acadian Recorder July 7, 1860; British Colonist June 14, July 5, 1860; Evening Express July 6, 1860; Novascotian July 9, 1860. "A Marvel" thought that the Conservative members of the legislative council and the house of assembly should send their own address, explaining the situation—Acadian Recorder July 14, 1860. The British Colonist July 12, 1860, contended that there were few except the circle associated with the Chronicle, who did not endorse Tupper's opinions. However, several Conservatives on the celebration committee repudiated the notion that the British Colonist and Acadian Recorder spoke for the entire party—Morning Sun July 13, 1860.

86 British Colonist July 12, 19, 1860; Morning Sun July 13, 16, 1860. The Novascotian July 16, 1860, was disgusted with the reply, and would only publish one sentence of it. Some were concerned about having to pay their own expenses, and were also insulted that they were provided with the same accommodation as everyone else in the Dockyard—Acadian Recorder July 7, 1860.

87 The British Colonist July 12, August 9, 1860. The Evening Express July 9, 1860, commented that the government platform at the landing would be filled with "beauty and fashion", usurping the legislature from their proper place. The address itself was considered to be egotistical and non-representative—Acadian Recorder
was suggested that perhaps the executive government feared losing their "blue ribbons" of royal favour if the legislature was called together. 88

Joseph Howe, as spokesman for Mulgrave and as provincial secretary, contended that the provision of accommodation for the members at the Dockyard was a matter of personal courtesy. The legislature was not called together to pass an address, because it would have taken too long, and there was no precedent for it here or in England. 89 In any case, the Novascotian pointed out that most members, government and opposition, were present at the Dockyard, and at the Government House, although they were not on the government platform. 90

The opposition press did not see the attendance of members of the legislature as being in any way inconsistent with their previous comments. Those who

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August 4, 1860.

88 British Colonist May 31, 1860. Members of the provincial parliament were also incensed that they were not even permitted in their own parliament building to see the decorations—Acadian Recorder August 4, 1860. They were also angry about paying for the ball, yet not being permitted any intercourse with the Prince of Wales—British Colonist August 9, 1860.

89 Novascotian July 9, 1860; British Colonist July 12, 1860. The Evening Express July 9, 1860, retorted that there was no precedent for assembling, because they had never had such an occasion before.

90 Novascotian July 16, August 20, 1860.
attended the landing had not come at Mulgrave's request, but upon the invitation of Rear Admiral Milne, who showed respect to the legislature by providing tickets to those with public appointments, and admitting them to a raised platform. Furthermore, loyalty to the prince and critical attitudes toward the local government were two separate things, and could easily co-exist without compromise.

Seven years later, Confederation transformed the lieutenant-governor from a representative of the Queen to a representative of the Dominion. The loss of royal status led to a reassessment of the lieutenant-governor's royal prerogatives, including royal clemency. In 1868, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Sir C. Hastings Doyle, inquired of his attorney-general whether the lieutenant-governor still had the prerogative to pardon prisoners, and if any other parties had similar powers under certain conditions.

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91 The British Colonist July 19, August 23, 1860, contended that Mulgrave did not really have the power to issue such an invitation, since the Dockyard was under the auspices of the imperial navy.

92 The general public was admitted without tickets to take up the remainder of the "disposable space" on the ground level—British Colonist July 19, 1860.

93 Evening Express July 6, 9, 1860; Novascotian July 16, 1860.

94 Harry Moody to Col. Francklyn, May 14, 1868, re: assumed exercise of prerogative by commissioners, RG 2, Vol. 6, no. 1044, PANS; Moody to attorney-general, May 8,
argued that the duty could not be devolved upon lieutenant-governors, since they were no longer appointed directly by the Queen.95 However, Martin K. Wilkins, from the attorney-general's office of Nova Scotia, argued that under the British North America Act, all judicial, administrative, and ministerial powers were to continue as before, which included those powers exercised by the lieutenant-governors, who were administrative and executive officers. Thus, he declared without doubt that the "power or prerogative in question is still vested in the Lieutenant Governors of the respective Provinces", and that the lieutenant-governor "and he alone has the power to remit or commute the sentences under which a prisoner is confined whatever the offence may have been if it was of a criminal matter".96

1868, re: lieutenant-governor's powers of mercy, RG 2, Vol. 6, no. 1045; Stipendiary Magistrate Henry Pryor, to Mayor Stephen Tobin, May 18, 1868, re: discharges in prison, RG 2, Vol. 6, no. 1046. An investigation into the commutation of sentences at Rockhead prison in Halifax in 1868, revealed that only four of the thirty-eight Rockhead prisoners discharged early had been released by the Lieutenant-Governor—Fingard The Dark Side of Life, p. 47.


96 Wilkins to Moody, May 21, 22, October 7, 1868, RG 2, Vol. 6, nos. 1051, 1115. In September 1868, the lieutenant-governor did not pardon a prisoner because it was "not yet decided whether the pardoning is vested in the Lieutenant Governor or the Governor General"—H. Crosskill, dy provincial secretary, to Joseph Weeks,
Despite this public proclamation, royal clemency eventually devolved upon the governor-general, the direct representative of the Queen. The governor-general's instructions in 1878 ascribed to him the power to pardon prisoners, although for capital cases he was to seek the advice of his ministers. Indeed, in 1887, the minister of justice advised Halifax's golden jubilee celebration committee that he would not advise the governor-general to release prisoners incarcerated for drunkenness and petty offenses during the celebration, though he would consider specific cases. The transference of the prerogative of royal clemency from the lieutenant-governor to the governor-general was accompanied by an increasing concern for public order, which made prison releases unpopular in the late nineteenth century. The justice minister described a "general gaol delivery" as the most "unfortunate way of celebrating the Queen's Jubilee", for it "let loose in the community the ruffianism now confined in the penitentiaries". No pardons marked the golden and

September 23, 1868, in RG 5, Series GP, Vol. 5, no. 39, PANS.

97 Draft of Instructions passed under the Royal Sign --Manual and Signet to the Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, October 5, 1878, in Dominion of Canada, Instructions for the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, 1890, PANS.

98 Herald May 3, 1887; Acadian Recorder May 3, 1887.

99 Critic June 17, 1887.
diamond jubilee celebrations in Saint John and Halifax in 1887 and 1897, which is ironic, considering the biblical meaning of the Hebrew law of "jubilee", to "return every man unto his possession, and...every man unto his family". Queen Victoria, however, invoked part of the original meaning of jubilee by extending liberation to deserted soldiers and sailors during her golden jubilee celebration in 1887.

The lieutenant-governor not only lost his royal prerogatives after Confederation, but also fell in the table of precedence, from the official head of the colonial hierarchy, to a position after the governor-general and the senior officer commanding the British troops. The lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia also came after his counterparts in Ontario and Quebec. Within eighteen months of Confederation, the British government

100 Leviticus 25:10, in The Holy Bible, King James Version. The original meaning of the word has been lost, and instead it has come to mean the act of celebration—Malcolm Chase "From Millennium to Anniversary: The Concept of Jubilee in Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century England", Past and Present, Vol. 129, November 1990, especially pp. 133, 134, 142, 146.

101 Herald June 28, 1887; Critic July 1, 1887.

102 Table of Precedence, in Instructions for the Lieutenant Governor, 1890. The governor-general also usurped the lieutenant-governor's former title of "His Excellency", leaving the latter with "His Honour"—"Titles Under Confederation", Buckingham and Chandos, Downing Street, to Governor the Right Hon. Viscount Monck, July 24, 1868, in Instructions for the Lieutenant Governor, 1890.
had repealed the right of the lieutenant-governor to salutes and other marks of respect which he had received as the Queen's representative, 103 although by 1872 the imperial authorities permitted the first part of the National Anthem when he was acting directly on behalf of the Queen, as during the opening and closing of parliament, the celebration of the Queen's birthday, and the holding of levees. 104 In 1894, the War Office prohibited the playing of the National Anthem for the lieutenant-governor, but the Colonial Office interceded in 1895, again managing to secure the permission to play six bars. Nova Scotia's Lieutenant-Governor Daly received a salute at the military review during Halifax's diamond jubilee celebration in 1897. According to Lady Aberdeen, in attendance at the ceremony:

The General [Commander-in-Chief of British troops in Halifax] had been instructed to offer the salute to the Lieutenant-Governor by courtesy, and he accordingly was the great man of the day, which seems but proper, as his instructions say that at the opening of Parliament, the Queen's Birthday etc., he is directly to represent the Queen.

She noted, however, that "the General and Mrs. Montgomery

103 Buckingham and Chandos to Viscount Monck, October 19, 1868—Instructions for the Lieutenant Governor, 1890. Lieutenant-governors were not entitled to salutes from Her Majesty's ships and fortifications, RG 2, Vol. 6, no. 1140, PANS.

104 Lord Kimberley to Lord Lisgar, November 7, 1872, and Sir Richard Airy, War Office, to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, October 9, 1872, in Instructions for the Lieutenant Governor, 1890.
Moore did not like it", and that it was "very difficult to get all arrangements to suit the three dignitaries, the Governor, the General, the Admiral". In any case, "on this occasion, they are all nice people, and work together as well as it is possible to do under said circumstances".105

The "exercise of hospitality" was identified by Lieutenant-Governor Harvey as one of the primary means of cultivating a "good understanding in a colony".106 Confederation augmented the lieutenant-governor's social responsibilities, but not his salary, which remained unchanged until 1872, when it was increased from $7000 to $9000.107 Though this social role is a far cry from the lieutenant-governor's former involvement and prominence in politics and public celebrations, his social responsibilities must not be underestimated. Social and cultural "missionaries" looked to the lieutenant-governor for the initiation and support of cultural and benevolent causes not feasible under solely local auspices.108

Organizers of celebrations also requested the attendance

105 Lady Aberdeen's Journal, June 22, 1897, NAC; for discussion of ceremonial observances, see Saywell The Office of the Lieutenant Governor, pp. 15-17.


107 Saywell The Office of the Lieutenant Governor, pp. 19-20.

of the lieutenant-governor, for his presence gave the events an aura of respectability. Elites and would-be elites considered an invitation to celebrate at the Government House as "the door of entrance into social life", and "an introduction into good Society".109

Throughout the nineteenth century, public celebrations served as vehicles to challenge the authority of the lieutenant-governor and his administration. The imperial representative particularly came under fire during celebrations which coincided with three political watersheds: Halifax's incorporation, the introduction of responsible government in Nova Scotia, and Confederation. The erosion of the lieutenant-governor's prerogative to liberate prisoners particularly affected the poor, who were most frequently affected by pardons. The decline of drinking and feasting as a mode of celebration constituted a further loss for the lower orders. Indeed, the reformation of the political administration was accompanied by a desire to reform society, most notably to eradicate the evil power of drink.

109 R.G. Haliburton to His Excellency, Sir R.G. MacDonnell, August 17, 1864, RG 2, Vol. 4, no. 488, PANS; J. Chipman to Col. Clarke, Private Secretary, August 21, 1894, and attached reply, in RG 2, Vol. 12, no. 2763, PANS.
Feasting and drinking was a popular form of celebration at all social levels in the early Victorian period. By mid-century, however, feasting and drinking had come under increasing attack from evangelicals and temperance advocates. Although reformers campaigned against the gregarious gorging of the urban gentry, the feasts for the poor were most susceptible to attack because of their public nature. Public feasting eventually declined over the course of the nineteenth century, in response to the attacks of the moral reformers, as well as the erosion of English cultural influences, and the class differentiation and alienation which accompanied urbanization.

1 Peter Burke has shown that a combination of gorging and drinking was one of the primary functions of festivals in early modern Europe, including Carnaval in southern Europe and autumn feast days in Britain--Peter Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London, 1978), pp. 178, 183, 186, 193, 195, 196. "Sustenance" as well as "sociability" were important components of public celebrations in eighteenth century America--Barbara Karsky "Sustenance and sociability: eating habits in eighteenth-century America", Annales, Vol. 40, no. 5, September-October 1985, pp. 51-52. By the time of King George III's jubilee in 1809, the British expected a "free meal" during celebrations--Linda Colley "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty, and the British Nation, 1760-1820", Past and Present, Vol. 102, February 1984, p. 119.

Leading citizens celebrated special occasions by partaking of exclusive indoor feasts, such as corporation dinners and the banquets which frequently accompanied grand balls. A Saint John citizen objected to the exclusivity of such events during the coronation celebration in 1838. He commented that a dinner to fifty persons, including the corporate body is not in form or intention a public festival, but merely a private concern apparently to answer some party, and to gratify a few persons at the expense of the public. Attendance at these events was usually restricted by extending invitations to a clique of local, imperial, and military dignitaries, and by charging a relatively high subscription or admission price for everyone else. Organizers of the ball and banquet held in Halifax in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, restricted admission to 250 invitations and 1000

3 "Corporation Dinner, alias Humbug!!" by "D." in Weekly Chronicle June 22, 1838, p. 3, June 29, 1838. For copy of "List of Guests for Corporation dinner at Coronation, 1838", see Robert F. Hazen, Mayoralty Papers, Box 2, Shelf 36, Folder 15, no. 29, N.B. Museum. The Acadian Recorder June 23, 1862, commented that the only one who would oppose "such an outlay" as the natal day corporation dinner in Halifax was some "jealous mortal" who "did not get an opportunity to take the creases out of his dress coat". A corporation dinner in early nineteenth-century rural England was described by an old man in Thomas Hardy's The Mayor of Casterbridge (London, 1962), p. 39: "'tis a great public dinner of the gentle-people and such like leading volk--wi' the Mayor in the chair. As we plainer fellows bain't invited, they leave the winder-shutters open that we may get jist a sense o't out here."
tickets,\textsuperscript{4} priced at two sovereigns for a man and one sovereign for a woman.\textsuperscript{5} According to the \textit{Evening Express}, these prices kept the attraction "a rather more aristocratic affair than it otherwise would have been."\textsuperscript{6} The lieutenant-governor, the vice-admiral, and other notable officials and residents also hosted private dinner parties. Voluntary organizations like the national societies, militia, volunteers, and firemen dined in the neighborhood hotels, restaurants, and drinking establishments.

The menus at these events consisted of several courses and many delicacies (See Figure 3.1). Much alcohol was consumed. For the Prince of Wales' banquet in Halifax in 1860, the organizing committee selected twelve dozen sherries, thirty-one dozen high quality champagnes, including twenty-three dozen of "Mumm's", and twenty-eight dozen of the cheaper wines.\textsuperscript{7} After eating,

at least half a dozen toasts were proposed, composed of the very finest wines, and this was in many places simply an overture to the festivities which were to follow. Celebrations

\textsuperscript{4} Meeting of the Acting Committee, June 21, 1860, in Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, PANS.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Morning Journal} July 27, 1860; \textit{Morning Sun} July 27, 1860.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Evening Express} August 3, 1860.

\textsuperscript{7} Meeting of the Acting Committee, July 10, 1860, in Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860.
### Figure 3.1

**Menu for the Prince of Wales' Marriage Feast, Halifax Hotel, 1863**

| SOUP |  |
|------|  |
| Mock Turtle Soup | Julienne Soup |

| FISH |  |
|------|  |
| Salmon | Filet of Haddock |

| ENTREES |  |
|---------|  |
| Pates aux Huitres | Grenadin de veau, Sauce Tomatte |
| Crumesky de volaille | Curry of Chicken, Indienne |
| Pied de Veau de Marmade | Timball de Macaroni, Milanaise |

| RELEVES |  |
|---------|  |
| ROAST | BOILED |
| Sirloin of Beef | Round of Beef |
| Saddle of Mutton | Hams and Tongue |
| Turkey | Turkey |
| Filet of Veal | Leg of Mutton |

| WESTS |  |
|-------|  |
| Wild Goose | Galantine |
| Lamb | Pate a la Parisienne |
| Plum Pudding | Lobster Salad |

| ENTREMETS |  |
|-----------|  |
| Jelly au vin | Genoise |
| Charlotte Russe | Compote of Apples |
| Bavarois | Pastry |
| Blanc Mange | Jelly Macedonie |
| Tortois | Biscuit Savoie |
| Plum and Sponge Cakes | Confectionery |
| Ice Cream | Coffee |

| DESSERT |  |
|----------|  |
| (Public Archives of Nova Scotia) |  |
rarely dissociated before the early hours of the morning of the next day.8

Although the ball was one of the only celebration activities in the early Victorian period in which women could actively participate,9 they usually retired from the banquet table before the toasts began, for public drinking was primarily a male ritual.10 The men often raised their glasses in honour of the women, but such "accolades" were only "minor and perfunctory exercises".11

The public celebration also served as the occasion for "great outdoor feasts where massive quantities of meat, game and liquor were consumed". 12 The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society inaugurated the custom of having an annual picnic to celebrate the founding of Halifax.13


9 Morning Sun July 27, 1860.

10 Halifax Sun June 11, 1845; Novascotian August 20, 1860. In San Francisco in 1855, women were invited to observe the elaborate preparations for a banquet, but were then expected to leave "demurely"—Mary P. Ryan Women in Public. Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, 1990), p. 18. In court circles, Queen Victoria tried to avert excessive drunkenness by insisting that gentlemen not be left on their own for too long—Alan Delago Victorian Entertainments (London, 1971), p. 12.

11 Ryan Women in Public, p. 135.

12 Karsky "Sustenance and sociability", p. 61.

first natal day picnic at the Prince's Lodge in 1839 consisted of an "abundance of viands and lots of good liquor to moisten them". Similarly, during the 1845 picnic, approximately 300 people enjoyed a feast of "fish, flesh, and fowl", with various seasonal delicacies.

Larger outdoor feasts in the public squares and commons catered to the general public. Sometimes these feasts featured pig and sheep roasts, but most often oxen comprised the favoured entrees. The popularity of the ox can be partially explained by its capacity to feed a large number of people. Ritual and symbolism also played a role in selecting the animal. Feasts were based on "mythical or historical events", which were "re-enacted...through symbols and allegories". According to Hugh Cunningham, roast beef, plum pudding, and ale revived images of John Bull and Merrie England, and were considered part of the

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14 Novascotian June 12, 1839.

15 Halifax Sun June 6, 11, 1845.

16 "Doesticks" in Acadian Recorder July 10, 1897 recalled that sheep and oxen were roasted at the coronation celebration in Halifax. During Saint John's marriage celebration for Queen Victoria in 1840, hams were consumed, as well as beef—Morning News May 25, 1840; New Brunswick Courier May 30, 1840.

English "birthright". In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Victorians adopted these staples as "sacraments" in a "continuing mythology of national superiority and class identity". Ritual significance was also attached to the practice of roasting the ox. In proposing an ox roast for the poor on the Grand Parade in Halifax in 1838, a correspondent referred to it as "an imitation of good old English hospitality". The ox roast also had pagan roots, and was tied to the traditions of the butcher's trade. As such, it exhibited ritualistic behaviours and traits developed through custom and precedents. Before the barbecue, participants adorned the ox with ribbons in imitation of "sacrificial garlands", and processed with the animal, as during pagan sacrificial rituals. In Saint John in 1838, the ox


20 Times May 29, 1838. The Times April 28, 1840 commented re: a dinner and dance given by the St. George's Society: "For once John Bull forgot to grumble, and did his best to honour his Patron by proving the strength and tension of his digestive faculties, qualities in the composition of Englishmen, which, where roast beef and plum pudding are concerned, are said to be of no mean order".


22 Daily Telegraph April 21, 1883.
was led on its cortege by a black man named Jim Brown, probably a butcher, for later he carved the ox after it had been slaughtered and roasted. Butchers often marched with oxen during trades processions, afterwards slaughtering them and distributing the meat as alms.

During the barbecue, the entire body of the ox was roasted on a spit; it took one man to roast and baste the animal, and two men to crank the handle of the spit. Five to eight cords of wood were required to roast the ox, which took over a day to cook. Organizers of the Halifax coronation celebration in 1838 distributed ox meat and bread to people on the common. In Saint John in 1838, the servers laid three roasted oxen on large tables in the main civic squares, cut them up and distributed the meat to the populace, as well as barrels of bread baked into small half-pound loaves, plum pudding, and two hogsheads of ale. In Carleton, a circular table set up in Queen

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23 Excerpt in *Daily Sun* June 18, 1887.

24 Susan G. Davis *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 121. I am unsure whether the meat was distributed cooked or uncooked.

25 *St. John Globe* May 17, 1883; *Weekly World* May 24, 1883, in Scrapbook C27, p. 133, SJRL.

26 Excerpt in *Acadian Recorder* June 20, 1887.

27 *New Brunswick Courier* June 30, 1838; *Weekly Chronicle* June 29, 1838; Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 7, 15, 1838, N.B. Museum; reminiscence in *Daily Sun* June 18, 1887. There was also a rumour that Charles Simonds would provide, at his own expense, an ox
Square supported enough food for 1500-2000 diners.

Other foodstuffs accompanied the beef, plum pudding, ale, and bread. During the Queen's marriage celebration in Saint John in 1840, the people on Saint John's east side consumed thirty-six hams, thirty-five rounds of boiled corn beef, and a large quantity of cheese, as well as eight roasted sirloins, one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of bread, and one hundred and twenty gallons of wine and ale. In King Square, servers also cut up and distributed a large wedding cake.

In eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England, ox roasts functioned as instruments of paternalism provided for the common people by the British gentry, well-to-do farmers, and members of the local government, on such occasions as the completion of the harvest, and historical and patriotic anniversaries. In mid-

for Portland, and that several of the banks of the city intended to provide an ox for "the poor" to show their gratitude for the "long late indulgences afforded to them in suspending specie payments", but there is no further evidence of them--"Portland" in Weekly Telegraph June 3, 1838.

28 "A Looker On" in New Brunswick Courier July 7, 1838; also see Daily Sun June 18, 1838.

29 Morning News May 25, 1840; New Brunswick Courier May 30, 1840. In Carleton, a great deal of food was also eaten.

Victorian New Brunswick, paternalistic feasts were provided by ruling merchants in single industry towns like Chatham, where Joseph Cunard provided free food and drink for the poor inhabitants dependent on his saw mills and mercantile enterprises.31

In the more complex urban centres of Saint John and Halifax, the responsibility for providing public feasts resided with civic leaders and prominent citizens. In Saint John, the onus for such meals lay primarily with the mayor, aldermen, and assistants. Most of the common council's appropriation for Victoria's coronation and marriage festivities in 1838 and 1840 went toward the provision of ox roasts for the public.32 In 1838, Carleton's two aldermen and assistant aldermen cut up and distributed the food in their constituency on the west side, symbolizing the central role of the common council


32 A sum of £332 16s 3 ½d was allocated for the ox roasts during the coronation celebration, £115 for a corporation dinner, and £7 10s for a dinner in the city jail—Saint John Common Council Minutes, June 7, 15, July 5, 1838, March 12, 1840; excerpt in the Daily Sun April 12, 1887. Of the £250 for the marriage celebration in Saint John, £210 was earmarked for the ox roasts, £30 for dinners in the penal and charitable institutions, and £10 for powder for the militia—Saint John Common Council Minutes, May 13, 1840, March 19, 1842; New Brunswick Courier May 16, 1840; excerpt in Daily Sun April 12, 1887. The corporation was congratulated in 1840 for their "liberality"—Morning News May 25, 1840.
in providing "victuals". As Halifax was not incorporated until 1841, private citizens organized and financed the events in 1838 and 1840. In addition, the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society sponsored outdoor feasts for the Micmacs in 1840, and during the Halifax centenary in 1849. During its first year, the new Halifax city council conformed to the Saint John practice by superintending a spread for the poor.

The providers of these feasts, like their predecessors, wished to gratify the masses and ensure their own popularity. It was believed that a full stomach ensured favorable and loyal sentiments. "A Looker On" observed that Carleton's coronation feast in 1838 produced "an effect on the people, calculated to call forth the best feelings toward the parent State and our youthful and maiden Queen." "A Looker On" in New Brunswick Courier July 7, 1838; Daily Sun June 18, 1887.

Acadian Recorder April 25, May 2, 1840; Times May 5, 1840; Times and Courier June 7, 1849.

Times December 21, 1841. It was resolved at a public meeting in Saint John that a collection would be taken up to feed the hungry during the Prince of Wales' birth, but nothing ever materialized, probably due to the proximity to Christmas (and the collections for the poor during the festive season), the general hard times, and the preoccupation with rampant incendiaryism, which would discourage public assemblages.

Malcolmson Popular Recreations, pp. 69-71.

"A Looker On" in New Brunswick Courier July 7, 1838.
Unlike the exclusive indoor feast or societal picnic, theoretically the outdoor barbecue catered to all classes. The *Weekly Chronicle* hoped that Saint John's marriage barbecue in 1840 would be large enough for all "respectable citizens" to partake "if they feel it proper"; it is probable, however, that most "respectable" celebrants found it "proper" to attend only as servers or spectators. Such a large crowd assembled to watch the Micmac marriage feast in Halifax in 1840, that a native dance had to be abandoned. The Halifax *Times* noted: "The primitive mode in which some of the Sons of Nature bolted their food and the extraordinarily good appetites they displayed afforded both amusement and envy". The elites who did partake of the festivities often distanced themselves from the crowds in private marquees and tents. During the Halifax coronation celebration, an exclusive clientele patronized a private marquee on the common, where "Her Majesty's health was drunk with the utmost possible enthusiasm". The Charitable Irish Society of Halifax erected a "hospitality tent" during the coronation celebration and the centenary in 1849, where "members could refresh themselves...and dance".

38 *Weekly Chronicle* April 17, 1840.

39 *Times* May 5, 1840.

40 Excerpt in *Acadian Recorder* June 30, 1887; Charitable Irish Society Minute Book, May 25, June 8, 1849, PANS; Harvey "Black Beans, Banners, and Banquets",.
While the "rich" could "partake [of public feasts] if they pleased", Alderman Porter of Saint John contended that the "poor should be especially invited". As in eighteenth-century America, ceremonial occasions and holidays determined the type of meal to be eaten by the poor. Although a Saint John newspaper congratulated the citizens in 1840 for "not having outraged all decency", a little "irregularity" was observed, which suggests that some tried to commandeer more than their fair share, a reflection of the tendency of the poor in pre-industrial Canada to "feast and be merry" during the seasons of plenty. In Saint John's Morning News, a "servant" named Dorothy Prim intimated the importance of such feasts as a diversification of diet:

> Tables are to be spread in King and Queen square for the poor people to stuff themselves at; and Sam says I shall have a cut of roast beef, and whatever else is goin. I do hate this livin on

pp. 21, 23. For description of such a tent, see Hardy The Mayor of Casterbridge, pp. 109-11.

41 New Brunswick Courier May 23, 1840.

42 Karsky "Sustenance and sociability", p. 59.

43 Morning News May 25, 1840.

Gaspereau all one's life.45

Despite their popularity among the lower orders, the number of public feasts was declining in Halifax and Saint John by the early Victorian period. Although the Novascotian contented that one of the "main objects[s]" of Halifax's 1849 centenary committee was to "feed the poor",46 no public barbecue materialized, except for the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society's "repast" for the Micmacs. Similarly, neither the turning of the sod of the European and North American railway in Saint John in 1853, or the marriage of the Princess Royal in 1858 succeeded in instigating a public feast. A "hard-working man" from Halifax also failed to convince the organizers of the Prince of Wales' visit to be "magnanimous" towards the Micmacs, and provide them with a feast, undoubtedly because they feared the harmful effects of "fire water" on the aboriginals.47

The decline of public barbecues may partially be attributed to the erosion of old English customs like the

45 "Dorothy Prim" in Morning News May 22, 1840. It is probable that this letter was a rather satirical creation of the editor, but nonetheless it revealed real sentiments in the community. There were other complaints from the poor about having to rely on a diet of fish—see Rev. Dr. Cochran in W.M. Brown "Recollections of Old Halifax", Nova Scotia Historical Society Colls., Vol. 13, 1908, p. 89.

46 Novascotian June 4, 1849.

47 "A Highlander" in Morning Sun July 20, 1860. Also see Morning Chronicle July 24, 1860.
ox roast, and a strengthening of local autonomy and colonial identity. Although one British commentator in Saint John for the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860 thought that the colonists carried with them "English manners, English tastes, and English sympathies", a local editor felt that the colonists were acquiring their own distinctive "manners, tastes, and habits".

A more important factor in explaining the erosion of public feasts is urbanization. Ox roasts dated back to pre-Victorian times, when Saint John was still a "collection of small market villages", and in this sense resembled the roasts held during village fairs and rural festivals. It has been argued that leading citizens in nineteenth-century urban centres re-enacted the role of the English gentry through public occasions, thereby

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48 North British Review in Morning News September 28, 1860.


50 Acheson Saint John, p. 5. An ox was roasted in many pre-Victorian celebrations in Saint John, including the defeat of Napoleon in May 1814, the coronation of George IV in October 1821, and the accession of William IV -- J.V. Saunders "Early New Brunswick Celebrations" in New Brunswick Historical Society Newsletter, November 24, 1987, pp. 3-4; New Brunswick Courier October 13, 1821.

51 Malcolmson Popular Recreations, pp. 59-64.
temporarily recreating "traditional' village life". More generally, however, the "village atmosphere" which had generated communal feasts was changing in the nineteenth century into an increasingly congested "urban landscape".

As the fabric of the early community diminished in Saint John, a more sophisticated civic bureaucracy emerged to administer the increasingly complex urban centre. Initially the ward had been the basis of civic government, with the alderman functioning as a paterfamilias, creating an intricate network of relationships operating on the foundation of blood, service, and patronage. By mid-century, however, ward politics was being supplanted by a professionalised civic administration, which was "more comprehensive, less personal, better organized, less arbitrary but more capable of imposing its will on a broader front". Since public feasts in Saint John had been organized by the aldermen and held in the wards, the erosion of the centrality of the ward contributed to the


In 1863, the Saint John common council declined the suggestion made by Alderman Robinson to provide each ward with a grant toward "furnishing the poor of the ward with dinner at public expense" in celebration of the Prince of Wales' nuptials. Instead, Alderman Robinson personally provided food and drink for the poor of his Sydney ward and other wards as well. Despite this isolated display of paternalism, communal ward activities like ox roasts were being superseded by city-wide spectacles organized by a more impersonal civic administration.

Increasing differentiation between the classes also accompanied the growth of these urban centres. Poverty was accentuated by immigration, particularly of the famine Irish in the 1840's, and the susceptibility of the colonial economy to the vagaries of external and internal trends and erratic business depressions. In this

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54 For example, see arrangements by aldermen and assistants for Victoria's nuptial celebration--Saint John Common Council Minutes, May 13, 1840.

55 Saint John Common Council Minutes, March 7, 1863. Compare this to the 50th anniversary of the landing of the loyalists in Saint John in 1833, when the mayor provided a special feast for the poor at his own expense--City Gazette May 16, 23, 1833.

56 St. John Globe March 11, 1863; New Brunswick Courier March 14, 1863.

context, public feasts, although sporadic, were undoubtedly welcomed as vehicles of mass poor relief, particularly in Halifax, which had no public system of outdoor poor relief. After mid-century, the immediate threat posed by influxes of pauper immigrants had subsided, and although poverty continued to afflict the inhabitants, feasts no longer functioned as mass relief measures. It is also probable that middle-class citizens distanced themselves as much as possible from the poor in order to avoid epidemics, such as the outbreaks of cholera which infested the cities at mid-century.

Desiring to distance themselves from the diseased and the destitute, middle-class organizers and city councillors began using more of the money appropriated for celebrations for their own exclusive dinners and entertainments. In other words, they transformed "feasts of participation" into "feasts of representation". For example, when the European and North American railway opened in Saint John in 1859, a banquet held for the

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60 Metraux "Of Feasts and Carnivals", pp. 8-9.
railway commissioners and other administrators and financiers excluded the workers who built the railway, although the last toast paid tribute to "The men who built the Railway--the Navvies--their wives and children".61 Over half of the £4579 13s ld appropriated for the provincial celebration of the Prince of Wales' visit to Nova Scotia in 1860 went toward the Halifax ball and banquet.62 After Alderman Robinson lost his motion to supply the poor with beef during the prince's marriage celebration in Saint John in 1863, the St. John Globe commented:

A provision to give a good dinner to the poor was voted down, that two or three hundred of the elite, including the Common Council, may be able to enjoy a dance. Was there ever anything more heartless or cruel? 63

Similarly, the Halifax Reporter complained:

The provincial funds, the people's money, the public chest must be freely bled to give a few (who least require it) a luncheon, a jollification, a swig at a champagne glass, while the same amount spent in providing comforts for the many needy and poor persons in the city, would be the means of bringing gladness and joy to the hearts of those who are in want.64

61 New Brunswick Courier June 11, 1859. I wish to thank Dr. Ruth Bleasdale for this reference.

62 A sum of £2530 17s 9d was expended on the ball and banquet--Financial Account at the end of the Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860.

63 St. John Globe March 7, 1863; Morning News March 9, 1863; New Brunswick Courier March 7, 1863.

64 "Things Talked Of in Halifax", in Halifax Reporter April 11, 1863.
Indeed, the dinner held at the Halifax Hotel in 1863 was more "select" than numerous. Since the city fathers were "going it" with the "quality" liquors at the people's expense, the Halifax Reporter suggested that they provide the public with a cask of ale. Although ale was provided for the athletic display on the Grand Parade, it did not come from the city council, but from the brewer, Alexander Keith. The cancellation of the major portion of the athletic program resulted in the presentation of the cask to the Engine Company for their own entertainment.

Efforts to organize public celebration feasts in the 1880's and 90's ended in failure. The oxen roasted by Indiantown merchants on Victoria Square during Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883, and by the Beef Eaters (an association of polymorphians, young men who performed burlesque tableaux during special occasions—see Chapter 6) in Saint John during the diamond jubilee in 1897, were primarily spectacles, rather than concerted efforts to provide the poor with a feast, although the poor may well have enjoyed them. In Halifax, Stipendiary Magistrate

65 "J." in Daily Evening Globe April 18, 1863.
66 "Things Talked Of in Halifax" in Halifax Reporter April 25, 1863.
67 Morning Sun April 15, 1863.
Robert Motton and an anonymous citizen unsuccessfully submitted letters to the city council requesting funds for a feast for the poor during the golden and diamond jubilees respectively. In 1897, H.M. Ingraham, the American consul, created a "Poor Fund" to provide diamond jubilee dinners for the Halifax poor, in imitation of the jubilee feast in London. Despite the mayor's contention that jubilee day was set apart the world over to "help the poor and give them a feast", the Poor Fund folded due to insufficient subscriptions.

One of the most common complaints against holding public outdoor feasts was the difficulty of controlling distribution. During a public meeting to consider the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales in Halifax in 1841, Samuel G.W. Archibald, the attorney-general of Nova Scotia, referred to the disorder of the coronation feast in 1838, which interfered with the distribution of the food.

For reference to dinner in London, see Herald July 16, 1897; Daily Sun May 31, 1897.

The distribution was delayed until dominion day—Daily Echo June 25, 28, 1897; Herald June 26, 1897. Insufficient subscriptions—Herald July 5, 1897.

Also recall the "irregularities" during the Marriage feast in Saint John—Morning News May 25, 1840.
described a feast for the poor as an "indiscriminate and unintelligent" form of almsgiving, which undermined the distinction in Victorian society between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. The deserving poor suffered from illness or misfortune, were thought to be honest, and showed at least some initiative, while the undeserving were defined as lazy, profligate, and even criminal. At public distributions, like the ox roast, it was difficult to identify deserving recipients. A letter to the editor of the New Brunswick Courier believed that very few poor deserved a feast in honour of the Queen's marriage in 1840, since in Saint John he perceived "very little suffering from poverty, unless it be where poverty and vice are united".

The distribution of food could be more readily monitored by institutionalizing the public feast. The fragmentation of public feasts into individual dinners for the poor in penal and charitable institutions made them much easier to control than outdoor ox roasts. Halifax's committee for the celebration of Queen Victoria's

72 Herald July 5, 1897.
73 Fingard "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor", pp. 38-39.
75 Letter to editor in New Brunswick Courier April 18, 1840.
coronation in 1838 provided special dinners for inmates of the poor house, the gaol, and the Bridewell. Similarly, the Saint John common council organized a dinner in the gaol, and in 1840, distributed provisions to the almshouse, hospital asylum, gaol, and workhouse in commemoration of Victoria's marriage. In Halifax during the nuptial celebration, the Charitable Irish Society raised subscriptions for dinners in the poor asylum, the gaol, and the Bridewell, and Nova Scotia's lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell, donated a supply of beef, bread, and beer to the inmates of the poor asylum and the prisoners in the gaol. The following year, the inmates of the asylum, gaol, and Bridewell in Halifax enjoyed special dinners as part of the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales. Although outdoor feasts fell out of favour

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76 Acadian Recorder August 11, 1838. On the 50th anniversary of the founding of Saint John in 1833, the lieutenant-governor and the mayor provided the prisoners in the penal institutions with roast beef and plum pudding—as reported by J.W. Lawrence in Daily Telegraph November 21, 1882, in Scrapbook C27, p. 30, SJRL.

77 Coronation—Excerpt in Daily Sun April 12, 1887; marriage—Minutes of the Common Council, Saint John, May 14, 1840; New Brunswick Courier May 16, 1840; Weekly Chronicle May 29, 1840.

78 Novascotian April 23, 1840; Times April 21, 1840; Acadian Recorder April 25, 1840; Charitable Irish Society Minutes, April 9, 27, May 18, 1840, PANS.

79 Acadian Recorder April 11, 1840.

80 Novascotian December 16, 30, 1841; Acadian Recorder December 25, 1841.
in the public domain, they continued to be held in the institutions. A gaol dinner in Saint John, and an entertainment in Halifax's poor asylum helped to mark the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860.81 In honour of the Prince's nuptials three years later, the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick donated provisions to several poor asylums in the province.82 In Halifax, the provincial treasury also paid for a dinner at the poor asylum.83 Inmates of the charitable and penal institutions continued to receive special meals during the celebrations of the late Victorian era.84

Poor inhabitants arranged to enter the poor house and the prison in order to take advantage of these meals, as well as for protection and security.85 The poor debtors in the gaols who did not have the resources to buy bread, and had to rely on rations from other prisoners,86

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81 *Morning Sun* July 23, 1860. Also see entry received from the city for a dinner in the poor asylum on the Prince's visit to Nova Scotia in 1860—Halifax's Poor Asylum Account Book, August 1860, RG 35-102, 33 B.1, PANS.

82 *St. John Globe* March 11, 1863; *Morning News* March 18, 1863.

83 Halifax's Poor Asylum Account Book, May 1863, PANS.

84 The poor received meals during the golden and diamond jubilees—*Acadian Recorder* June 20, 1887; *Daily Echo* May 14, 1897; *Herald* June 25, 1897.

85 Fingard *The Dark Side of Life*, pp. 52, 54-55, 57.

86 See letter from John Smith, Saint John, April 17, 1838, to Mayor Hazen in Robert F. Hazen, Mayoralty Papers.
undoubtedly welcomed these special meals. Regardless of need, inmates expected to be treated "properly" during these dinners in the institutions. The gaol commissioners in Saint John prepared a special dinner for the prisoners during the Prince of Wales's visit in 1860, consisting of salmon, roast beef, vegetables, plum pudding, and a keg of ale. However, two or three "turbulent spirits" led by an elderly debtor named Barney O'Brien, managed to convince the other prisoners in the upper hall not to attend the dinner, because they were not being treated like gentlemen. They contended that it would not be "dignified" to sit down to a feast unless one of the gaol committee or at least the high sheriff presided at the table as chairman. Participation would also be considered if they were provided with the "proper appendage"--a gallon of whiskey. Unfortunately, their protest came to naught, and the next day their share was fed to the prisoners in the lower hall.

One repercussion of the institutionalization of public feasts was the equation of the institutionalized poor with the poor in general. When Samuel G.W. Archibald dismissed a feast for the poor during the celebration of the Prince of Wales' birth in Halifax in 1841 because of

87 Fingard The Dark Side of Life, p. 51.

88 See report of Justice Balloch to a meeting of the sessions--Morning News September 5, 1860; Freeman September 6, 1860.
the meal already planned for the inmates of the poor asylum, another citizen wondered about the provision of food for the unfortunate "besides the poorhouse poor". Similarly, after Alderman Cooke informed the Halifax city council that the commissioners of the poorhouse had already made the proper arrangements to give the inmates of that institution a special "repast" during the golden jubilee in 1887, Alderman Keefe replied that something should be done for the poor not confined to the charitable institutions.

In order to accommodate the deserving poor on the outside, suggestions were made to make the outdoor feasts more selective. Alderman Salter, a member of Saint John's common council, and a Wesleyan circuit steward, opposed the conventional feast planned for the observance of the Queen's nuptials in 1840. Instead of a large free-for-all, he proposed that the beef and bread be distributed to the poor by tickets, and that rations be delivered to those at the almshouse, work house, and gaol, and to poor widows at their own dwellings. In 1863, a citizen suggested that the organizers make poor families ask for enough provisions to make their own dinners for the nuptial

89 *Novascotian* December 16, 1841.

90 *Acadian Recorder* June 13, 1887.

91 *New Brunswick Courier* May 23, 1840.
celebration. 92 H.A. Ingraham's suggestion to provide food for the poor during Halifax's diamond jubilee, proposed using well-established poor relief societies—the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor—to identify deserving recipients through domiciliary investigations, and then to distribute the provisions so that they might make their own jubilee meals. None of the suggestions were adopted by the celebration organizers, probably because of an attachment to the conventional feast, and the problem of logistics.

Changes in taste, manners, and morality also contributed to the decline of public feasts. Among the articulate, the popularity of roast beef and plum pudding waned by the late 1840's. One commentator remarked in 1849 that "John Bull... has taken uncommonly to eating turkey and potatoes [two American dishes] for his Christmas dinner, although he continues to swear by roast beef and plum pudding before strangers". He suggested that

we Nova Scotians should adopt the fare so liberally awarded to us for our national dish, and serve it up as a piece de resistance for the benefit of those who may drop in upon us with the laudable desire to write a book about "the manners and customs of the Nova Scotians". 93

Similarly, another Haligonian contended that the

92 "W." in St. John Globe March 7, 1863.

93 "Ventriloquus" in British Colonist May 24, 1849.
"youngsters" of the late Victorian age would "turn their noses up" at the barrels of gingerbread (plum pudding) which were served during the coronation celebration in 1838.94

The changing palates of the residents was accompanied by a growing concern over the manner in which the ox was cooked, primarily the waste involved in roasting the whole animal,95 and the aesthetics of the practice. In 1838, the Halifax Herald thought that the "whole ox may well be dispensed with as a barbarous usage hardly suited to this enlightened age".96 As ox roasts became more sporadic, the knowledge of how to cook the animals properly gradually disappeared. The Charitable Irish Society tried to roast an ox in Halifax during the coronation in 1838, but it was eventually disposed of, probably due to over-cooking.97

Few people actually ate the oxen roasted in Saint John in 1883 and 1897, which either suggests that they were improperly cooked, or that people no longer cared for

94 "Doesticks" in Acadian Recorder July 10, 1897.
95 See the mayor's comments in New Brunswick Courier March 28, 1840, and Alderman Porter's remarks in May 23, 1840, p. 4. There was also concern about the waste and excess of festivals in early modern Europe--Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, p. 213.
96 Excerpt in Halifax Herald June 15, 1897, from Lady Aberdeen's scrapbook, 1897, p. 66, NAC. Similarly, the Novascotian July 5, 1838, commented that the "days of ox-roasting may as well go after the days of chivalry".
97 Times July 3, 1838.
ox meat prepared in this way. Indeed, this later version of the ox roast primarily served as a curiosity and a nostalgic reminder of how their forefathers had celebrated. According to the Sun,

quite a large number of slices were procured by people to send to people abroad as a memento of the day. Great curiosity was exhibited throughout the city and Portland to witness the modus operandi, and all Thursday afternoon until late in the evening Victoria Square was thronged with sightseers.98

A number of Market Square merchants, who also wished to roast an ox, contended that care would be taken to prevent it from becoming "barbarous" or wasteful",99 evidently as it had been in the past. In 1897, the Beef Eaters decided to roast an ox "the same as our forefathers did sixty years ago".100 As in 1883, people tended to take home pieces as souvenirs, rather than eat them.101

Changes in the standards of public morality also affected public feasting. Beginning in the 1820's, Halifax and Saint John witnessed the emergence of evangelical, temperance, and rational recreation movements. While these causes found support at all social levels, abstinence and prohibition were taken up in force by the evangelical

98 Daily Evening News May 19, 1883; Daily Sun May 19, 1883; Weekly World May 24, 1883, in Scrapbook C27, SJRL.

99 Daily Telegraph May 11, 1883.

100 Daily Sun June 17, 1897.

101 Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
elements of the lower middle- and respectable working-classes.\textsuperscript{102} Besides an array of temperance organizations, a reformist clique called the "puritan liberals" emerged on the Saint John common council, who were committed to temperance and purity in public life.\textsuperscript{103} The Halifax city council also demonstrated a growing commitment to the bourgeois ideals of efficiency and progress.\textsuperscript{104}

Reformers displayed a variety of responses to public feasting and drinking. Some reformers had no use at all for public festivities, particularly when they functioned as gratuitous charities. The emerging bourgeoisie in Victorian England experienced considerable tension between work and leisure, accentuated for those with the evangelical convictions of the "protestant work ethic".\textsuperscript{105} Public entertainments such as feasts were considered to be frivolous, and irreconcilable with the "dignity of labour". Indeed, a familiar maxim advised that the "truest charity is to find employment that will give food; and not food without employment".\textsuperscript{106} The feast tended to induce

\textsuperscript{102} According to Thompson \textit{The Rise of Respectable Society}, p. 310, the "teetotal position" divided the middle class.

\textsuperscript{103} Acheson \textit{Saint John}, pp. 181-82.

\textsuperscript{104} Janet Guildford "Public School Reform and the Halifax Middle Class, 1850-1870", Ph.D. Thesis, Dalhousie University, September 1990.

\textsuperscript{105} Bailey \textit{Leisure and Class}, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{106} Fingard "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor", p. 36.
idleness, drinking, and other slothful qualities. A correspondent of the Halifax Herald opposed holding a feast for the poor during Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee celebration in 1897 because it undermined the "pride and spirit of self-reliance" of the deserving poor.107

Some reformers reconciled the tension between this demoralizing frivolity and the sanctity of work, by either attempting to modify or change existing celebrations, or by providing alternative rational recreations. Temperance and abstinence reformers centered on drink as the primary concern. As part of the critique of the Tory Anglican oligarchy in Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century, reformers frequently centred on the gregarious lifestyle of the "gentry", including their feasting and drinking during public celebrations. The Novascotian, a reform newspaper, criticized the drunken and disorderly behaviour of the gentlemen attending a ball and banquet in celebration of the Prince's birth in 1841:

We trust that few of the citizens had any part in those scenes of riot;—happily the working-classes have, now at least, contracted habits and feelings of too high a character to be tainted by such examples, even if set by those who assume to be of the most respectable order. If the usual fines for intoxication were imposed, the City Clerk's book would exhibit some extraordinary entries,—and outrages, in disreputable haunts, would show that gentlemen and gentlemanly conduct, may by possibility be sometimes disunited. It is really time that the example set by the less pretending part of

107 Herald July 5, 1897.
society, were taken by others, or that the stigma, and the mark of respectability, should be placed, respectively, where they are most deserved.\textsuperscript{108}

However, fears of drunkenness and disorder in large assemblages, and the susceptibility of public displays to attack and modification, augmented the campaign against the feasts of the lower orders. In order to deal with the question of drinking and drunkenness, particularly among the lower classes, some moderates advocated a simple reduction in the amount of liquor consumed,\textsuperscript{109} while other "distinguished patricians" of the temperance cause in Saint John, such as Charles Simonds and John Gray, moved for a restriction of the type of alcohol served, finding nothing wrong with ale and wine, but drawing the line at hard liquors.\textsuperscript{110}

The arrival in the 1840's of the American fraternal temperance organization called the Sons of Temperance facilitated the movement toward abstinence as a form of social control. These abstainers thought that public celebrations should be changed into more respectable events by making them more rational and orderly, and by

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Novascotian} December 30, 1841.

\textsuperscript{109} For example, the \textit{Novascotian} December 10, 1840, commented regarding the reduction of whiskey consumed at a fair in Ireland: "How much of confusion, and quarrelling, of profane swearing, and loss of time, and of evils, was avoided by leaving the difference between 8 gallons and 8 puncheons unswallowed".

\textsuperscript{110} Acheson \textit{Saint John}, p. 146.
prohibiting the use of alcohol. The *Morning Sun* spoke of the influence of temperance on public recreations:

The general effect which 'Temperance principles' have on some of these occasions, and perhaps on all of them to some extent, go far to remove old objections to such modes of recreation. The great blame of festive occasions, was that of the miserable cup of intoxication;—prohibit that, and man enjoys himself, generally as a respectable creature.111

Alderman Salter objected to the availability of intoxicating beverages at the marriage celebration in Saint John in 1840. He believed that the common council would not be setting a good example for their constituents by encouraging intemperance in this way. He saw drunkenness at the ox roast in Carleton in 1838, and had no doubt that again many would go away "gloriously drunk". He advocated a more "rational and consistent" celebration, which avoided unnecessary noise, confusion, and intemperance. He admitted: "Englishmen might not get drunk on ale, because they were accustomed to it; but Bluenoses might, and the temptation might be very dangerous". He did not approve of the loyalty of the bottle, but preferred "sober, honest" loyalty.112 However, fellow puritan


112 This connection between drunkenness and loyalty can be traced back to at least 1809, when the press commented regarding King George III's jubilee: "It is not amidst intoxication...that we are to look for that steady or enthusiastic loyalty which is at once the pledge and
liberals Aldermen Porter and John Humbert, and "populist conservatives" such as Gregory Vanhorne, Thomas Harding, and Assistant Aldermen William Hagarty and Ewan Cameron spoke out in favour of the feast. 113 Alderman Porter saw little drunkenness at the coronation. He "would let the poor have a good glass of ale if they wished it", and did not think it would do them any harm. Indeed, the majority of the aldermen voted in favour of a conventional feast for the celebration of Queen Victoria's marriage in 1840. 114

Other proponents of temperance and abstinence suggested offering more rational alternative events, such as temperance soirées. These attractions did not merely offer free food and entertainment, but also instruction, and thereby respectability. 115 Offended by the drunkenness during public celebrations, the St. John Temperance Society organized a temperance soiree during Queen's Victoria's coronation celebration in Saint John in 1838, as did the Provincial Temperance and St. John Auxiliary to the New Brunswick Foreign Temperance Societies in 1840, in test of popular allegiance"--Colley "The Apotheosis of George III", p. 117.

113 For a discussion of these aldermen, see Acheson Saint John, pp. 181-82.

114 For debate, see New Brunswick Courier May 23, 1840.

115 Bailey Leisure and Class, pp. 39, 42; Acheson Saint John, p. 159.
celebration of the Queen's nuptials. The programs were pseudo-religious and instructive, incorporating hymns, band music, and discourses on themes ranging from temperance to "Our Laws" and the "British Constitution". The food served was of a lighter fare than that associated with public feasts, with tea and coffee as the only liquid refreshments. Although organized by temperance societies, the events were probably attended by abstainers as well, for temperance supporters had no qualms about using ale. A guest contended that the atmosphere did not suffer because of the lack of alcohol: "we may safely defy Port or Madeira to impart to their votaries more genuine hilarity and social feelings than were inspired by these fragrant productions of the East". Instead of a drunken display, the coronation meeting was a source of "rational intercourse" and a "feast of reason for the soul". The guest concluded: "long live Victoria to share the affections of such a loyal people, and long live the Temperance Cause to suggest so rational a mode of expressing those feelings." The success of the temperance soirée in 1838 and 1840 ensured its

116 Although there were no soirées in Halifax for the public celebrations in question, they were becoming popular events there as well. The Novascotian December 9, 1841, recommended a soirée as an event for the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales.

117 Acheson Saint John, p. 145.

118 "A Guest" in New Brunswick Courier June 30, 1838.
continuation as a "regular feature of temperance life" in Saint John.119

The popularization of abstinence in the next decade led to the banning of intoxicating beverages not only at soirées, but also at other celebration events. During the turning of the sod for the European and North American Railway in Saint John in 1853, a majority of the common council felt obliged to declare their abstinence principles, and disallowed a steamer excursion for prominent guests because of the alcohol to be served aboard.120

Eventually "legislative coercion" against drink superseded "moral suasion". Prohibitive legislation was first enacted in New Brunswick in 1855, only to be repealed the following year as a new government took power, and then in 1878, when the federal Scott Act made prohibition a "local option", dependent upon the decisions of the municipalities. Since Saint John and Halifax were never within the parameters of this act, city council members must have been allied with liquor interests. The federal McCarthy Act (1883-86) created a good deal of confusion regarding the issue of liquor licenses. The Nova Scotia liquor licence act of 1886, which replaced the

119 Acheson *Saint John*, p. 146.

120 *Morning News* September 7, 12, 1853; see Acheson *Saint John*, pp. 155-57 for a discussion of the temperance council.
McCarthy Act in Halifax, only permitted hotel and shop licenses, and theoretically abolished the tavern in 1887, although no effective apparatus existed to enforce the law. Nonetheless, the general atmosphere encouraged dry celebrations. During Saint John's centennial barbecue in 1883, the diners drank water from the newly inaugurated Kennedy Fountain. One man lamented the loss of vitality caused by the influence of temperance, abstinence, and prohibitory legislation. The more widespread acceptance of drink during Saint John's coronation celebration in 1838, "made everything hum much earlier in the morning than usual, without the danger of getting into Nowlan's Brig, as the jail was then called".

Despite their efforts, moral reformers in the temperance, abstinence, and prohibition camps were not entirely successful in regulating popular behaviour during celebrations. The inherent class bias of their organizations posed one of the most serious problems. While reformers condemned the nature of public feasts and

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122 Daily Evening News May 19, 1883.

123 Daily Sun June 18, 1887.
tried to change them, in an effort to contribute to the improvement and elevation of the poor, their efforts at individual reformation, and the provision of alternative forms of celebrating, catered more to people of their "own kind". William Baird contended that the "more important work for the members of the Division [Sons of Temperance] seemed to be the reformation of talented and influential men, whose example was producing a most damaging effect". The restriction of attendance at the soirées reflected this class bias, as tickets were first offered to members of the temperance societies, and then to the general public. An "insistence upon certain prerequisites of conduct and appearance" at the events, further excluded "the unscrubbed". At a time of heightened social extremes, attempts to ameliorate and elevate the lower orders were not made any easier by many

124 There was hope that the removal of alcohol from society would result in the elimination of crime and poverty—E.J. Dick "From Temperance to Prohibition in 19th Century Nova Scotia", Dalhousie Review, Vol. 61, no. 3, Autumn 1981, p. 549.

125 William I. Baird Seventy Years of New Brunswick Life (Saint John, 1890), p. 162, SJRL; "Reminiscence of Eliza Donkin", p. 33, N.B. Museum. Eliza Donkin was a young Victorian woman who grew up in Saint John.

126 New Brunswick Courier June 23, 1838, April 18, May 22, 25, 1840.

127 Bailey Leisure and Class, p. 51. Because of "mischievous conduct", no youths were permitted at the temperance meetings in Halifax in 1843 unless accompanied by a parent or guardian, or signed in by a member—Morning Herald May 31, 1843.
middle-class citizens who were more concerned with reinforcing than reducing social distance. 128

Despite the problems of the temperance movement, free large-scale public distributions of food and drink had definitely declined by mid-century, and were replaced in the late Victorian period by smaller-scale treats and dinners. The Salvation Army supplied a public dinner to about 300 people during Saint John's diamond jubilee celebration in 1897, 129 and held a "Hallelujah breakfast" on the Halifax common ten years earlier in celebration of the golden jubilee. 130 An emphasis on "treating" juveniles led the evangelical organization to provide the children with ice cream on the Queen's birthday in Halifax in 1897. 131

During the late Victorian era of the "Gilded Age factory [and union] picnic", 132 the "organized" members of the working class also received free food and drink at picnics and excursions sponsored by voluntary

129 Daily Telegraph June 15, 22, 1897.
130 Acadian Recorder June 22, 1887; Herald June 21, 1887, p. 2.
131 Daily Echo May 21, 1897. The Acadian Recorder June 13, 1887, advised the Golden Jubilee celebration organizers to "give the children a picnic--otherwise it will be no more of a jubilee to them than any other day".
132 Davis Parades and Power, p. 18.
organizations, churches, unions, and companies. For example, the Typographical Union transported 1000 excursionists to Heffler's new grounds for a picnic during Halifax's natal day in 1886. These select picnics signify a fragmentation of paternalism, as the responsibility for feasting passed from the local leaders and government members who organized public celebrations, to the individual heads of voluntary organizations, unions, and companies. It is also important to note that these feasts were not meant for the general public, as they had been in the early nineteenth century, but only for members and joiners. Thus, the bulk of the unorganized poor were excluded from the distributions of free food and drink.

Gradually it became necessary for most people to provide their own festive picnics. Indeed, the provision of food and drink during celebrations become more of a personal responsibility than a paternal public one. Sometimes small treats could be obtained at processions, when food-related industries like Scriven's Steam Bakery, which marched in Halifax's confederation procession in 1867, distributed food samples to the

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133 *Morning Chronicle* June 22, 23, 1896.

134 See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the mass popularization of the excursion.
crowds. Refreshments could also be brought from home, or obtained from vendors, special refreshment stands, or from eating and drinking establishments.

Despite the decline of organized public feasts, alcohol was still very accessible. The staple trade with the West Indies and the nature of Saint John and Halifax as seaports and military garrisons ensured a prevalence of drink and drinking establishments. By the 1860's, Halifax boasted between 200-300 licensed drinking houses and shops, and 30-120 unlicensed establishments, which averaged approximately one drinking establishment to every 100 inhabitants, including women and children. The degree of unofficial drinking during public celebrations is difficult to discern, because of the discrepancies in the descriptions of drunkenness in the two cities. By

135 British Colonist July 2, 1867.

136 The Women's Christian Temperance Union set up a stand in Halifax's public gardens on Natal day—Morning Chronicle June 23, 24, 1890. In Saint John, the W.C.T.U. opened up "coffee rooms" during public occasions—Daily Sun May 17, 18, 1893.

137 Fingard "'A Great Big Rum Shop'", p. 90.

138 For example, during the prince's visit in 1860, there were discrepancies between foreign correspondents, who contended that both cities were "tight", and the local reporters, who retorted that the celebrations were conducted with great sobriety, order, and éclat. Foreign correspondent re: Saint John—London Times in Morning News September 12, 1860; local correspondent re: Saint John—Morning News August 6, September 3, 7, 12, 1860. Foreign correspondent re: Halifax—London Times in Novascotian September 17, 1860; local correspondent re: Halifax—Novascotian September 3, 17, 1860.
the late Victorian period, the degree of drunkenness during celebrations was probably underestimated, for the police, the magistrates, and certain citizens allowed a certain amount of license during such festivities. In Halifax, drunken altercations frequently occurred between civilians and military personnel. On natal day in 1894, a couple of civilians managed to get beer from the military canteen, which led to a drunken brawl between the civilians and soldiers. Drunkenness posed a particular problem on McNab's Island, because of its remoteness. During a McNab's Island picnic on natal day in 1876, "there was not much enjoyment there...for drunkenness and fighting prevailed generally, and there were many bruised faces and black eyes." Drunkenness was so widespread

139 During Halifax's centenary in 1849, a "universal license prevailed in the city"—Novascotian June 11, 1849; drunkenness would probably be "excused" during the prince's marriage celebration in 1863—"J." in Daily Evening Globe April 13, 1863; the editor of the Acadian Recorder June 23, 1887 said that he would pardon the workers and visitors if they got a little "hilarious" during the golden jubilee. Also, judges in the Halifax court extended "Jubilee chances" to the accused—Acadian Recorder June 20, 1887.

140 Morning Chronicle June 22, 1894.

141 Halifax Citizen June 22, 1876. Prior to the Early Closing Association's picnic on McNab's Island, the press warned that "persons of known loose character will not be allowed on the boats, and if found on the Grounds, will be handed over to the police"—British Colonist June 6, 1874. There was also fighting and drunkenness on the Island on natal day in 1886, when three soldiers stationed on the Island fell into the water, and were rescued—Morning Chronicle June 23, 1886.
during the jubilees, that a new word, "jubilated", was coined to refer to the drunk and disorderly, while those who suffered so much from overindulgence in drink that they were unable to celebrate, were called "jubilous".142

Two major forms of celebrating emerged in Saint John and Halifax in the nineteenth century—wet and dry. These two celebration styles translated into different ways of expressing one's loyalty. Celebrants in the former tradition drank to the health of the Queen and to the well-being of the country and its institutions. Abstainers and prohibitionists advocated a sober and dry loyalty, embodied in more rational and respectable forms of celebrating, like soirées. Advocates of both camps adopted Queen Victoria as a symbol: reformers portrayed her as the " Patroness of Temperance Associations",143 and as a "domesticated monarch, whose public image resided not in the trappings of the upper class, but in the middle class ethos of frugality, self-denial, hard work, and civic responsibility",144 while imbibers painted her as an aristocrat, who was not "indifferent to the comfort of

142 Daily Echo June 24, 1897.

143 Sir John Harvey's comment during Saint John soirée in 1840--New Brunswick Courier May 30, 1840; Morning News May 27, 1840; Weekly Chronicle May 29, 1840.

good plain eating and drinking".145

By the late nineteenth century, drinking had become more of an "incidental social lubricant" indulged in by individuals, and less of a "total experience".146 Feasting underwent an even more dramatic decline in the Victorian period. The disappearance of public feasts can be attributed to a number of factors, notably the assaults of temperance reformers, the decline of English influences, the effects of urbanization, particularly the solidification of class divisions, and changes in tastes and manners. Some members of the middle class attempted to distance themselves from public feasts by holding their own exclusive entertainments, often at the people's expense, while others attempted to transform ox roasts by making them more rational and discriminative, or by providing alternatives. However, the alternatives posed by the reformers seemed to accommodate the lower middle class and respectable working men, many of whom were already in the reform movements, not the poor who had benefited the most from public feasting. By mid-century, few alternatives to traditional feasts were left for those members of the lower orders who "measured improvement" by the "bellyful".147

145 Daily Sun June 22, 1887.
146 Bailey Leisure and Class, p. 174.
147 Bailey Leisure and Class, p. 89.
CHAPTER 4

CHILDREN'S DEMONSTRATIONS

The decline of feasting and drinking left demonstrations and processions as the primary modes of celebration in nineteenth-century Saint John and Halifax. While ox roasts had catered to the general public, demonstrations and processions restricted direct participation to certain social groups. Children participated in public celebrations under the supervision of the police, voluntary organizations, and the teachers and school commissioners who organized children's demonstrations. The form and content of children's celebration exercises embodied the ritual mode of celebration: the dominant symbols of the exercises—uniforms, flags, images of empire, Queen, and country—affirmed, unified, and reinforced a "version of the social order" that was "meant to be believed, or at least acknowledged and adhered to, and over which society exert[ed] control".1 Nonetheless, critics questioned the motives of the organizers, and the safety and propriety of the events themselves.

Children were highly visible on the streets during

public celebrations, often participating with their families, or at their own leisure. Street children anticipated celebrations because of the opportunities for free food and fun. The *Morning News* reported during Queen Victoria's nuptial celebration in 1840 that "ragged urchins about the streets, were upon the alert much earlier than usual, and strained their treble pipes more outrageously than ever to testify their joyful anticipation of roast beef and cake". The young "arabs" also enjoyed free trips on the Carleton ferry during the marriage celebration of the Prince of Wales in 1863. Although they looked "cold and hungry", it was, according to the *St. John Globe*, "worth a holiday to witness their happiness as they crossed and recrossed until it was quite dark".

Yet the unsuppressed activity of children on the streets during celebrations became a cause of concern for middle-class citizens and the authorities, particularly

2 Janet Guildford "'I often run in the streets of Halifax': Middle Class Attitudes to Children in Halifax, 1850-1870", paper presented to the faculty-graduate seminar, Dalhousie University History Department 1989, p. 1. According to the *Acadian Recorder* May 24, 1856, boys were notoriously fond of a day's "jollity" or an opportunity to loaf about the streets. During Halifax's natal day celebration in 1870, it was reported that "the citizens, and especially the young citizens" looked forward to a "day of enjoyment", but were disappointed because of bad weather-- *Novascotian* June 27, 1870.

3 *Morning News* May 25, 1840.

4 *St. John Globe* March 11, 1863.
because of the tendency for young boys to let off fire crackers. Boys often began discharging their fire crackers a fortnight or more before the actual festivities,5 and often close to female spectators in an attempt to startle them. This not only upset middle-class etiquette regarding the maintenance of social distance,6 but posed a danger to the women because of their flammable dresses. During Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883, fire crackers ignited a fire in a grocery store.7 The boys who lit the fire crackers sometimes suffered injuries. One boy almost lost his sight from a cracker during Halifax's celebration of the Queen's birthday in 1874.8 Two years later on the same occasion, boys were injured by an exploding cask of powder while making squibs (small fireworks) on the common.9 In Saint John during the Queen's birthday in 1879, a premature blast explosion badly burned a boy's

5 Daily Sun April 20, 1883.

6 Karen Halttunen Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven, 1982), pp. 63, 114-116; Leonore Davidoff The Best Circles. Society Etiquette and the Season (London, 1973), pp. 42, 80. According to Mary P. Ryan, in nineteenth-century New Orleans, fire crackers were thought to be tolerable to men, but when they were let off close to women, it was "extremely reprehensible"—Women in Public. Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 69-70.

7 Daily Sun May 19, 1883.

8 British Colonist May 26, 1874.

9 Citizen May 25, 1876.
Another boy had his ear banged off by a firecracker in 1881, but instead of hindering his friends, he become something of a martyr.

Efforts to control this problem proved rather ineffective. The authorities in Halifax and Saint John forbade the use of firecrackers, squibs, and similar devices during the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. The chief of police in Halifax prohibited the use of fireworks, firecrackers, or large bonfires within 1000 yards of a building, under threat of a 40s fine or a maximum of fourteen days imprisonment. Similarly, in Saint John during the Queen's birthday in 1871, "the little boys couldn't light up firecrackers for fear of being arrested". A shop keeper in Halifax was fined $8 in police court for selling crackers to youngsters during the Queen's birthday in 1874. However, these disincentives did little to discourage the practice.

"Innumerable quantities of firecrackers" were let off on

10 Daily News May 26, 1879.
11 Daily Evening News May 24, 1881.
12 Acadian Recorder June 14, 1860; Morning Journal July 25, 1860; memo to be published against letting off squibs and crackers--Executive Committee, July 21, 1860, Minutes of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, PANS; Morning Freeman July 31, 1860.
13 Morning News May 25, 1871.
14 Several others were summoned to appear on the same charge--British Colonist June 2, 1874.
Halifax's natal day in 1868, and on the Queen's birthday in 1874, boys openly practiced the "abominable practice of exploding crackers". William F. Bunting of Saint John noted that "small boys indulge[d] to their heart's content" in firing crackers during the Queen's birthday in 1880. On the same holiday in 1886, the "small boy with the firecracker was early astir" in Halifax.

Concerned citizens also monitored juvenile behaviour through moral suasion. Until 1860, this duty fell, in large part, to the voluntary organizations. Children's organizations, such as the Cold Water Army and the Cadets of Temperance, juvenile temperance organizations, participated in Halifax's centenary in 1849 in an attempt to "contain urban juvenile restlessness" and suppress "informal youth culture". By 1860, educators

15 *Novascotian* June 22, 1868.
16 *British Colonist* May 26, 1874.
17 William Franklin Bunting Diaries, May 24, 1880, N.B. Museum.
18 *Morning Chronicle* May 25, 1886.
19 See Chapter 5 for the 1849 parade. The Cadets of Temperance also surfaced during the anniversary of settlement in 1850--*Novascotian* June 17, 1850. For reference to these organizations, see Guildford "I often run in the streets of Halifax", p. 8. The argument regarding the suppression of youthful restlessness is primarily used in the context of the "organized youth movement" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but I believe that it also works for the earlier Victorian period--see Michael Blanch "Imperialism, Nationalism, and Organized Youth", in John Clarke, et. al. (eds.) *Working-Class Culture. Studies in history and
increasingly accepted segregation from the adult population as a more effective means of control and inculcation. Children first appeared collectively as a separate group during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax and Saint John in 1860.

Credit for the original idea of the 1860 Halifax demonstration must be given to the church wardens and vestry of St. Paul's Church, who voted the necessary funds to erect a staging within the railing of their grounds to accommodate 700-800 Episcopal Sunday School children. William Ackhurst, an auctioneer and merchant, and prominent local musician, adopted the idea, and organized meetings of representatives from various schools. On the day of the visit, approximately 4000 children, primarily girls, wearing white dresses and blue 

20 Guildford "'I often run in the streets of Halifax'", p. 9; Springhall *Youth, Empire, and Society*, p. 16.

21 Guildford "'I often run in the streets of Halifax'", p. 13 agrees that the 1860 demonstration was the first of its kind in Halifax.

22 "Fair Play" in *Morning Journal* August 17, 1860.

23 He was choir leader at First Baptist Church for a number of years, and later an alderman and member (eventually chairman) of the School Board—PANS biography drawer.

24 *Acadian Recorder* July 28, 1860.
ribbons, sang a special rendition of the National Anthem, arranged by Judge Bliss, and directed by William Ackhurst.25

In Saint John, 5000-7000 Sabbath School children massed on the grounds of the Prince of Wales' temporary residence (the mansion of the late Ward Chipman) to greet the Prince, and sing the National Anthem, also with special lyrics.26 When the Prince returned to Saint John a couple of days later to visit Carleton, children also sang for him from the front steps of the Baptist meeting house in Portland.27 Again, most of the children were girls, clothed in white dresses and blue sashes.28 Perhaps the unmanly image of Sabbath School partially accounted for the under-representation of boys. As William Smith, founder of the Boys Brigade in Glasgow, commented: "I knew every lad was proud of being a British boy, and yet they

25 Acadian Recorder August 4, 1860; Evening Express August 1, 1860; card with lyrics of "The National Anthem" as arranged for and sung by the United Schools of Halifax Assembled at Grand Parade, PANS.

26 Lyrics in Morning News August 6, 1860; Morning Freeman August 4, 1860; New Brunswick Courier August 4, 1860.

27 Morning News August 10, 1860.

28 Preparations for massing of thousands of Sabbath School "girls"—Morning Freeman July 31, 1860. The boys who were present wore rosettes—Morning Freeman August 4, 1860; Evening Express August 10, 1860.
seemed rather ashamed of being Christian boys".29 The attempt to inculcate patriotic sentiments through the children's demonstration began in earnest in Halifax during the anniversary of settlement in 1862. At a public meeting prior to the celebration, a resolution stated that the "patriotism of the Province's youth" should be stimulated by orations connected with the anniversary.30 The celebration committee instructed the citizens to "minister" to the "amusement and requirements of your[ng] [sic] minds and bodies of the community, in Orations and Songs, and other devices, seeking to instill a love of country".31 However, in an effort to distinguish themselves from the patriotic effusiveness of the United States and their July 4th tradition, Nova Scotians advocated a more moderate patriotism. The British Colonist commented: "Although we have neither a great country nor great deeds to glorify, it may be made the occasion of disseminating much useful information, and exciting a love of country in the minds of the young".32

On June 21, approximately 300 children gathered in the Temperance Hall to hear an address delivered by the

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29 As quoted in Springhall Youth, Empire, and Society, p. 17.

30 Novascotian May 5, 1862.

31 Acadian Recorder June 21, 1862.

32 British Colonist June 21, 1862.
prominent lawyer, Robert Grant Haliburton. In his speech, called "The Past and the Future of Nova Scotia", he declared that "anniversaries of natal days are the property of youth and age--they are respectively the festivals of hope and memory". The choir, dressed in red, white and blue, sang a number of songs about Nova Scotia, including "The Centenary Ode", "Landing of Cornwallis", "The Settlement of Halifax", and "The Working Men of Acadia". At the conclusion, the Royal Acadian School, the National School, and the St. Mary's School processed to the residences of the lieutenant-governor and the mayor. The boys' role in the procession was made more masculine by allowing them to march with cricket bats or wooden guns in a pseudo-military fashion. The British Colonist thought that such a demonstration would have a "lasting impression on [the children's] young minds".

Public school children were again harangued with an oration in Temperance Hall during the 124th anniversary of settlement in Halifax in 1873, this time by M.H. Richey (mayor of Halifax, 1864-66). The children also sang

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33 Robert Grant Haliburton The Past and the Future of Nova Scotia: An Address on the 113th Anniversary of the Settlement of the Capital of the Province, delivered at the request of the Anniversary Committee (Halifax: J.B. Strong, 1862), p. 10, PANS.

34 Novascotian June 30, 1862; British Colonist June 24, 1862.

35 British Colonist June 24, 1862.
extracts from "Hail to the Day" and "My Country's Pleasant Streams", written by Joseph Howe, with music by J.B. Norton (the school music teacher), "Citadel Hill", a poem by city auditor J.A. Bell, set to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne", and "God Save the Queen". During the anniversary of settlement in 1867, 300-400 children from the Bands of Hope, a "gentler and more domestic" juvenile temperance organization than the more militaristic Cold Water Army and Cadets of Temperance, processed to Government House, then to their hall, where they heard addresses and sang patriotic songs, including the recitation of Joseph Howe's "The Centenary Song".

Poor and handicapped children observed celebrations in their respective institutions. Young inmates of Halifax's poor asylum assembled to partake of the Queen's marriage feast in 1840. Similarly, the "child of misfortune" and the "emaciated youth" enjoyed a feast in


38 Novascotian June 24, 1867.

39 Novascotian April 23, 1840.
Saint John's almshouse during the celebration of the Prince of Wales' nuptials in 1863.\textsuperscript{40} In honour of confederation in Halifax in 1867, John Walker provided a dinner for the children of the Protestant and Catholic orphan asylums, the ragged school, and the African school.\textsuperscript{41} An inmate of the Deaf and Dumb Institute observed the 1860 visit by writing a composition entitled "The Prince of Wales' Visit to America."\textsuperscript{42}

Although no public school demonstration marked the celebration of confederation in Halifax in 1867, probably because of the union's controversial nature, hundreds of juveniles marched in a trades procession as members of the Catholic Temperance and Benevolent Society and the St. Mary's Juvenile Temperance Society.\textsuperscript{43} On dominion day in 1871, Saint John's Morning News featured an editorial stressing the need for cultivating pride in the new nation.\textsuperscript{44} The inculcation of patriotism became a more complex task by the 1880's and 90's, as Britain's empire reached its zenith, and teachers and celebration organizers attempted to blend local and national loyalties

\textsuperscript{40} New Brunswick Courier March 14, 1863.

\textsuperscript{41} Halifax Reporter July 4, 1867.

\textsuperscript{42} Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Third Annual Report, 1860, pp. 34-35, PANS.

\textsuperscript{43} Evening Express July 2, 1867. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the procession.

\textsuperscript{44} Morning News June 30, 1871.
with royal and imperial allegiances.

Children participated in Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilees in 1887 and 1897 as public school pupils and as members of Sabbath schools and other voluntary organizations. The combined Sunday Schools of St. Paul's and St. George's Churches in Halifax held a special service during the golden jubilee, as did the Sunday School Association in celebration of the diamond jubilee. In Saint John, golden jubilee services were held by the Methodist and Anglican Sunday schools, as well as by the Bands of Mercy, junior S.P.C.A. groups. During these services, Queen Victoria was revered as a Christian example worthy of imitation. At the Methodist Sunday school service in Saint John, the Rev. J.W. Wadman told the children that they could "imitate Jesus and the Queen by being good and seeking opportunities to be a blessing to others". The Rev. Canon Brigstocke delivered

45 *Citizen* June 20, 27, 1887. The Ivy Band of Hope from Richmond were supposed to sing the "Ivy Band of Hope Ode" at a special Jubilee ceremony in Mulgrave Park, but it was cancelled due to bad weather--*Acadian Recorder* June 20, 1887.

46 *Acadian Recorder* June 19, 1897.

47 *Daily Sun* June 20, 1887.

48 At the Bands of Mercy service, the ladies auxiliary of the S.P.C. offered a diploma for the author of the best essay on the prevention of cruelty to animals.--*Daily Sun* June 27, 1887.

49 *Daily Sun* June 20, 1887.
a similar message to the Anglican Sunday schools: "We are taught by her to remember others and show our remembrance, ministering to their wants."50

One of the major events held during the jubilees in Saint John and Halifax was the children's demonstration. By the late Victorian period, children's demonstrations had become a more familiar mode of celebration than they had been at mid-century. In a letter to the editor of the Daily Echo, a woman commented that the gathering in Halifax in 1897 was of "prime interest" to the children because they were actually taking part in the celebration, whereas children in the early Victorian period rarely had the opportunity to participate in such a major display.51

While the public school demonstrations in 1862 and 1873 boasted hundreds of children, the jubilee demonstrations resembled the 1860 displays, in featuring thousands of pupils and spectators. The demonstrations held in Halifax and Saint John for the golden jubilee in 1887 each boasted between 3,000-3,500 children, and 6,000-10,000 spectators.52 Halifax had an even larger demonstration during the diamond jubilee in 1897, when

50 Daily Sun June 20, 1887.

51 "Isabella" in Daily Echo May 22, 1897.

52 J. March, Report of the Secretary and Supervisor, in Board of School Trustees of Saint John, Sixteenth Annual Report, 1887, p. 38; Daily Sun June 24, 1887; Acadian Recorder June 20, 22, 23, 1887; Herald June 22, 1887; Critic June 24, 1887; Citizen June 22, 1887.
6,000 school children assembled in the Exhibition Building, with about 700 functioning as a special chorus.53

Despite the similarity in size between the demonstrations in 1860 and 1887/97, the programs of the later demonstrations were much longer and more elaborate than those in 1860. For example, at Halifax's golden jubilee assembly, the children sang the National Anthem, with modified lyrics as recommended by the school board, and "Our Empire Flag", which emphasized the all-encompassing importance of imperial identity: "Not Scot, Colonial, Kelt are we, But Britons one and all".54 Lieutenant-Governor M.H. Richey recited a speech extolling the virtues of Queen Victoria, and J.A. Bell recited "The Jubilee Ode", which he had written for the occasion.55 A competition for the best and most appropriate banner or flag for the occasion encouraged input from the children. Each school designed its own banner or flag, and they were judged on the day of the demonstration, the three best

53 A.W. Redden, "Chairman's Report", in Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, Report, 1897, p. 11; Acadian Recorder June 24, 1897.

54 Program for The Queen's Jubilee, June 21, 1887, Halifax (published for free circulation among schools of Nova Scotia by Morning Herald), PANS.

55 Acadian Recorder June 20, 22, 23, 1887; Herald June 22, 1887; Critic June 24, 1887; Citizen June 22, 1887. J.A. Bell had also written the official poem for the 124th anniversary gathering.
winners receiving cash prizes of $15, $10, and $5 respectively.56

Ten years later, at the diamond jubilee display, the militaristic nature of late Victorian imperialism was reflected by the attendance of military officers, the 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers Band, which rendered patriotic music, and the Academy Cadets who acted as ushers. Patriotic speeches were delivered by dignitaries, such as Governor-General Lord Aberdeen, and the Rev. Principal Grant, a well known Canadian imperialist who was in Halifax to deliver a jubilee oration on Joseph Howe. Musical selections included "Victoria, Our Queen", "Motherland Beyond the Sea" (a jubilee hymn composed specifically for the occasion by Kate Mackintosh, vice-principal at the Halifax Academy), "Canada Land of the Maple Tree", and "God Save the Queen".57 Lady Aberdeen, also present, commented that the children "looked so

56 Circular No. 65 from R.J. Wilson, secretary of the board of school commissioners, to principals of the city schools, June 14, 1887, in Letterbook of School Commissioners, RG 35-102 (53A), A.9, p. 237a, PANS; Alexander McKay, "Supervisor's Report", Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, Report, 1887, pp. 31, 32 for prizes for banners. All of the prizes were awarded to Catholic schools: first prize to Summer Street School, second to Compton Avenue, and third to St. Mary's School. A special prize was also given to Miss Power, a girl who made the Compton Avenue School banner by herself.

57 Acadian Recorder June 24, 1897.
happy and sang charmingly". After the program, the special chorus processed to the Public Gardens to take part in Lady Aberdeen's unveiling of the new jubilee fountain, and to hear the jubilee ode, again composed and read by J.A. Bell, who claimed that the poem was "as good as anything I ever wrote and far better than the average quality of the Jubilee Odes and Hymns with which the newspapers have been filled lately, and that is not saying much".

The inculcation of patriotic sentiment was obviously a primary objective of these demonstrations, as explained by Alderman Redden, chairman of the School Board in 1897:

We have recognized and our law recognizes, the duty of transmitting to our children the feelings of loyalty which bind us so firmly to the motherland—the birth-place of so many of us. We would have our children look with reverence to those who represent the highest authority in our empire, and in this Dominion of ours, for we would have them emulate their virtues in their devotion to country and in their willingness to do and to sacrifice for the good of the people.

Patriotism emanated not only from the songs and speeches, but also from the commemorative items distributed to the children to help them remember the

58 Lady Aberdeen's Journal, June 24, 1897, NAC. A.W. Redden, chairman of the school board, made a similar comment—Redden, "Chairman's Report", p. 11.

59 J.A. Bell Diary June 19, 26, 1897, PANS. For a description of the unveiling, see Herald June 25, 1897; Daily Echo June 24, 1897.

60 Herald June 25, 1897.
occasion. Programs issued for the children's gatherings not only listed the order of the ceremony, but also contained songs and poems, essays, and photographs. The program for Halifax's golden jubilee school demonstration contained a section on the "progress of the Empire and important events of the Half-Century", and the lyrics to J.A. Bell's jubilee ode.61

According to John M. Mackenzie, mementos and ephemera of the late Victorian era are not merely passive records of the past, but were agents of persuasion, helping to imbue the population with

patriotic fervour and a belief in the imperial mission—which together involved a passionate regard for the monarchy and the flag, an appreciation of the greatness of the British achievement, an admiration for its heroes, and a realization of its importance to contemporary well-being.62

The instrumental role of such ephemera is illustrated by the Halifax Herald's publication of free pamphlets (containing an account of Victorian progress, and a number of jubilee odes) as a practical inducement for the formation of such gatherings. A number of children's demonstrations were consequently held in the surrounding towns as a result of the leaflets.63

61 The Queen's Jubilee, PANS.


63 Herald June 9, 24, 1887.
The children who participated in the golden jubilee demonstration in Halifax also received memorial cards of the occasion. In Saint John, badges were issued to the children and teachers, with the words "Public Schools City of Saint John, Queen's Jubilee, June 20th, 1887", and a representation of the city arms, while the principals, school officers, and trustees wore woven silk badges, with a portrait of the Queen, and the motto "Queen of an empire on which the sun never sets: 1837, Jubilee, 1887".

Implicit in the patriotism of the occasions were more subtle concepts such as submission to authority and obedience. During the rather regimented demonstrations, emphasis was placed on following instructions, undoubtedly a reflection of the close supervision in the schools.

64 For reference to memo cards, see Circular No. 66, Wilson to principals, June 20, 1887, Letterbook of School Commissioners, RG 35-102, (53A), p. 253a.

65 J. March, "Report of the Secretary and Supervisor", Board of School Trustees of Saint John, Sixteenth Annual Report, 1887, p. 38. The Halifax city council had no fund to purchase jubilee medals in 1897, so the matter was forwarded to the joint jubilee committee, but there is no evidence that action was taken—Letter from Wilson, secretary of the board of school commissioners, to J.J. O'Brien, secretary of the Queen's diamond jubilee committee, April 2, 1897, and Wilson to H. Freeman, city clerk, April 2, 1897, in Letterbook of the School Commissioners, RG 35-102 (53A), A.12, p. 718. An offer of jubilee mugs was also submitted to the school board, but their fate is also uncertain—Wilson to H. Trenaman, city clerk, June 4, 1897, in Letterbook of the School Commissioners, A.13, p. 6.
during this period. A plan for the golden jubilee demonstration in Halifax (see Figure 4.1) provided each school with a number, and showed the location of each school and their number in relation to the platform. While the school board instructed the children not to cross the white lines drawn between the schools, the teachers were told to maintain discipline and prevent talking, "even whispering being strictly forbidden". Only during the interludes was a "reasonable amount of liberty" permitted. Chairman Redden commented on the "decorous conduct" and "admirable drill" of the 1897 gathering, reflecting "great credit upon the discipline of the Halifax teachers". In common with Pelham, author of The Training of the Working Boy, contemporaries believed that "drills, insistence on punctuality, and strict maintenance of order has far reaching effects on character".

While the visiting press commented on the intermingling of black and white school children at the Prince

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67 Instructions, in Letterbook of School Commissioners, RG 35-102 (53A), A.9, p. 253c.


69 As quoted in Blanch "Imperialism, Nationalism, and Organized Youth", p. 114.
of Wales' demonstration in 1860,70 by the 1880's and 90's, schools and demonstrations were segregated not only by race, but also by religion, sex, age, and handicap.71 The plan for Halifax's 1887 demonstration (Figure 4.1) situated the black schools, Africville and Maynard, next to each other, while the deaf and dumb students, participating at the request of their principal, J. Scott Hutton,72 comprised a separate section in front of the platform. Protestants and Catholics were confined to separate schools, although the schools themselves were not grouped together by religion. Each school contingent was also segregated by sex. Interestingly, the diamond jubilee gathering in the Exhibition Building (Figure 4.2) placed children of the same grades together, rather than of the same school. Although undoubtedly a greater logistical difficulty, this arrangement reflected the belief in segregating school children according to age and level of attainment.73

It is difficult to determine whether the children absorbed the significance of the content and regimented structure of these demonstrations. One newspaper contended

70 Toronto Leader in Evening Express August 17, 1860.


72 Wilson to J. Scott Hutton, principal of the Deaf and Dumb Institute, June 16, 1887, in Letterbook of the School Commissioners, RG 35-102 (53A), A.9, p. 249.

73 Guildford "Public School Reform", pp. 188, 195.
Figure 4.1
Golden Jubilee Children's Demonstration, 1887

PLAN OF CHILDREN'S DEMONSTRATION
GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1887

NORTH

MORRIS STREET

ST. MARY'S GIRLS

ST. MARY'S BOYS

NATIONAL 3

ACADIAN 4

LAMARCHANT 5

DUTCH VILLAGE 6

SUMMER ST. BOYS/GIRLS 7

WEST

PLATFORM

DEAF & DUMB

COMPTON AVE 8

ACADEMY BOYS

ACADEMY GIRLS

ST. PATRICK'S BOYS

ST. PATRICK'S GIRLS 10

HIGH SCHOOL

SOUTH

BLOOMFIELD 11

BEECH ST. 12

BRUNSWICK ST. 13

AFRICVILLE 14

WAYNARD 15

ALBRO ST. BOYS

ALBRO ST. GIRLS

RICHMOND 17

RUSSELL BOYS

RUSSELL GIRLS

FIGURE 1
Figure 4.2
Diamond Jubilee Children's Demonstration, 1897
that "in the children's lives [the diamond jubilee] is an epoch of great import, and the songs of loyalty to Queen and country, and the patriotism that is being inculcated by the ceremonies will make an impression that will be lasting indeed". However, sometimes logistics interfered with the desired impression. For example, those farthest from the platform during Saint John's golden jubilee demonstration could hear little of Lieutenant-Governor Tilley's speech. Similarly, in Halifax, J.A. Bell commented on his reading of the golden jubilee ode: "I bawled as loud as I could and was heard--I was afterward told--much better than Governor Richey". Lady Aberdeen's difficulty in hauling down the veil covering the diamond jubilee fountain in Halifax disrupted the solemnity of the occasion. According to Bell, the sheet stuck, and was "dragged down by main force, the Governor General, the Admiral, and others assisting--everybody shouting with laughter". In Saint John, the Daily Sun contended that

74 Daily Echo June 19, 1897.
75 Daily Sun June 22, 1887.
76 Bell Diary June 23, 1887.
77 Bell Diary June 26, 1897. The correspondent of the Acadian Recorder also found the situation very humorous. As the men rushed to the assistance of Lady Aberdeen, "really they all looked as if, instead of unveiling a statue, they were hauling a puncheon of molasses out of the hold of a schooner...It is hoped that the camera people took a snap-shot of this scene, for it was historically worth preserving"--Acadian Recorder June 26, 1897.
"too much talk" on the part of the special speakers during the diamond jubilee exercises, and inadequate participation for the children, made the event rather tedious and wearisome for the children. Many children were simply too young to fully understand the significance of the occasion. Lord Aberdeen assumed that the children would not understand the significance of the diamond jubilee and Queen Victoria's reign until later in life. One little boy, disappointed that the Queen was not coming to Halifax for the diamond jubilee, clearly misunderstood the nature of the celebration, "having but a vague idea of the world outside his own city and a magnified estimation of the importance of the place we call home." 

The popularity of children's demonstrations can be attributed not only to their potential as vehicles of inculcation, but also to the increasingly sentimental attitude toward children. Like the Prince of Wales, who was reportedly moved to tears by the singing of the children during his visit to Halifax in 1860, Dr. Silas

78 Daily Sun June 22, 1897.
79 Daily Echo June 23, 1897.
80 Daily Echo June 12, 1897.
81 Evening Express August 8, 1860. The Toronto Leader in Evening Express August 17, 1860 agreed that the children's presentation was "touching", although the singing might have been better. However, the Saint John Morning News August 22, 1860, complained that the local organizers hurt the feelings of the children by not permitting the Prince of Wales to stay and hear the entire
Alward said of the children assembled during Saint John's golden jubilee celebration: "Who could be an unmoved spectator of so bright a scene, where beauty and innocence blend their matchless charms"?82 This comment also reflects the growing theological perception of children as inherently innocent, and thus in need of "morally suitable environments"83 such as the celebration demonstrations.

Nonetheless, not everyone supported these demonstrations. Contending that the Halifax school commissioners were merely pandering to the whims of the city council in reversing their initial decision against holding a children's demonstration in 1887,84 one citizen refused, as a matter of principle, to let his children participate.85 Another citizen questioned the motives of the commissioners, arguing that they wished to "show some National Anthem.


83 Guildford "'I often run in the streets of Halifax'", pp. 2,3.

84 A children's demonstration was initially thought to be "inexpedient"--Citizen May 6, 1887. However, a month before the golden jubilee the commissioners had a change of heart. At a meeting of school board, a demonstration was proposed--Acadian Recorder June 3, 1887; Citizen June 8, 1887. It was discussed by the joint jubilee committee--Citizen June 17, 1887; Herald June 17, 1887. A circular was issued to the principals of the schools, with instructions for the program--Circular No. 65, Wilson to principals, June 14, 1887, in Letterbook of School Commissioners, RG 35-102 (53A), A.9, p. 237a.

85 "An Amateur" in Citizen June 6, 1887.
dignitary how well [the children] could look, and how well they knew their lessons, as a certificate of the hard work and superior oversight of the school commissioners". He concluded: "Now, Mr. Editor, are there not enough examinations and exhibitions in the public schools, without bringing out the children on a public holiday for the sole purpose of giving some people an opportunity to spread themselves?" 86

"A Parent" questioned the wisdom of holding such a gathering when the majority of households had already decided how they would celebrate the jubilee; what was the sense of "disarranging the whole arrangement"? This parent described the 21st as "the day we celebrate", and had no doubt that "many would prefer to observe it in the 'dear old way', whatever that may be". 87 Families had their own private holiday plans, and did not appreciate interference from extraneous institutions. The public school system kept children in school longer than ever before, 88 and now the school board intruded on family holidays. It is interesting that the board's original decision against a demonstration was because they thought that the children would wish to be "at liberty" during the

86 "Anti-Humbug" in Citizen June 3, 1887.
87 "A Parent" in Citizen June 3, 1887.
88 Guildford "Public School Reform", p. 186.
Other parents and friends expressed concern about the physical safety of the children. There were fears during Saint John's golden jubilee demonstration that "sufficient safeguards could not be thrown around the little ones to ensure their protection from the pressure of the crowds". Mayor Thorne, and the teachers and principals, worked to allay these fears, and convince the concerned guardians that "no pains would be spared" to assure the safety of the children. Superintendent McKay of the Halifax school board hoped that the children at the diamond jubilee meeting would be instructed to remain "perfectly passive when in a crowd". Since 1860, when rowdies had attempted to sabotage the children's platform, citizens also worried about vandalism. Exposure to the elements generated more anxiety; indeed, a couple of children fainted from the heat during the unveiling of the diamond

89 Citizen May 6, 1887.

90 March "Report of the Secretary and Supervisor", pp. 36-37.

91 Daily Echo June 15, 1897.

92 The authorities placed a night watch over the platform. Rumors of sabotage led to an examination of the erection by city architects, but it was pronounced safe for the landing ceremony—Evening Express July 27, 1860; Morning Sun July 30, 1860.
jubilee fountain in Halifax in 1897.93 The dangers and difficulties of the outdoor demonstration eventually led organizers to favour indoor celebrations. Except for the unveiling of the fountain, Halifax's diamond jubilee demonstration took place indoors, in the Exhibition Building. In Saint John, diamond jubilee exercises were held in the individual schools.94

The jubilees also comprised part of the children's in-school activities. In 1897, the S.P.C.A. sponsored an essay contest in the Halifax schools,95 while the Rev. Principal Grant, still in town after his diamond jubilee oration, offered a prize for the best answer to the letter written by Queen Victoria to her imperial subjects.96 Lady Aberdeen also wrote a letter to the "Children of Canada", urging them to raise money for the Victorian Order of Nurses as an expression of their gratefulness for the advances in the social and medical treatment of children.

93 Daily Echo June 24, 1897. The Novascotian July 8, 1867, objected to the confederation procession in 1867 because of the participation of children, who "knew nothing but that their holiday had been made a day of torture to them by being dragged through the dusty streets under a broiling sun".

94 Motion at public meeting to hold a children's demonstration--Daily Telegraph April 7, 1898; proposal for a children's procession--Daily Telegraph May 18, 1897; thought to be improper--Daily Telegraph June 8, 1897; Daily Sun May 15, June 8, 1897; for lists of schools and exercises, see Daily Telegraph and Daily Sun June 22, 1897.

95 Daily Echo May 28, 1897.

96 Herald June 24, 1897.
during the Victorian era. At the closing exercises of the Girl's High School in Saint John in 1887, a jubilee chorus sang "God Save the Queen", "Rule Britannia", "Jubilee Song", and "Maple Leaf Song"; recitations included "The Queen's Gift", "Red, white, and blue", and "The Queen's Jubilee". The closing ceremony of the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Halifax in 1897, featured "Jubilee in Fairyland", and a composition of the pupils, entitled "Children's Tribute to the Queen".

Poor, delinquent, and handicapped children who did not attend public school or the exercises of the voluntary organizations, celebrated the jubilees with their own activities. The Portland Industrial School organized a jubilee exhibition in 1887. Ten years later, inmates of the Halifax Protestant Industrial School were dined by the Rev. Mr. Principal Grant, who had formerly been a director of the school. At the closing of the School for the Blind in 1887, the choir sang "The Queen's Jubilee".

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97 "A Letter From Her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen to the Children of Canada", Lady Aberdeen's Journal, Vol. 10, and Aberdeen Scrapbook, 1897, pp. 96-97, NAC. A sum of $60 was raised by the County Academy—Herald July 7, 1897.

98 Daily Sun June 25, 28, 1887.

99 Daily Echo June 21, 1897.

100 Daily Sun April 6, 1887.

101 Herald June 25, 1897.

102 Herald June 11, 1887.
while a student at the Deaf and Dumb Institute presented a personal sketch of the golden jubilee celebration. The deaf and dumb pupils were also admitted free to all events during Halifax's golden jubilee celebration.

Throughout the nineteenth century, juvenile members of institutions and voluntary organizations celebrated special occasions through processions and programs, and special feasts. Beginning in 1860, children began participating collectively in separate demonstrations. Such events provided morally suitable environments for the socialization of the children in "respectable" and "proper" values. Despite an earlier image of social and racial unity, the later Victorian gatherings segregated the children according to age, attainment, sex, race, and religion. Organizers had initially transmitted to the children a pride in province and city, but with the advent of confederation and the growth of British imperialism, patriotism expanded to include a love of country, monarch, and empire. Patriotism was taught through discipline, deference, and drill; regimented exercises promoted values such as respect for authority, submission, and obedience. Although the childrens' acceptance and understanding of

103 Novascotian July 9, 1887.

104 Acadian Recorder June 24, 1887. There were also plans for the Industrial School boys and older inmates of the orphan asylums to attend the art loan exhibition—Herald June 24, 1887; Acadian Recorder June 24, 1887.
these messages is uncertain, the creation of empire day in the schools in 1899, ensured the survival of patriotic demonstrations well into the twentieth century.105

The civic parade and trades procession attracted a wider range of participants and encouraged more cooperation and input from the actors than did the children’s demonstration. In addition, although the procession had a long history, it did not attract the same degree of censure as other “traditional” modes of celebration, like the ox roast, because it was not so reliant on the culture of drink, had fewer direct participants, and emphasized the definition and articulation of respectability. In her recent book *Parades and Power. Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, Susan G. Davis distinguishes between two different styles and traditions of processing—the "respectable" and the "rowdy". In this chapter, a number of parades and processions in nineteenth-century Halifax and Saint John will be analyzed as examples of the respectable tradition, including the civic parades held during Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838, Halifax's centenary in 1849, the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, the visit of Lord Lorne and Princess Louise in 1878, 

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and the trades processions held in commemoration of Saint John's railway celebration in 1853, Halifax's celebration of confederation in 1867, and Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883. The different groups participating in these attractions will be examined, as well as the different strategies they used to express their respectability. The rowdy tradition of processing will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CIVIC PARADES

The civic parade is the "characteristic genre" of nineteenth-century "civic ceremony". Mary Ryan defines the parade as a species of procession notable for the distinction between separate marching units, each representing a pre-established social identity. In Halifax and Saint John, nineteenth-century parades were organized by the general celebration organizers, with the cooperation of a number of discrete groups, including civic and provincial dignitaries and officials, the police, and most prominently, voluntary organizations, such as national societies, militia companies, temperance organizations, and firemen.

These organizations exhibited their constituent


members by processing through the major thoroughfares of the cities, which were usually lined with spectators. Sometimes controversy arose over the procession route. During the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, Haligonians debated the usage of Water Street for the prince's procession. Water Street was part of sailortown, with groggeries, alleyways, horrible odours, and buildings which differed in age, size, and style, in the "tea chest order of architecture". One correspondent remarked that the highlight of the visit would be remembered as "the leading of their Prince through the neither wide nor white, but wet, weltering, weather-stained, wharfy, winding, wonder-striking Water Street". Ultimately, Water Street remained in the procession route, but the street and adjacent buildings were lined with hastily assembled spruce trees, which covered a multitude of sins.

National societies marched in all of the civic parades in question. National societies were ethnic benevolent organizations which distributed charitable provisions and provided business and social contacts for


5 "G." in Morning Sun July 16, 1860.

6 Shortly after the visit, the brush had to be disposed of because of its combustible nature--Streets Office, August 2,3, 1860, in Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, PANS.
their members. Janet Guildford has noted that national societies also functioned as a "focus for the maintenance of cultural traditions and sociability" through such events as parades. 7 The involvement of national societies in parades provided an opportunity for the participation of a broad range of people in the social life of the city. 8 The ethnic societies involved in the celebration parades included the Charitable Irish Society, the North British Society, the St. George's Society, and the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society in Halifax, and the St. Patrick's Society, the St. George's Society, and the St. Andrew's Society in Saint John. Although these voluntary organizations attracted a diversified membership, they tended to be racially segregated. Blacks in early Victorian Halifax had their own African Friendly Society, which marched in Halifax's coronation parade in 1838, bearing banners depicting the Duke of Kent (Queen Victoria's father) as the "poor man's friend", and emphasizing the role of Britain in the emancipation of slavery. 9 The Colored Truckmen of Halifax brought up the rear of the parade. The Slavery Abolition Society marched in the city's centenary parade in 1849, behind the Royal


8 See Chapter 1.

9 Acadian Recorder July 2, 1838.
African Society, who were wearing Mayflower badges. The parades of the Prince of Wales in 1860, and of Lord Lorne in 1878, featured black organizations referred to as the African Society and the Anglo-African Society respectively (See Figures 5.1--5.3, 5.5).

Military bands, and militia and volunteer companies added a martial air to civic parades. Military bands created the discipline of "rhythmic marching", and were interspersed in various places in the line of march. An advance guard of militia companies processed in the coronation parade in 1838, while the volunteer artillery marched during Halifax's centenary in 1849 and during the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860. Since the militia system in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had been in the process of decline since the last peace in 1815, there was no regular system of inspection or drill, which resulted in inexperienced officers and "meagerly outfitted" companies. A new volunteer movement arose in Britain and the colonies in the aftermath of the Crimean War. Several

10 The Centenary Anniversary of the Settlement of Halifax, June 8, 1849 (Halifax, 1849), p. 4.


Figure 5.1

CORONATION, 1838

An advanced guard:
One co. of 1st Halifax Regiment
Capt. Henry Pryor of 2nd (or Queen's) Halifax Regiment
Rifle Co. of 3rd Halifax Regiment
The standard of Nova Scotia
High Sheriff
escorted by the magistrates of Halifax and the
clerk of the police, mounted
Committees of management, mounted
73rd Regiment Band
Masonic Lodges
Highland Pipes
North British Society
23rd Regiment Band
Charitable Irish Society
Carpenters' Society
93rd Regiment Band

Public citizens not included in preceding societies
Truckmen of Halifax, mounted
African Friendly Society
Coloured Truckmen of Halifax, mounted
Figure 5.2

CENTENARY, 1849

Mr. WC Manning, Mr. Wm. Grant, Senior
Secty of general comm Grand Marshal,
mounted

military band

Adam Hemmeon, Hon. JB Uniacke J.J. Sawyer
mayor, atty-genl, & high sheriff of
mounted member of comm., county
mounted

Members of general comm.

City Recorder Custos of county City Treasurer
all mounted

Corporation all mounted

County magistrates

Press

Ancient press, printing and distributing Howe's poem
"Song for the Centenary"
Union Fire Engine Co.
Halifax Volunteer Artillery Co.
Aged Nova Scotians and old inhabitants Descendants of the settlers of 1749
Live moose in a miniature forest of spruce trees attended by an Indian
Micmacs
Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society
Marshal, Mr. Matthew Lounds, mounted
Young Men's Nova Scotia Society Cold Water Army
Sons of Temperance Cadets of Temperance
Old Halifax Temperance Society Royal African Society
Slavery Abolition Society
Military band
St. George's Society
Charitable Irish Society
North British and Highland Societies
Military band
Masonic Lodges
Truckmen, mounted
Figure 5.3
VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO HALIFAX, 1860

City Marshal, mounted
Assistant Police Assistant Assistant Police Police
Police Police Police City Clerk
Clerk of streets Super. of streets Clerk of license
Assistant City Clerk
Treasurer Mayor Recorder
Aldermen
Police Police Police Police
Col. Ansell, Town Major
Capt. Stapleton, ACD Capt. Armstrong, ADC
to Lt. Govr to Major Wallace, Col.
Hartshorne, Prov. ADC Col. Wallace, Prov. ADC
Capt. Percy, Major Brigade Col. Butler
Capt. Percy, Major Brigade, Col. Fordyce, AQMG
Equerry Equerry
Major General Commanding
Duke of Newcastle PRINCE OF WALES Earl of Mulgrave
General Bruce Earl St. Germain
Col. Benn, Col. Nelson,
Commanding, RA Commanding, RE

Judges and executive council
President of legislative council
Members of legislative council
Speaker of house of assembly
High Sheriff Custos of county
Heads of civil departments
Members of executive committee
Officers commanding regiments
Union and Axe Fire Cos.
North British and Highland Socs.
Caledonia Club
Charitable Irish Society
St. George's Society
Carpenter's Charitable Society
African Society
Sons of Temperance
Halifax Catholic and Total Abstinence Society
Halifax Artillery
Halifax Engineers
Dartmouth Engineers
Halifax Rifles
Scotch Rifles
Mayflower Rifles
Chebucto Greys
Irish Volunteers
Dartmouth Volunteers
Victoria Volunteers
Her Majesty's forces
Figure 5.4

VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO SAINT JOHN, 1860

Mayor and Corporation
Town Major
Field officers of militia
Lt. Govr's Aide-de-Camp
Officer commanding HM's troops
Duke of Newcastle Prince of Wales Lt. Govr
HRH's Equerries - Earl of St. Germains and Major Genl Bruce
Remainder of suite
Chief justices, judges, and exec. council
Pres. and members of legisl. council
Speaker and members of house of assembly
Mayors of other cities
High Sheriff and Coroner
Members of press, foreign and local
Stipendiary and other magistrates
Heads of civil depts
Office bearers of national societies
Volunteer cos..
St. Stephen's Band
Sons of Temperance
Cadets of Temperance
Firemen
Cordwainers
Millmen from Mr. John Clark's Mill, Carleton
Founders, Phoenix Foundry
Ship Builders and Caulkers
Spar Makers
Riggers
Shoemakers
St. George's Society
St. Andrew's Society
St. Patrick's Society
Mounted Draymen
Indian Chief and 2 braves
Figure 5.5

VISIT OF LORD LORNE TO HALIFAX, 1878

North British Society
Charitable Irish Society
St. George's Society
Manchester Unity of OddFellows
Anglo-African Society
Catholic Total Abstinence Society
St. Joseph's Society
Marshals: Messrs. Robie Uniacke, J.E. Kenny, M.B. Almon
Grand marshals
City police
Mayor, Corporation, and general reception committee
Staff
Lieutenant-Governor
Duke of Edinburgh and Admiral
Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne
Staff of General Commander-in-Chief
Archbishop
Dominion cabinet
Chief judges of courts of law and equity
Privy council
Senate of Canada
Speaker of commons
Puisne judges
House of commons
Provincial executive council
Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of University
Judges of county court
Foreign consuls
President and members of legislative council
Members of legislative assembly
Custos and county magistrates
Corporation of Dartmouth
new companies and a new volunteer battalion were formed in Halifax/Dartmouth in 1860. Members of the volunteer battalion—the Halifax Rifles, "Scotch" Rifles, Mayflower Rifles, Chebucto Greys, Irish Volunteers, and the Dartmouth Volunteers—appeared in the Prince of Wales' parade in 1860. Other companies not in the battalion also marched, namely the Halifax and Dartmouth Engineers, and the black company, the Victoria Rifles. Three years later, companies from the volunteer battalion led off the parade in honour of the Prince's marriage celebration. These volunteer companies, like the national societies, were cross-class organizations. While the Chebucto Greys were comprised of men of high standing in the community, many of the other companies were composed primarily of mechanics. Indeed, volunteers complained about the merchants' lack of support for their cause, both in terms of participation and monetary contributions. Militia and volunteer companies were also racially segregated. During the coronation celebration in Saint John in 1838, a number


15 Morning Sun June 4, 1860; Morning Journal September 7, 1860. This was also the case in the United Kingdom—Morning News May 21, 1860.

16 Morning Sun June 4, 1860; Morning Journal September 7, 1860.
of "colored celebrities" in the Loch Lomand company brought up the rear of a militia parade.17 The Victoria Rifles participated in the prince's parade in 1860, but for some unknown reason was not considered "eligible" for inclusion in the battalion. 18

Temperance organizations comprised a large proportion of the marchers in early nineteenth-century civic parades. They were cross-class in membership, but unlike the national societies, temperance organizations drew most of their leaders from the lower middle and upper working classes.19 The five divisions of the Sons of Temperance, an all-male organization, which drew especially heavily on upwardly mobile clerks,20 marched in the centenary parade in Halifax in 1849, as did the Cadets of Temperance, boys who were too young to become the Sons of Temperance. Although the Sons of Temperance refused to give "full and unequivocal membership to the female sex,"21 temperance marches still featured women and girls. The Cold Water

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17 Loch Lomand was a black settlement near Saint John—Excerpt in Daily Sun June 18, 1887.


19 Davis Parades and Power, p. 147.

20 Guildford "Public School Reform", pp. 77, 80.

21 Janet Guildford ""Separate Spheres' and the Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880", pp. 5-6, paper presented to the faculty-graduate seminar, Dalhousie University History Department, April 1991.
Army, also in the temperance contingent, included hundreds of children of both sexes. The Old Halifax Temperance Society probably marched with some women in its ranks, for women were important members of the society.22 The Prince of Wales' parade in 1860 also included the Halifax Catholic and Total Abstinence Society (probably the St. Mary's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, founded in the 1850's).23 Three years later, the "Roman Catholic and Benevolent Society" displayed the "most marked feature" of the Prince's marriage parade in Halifax, as the only representative of the city's temperance movement.24 The Catholic Total Abstinence Society also helped to line the streets during the visit of Lord Lorne and Princess Louise in 1878.

Firemen made up another component of Victorian parades in Saint John and Halifax. The Union Engine Company of Halifax, at the height of its effectiveness and power in 1849,25 sported five engines in the centenary parade. The Union Engine Company and the Axe Fire Company also headed the entourage congregated to greet the Prince

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22 The Centenary Anniversary of the Settlement of Halifax, pp. 4-5; Davis Parades and Power, p. 149.

23 Guildford "Public School Reform", p. 80.

24 Novascotian April 20, 1863.

of Wales in 1860. The Axe Fire Company, made up of members of the building and woodworking trades, took charge of salvage operations, while the Union Engine Company, generally comprised of respectable craftsmen and shopkeepers, and mature property owners, was responsible for all aspects of engine operation and routine management. William F. Bunting, a foreman of the No. 6 Volunteer Fire Company of Saint John, contended that the "greatest and most pleasing source of attraction to the distinguished strangers" during the prince's visit to Saint John, was the splendid appearance of our Volunteer Fire Department with their neat and appropriate uniforms, their handsome and neatly decorated Engines, and Hose Carriages, and above all the manly and gentlemanly bearing, and youthful and orderly appearance of the Firemen.

After disastrous fires in 1857, 1859, and 1861, the Halifax city council fought for more complete control of the city's fire fighting capabilities, by passing a resolution which gave them power over appointments to the Union Engine Company (previously determined by the members themselves). Since the engine company would not consent to this arrangement, the city council appointed a new


contingent of firemen, and the old members formed a new Union Protection Company. During the marriage festivities in Halifax in 1863, the city council gave $100 to the Union Engine Company for a torchlight procession in the evening, perhaps to show off their fire company. The Halifax fire department was reorganized on a part paid and part call basis in 1894, and in 1918, the transition to full time full pay was finally completed.28

How did these various components of Victorian parades combine to portray the social order? While precedence may have been arbitrary in nineteenth-century American parades,29 this was not the case in Victorian Halifax, where certain criteria determined the order of march. Parade marshals and members of the police force usually led the parades, probably in an attempt to clear the route. Dignitaries from the city and province, as well as the organizing committees then took their place, mounted or in barouches. During the visits of the Prince of Wales in 1860, and of Lord Lorne and Princess Louise in 1878, a royal suite accompanied the usual contingent of...


dignitaries. The latter parade also featured members of the dominion cabinet, the privy council, the Canadian senate, and other national representatives, who proceeded to the Province Building to swear in Lord Lorne as Canada's governor-general. (See Figures 5.3--5.5). The parades were frequently concluded by coloured truckmen, who, like the police, helped to control the crowds.

The order of the national societies comprised the most contentious aspect of precedence. National societies determined parade position by the priority of establishment. During the coronation parade in Halifax in 1838 (see Figure 5.1), the organizing committee placed the ancient masonic lodges first, followed by the Highland Society and North British Society, (1768), the Charitable Irish Society (1786), the Carpenters' Society (1798), the African Friendly Society, and the Colored Truckmen. The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society, an upstart benevolent organization, questioned the criteria for

30 See PANS MG 20 Finding Aid for records of early masonic bodies in Halifax.

31 The coronation in 1838 was the first record of the Charitable Irish Society's participation in a public parade--Robert P. Harvey "Black Beans, Banners and Banquets: The Charitable Irish Society of Halifax at Two Hundred", The Nova Scotia Historical Review, vol. 6, no. 1, 1986, p. 21.

precedence, arguing that it deserved first place, since it was the only organization composed of Nova Scotian-born participants. The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society had been assigned to the third position in the line of march, which in itself seemed to be a concession to the society, for it was not founded until 1834. The organizing committee did not succumb, so the Nova Scotian society refused to take part in the parade, and instead processed alone to Province House, where it presented an address.

The Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society and its juvenile affiliation, the Youths Nova Scotia Society, were given precedence among the national societies in the Halifax centenary parade in 1849, perhaps to pacify the organization. However, since the celebration marked the settlement of Halifax and Nova Scotia, it is conceivable that precedence would be given to the indigenous organization. Moreover, the organization of the centenary was spearheaded by the Philanthropic Society, which had been observing Halifax's anniversary since 1836. The other societies, and, in addition, the St. George's


34 Times July 3, 1838; Acadian Recorder June 20, 1838; Novascotian July 5, 1838.

Society (1786), appeared in the reverse order in which they had appeared in 1838, perhaps to mark colonial maturity. Other entries in this centenary tribute included "Aged Nova Scotians and old inhabitants" and "Descendants of the settlers of 1749", as well as a contingent of Micmacs following a float depicting a live moose in a miniature forest of spruce trees.

During the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, various societies lined the procession route "according to seniority", and then fell into order behind the prince and his entourage. The national societies lined up as they had been in 1838, with the notable absence of the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society, which had dissolved in 1857, and the masons, who waited outside their hall for the Prince. A new addition, the Caledonia Club, followed the Scottish societies because of its ethnic association. The assignment of first place to the oldest society perhaps paid tribute to the Prince of Wales' grandfather, the Duke of Kent, who had resided in the city from 1794 to 1798 as Nova Scotia's commander-in-chief, and then as

36 The Centenary Anniversary of the Settlement of Halifax, p. 4; Novascotian June 18, 1849; British Colonist June 14, 1849.

37 Meeting of the Acting Committee, July 7, 1860, in Minutes of the meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860.

commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's forces in British North America between 1799-1800. During the visit of Lord Lorne in 1878, the national societies lined the streets in the same order in which they had appeared during the visit in 1860, with the addition of the Manchester Unity of OddFellows, a friendly society which had a special appeal for members of the working class, and the St. Joseph's Society, a Catholic benevolent society which followed the Catholic Total Abstinence Society (See Figure 5.5).

Participants in these parades distinguished themselves from the mass of spectators, through such devices as uniforms, banners, and orderly behaviour. The displays of the temperance organizations and the firemen illustrate different styles of expressing respectability. The temperance organizations promoted the respectable virtues as piety and abstinence, through anti-drinking banners and flags, and the solemn

39 Robert M. Stamp *Kings, Queens, and Canadians* (Markham, 1987), pp. 69-76.

40 Davis *Parades and Power*, pp. 20, 159-61.

41 Davis *Parades and Power*, p. 21.

42 The N.B.Museum has a temperance banner suspended from a pole, with painting in oils on one side in gold "Victoria Cadets of Temperance, Section No. 4, Organized July 6, 1848". In the middle of the inscription is a painting of Victoria at middle age or better (Given the age of Victoria, the banner may date to the 1870's or 80's). On the reverse is a triangle with the inscription "Truth, Virtue, Temperance"—Accession No. 28581.
demeanour of the marchers. During the Prince of Wales' pilgrimage through Saint John, the Sons of Temperance were instructed not to cheer for the Prince, but as a mark of the "most profound respect", to take off their hats and salute in silence.43

The firemen's contributions to parades were, on the other hand, flashy and spectacular. Indeed, the firemen followed the pattern of nineteenth-century parades in which "decoration and the display of affluence became the prevalent standards...and the means by which audiences recognized respectability".44 For example, the firemen's torchlight procession in Halifax in 1863 was led off by three marshals of the engine company and a marshal of the firewards (the administrative and supervisory board), followed by the torchbearers, the axemen with a volunteer band, a wagon containing firewards and constables, a couple of wagons housing the officers of the engine company, and then the firefighting equipment, including two steam engines, appropriately named "Victoria" and "Albert", the former of which was decorated with flowers, Chinese lanterns, glass lamps, transparencies, and an arch, and finally five decorated and illuminated hand engines and reels.45 The spectacle was augmented by the

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43 Freeman August 7, 1860.
44 Davis Parades and Power, p. 160.
45 Morning Sun April 15, 1863.
discharging of rockets, roman candles, and other illuminations from some of the carriages.46

The firemen and organizations like the militia also defined the boundaries of respectability even more narrowly by mocking lower status racial groups such as blacks, and depicting them in positions of subordination. For example, one of the companies in the firemen's railway celebration procession in Saint John in 1853 used colored boys to lead the engine.47 Similarly, during the firemen's centenary procession in Saint John in 1883, a float depicting "Britannia protecting a slave" was ironically led by a black man.48 No. 1 hose cart also sported a colored groom on each side.49 The Victoria Rifles, Halifax's black volunteer company, frequently experienced ridicule from the other parade participants and spectators. During the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, a correspondent of the Boston Post commented that the "English sympathizers with Mrs. Stowe" repudiated all interaction with the Victoria Rifles, and attempted to


47 New Brunswick Courier September 17, 1853.

48 Daily Sun May 17, 1883.

49 Daily Telegraph May 19, 1883.
refuse them admission to battalion drills and parades. The black company was reportedly met with jeers and impolite remarks "like a laughable farce to the excellent performance of a drama". According to Susan G. Davis, whites often ridiculed black participation in parades because they found them threatening as evidence of black "presence", "conviction", and "solidarity".

Parades seemed to be more popular, or at least more visible, in Halifax than in Saint John. The preponderance of parades in the former city may have been related to the presence of the garrison, and the influence of ubiquitous military musters and processions. Nonetheless Saint John did surpass Halifax in the representation of tradesmen.

TRADES PROCESSIONS

Despite hopes for a good turn-out of the trades during Halifax's centenary in 1849, only the press and the truckmen participated. The inclusion of the former was undoubtedly attributable to the strong craft tradition of the printers, and the strong personal influence of the printer, Joseph Howe, while the latter were necessary for crowd control. The carpenters' benevolent society

50 Boston Post in Morning Journal August 10, 1860.

51 Davis Parades and Power, p. 156.

52 The printers were not as effected by the onslaught of mechanization as some of the other crafts--McKay "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", p. 86.
constituted the only trades representative in the Prince of Wales' parade in Halifax in 1860. In contrast, Saint John's 1860 parade featured a number of trades, including contingents of millmen, foundrymen, ship carpenters, riggers and shoemakers (Figure 5.4). Most of these crafts were related in some way to Saint John's timber trade and shipbuilding industry. Millmen worked in the sawmills which made the timber, while the ship carpenters and riggers helped to build the ships. Foundrymen made tools and instruments necessary for both vocations. Other trades refused to participate because of the short time given for preparation, and in protest of the importation of foreign-made furniture for the visit.53

Processions comprised entirely of trades sometimes served as separate celebration events, especially in Saint John. In 1840, Saint John celebrated the founding of the Mechanics' Institute and the visit of Governor-General Poulett Thompson by holding a trades procession. However, a major business slump which instigated serious outmigration, discouraged any further demonstrations until the turning of the sod of the European and North American railway in 1853,54 when the city held a massive trades procession, with approximately nineteen trades represented (Figure 5.6). The most impressive entry in the procession,  

53 Freeman August 4, 1860.  
54 Morning News August 29, 1853.
Figure 5.6

RAILWAY CELEBRATION, SAINT JOHN, 1853

CITIZENS ON HORSEBACK
in uniforms & with banner

HIGH SHERIFF

GRAND MARSHAL

ASST. G. MARSHAL ASST. G. MARSHAL

PRES. & DIRS. OF MECHANICS' INSTITUTE
Preceded by Grand Banner of Institute

HOUSE CARPENTERS & JOINERS
Banners and work shop in full operation, drawn by horses
Uniform: full dress, white apron, emblem of trade

SHIP CARPENTERS
Marshal. Grand Union banner, 4 standard bearers
No.1—Foreman & operatives, James Smith & Sons' Yard, banner & model of "Marco Polo"
No.2—Ditto, F.J. Ruddick's Yard, banners
No.3—Ditto, W. & R. Wright's Yard, banners, model of "Guiding Star"
No.4—Ditto, Storms' & King's Yard, banners
No.5—Ditto, McLachlan & Stackhouse's Yards, banner & model ship
No.6—Ditto, Alexander Sime's Yard, banners
No.7—Ditto, John Fisher's Yard, banners
No.8—Ditto, J. McDonald & Co.'s Yard, banners, a ship on the stocks ready for launching
No.9—Ditto, W. & J. Olive's Yard, banners
No.10—Ditto, J. Nevin's Yard, banners, full rigged ship
No.11—Ditto, W. Potts & Sons' Yard, banners, a ship on stocks in course of construction with operatives at work
No.12—Ditto, John Thompson's Yard, banners, a ship on stocks in the course of construction
No.13—Ditto, Ruddick & Hilyard's Yard, banners
No.14—Thompson & Stackhouse's Yard, banners
No.15—Ditto, Brown & Anderson's Yard, banner, a ship on stocks in frame
No.16—Ditto, Joseph Sulis & Sons' Yard, banners

BLACKSMITHS & FOUNDERS
Marshal with banner
Blacksmith's car
Moulder's car
Engineer's car
Steam engine, in full operation
Uniform: full dress with blue rosettes & badges

PAINTERS
Marshal, with banner
Uniform: full dress with rosettes of the 3 "primitive colours", gold palette suspended from neck

MASONS & STONECUTTERS
Marshal, with banner
Brick press, a stone cutter's yard, workmen in full operation
Uniform: full dress with emblems of trade, white apron trimmed with blue

BAKERS
Marshal, with banners
Uniform: black coat, white vest & trousers, drab hat, white gloves, white apron trimmed with blue

PRINTERS
Marshal, with banner
Printing press in operation, printing & distributing celebration songs

CORDWAINERS
Marshal, with banners, representation of King Crispin & Queen Chrispiana on a carriage
Uniform: full dress, white gloves, drab apron trimmed with blue

TAILORS
Marshal, with banners, representation of Adam & Eve in the garden, on a carriage
Uniform: full dress with blue scarf

MILLERS
Marshal, with banner
Flour mill in operation

RIGGERS & SAILMAKERS
Marshal, with banners

CABINET MAKERS
Marshal, with banners, work bench with workmen in full operation
Carriage with furniture
Uniform: full dress, carrying mahogany staff
MAYOR & CORPORATION OF FREDERICTON

MAYOR & CORPORATION OF SAINT JOHN

EXECUTIVE COMM. OF PORTLAND CONVENTION

ENGINEERS OF EUROPEAN & NORTH AMERICAN RAILWAY

BAND

PORTLAND FIRE COMPANIES

Asst G. Marshal

No. 1 Portland Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: blue shirt trimmed with white, black trousers, glazed hat with gold band

Portland Engine Co. of R. Rankin & Co., with engine & hose cart
Uniform: white shirt, blue trousers and glazed hat

CITY FIRE BRIGADE

Chief engineer

No. 1 Wellington Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: blue shirt trimmed with white & red, black trousers & glazed hat—name of engine

No. 3 Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: blue shirt trimmed with white, black trousers, red hat with motto

No. 2

Band

No. 4 Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: blue jacket trimmed with scarlet, white trousers, black hat with gold band & motto Phoenix No. 4

Band

No. 5 Engine Co. with engine & hose carriage, tender
Uniform: blue shirt trimmed with white, white trousers, black glazed hat with number

No. 6 Engine Co. with engine & hose carriage
Uniform: green shirt trimmed with gold, black trousers, gilt helmet hat, white belt
No. 7 (Carleton) Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: red shirt trimmed with blue, white trousers, glazed hat

No. 8 (Carleton) Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: blue shirt, black trousers with red stripes, black hat

Hook & Ladder Co., banner
Uniform: blue jacket, black trousers trimmed with red, black glazed hat with gold band

No. 9 Carleton Boys' Engine Co. with engine & hose cart
Uniform: yellow shirt trimmed with red, black trousers

Portland & City Juvenile Engine Co. with engines

POLICE MAGISTRATES OF SAINT JOHN AND PORTLAND
MAGISTRATES OF CITY & COUNTY
FARMERS FROM WESTFIELD, KINGS CO.
ASST. G. MARSHAL

MILLMEN
Marshal, with banner
Uniforms: white shirt, black trousers & belt, glazed hat

REED & WRIGHT'S BLACK BALL LINE OF SAINT JOHN AND LIVERPOOL PACKETS
Banner & a full rigged clipper ship, with a screw propeller steamer

BRANCH PILOTS OF PORT OF SAINT JOHN
Marshal
Uniform: full dress, band on hat, with motto, carrying spyglasses & speaking trumpets

ASST. G. MARSHAL

BAND

FREEMASONS
In full costume, with banners, paraphernalia

ASST. G. MARSHAL
Figure 5.7

CELEBRATION OF CONFEDERATION, HALIFAX, 1867

Volunteer band

Car of Stone Cutters & Masons Assn,
men at work

National Assn of Plasterers

Carpenters & Joiners,
men at work

Catholic Temperance and Benevolent Society

St. Mary's Juvenile Temperance Society

"Hodge, Armstrong & Co.'s Virginia Tobacco Factory"
Hands at work making tobacco, and distributing samples
Employees of Hodge, Armstrong & Co.

"Moir & Co." city steam mills

Ship Carpenters & Caulkers

Band of Union Protection Co.

"Montgomery & Co.'s N.S. Iron Works"
Representation of steam engine, boiler makers
rivetting a boiler, smiths working at anvils,
moulders at work

"W.S. Symonds & Co." Dartmouth foundry
Stoves, men at work

"Starr's Nail & Skate Factory"
Proprietors in a carriage

"Scriven's Halifax Steam Bakery"
 Implements for baking biscuits, portable oven
Proprietors distributing samples

Trades

Drum & Fife Corps of Volunteer Artillery

Citizens
Mayor & corporation of Halifax
Clergymen & other professional men
Members of local legislature
Members of provincial government
Senators of the Dominion
"Calvacade" of Citizens
Figure 5.8

LOYALIST CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, SAINT JOHN, 1883

Carriage with Chief of Police & Detective Ring
Squad of police
Teamsters
Chief Marshal--J.H. Pullen, John H. Parks
2 barouches, members of entertainment committee
Tailors
Led by Samuel Hollis
Representation of Adam & Eve on car
Banner
Painters
Uniform: journeymen in linen suit, with helmet & white gloves
boss painters in black dress suits, silk hats, white ties, gold plated breast badge
Safemakers
Uniform: white shirts, black pants, black leather belts, Kossuth hats, white aprons
Men at work, banner
Tinsmiths
Uniform: journeymen in black pants, blue shirts (with sheers & hammers crossed), tin hats, belts, cuffs
employers in black dress suits, silk hats, white gloves, white ties
Apprentices at work, turning out small tinware, distributed to crowds
Bakers
Steam engine with machines in operation for making biscuits
Uniform: journeymen in black pants, white shirts, white caps and aprons, trimmed with blue & blue tie
masters in black silk hats, black coats & pants, white vest, blue tie, white apron trimmed with blue
Blockmakers
Wagon making blocks & other materials for the construction of ships
Uniform: white shirts, black pants, light caps
Masons
Wagon with n people engaged in bricklaying
Uniform: blue flannel shirts, dark pants, hard hats, aprons

Relief Band of Fusiliers

Cabinet Makers
Uniform: dark suits, felt hats, white kid gloves

Printers
Wagon with miniature printing office, run by steam, and printing and distributing small paper called "Centennial Souvenir"
Uniform: plain black suits, silk hats, white ties & gloves

Carleton Serenade Band

Ship Laborer's Union
Banners "We demand universal suffrage"
"Labor and capital, instead of being enemies, should go hand in hand in the great march of progress"
Uniform: hard felt hats, blue flannel shirts with shield on breast bearing "SLU", white ties, belts, black pants, small bouquets

Harding Street Fife & Drum Band

Cotton Spinners
Banners, wagons with men making samples of work
Uniform: suits made in factory

G. & E. Blake's staff of Plumbers
Uniform: blue pants, light shirts (plumbing insignia), Kossath hats

Brass Finishers
Bells & gongs
Uniform: jockey caps & aprons

Royal Fife & Drum Band

Cordwainers
Carriage with King Crispin & Queen Crispiana
Uniform: black suits, silk hats, white gloves, neckties & aprons

Mechanics' Band

Carpenters
Wagon with mortar resting on a box
Uniform: forge capes, white aprons with blue trimmings
that of the ship carpenters "reminded the stranger that he was in a Shipbuilding City".55 A trades procession also celebrated the region's industrial progress during the Loyalist centennial exhibition in 1883 (Figure 5.8). Although Halifax hosted a trades procession to mark confederation in 1867, the procession was more of a political demonstration than an overt acknowledgement of the commercial nature of the city (Figure 5.7). Some of the more heavily Irish trades, such as the shipwrights and caulkers may have been marching as a show of support for the Conservatives, who had proven more willing to cooperate with the unions, and as an attack on anti-Confederate Joseph Howe, for his disparaging remarks about Irish Roman Catholics.56

Regardless of their motivation, trades processions defined the boundaries of respectability through the articulation of a corporate identity between tradesmen. Trades sported special uniforms and banners which identified them as members of a particular group of skilled craftsmen, and as a respectable body distinct from

55 Morning News September 16, 1853.

the manual laborers. According to Susan G. Davis:

> In parades saluting events in local or national history, craftsmen led by their masters presented themselves as members of a corporate body, as contributing to the social good through their practice of a useful productive skill.

The order of march between the various trades is unclear. One hint occurs in a suggestion in 1853 that the participants draw lots to avoid any squabbling: "We know of disputes that have arisen on former occasions here as elsewhere".

The trades also used symbolic images to express their corporate identity. Some of the images used by the tradesmen in these processions, such as the tailors' representation of Adam and Eve in the garden, and the cordwainers' representation of King Crispin, resembled

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57 The banner sported by the Eagle Foundry for the turning of the sod ceremony in 1853 still exists in the collections of the N.B. Museum. On the top half of the banner is a brown eagle holding an orange banner in its mouth, containing the word "Foundry" in black letters. Below these figures are illustrations of a black forge with the caricature of a workman attending to it, a black railway tender with the word "Foundry", a green railway locomotive with the word "Eagle", and a black wheeled distribution piston engine set behind orange brickwork—Accession No. 25975.


59 *Morning News* August 29, 1853.
those used by their British and American counterparts.60 Indeed, for the 1883 procession, the Saint John tailors borrowed a banner from the Tailors Society of Boston.61

At the same time, trades processions mirrored the increasing fragmentation of the crafts. Master and senior craftsmen customarily came first in the procession, bearing their flag or banner, followed by the younger journeymen and apprentices. Susan G. Davis notes that in Philadelphia, masters and employers appeared in a "paternal" supervisory role during processions, responsible for leading their men, and representing the integrity of their trade.62 In the 1853 railway procession, the ship carpenters' entry represented the increasing hierarchy of the trade, as sixteen different shipbuilding companies displayed their foremen and operatives, and an example of their work. In Halifax, anti-Unionists contended that many of the tradesmen in the confederation procession were forced to follow their employers and those on whom they depended for business, despite their own reservations about the union.63 During

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60 Wilentz "Artisan Republican Festivals", p. 47. The N.B. Museum has a banner of the tailors and clothiers, dated 1890's, which includes a painting of Adam and Eve fleeing from the garden--Accession No. 23376.

61 Weekly Freeman October 6, 1883.


63 Morning Chronicle July 2, 1867; Novascotian July 8, 1867.
the trades procession in Saint John in 1883, different uniforms differentiated masters and men. The journeymen painters wore a linen suit with a helmet and white gloves, while the "boss" painters decked themselves out in dress suits, silk hats, white ties, and a gold plated breast badge. The journeymen tinsmiths donned black pants, blue shirts (with sheers and hammers crossed), tin hats, belts, and cuffs, while the "employers" sported black dress suits, silk hats, white gloves, and white ties. 64

The influence of industrialization on the skilled trades, and the evolution of factory workers also reinforced the division between employer and employee. The trades procession of 1867 boasted a number of entries from the foundries and factories of Halifax and Dartmouth. Dartmouth's Hodge, Armstrong and Co.'s Virginian Tobacco Co. float was followed by the factory's employees, then came Montgomery and Co.'s Nova Scotia Iron Works from Freshwater, W.S. Symonds and Co.'s Dartmouth Iron Foundry,65 Starr's Nail and Skate Factory (including the proprietors, John Starr and John Forbes, riding in a

64 *Weekly Freeman* October 6, 1883. Different uniforms were also sometimes worn in nineteenth-century trades processions in Philadelphia--Davis *Parades and Power*, p. 129.

carriage), 66 J.J. Scrivens' Halifax Steam Bakery, 67 and Moir and Co.'s "City Steam Mills". 68

Women became a more significant presence in trades processions as they entered the factory work force. The women appearing in the 1867 trades procession may have been sweethearts or relatives, ladies' auxiliaries, 69 or factory workers. Virginia Tobacco Co.'s float featured a number of women, 70 very appropriate in an industry which would become one of the major employers of women in Halifax. 71 Nonetheless, some still opposed the involvement of women in public processions, because they were "not well posted in the details of the Union scheme, and...were far better to judge the beauties of the gaudy print than ...{ 


67 It was mechanized with the latest American equipment in 1868--McKay "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", p. 147.


70 Novascotian July 2, 1867; Morning Chronicle July 2, 1867, p. 2. There were female factory workers in trades processions in Philadelphia--Davis Parades and Power, p. 119.

the action of our legislators".72

Many of these industrial entries presented an "economic spectacle", comprised of new machinery, the re-enactment of work processes, and the "gaudy display of consumer goods".73 The tobacco and bakery factories depicted workers making their products. Scriver's bakery displayed the implements for baking biscuits, including a portable oven. The iron foundry at Freshwater presented representations of a steam engine, boiler makers rivetting a boiler, smiths working at anvils, and molders at work. Workers often distributed samples of their work to the crowds.74 The workers on the Virginia Tobacco Factory float pitched samples of their cigars and tobacco, popular luxury items on "high days and holidays".75 These displays essentially served as advertisements, to "salute" the influence of the "manufacturer".76

The appearance of the Ship Laborers Union in Saint John's trade procession in 1883 also highlighted the polarization of capital and labour. The Saint John Ship


73 Davis Parades and Power, p. 127.

74 Davis Parades and Powers, p. 128.


76 Davis Parades and Power, pp. 127, 129.
Laborers Union, formed in 1849, was an association of dock workers, who had obtained a good deal of bargaining strength because of the seasonal shortage of labour created by the export of timber from Saint John. As a result, by the 1870's, they had established control over working hours, and hiring and firing policies. The union, however, suffered from the attacks of the mercantile community in the late nineteenth century, particularly over the introduction of steam technology.\footnote{McKay "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", pp. 174-75.} The union's 1883 banner is undoubtedly a response to this antagonism: "Labour and capital, instead of being enemies, should go hand in hand in the great march of progress". The Ship Laborers Union still promoted a corporate and unified image, and saw themselves as having a direct role in the attainment of progress. Their other banner demanded equal participation in the affairs of the nation: "We demand manhood suffrage". Despite their militancy, the dock workers attempted to demonstrate a respectable image with their "trade-like" uniforms, consisting of a hard felt hat, blue flannel shirt, with a shield on the breast bearing the words "SLU", white ties, belt, black boots, and small bouquets.\footnote{Freeman October 6, 1883; Davis \textit{Parades and Power}, p. 142.}

Parades and processions were not only composed of
participants but also of spectators. Although Susan G. Davis argues that devices such as uniforms and marching skills discouraged spectators from joining in, interaction between the marchers and the crowds should not be underestimated. In the 1838 coronation parade in Halifax, members of the public marched in the parade (See Figure 5.1). Similarly, about 1000 merchants, professionals, and manufacturers joined in the confederation trades procession, perhaps to show that support for confederation emanated from the elite as well as from the trades. A "calvacade" of citizens, who brought up the rear of the procession, may, as the anti-confederate Morning Chronicle suggested, have been "government hangers-on and candidates for office", or simply interested spectators who tailed along at the end for the thrill of participation. Indeed, it was customary for parades and processions to attract a following. During trades processions, "greedy" crowds often congregated behind certain entries, hoping for free samples. Spectators also interacted with parades and processions.

79 Davis Parades and Power, p. 162.
80 British Colonist July 2, 1867; Evening Express July 3, 1867.
81 Morning Chronicle July 2, 1867; Novascotian July 8, 1867.
82 Saint John militia companies often attracted a following of private citizens as they marched by--New Brunswick Courier June 16, 1838.
processions in other ways, by cheering for the various entries, and by waving their hats, hands, and handkerchiefs.

By the late nineteenth century, parades and processions had become more complex and expensive. The golden and diamond jubilee committees in Halifax in 1887 and 1897, decided against holding societal processions because of their cost, and the difficulty in maintaining harmony among the many different voluntary organizations which had emerged by the late nineteenth century, such as the Oddfellows, the Foresters, and the Young Men's Christian Association. Instead, firemen's processions became popular celebration activities, since they were more economical than large societal processions, and were usually organized by the firemen themselves. During the Loyalist centennial in Saint John in 1883, the firemen and salvage corps were given $400 of the common council's total grant of $1000 for the celebration. Dominion day in Saint John in 1885 would have been "practically blank" without the firemen's procession. Spectators enjoyed the spectacle created by the uniforms, decorated vehicles, brilliant torches, and fireworks. In 1885, the firemen's

83 Daily Echo May 12, 14, 19, 1897; Acadian Recorder May 19, 1897; Herald May 19, 1897.

84 The firemen wanted $600—Daily Sun May 5, 20, 1883.

85 Daily Sun July 2, 1885.
procession attracted such a multitude that it had difficulty getting started.86 A small contingent of societies joined the firemen's procession during Saint John's diamond jubilee in 1897.87

The deepening division between labour and capital made trades processions increasingly unsuitable events for the commemoration of national and local celebrations, which were supposed to be occasions of harmony and cooperation. Trades processions were therefore confined primarily to celebrations of trade and industry, such as the centennial exhibition in Saint John in 1883, and labour demonstrations, particularly labour day, which was made a statutory holiday in 1894.

Civic parades and trades processions provided an outlet for the participation of a wide range of citizens, who defined respectability through the creation of social distance. Government leaders and celebration organizers demarcated themselves from the rest of the participants by assuming first place in the line of march. The national societies fought over the criteria of precedence. Trades processions mirrored the polarization of capital and labour. Social distance was also realized through segregation. Although an increasing number of women processed in temperance societies, in female auxiliaries,

86 Daily Sun July 2, 1885.
87 Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
and as factory workers, parades and processions were still primarily "male affairs", and depicted such respectable male roles as the citizen, the public official, the soldier, and the breadwinner. Racial segregation was reinforced by the black organizations which took part in the parades, and the ridicule which frequently accompanied them. Finally, parades and processions distinguished between participants and spectators. Members of the voluntary organizations differentiated themselves from non-members, temperance advocates from the intemperate masses, and tradesmen from unskilled labour. The members of these organizations expressed their social distance and thus their respectability through such vehicles as disciplined marching, uniforms, banners, and pious behaviour. Spectators, however, frequently invaded the social distance created by the participants, by entering the procession themselves, or by trailing along behind certain entries. Thus, although civic parades and processions articulated the respectability of the participants, such events may not have been interpreted the same way by the spectators.

CHAPTER 6

THE ANTIRESPECTABLE TRADITION: BURLESQUE PROCESSIONS

Burlesque, the "humorous or mocking exaggeration of traits",\(^1\) became a popular form of procession in Saint John in the nineteenth century. Unlike civic parades and trades processions, which were coordinated by an official organizing committee with the cooperation of various civic bodies, burlesque processions were orchestrated by the citizens themselves, notably by two organizations called the "Calithumpians" and the "Polymorphians", the nature and composition of which provide the focus for this chapter. According to Susan G. Davis, burlesque processions belong to the "rowdy" or "antirespectable" tradition, because they embody disorder and irregularity, and the reduction of social distance through ridicule, inversion, and a relatively fluid line of march.\(^2\) While the Calithumpians clearly belonged to this tradition, the desire for respectability among the lower middle- and upper working-class men who came to dominate the Polymorphians, transformed this alternative form of celebration and protest into a relatively harmless and more conventional style of processing.

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2 Davis *Parades and Power*, pp. 20, 159-61.
This study focusses on Saint John, since burlesque processions were not evident in Halifax during this period. The popularity of burlesque in the former city but not in the latter, can be attributed to the different nature of the two cities. While Halifax was a capital city, Saint John prided itself on being anti-establishment in politics and religion; thus, the burlesque of authority, as practiced by the Calithumpians, was a logical extension of this legacy. Halifax's military garrison, which monopolized the city's pageantry, undoubtedly discouraged alternative traditions. Furthermore, Saint John was closer than Halifax to the United States, and therefore may have been influenced more by American burlesque traditions. Saint John also seemed to have more opportunities for the working class to participate in public life. Because of the city's commercial nature and image, Saint John had a more visible history of artisanal involvement in events like trades processions.

**CALITHUMPIANS**

Calithumpian displays were an adaptation of the charivari, or "rough music", a "ritualized form of enforcing community standards and morality".  

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were held to indicate disapproval of sexual misbehaviour or social pretension, or to give expression to political protest. Indeed, the term "Callithumpian" is a dialect word from Western England which refers to Jacobins, radical reformers, and "disturbers of order at Parliament". Most of the time, however, Calithumpian displays were a "popular endorsement waged to celebrate some notable event". For example, the Calithumpians in Saint John marched in celebration of confederation in 1867. In common with their counterparts in Ontario, Saint John Calithumpians also processed in celebration of less political events, such as Saint John's railway celebration in 1853 and the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860, as well as such annual commemorations as the Queen's birthday and dominion day.

The "antiuniformity" of the Calithumpian demonstrations contrasted with the uniformity and order of the civic parades and trades processions. While the "respectable" processions marched during the day, or


5 As quoted in Davis Parades and Power, p. 98.

6 Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 34.

7 Morning News July 1, 1867. In contrast, the charivari was used in Placentia, Newfoundland, to oppose Confederation—Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 33.

8 Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 35.
during the evening lit by torchlight and illumination, burlesquers processed in the wee hours of the morning, often as early as three or four a.m., typically a time of sleep and silence. In stark contrast to the disciplined marching and structured martial music of the military bands in parades and trade processions, the Calithumpians made "rough music" with household utensils and makeshift instruments. A band consisting of "two dilapidated wash boilers, a cow's horn, a conch shell, and an impromptu bagpipe made by a combination of a woman's stocking and a penny whistle" led the Calithumpian display on the Queen's birthday in Saint John in 1860.9 While many of the societies in the respectable demonstrations had tidy uniforms, the "fantasticals" (a name referring to anyone in burlesque dress) were outfitted in a confabulation of outrageous and "grotesque" costumes. On the occasion of the Queen's birthday in Saint John in 1861, the New Brunswick Courier referred to the Calithumpians as "one of the most ridiculous and grotesque groups" with "every style of clothing possible", bent on making the "most execrable noises".10

The composition of the Saint John Calithumpians is difficult to determine. Some studies depict the Calithumpians as an all-male organization, while others

9 Morning News May 25, 1860.

10 New Brunswick Courier May 25, 1861.
document the participation of both sexes. In any case, it is likely that males took the leading roles. Although patricians sometimes patronized charivaris, the Calithumpians were largely plebian in makeup. It is probable that Calithumpian demonstrations, like charivaris and skimmingtons, were fairly well organized, although the degree of organization for the group in Saint John is unknown.

Through their burlesque, the Calithumpians may have been articulating an alternative to the perceived inequalities and social pretensions of their social superiors. During the Queen's birthday in Saint John in 1860, the Calithumpian demonstration featured "burlesques of all the fashions and follies of the day". Similar to the mock militias held in nineteenth-century Philadelphia to protest the largely genteel division of officers and the policy of enforced participation, in 1860 the Saint John Calithumpians did the "Volunteer movement in a *Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 54; Greer "From folklore to revolution", p. 28.

12 Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 54; Davis Parades and Power, pp. 73-111.

13 Greer "From folklore to revolution", p. 33; In The Mayor of Casterbridge (New York, 1962), pp. 273-78, Thomas Hardy describes the planning of a "skimmington" in a local tavern.

14 Morning News May 25, 1860.

15 Davis Parades and Power, p. 78.
strange fantastic fashion".\textsuperscript{16} It is uncertain whether the Saint John Calithumpians merely borrowed this form of institutionalized display, or actually protested against their own citizen soldiery. Their exhibition was probably a combination of both factors.

The demonstration in favour of confederation in Saint John in 1867 reveals political motivations, laced with ethnic prejudice, as the Calithumpians marched through the heavily Irish neighborhood of York Point, reminiscent of the Orangemen's marches twenty years earlier.\textsuperscript{17} The Calithumpians' resort to violence during the confederation procession also distinguishes them from the respectable processions and parades, which promoted the ideals of order and harmony.\textsuperscript{18} As the Calithumpians marched through York Point in celebration of the union of the provinces, the denizens of that locality, so notorious all along for their Anti-proclivities, gave such a rough Donnybrook entertainment that several of the party were obliged to return to their homes to have their heads bandaged.\textsuperscript{19}

Evidently, Calithumpians not only aimed their

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Morning Freeman} August 4, 1860.

\textsuperscript{17} Scott See "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John", \textit{Acadiensis} vol. 13, no. 1, Autumn 1983, pp. 68-92.

\textsuperscript{18} Bryan Palmer argues that as such displays became more violent, they were increasingly associated with the "barbarism and savagery of the masses"--Palmer "Discordant Music", p. 52.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Morning News} July 1, 1867.
parodies at social superiors, but also downward on the social scale. Calithumpians mocked various racial and ethnic groups, including the Irish and the Indians. During the railway demonstration in 1853, the Calithumpians "rigged themselves up as Japanese and cavorted through Saint John to the strident notes of 'Japanese instruments of the most primitive type'". Calithumpians also frequently wore blackface, adapted from minstrelsy, music hall culture, and folk tradition. This usage of racial stereotypes reflects the hardening of racial attitudes after mid-century. By identifying deviant characteristics (i.e., blackface, Japanese and Indian costumes) the young working-class men comprising the Calithumpians "laughingly" defined the

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20 Davis Parades and Power, pp. 108, 110.

21 In Philadelphia Indians were impersonated--Davis Parades and Power, p. 103; men dressed up as Indians in a shivaree in the town of York in 1802--Palmer "Discordant Music, p. 19.

22 Ian Sclander "The Big Celebration", in New Brunswick Parade, Scrapbook 87, SJRL, p. 233.


24 Robin Fisher "The Image of the Indian", Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates (eds.) Out of the Background. Readings on Canadian Native History (Toronto, 1988), pp. 177-78. H.F. McGee, in his introduction to The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada (Ottawa, 1983), p. ix, points out that prior to the mid-Victorian period race was not mentioned very often, but that for the rest of the century it was a common device used to "explain" culture.
members of their group, as well as the "outsiders" and "others". Calithumpians also decked themselves out in dresses and took female roles. Gender inversion undoubtedly served to mock women, and thereby symbolize their subordination. However, by taking on the female role for the purposes of protest and parody, men acknowledged in women a certain vitality and sexual power, probably emanating from their reproductive powers and the unruliness of their "lower passions".

POLYMORPHIANS

The Polymorphians assembled to form burlesque processions during special occasions in late nineteenth-century Saint John. The name had been used earlier by a short-lived fraternal organization of the 1850's, but its connection with the burlesque group is unknown. In the description of the Woodstock Calithumpian display in 1883, it was commented that there was "no vulgarity among those who took female parts"—Daily Telegraph May 25, 1883.

Natalie Zemon Davis 'Women on Top', in her Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, 1975), pp. 124-51.

The fraternal organization sponsored a regatta in 1855 and a ball in 1857—New Brunswick Courier September 22, 1855, February 14, 1857; Invitation to ball given by Proteus Camp No. 1, Polymorphian Tribe, 1857—Invitations, Folder 5, N.B. Museum. I am indebted to Mrs. Sandra Thorne for sharing her research, particularly the latter reference. William F. Bunting, a collector of customs and a clerk of the Board of Assessors in Saint John, was chief of the Proteus Camp.
1880's, the burlesque Polymorphians formed an intermittent organization, which came together several months previous to the celebrations, and then disbanded shortly after until the next wave of festivities.29 According to one source, Bob Wilkins, a resident of Saint John, organized the "Polymorphian Club" for the purpose of "entertainment, particularly the taking part in the numerous parades and celebrations of the day."30 The origin of the name "Polymorphian" is unclear. It may be an adaptation of the word "polymorphism", defined by Funk and Wagnall's New Standard Dictionary of the English Language as "the property of having or presenting many forms". E.M. Slader suggests that it may have been derived from the word "polymorpha", a whirling beetle which dances on pond surfaces.31

The Polymorphians had a readily identifiable organizational structure with officers and a membership roll, and regular meetings to plan and rehearse the

of Polymorphians, a society which had "no resemblance to the polymorphians of the present day[1897], but was a secret [fraternal] organization"--Obituaries at the conclusion of the Bunting Diaries, N.B. Museum.

29 Comments by President, Charles Nevins, in Daily Telegraph October 5, 1883, in Scrapbook C27, pp. 160-61, SJRL.


31 Slader "From the Victorian Era to the Space Age", p. 10.
processions. Unlike the Calithumpians, accounts of the meetings of the Polymorphians were published regularly in the local press. The Polymorphians started off as a neighborhood organization in the vicinity of Haymarket Square. They helped to clean up the hay and wood market near the Marsh Bridge and turn it into a public park called Haymarket Square, and also raised funds for a fountain for the square. As the Haymarket Square organization became more popular in the 1880's, another branch was set up in Portland during the golden jubilee in 1887, followed by a third in the South End and a fourth in Carleton (called the Algerine Club) during the diamond jubilee in 1897. The "lady friends" of the Haymarket Square and Portland branches formed women's committees or sewing circles to make costumes and decorations for the Loyalist centennial and golden jubilee processions. Polymorphians were not unique to Saint John; branches could also be found in Moncton and Windsor, Nova Scotia. During the golden jubilee in 1887, the Moncton

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32 *Evening Times Globe* March 27, 1936.

33 *Weekly Freeman* May 26, 1883; for presentation of fountain, see *Daily Telegraph* October 5, 1883, in Scrapbook C27, pp. 160-61.

34 *Daily Sun* March 30, April 5, 1887.

35 *Daily Sun* June 19, 1897.

36 *Daily Sun* May 11, 1883, card of thanks to ladies--May 22, 1883, June 3, 17, 1887; *Daily Telegraph* May 15, 19, 1883; *St. John Globe* May 16, 1883.
Polymorphians marched in Saint John's procession, while the Saint Johners participated in the Polymorphians' dominion day procession in Moncton.37

While no extant membership lists have been uncovered for the Calithumpians, Polymorphian membership lists have been found for 1883 and 1887 (See Appendix 2). Only 27 of the 58 participants (46%) mentioned in the 1883 procession could be positively identified, whereas in 1887, 141 of the 254 Haymarket Square Polymorphians (55%), and 51 of the 74 Portland Polymorphians (68%) could be traced. Like the Calithumpians, the Polymorphians boasted a number of working-class members. One of the most interesting patterns was the participation of a number of transportation workers, probably due to the presence and influence of David McQuarrie, conductor of the InterColonial Railway, and vice-president of the Haymarket Square Polymorphians in 1883, and treasurer of the organization in 1887. Besides McQuarrie, a baggage master also belonged to the Polymorphians in 1883, and ten employees of the InterColonial railway in 1887.38 However, the percentage of semi-skilled and unskilled workers was still relatively low, at 15% in 1883, 11% in the Haymarket

37 Daily Sun May 27, 1887, June 22, 28, 1887.

38 These figures are undoubtedly modest, for employment at the I.C.R. was a major occupation among many of the members who could not be positively identified in the city directories because of multiple occupations for the same name.
Square club in 1887, and 14% in the Portland group. The Polymorphians were dominated by skilled artisans, clerks and government employees, and small business owners and shopkeepers. The skilled trades comprised 48% of the Polymorphians in 1883, 42% of the Haymarket Square Polymorphians in 1887, and 35% of the Portland Club. Lower middle-class membership (white collar workers, small businessmen, and shopkeepers), increased from 33% of the Polymorphians in 1883, to 42% of the Haymarket Square Club, and 41% of the Portland organization in 1887. Only one small businessman, a victualler, was identified in 1883, but the number of small businessmen grew to 27 (19%) in the Haymarket Square group in 1887 and 12 (24%) in the Portland club. Nineteen clerks appeared in the Haymarket Square membership lists in 1887, comprising 13% of the total members, the largest representation of any single occupation. While the clerks and bookkeepers complained that they were the only ones not "animated" for the demonstration of the turning of the sod of the European and North American railway in 1853, by the 1880's they had evidently found a vehicle of participation in the Polymorphian organization. Indeed, the formation of the subcommittees of the Haymarket Square group in 1883 served as the means whereby "dozens of young men have been interested in the celebration, who under the

39 Morning News September 9, 1853.
circumstances, would have taken no active part in the celebration".40 Only four professional men appeared among the Polymorphians, all in 1887: three barristers, two in the Haymarket Square Club and one among the Portland Polymorphians, and a physician in the Haymarket Square organization, who probably joined through neighborhood connections, for his residence and business were in the vicinity of the Square. The office holders were mainly comprised of artisans, small businessmen, and white collar workers. Charles Nevins, the president of the Haymarket Square Polymorphians for seven years, appeared in the directories as a clerk in 1883, and a spar merchant (or salesman) in 1887, which suggests that he was upwardly mobile. Overall, the Polymorphians seemed to be more visibly organized and respectable than the Calithumpians.41

The burlesques of the Calithumpians and Polymorphians exhibited some similarities. A Calithumpian-like anti-uniformity of costume marked the "Barnum like oddities" who graced the Polymorphian demonstrations during the Queen's birthday in 1881 and 1882. (See Figures 6.1 and 6.2) The characters were described in the press as "ridiculous" and "startling," comments very much like

40 Daily Telegraph April 27, 1883.

41 Davis has also identified more affluent and organized burlesque organizations in Philadelphia--Parades and Power, pp. 102-03.
Figure 6.1

POLYMORPHIAN PROCESSION

QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, 1881

Major-General Gorman
Baird's Mammoth Minstrel Band
Grand Marshal Armstrong and suite
Barnum-like oddities
Chines mandarins, negroes, jockeys, etc...
"Who'll wear the breeches"
"Then comes the tug of war"
"Eliza Taylor's Quilting Party"
"The Irish Jaunting Car"
"Goin' to de ball"
"Loch Lomand"
"Triumph Laundry Soap"
"Hum' Fife and Drum Band"
monkey, old man in one horse shay
artillery corps
negroes, Indians, jockeys

Figure 6.2

POLYMORPHIAN PROCESSION

QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, 1882

Grand Marshal Gorman
70 different figures
62nd Fusillers Band
Bagtown Bell Ringers
"Colored Voters"
"Venor on a high horse"
"Oscar Wilde's Barber Shop"
"Dodds vs Foster"
Steam calliope
Cage of wild animals
"Loch Lomand Mashers"
Many other representations...
Figure 6.3

POLYMORPHIAN PROCESSION

LOYALIST CENTENNIAL, 1883

Police guard
President of the Polymorphians
62nd Fusiliers Band
Grand Marshal Armstrong
70 mounted men in armour
Artillery Co., 1783
Queen Elizabeth's court, on the coach "Tally Ho"
Col. McQuarrie, mounted
Pioneers of 104th Regiment
Bandmaster
Band of 104th
104th Regiment on foot
Surgeons of Regiment
Harding St. fife and drum band
Sloop "King George"
"Log Cabin"
"Irish Jaunting Car"
Royal Fife and Drum band
"Bridal Party of ye olden time"
"Emigrant train"
Calithumpian Club banner
Mechanics' Band
"Old Time Carriage"
Characters of all kinds on horseback
Indians on horseback
2-headed Giantess, driven by a monkey
Artillery Band
Figure 6.4

POLYMORPHIAN PROCESSION

QUEEN VICTORIA'S GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1887 *

Mounted police
Sergt. Weatherhead, Fred. Jenkins, Harry Kilpatrick, and John Weatherhead
Chief of Police Marshal and Detective John Ring
Police Sergt. Watson and John Colwell
Mounted Armoured Lancers
"Britannia"
NBBGA Band
"The Blind Half Hundred Band"
"The Blind Half Hundred Regiment"
Platoon of Police
City Cornet Band
Fairville fife and drum Band
Barouche—President Johnston and Officers of the Portland Club
"Five Decades of Queen Victoria's Reign"—Portland Club
"Queen's Family"—Portland Club
Barouche—Mayor and Aldermen of Moncton
Moncton Cornet Band
"Mikado"—Moncton Club
"Canada"
"Zulu Band"
"Zulus"
"Fairyland"
"Japanese Pagoda"
Miniature Haymarket Square and Bandstand
"Noah's Ark"
Chief "Darktown Fire Brigade" in a cart
"Darktown House"
"Darktown Fire Brigade"
"Darktown Hose Reel Co."
"Darktown Hook and Ladder Cart"

* — Unless otherwise noted, entries in 1887 and 1897 processions on behalf of Haymarket Square Club.
Figure 6.5

POLYMORPHIAN PROCESSION

DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1897

Grand Marshal Wm. A. Quinton
"Jameson Raiders"--South End Club
City Cornet Band
"Armoured Knights"
"Victoria"
"Britannia"
"The Scottish Highlanders"
"Robin Hood"
"Robin Hood's Merry Men"
"Ireland"
"Irish Guards"
"Fairyland"
Citizens Band of Sussex
"Tower of London"
"Beef Eaters"
Kingsville Band
"John Bull"
"Men of Warsmen"
62nd Fusiliers Fife and Drum Band
"Zulus"
Temple of Honour Band
"Royal Guard of 1837"--North End Club *
Richard Rawlings, Marshal
"Coronation Scene, 1837"--North End Club
"Royal Guard of 1837, mounted"--North End Club
"Hearts of Oak", HMS Nile"--North End Club
"Her Majesty, 1897"
"Royal Guards of 1897"--North End Club
Carleton Cornet Band
"Algerine Contingent"--Carleton Club
"A Band of 75 Crusaders, mounted"--Carleton Club
"Pirate craft `Algerine'"--Carleton Club

* - Portland Club
those used to describe the Calithumpians. The confusion of Calithumpian processions also characterized the Polymorphian display in 1882, as fifteenth-century gentlemen mixed with the "negro swell". Outlandish and exotic entries—monkeys, jockeys, and a cage of wild animals—also appeared in the line of march. The Polymorphian procession did show a greater degree of organization, in the presentation of a number of pre-arranged tableaux. Some of the entries, however, displayed poor engineering. "Dodds vs Foster" represented the popularity of pugilism in 1882, but it was so rickety that most people stood back as it passed. A member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty interfered with the "Bagtown Bell Ringers" in the same procession because he believed the horses were not in a "fit condition".

Like the independence day burlesques in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, the Polymorphians' burlesque was generally less antagonistic toward authority than the scathing burlesque of the Calithumpians. While the Calithumpians parodied those above and below them on the social scale, the Polymorphians confined most of their mockery to "outsiders" and "others".

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42 The descriptions of the two processions in 1881 and 1882 are derived from Daily Evening News May 24, 1881; Daily Telegraph May 25, 1882.

43 Daily Telegraph May 25, 1882.

44 Davis Parades and Power, pp. 102-03.
dislocation, 45 and the racial and ethnic prejudices of the 1880's and 90's, undoubtedly led working- and lower middle-class white males to adopt deviant peoples as targets of their frustration. As Susan G Davis has pointed out, "poor people's techniques of political folk drama could be freely borrowed for racist and nativist purposes". 46

The Polymorphians' tableaux often burlesqued ethnic, racial, and gender stereotypes. During the 1881 procession, the Irish were burlesqued in "The Irish Jaunting Car", as were the blacks, with a representation of Baird's Mammoth Minstrel Band, and floats entitled "Loch Lomand" and "Goin' to de Ball". The latter tableau, "Goin' to de Ball", shows the use of mocking reconstructions of black dialect, also found in burlesque processions in Philadelphia. 47 Polymorphians also mocked the blacks in 1882, in a float entitled "Loch Lomand Mashers", and in the tableau "Coloured Voters", an expression of white concern over the extension of the franchise to blacks. 48 Inscriptions on the float read "The

46 Davis Parades and Power, p. 73.
47 Davis Parades and Power, p. 106
48 Davis Parades and Power, p. 84, also perceived a fear of the widening forms of electoral participation as a motive for certain burlesques.
Colored Cabinet, the People's Choice", "No Duty on Whiting", and "Brooms Must be Protected", an allusion to the broom-makers of Loch Lomand. Other polymorphians marched as large "swells" of "negroes", Chinese mandarins, and Indians. These male performers also parodied women in "Eliza Taylor's Quilting Party", "Who'll wear the breeches", and in "Goin' to de Ball".

Less antagonistic and mocking were the 1883 Loyalist centennial procession, and the Queen's jubilee demonstrations in 1887 and 1897. Polymorphians attempted to make their burlesque more respectable by offering prizes for the most spectacular and well-constructed floats.49 Subsequently, many members put a good deal of effort into the creation of the entries. In 1887, the Polymorphians previewed drawings of potential floats. The president, Charles Nevins, showed some samples of costume material he had obtained while in England.50 Participation in the processions was confined to members of the Polymorphian clubs. In 1883, only members with tickets were admitted to the agricultural grounds to prepare for the procession, or were considered for the prizes.51 The officers regulated the propriety of the display by

49 Daily Telegraph May 19, 1882.
50 Daily Sun March 17, April 1, 1887.
51 Daily Sun May 10, 1883. In 1897 cotton mill employees participated, with the permission of the Polymorphians—Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
subjecting every member's costume and float to the approval of the Club.52 During the golden jubilee, the Haymarket Square Club expelled Solomon Green and James Driscoll for wearing unauthorized costumes "most offensive to public decency".53 The acceptance and encouragement of Polymorphian displays by the authorities and celebration organizers reflected the increasing respectability of the processions. The Saint John common council financially supported the Polymorphians, a luxury which the Calithumpians could never have expected because of their less orderly burlesque, and their tendency to mock authority.54

The Calithumpians faded into the background after the 1860's, but emerged again in 1883 to join the Polymorphians in their display for the Loyalist centennial celebration. The press used the two names interchangeably, which makes it difficult to distinguish between the two organizations. A joint committee gave the Calithumpians the responsibility for the re-enactment of the landing of

52 Daily Sun June 10 1887.
53 Daily Sun June 28, 1887.
54 In 1883, the Polymorphians got $200, as did the firemen, salvage corps, and Carleton firemen--Daily Sun May 5, 1883. During the original estimation of funds for the golden jubilee, the Polymorphians were given $300--Daily Sun May 24, 1887. Later, the Portland club discussed the advisability of asking the common council for $100--Daily Sun May 27, 1887. The Polymorphians were given $500 of $2300 for the diamond jubilee celebration--Daily Telegraph May 22, 1897.
the Loyalists at Market Slip, while the Polymorphians took charge of the main procession. The Calithumpians attempted to recreate something similar to the landing of William Penn and his followers at the bicentennial celebration held at Philadelphia a few months earlier. The Calithumpians also joined in at the end of the Polymorphian procession. The very different nature of their respective displays reveals the differences between the two organizations (See Figure 6.3).

Re-creations of the Artillery Co. of 1783, and the famous 104th Regiment of 1812, were the strongest features of the Polymorphians' 1883 demonstration. Unlike the martial mimicries performed by the Calithumpians and the independence day burlesquers in Philadelphia, the Polymorphians' display expressed a sense of local pride and patriotism. In this sense, the Polymorphians resembled the lower middle-class jingo crowds of late Victorian England, for whom patriotism had become the "ultimate assertion of respectability". Acting as the "preservers of historical memory", the Polymorphians also depicted

55 Daily Telegraph April 13, 1883.
56 Davis Parades and Power, p. 102.
58 Davis Parades and Power, p. 76.
experiences of the early Loyalists in Saint John, in such entries as the sloop "King George", a "Log Cabin", a "Bridal Party of ye olden time", and an "Emigrant train". Although one correspondent complained that the Polymorphian display had no special connection to the Loyalist centennial,59 the Polymorphians at least tried to make symbolic references to it in their procession. Indeed, the procession and the celebration itself symbolized Saint John's Loyalist heritage, not its commercial-industrial image, as articulated during the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860. C.M. Wallace suggests that Saint John boosters made a virtue out of necessity, adopting the Loyalists only after they had failed to live up to their commercial potential in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.60 It is also argued that New Brunswickers turned to the Loyalists as part of the Victorian cult of hero worship, and as an effort to obtain security and identity during the upheavals of industrialization, urbanization, and outmigration.61 While the Polymorphians paid homage to the Loyalists in the

59 St. John Globe May 14, 1883.


centennial procession, the Calithumpians still exhibited their old style burlesque. An "Old Time carriage" comprised the Calithumpians' only concession to the theme of the Loyalist centennial, followed by the usual panoply of "characters of all kinds" on horseback, Indians, and an outrageous two-headed giantess driven by a monkey.62

The procession styles of the Calithumpians and Polymorphians may reflect class differences; the largely working-class Calithumpians undoubtedly clung to traditional burlesque as an alternative to the conventions of their social superiors, while the artisanal and lower middle-class members of the Polymorphians more closely approximated the conventional parade in an effort to obtain respectability. Age may have played a role here as well. Perhaps the Calithumpians stuck to the familiar form of rowdy burlesque because it was an older organization, comprised of older members, whereas the Polymorphians were open to change as a more youthful society. In any case, after 1883, the Calithumpians gradually disappeared. Although the Evening Times Globe commented that the Calithumpians were well known in Saint John at the time of the Polymorphians, the latter organization had undoubtedly taken over as the dominant society. As the newspaper later commented: "What the Calithumpians were to Ontario the

62 Daily Sun May 19, 1883; Daily Telegraph May 19, 1883.
Polymorphians were to Saint John".63

The Polymorphians' representation of the Blind Half-Hundred Regiment and Band in 1887, and their portrayals of the eight troops of Jameson's Raid, the Scottish Highland Regiment, and a man-of-war and old battle ship in 1897 (See Figures 6.4 and 6.5), reflects their continued obsession with the military. The Portland club paid tribute to Queen Victoria during the jubilees. In 1887, they depicted the five decades of the Queen's reign, and in 1897 portrayed Queen Victoria during her coronation in 1838 and her diamond jubilee in 1897. In the latter tableau, "Miss Canada" presented the Queen with a "Crown of Glory", symbolizing Canada's homage to the monarch. Allusions to Britain in both processions took the form of a representation of "Britannia" and a contingent of Armoured Lancers. Further references to England during the diamond jubilee included a representation of "The Tower of London" with Beefeaters, a float depicting "John Bull", a forest scene featuring Robin Hood, and the west side's contingent of Knights Crusaders. Given the imperial nature of the diamond jubilee celebration, a float featuring a peasant girl and a body guard symbolized both the pastoral and turbulent images of Ireland. A golden jubilee tableau called "Canada", and a diamond jubilee float entitled "Confederation", made patriotic concessions to the

63 Evening Times Globe March 27, 1936.
The highlight of golden jubilee procession was the Darktown Fire Brigade, comprised of a Chief, Fire Brigade, Hose Reel Co., and Hook and Ladder Co. The tableau may have marked the tenth anniversary of the Great Fire of 1877, one of the most significant and devastating events in Saint John's history. During the procession, the members of the tableau attempted to put out a fire in a miniature house. Each member of the roster had a burlesque title mocking their particular task or personal idiosyncracy, such as "Ring Gong Wilson" and "Scott Act Smith" (perhaps an abstainer, or an inverted parody of a heavy drinker). "Just in Time Manson", "Call Me Slow Jackson", "Will You Come Mullin", and "Just Too Late Christie" mimicked the perceived slowness of the firemen in responding to calls. The Hook and Ladder wagon similarly sported a sign "Drive slow, McDermott" and "Slow But Sure", and on the Engine "Get There Just the Same".

The Algerine Club's parody of the collapse of one of Saint John's wharves was much more scathing than the firemen's tableaux. A reproduction of the wharf featured inscriptions such as "Winter Port, Sinking Fund" and "Let Her Go, She's All Hemlock". The bucket of a dredge raised an alderman, announced by a steam whistle, and then slipped back into the wharf. But as the Daily Sun noted "True to its design the float, like the wharf which it
represented, collapsed before its work was done."\textsuperscript{64}

Racial parodies comprised a much smaller proportion of the displays than they had in previous processions. While the term "Darktown" from the "Darktown Fire Brigade" may have described the dark smoke caused by fires and the dingy appearance of cities ravaged by flames, it may also have been a parody of the blacks, for Susan G. Davis notes that independence day burlesquers often blended minstrelsy with fire company (and militia company) nomenclature.\textsuperscript{65} Polymorphians certainly ridiculed blacks by dressing up as "Zulus", in black tights, black faces, and fuzzy black wigs, resembling, on a much smaller scale, the ethnographic exhibitions which flourished in the European cities during the age of imperialism.\textsuperscript{66}

The processions also retained elements of gender inversion. Although the float depicting a pioneer cabin in the Centennial procession was said to be manned by five females and four males, the names of those involved indicate that they were all played by young men. Another tableau of a bridal party featured men in the roles of

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Daily Sun} June 23, 1897.

\textsuperscript{65} Davis \textit{Parades and Power}, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{66} William Schneider "Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century", \textit{Journal of Popular Culture} Vol. 11, no. 1, Summer 1977, pp. 98-109; Slader "From the Victorian Era to the Space Age", p. 10 refers to the Zulus as one of the most popular Polymorphian entries, because of the sentiment aroused by British imperialism.
bride and bridesmaid.67 These depictions of women were not as sardonic as earlier processions, which may reflect a class difference in the perception of women, as lower middle- and upper working-class men came to dominate the Polymorphians, or a general change in sexual ideology, from an image of female unruliness, to one of goodness and sensibility.68 Men may also have taken on female roles because of continuing reservations regarding female participation in the public sphere. Respectable women who took on any "performative roles" outside the home, risked gaining the reputation of "women of the streets".69 Indeed, there was a fear that participation in an unregulated public place would mean social mixing and would inevitably lead unprotected women into sexual immorality.70

Nonetheless, the Polymorphians began to feature more and more women in their processions, but only under certain conditions. The names of the women in the processions indicate that they were related to the male

67 Daily Sun May 15, 19, 1883.

68 See Davis "Women in Top", pp. 124-51 for a discussion of the imagery of female disorderliness in the early modern period.


members, and were protectively surrounded by them. Female participants also portrayed venerated figures, such as royal personages and Loyalist pioneers.71 In the Polymorphians' centennial procession, women played the roles of Queen Elizabeth's court in a "Tally Ho" coach, and also passengers on board the sloop "King George".72 Approximately thirty female friends of the Calithumpians took part in the landing of the Loyalists in 1883.73 The Portland Polymorphians featured women in their 1887 representation of "Five Decades of the Queen's Reign" and "The Queen's Drawing Room".74 The North End Club's depiction of the Queen in 1837 and 1897 used only women and young girls in the primary roles. 75

Female participants also portrayed allegorical symbols, such as "Britannia" and "Miss Canada". The tableaux, "Fairyland" and "Confederation", used children, particularly young girls. As the Weekly World pointed out, the Polymorphians' 1883 procession featured participants

71 This was similar to the nature of female participation in processions in nineteenth-century Philadelphia--Davis Parades and Power, p. 47.
72 Daily Sun May 19, 1883.
73 Daily Sun May 10, 15, 1883.
74 Souvenir of the Queen's Jubilee, pp. 79-80.
75 Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
of "both sexes and all ages". 76 Because of concerns about the safety of children in outdoor processions, they usually rode on the floats instead of walking. Like the women, children were usually depicted as symbolic images of veneration and purity. Perhaps young girls were used because of their image as innocent beings, who had not yet acquired the trappings of a female reputation. In any case, as living symbols, these women and girls evoked abstract concepts, far removed from the actual composition of the processions or of society. 77 As nonvoters, they symbolized the ideal of a society free of partisan conflict, and as domestic and maternal beings, stood above class conflict and the problems of the nation. 78 Women thus played an important role in the transformation of Polymorphian processions from representations of concrete social groups, to manifestations of abstract allegorical figures. This development may have contributed to the emergence of the less overt burlesque of late nineteenth-century Polymorphian processions.

Indeed, the Daily Sun commented that the diamond jubilee demonstration was less burlesque than on some

76 Weekly World May 24, 1883, in Scrapbook C27, p. 133.


former occasions, and that the entries were "appropriate to the occasion and aroused universal admiration". After the celebration, the Victoria Memorial Club (probably a women's auxiliary) acknowledged the Haymarket Square society as a respectable proponent of patriotism, by presenting them with a set of colours. Miss Jennie McKelvie, a member of the club, described the gift as a "tangible token" of "how highly we appreciate the true spirit of loyalty you have ever shown to our beloved Queen." 

The Polymorphians continued to participate in celebrations in the early twentieth century. In 1902, the Haymarket Square Polymorphians held their "usual" Loyalist Day tree planting exercises in the neighborhood Square. The last hurrah of the Polymorphians occurred during the celebration of the victories of the South African War.

It has been argued that burlesque processions reduced social distance by laughingly breaking down social boundaries between the participants and their social superiors. While this is true, especially of the Calithumpians, both the Calithumpians and Polymorphians also reinforced social distance, by identifying and

79 Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
80 Daily Sun June 23, 1897.
81 St. John Globe May 6, 1902; Evening Times Globe March 27, 1936.
mocking social inferiors, particularly racial groups, as "outsiders" and "others". This particularly applied to the Polymorphians, who, although they parodied the firemen and common council in the jubilee processions, were generally less antagonistic to authority than the Calithumpians, and confined most of their burlesque to lower status groups. The Polymorphians became less and less antagonistic over the course of the late Victorian period, due in part to the desire of the largely upper working- and lower middle-class membership to emulate the respectability of the more conventional parades and processions, and in part to the increasing participation of women and girls, who were usually cast in venerated images of purity. The Polymorphians found themselves caught between the rowdy and respectable traditions of processing, which encapsulated the plight of their members, who oscillated between the roughness of the lower orders and the respectability of the middle class. The Polymorphians had an organizational structure like other voluntary associations, and encouraged respectable behaviour and respectable displays. Nonetheless, they still hung on to elements of burlesque and inversion, and thus continued to represent an alternative celebration tradition. The later Polymorphian displays were essentially attempts to give a respectable image to an antirespectable form of celebration.
CHAPTER 7

MEMORIALS

At a meeting to discuss Halifax's observance of the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1841, the attorney-general of Nova Scotia, Samuel G.W. Archibald, expressed a preference for a "more permanent mode" of celebration, such as the founding of an orphan's home, rather than "a feast of one day to be followed by misery and destitution the next". Unfortunately for Archibald, many others at the meeting favoured the immediacy of holiday spectacles and feasting, arguing that the poor preferred short-term gratifications. Therefore, the organizers abandoned the idea of a permanent memorial for more frivolous and ephemeral forms of celebration. As the century progressed, however, celebrations were marked by more frequent proposals for permanent memorials. Proponents considered the founding of memorials to be more respectable than

1 Novascotian December 16, 1841; Times December 14, 1841. As early as King George III's jubilee in Britain in 1809, the idea was articulated that instead of "mere currusciations" of celebrating, celebrants needed to "signalize the day by works that should keep alive its perpetual remembrance"—The Day October 30, 1809, as quoted in Linda Colley "The Apotheosis of King George III: Loyalty, Royalty, and the British Nation, 1760-1820", Past and Present, Vol. 102, February 1984, p. 117.

2 A "strong present time orientation" is one of the characteristics of the "culture of poverty" in Oscar Lewis's The Children of Sanchez (New York, 1963), p. xxvi.
feasting and pageantry, because of their more useful and enduring nature. David Shanks Kerr, a Saint John lawyer, voiced such a sentiment as he urged the organizers of the Loyalist centennial celebration in Saint John never to "heed the useless form of parade for the cornerstone". 3

While men campaigned for "the cornerstone" throughout the nineteenth century, women became prominent founders of memorials in the last quarter of the Victorian period, 4 a development which has been examined by scholars under the rubric of "female institution building". 5

Nineteenth-century celebration memorials took various forms: 1) the appellation of an object in honour of the celebration; 2) contributions to existing charities or causes; and 3) the founding of objects or institutions. The designation of the City and Provincial Hospital in Halifax as the "Victoria General" in honour of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, is an example of the

3 Daily Sun August 30, 1882, in Scrapbook C27, pp. 11-13, SJRL.

4 In New Orleans, women inaugurated the idea of "Memorial Day" in 1874, to be marked, not by noisy demonstrations, but by a solemn procession to the graves of the nation's fallen heroes--Mary P. Ryan Women in Public. Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, 1990), pp. 49-50.

first type of memorial. The Halifax city council also attempted to rename the thoroughfare extending from Point Pleasant Park to the northern boundary of the city (comprised of Pleasant, Barrington, and Lockman Streets, and Campbell Road) as "Victoria Street", in honour of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897, but the protests of a number of Barrington Street businessmen stopped the initiative.

Celebrants also promoted monetary collections for the indigent, at least sporadically. For example, in 1840, the "Queen's Nuptial Fund" was founded in Saint John to subsidize the rents of "respectable widows". Halifax's diamond jubilee military tournament donated its proceeds to the "Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association", designated for the wives of military men not married "on the strength", as well as military orphans. The Micmacs occasionally received celebration gifts. As a philanthropic gesture in honour of the Prince of Wales'

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7 Halifax City Council, Minutes, April 2, July 19, August 10, 1897, PANS.

8 New Brunswick Courier April 11, "R.P." in June 13, 1840; Morning News April 10, 1840.

9 Herald June 18, 21, 1897. According to the Daily Echo May 6, 1897, similar funds for widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors could be found at nearly all of the British military stations.
birth in 1841, Halifax's city council provided the natives with blankets for the winter, and a sum of £50 to be distributed among needy and deserving families. The executive government also granted £25 to the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Club for canoe races during the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860. Three private citizens (Charles Beamish, a merchant, James Whitman, an insurance agent, and Professor John Thomas Lane, the first white man to be selected as Medicine Man of the Micmacs) supplemented this meager official contribution by opening a private subscription in 1860 in order to raise money for "traditional costumes" for a deputation of Micmacs to appear in the proceedings. Although they did not receive many donations, they did raise enough to outfit a group of about forty Micmacs from Hants, Pictou, and Cumberland counties. The Prince of Wales later presented a gift of fifty sovereigns to the Micmacs, which was divided among them at a special ceremony.

10 *Times* December 21, 1841.

11 *Novascotian* July 30, 1860; Acting Committee, July 13, 1860, in Minutes of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, PANS.

12 The organizers experienced a net loss after the celebration—*Morning Sun* August 13, 1860. Before the visit, the costumed Indians paid a visit to the lieutenant-governor, the admiral, and the archbishop, and then attended a ladies' bazaar—*Morning Sun* July 30, 1860.

13 *Morning Sun* August 8, 1860; *Morning Chronicle* August 9, 1860.
More frequent gifts were bestowed on social institutions, the symbols of "benevolence and modernity". Institutions for the care of orphans and the deaf and dumb were among the favorite charities. Besides his contribution to the Micmacs, the Prince of Wales donated $500 each to the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, and to the Protestant orphans' asylum and its Catholic counterpart in Saint John. In Halifax, the winners of the royal visit yacht races also contributed their prize money to the deaf and dumb, the Protestant orphans, and to the Institute for Aged Females. Later, in 1887, the United Sunday School service in Saint John, and Thomas Cosgrove, a Saint John teamster, made golden


15 This was a consolation to the inmates who were disappointed that he was not able to visit them—Morning Sun August 8, 1860; Novascotian August 3, 13, 1860; Morning Chronicle August 9, 1860; Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Third Annual Report, 1860, pp. 4, 12, 37, PANS.

16 Morning News August 22, 1860; Morning Freeman August 23, 1860.

17 Morning Sun July 9, 1860; Evening Express August 13, September 24, 1860; Morning Sun September 26, 1860.
jubilee donations to the Protestant orphans' asylum. In Halifax, the Tabernacle Church accepted donations "to take something besides a flower to the aged and infirm in the Poor House" on the occasion of the golden jubilee. The diamond jubilee also inspired contributions to the Protestant orphanage and to St. Paul's almshouse for girls.

The institutions founded or proposed during celebrations were primarily of two types: charitable and cultural. Before the 1880's, memorials of the former genre predominated. During Halifax's centenary in 1849, celebrants proposed the establishment of a temporary small pox hospital for the poor, and a general hospital to be called "Centenary House", to show "that the Centenary of the settlement of Halifax was observed with becoming honour". In 1856, the board of works of the Halifax council took advantage of the natal day celebration to schedule the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of

18 Daily Sun June 15, 20, 1887. The Daily Sun June 20, 1887, considered Cosgrove's $5 gift a good way to celebrate the event.

19 Acadian Recorder June 18, 1887.

20 Daily Echo June 19, 1897. J.A. Winfield, of St. Paul's Mission Hall, asked for ten thousand five cent pieces as a jubilee gift to the shelter--Acadian Recorder June 14, 1897.

21 Novascotian June 25, 1849; British Colonist June 12, 1849.
the provincial lunatic asylum.22 On the occasion of the 114th anniversary of the settlement of Halifax in 1863, a juvenile reformatory was founded, probably the Halifax Industrial School of 1864.23

By the late Victorian period, women became increasingly prominent as the founders of these charitable memorials. In Saint John in 1887, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, along with the male-dominated Evangelical Alliance, founded a home for prostitutes as a golden jubilee memorial, known as the Haven, which later opened its doors to abandoned children, poor and devastated women, and ex-prisoners.24 In 1897, Lady Aberdeen, wife of the governor-general, established the Victorian Order of Nurses as a federal diamond jubilee memorial, to ease the suffering of the sick and promote the nurturing role of women:

Many a sick and suffering one will bless Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and remember in

22 Novascotian June 16, 1856.

23 Evening Express June 19, 1863; Gwennyth Andrews "The Establishment of Institutional Care in Halifax in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", Honours Essay, Dalhousie University, 1974, pp. 64-66. The Industrial School emerged from the Halifax Ragged School of the 1850's. The Industrial School eventually became a boarding school for boys, with religious instruction, calling itself the Protestant Industrial School, incorporated in 1865. In 1870, it was designated a night school.

connection with her, the band of nurses who under the uniform, and wearing the badge and name of the Order are doing woman's noblest work--caring for the sick, and sometimes soothing and easing the pathway of the dying.25

The movement, however, experienced considerable apathy and disdain because of Lady Aberdeen's vice-regal status, her considerable activity in the public sphere, deemed improper by many Victorians, and her Whiggishness.26 Despite these discouragements, women like Lady Aberdeen were emboldened by the example of Queen Victoria, who supported an association of district nurses in Britain, and publicly proclaimed that the diamond jubilee in 1897 should be celebrated the world over by doing something for the poor and by relieving the suffering of the sick.27

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a notable movement away from memorials as social causes, toward those associated with "culture" and civic beautification. One reason for this change of priorities may have been that the two cities saw no need for further penal and charitable institutions. In addition, as the cities matured in the 1880's and 90's, middle-class

25 The Canadian Fund for the Commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee by founding the VON in Canada, booklet in Lady Aberdeen's Journal, Vol. 10, 1897, NAC.


27 The Canadian Fund for the Commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee.
citizens cultivated a sense of civic pride, and a desire to promote cultural institutions. Civic rivalry also played a role, as Saint John and Halifax coveted each other's institutions. Regardless of the motivations, the priorities among the middle class had shifted from providing for the poor, to providing for themselves.

Women played a prominent role in the founding of cultural memorials, just as they had in the establishment of charitable institutions. By the late nineteenth century, "cultural improvement" was frequently ascribed, "although not exclusively", to the female realm.28 The general Victorian desire for civic and cultural improvement merged with the zeal of women, who saw the promotion of culture as a "patriotic duty".29 The major memorial of the golden jubilee celebration in Halifax in 1887 owed its foundation to the efforts of prominent women in the community. After the men of the city council could not agree on the ceremony for laying the cornerstone of the new city hall,30 Halifax looked to its socially active middle-class women to found the Victoria School of Art and Design as a jubilee memorial. One of the primary promoters


30 J.A. Bell's Diary, June 23, 1887, PANS.
of the school was Mrs. Anna Leonowens, a former governess in Siam, who came to Halifax in 1876. As a widow with sufficient money and leisure, she "busied herself" with improving the city's "intellectual life", drawing on her cosmopolitan experience in such endeavors. Along with Mrs. J.F. Kenny, she soon attracted a band of enthusiastic middle-class women, who raised over $10,000 for an endowment fund, through the collection of subscriptions, and the organization of a week-long art exhibition and an art exhibition ball. Later, in 1889, the success of a "World's Fair" held as a fund-raising activity was accredited to the "good management" of "our Lady Directors". At the first meeting of the subscribers in July 1887, Anna Leonowens and Mrs. J.F. Kenny were both elected to the Board of Directors.

31 Phyllis Ruth Blakeley "Anna of Siam in Canada", Atlantic Advocate, Vol 57, no. 5, January 1967, p. 43 argues that Mrs. Leonowens soon won the reputation as one of the "busiest" women in Halifax; Strong-Boag The Parliament of Women, pp. 146-47. The lieutenant-governor referred to her as "one of the foremost in the art movement in Halifax"--Citizen June 17, 1887; Novascotian June 25, 1887.

32 Victoria School of Art and Design Minutes, September 27, 1889, PANS.

33 Victoria School of Art and Design Minutes, July 15, 1887; Blakeley "Anna of Siam in Canada", p. 43. Mrs. Leonowens was also elected as a director during the incorporation of the school in 1888--An Act to Incorporate the Victorian School of Art and Design, passed April 16, 1888, in The Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1888, 51 Vic., cap. 94. At the second meeting of the subscribers in August 1888, Mrs. J.F. Kenny became a director, but Mrs. Leonowens did not appear again until 1893--Victoria School
Particularly useful insights into the process of memorial founding, and the role of women as memorial founders can be obtained by focussing on the efforts of a number of Saint John women to found a "memorial hall" in celebration of the Loyalist centennial in 1883. As in Halifax during the golden jubilee in 1887, Saint John women took over the movement for a Loyalist centennial memorial after the leading men of the city could not agree on its form or content. The cabinet-maker, J.W. Lawrence, first put forward the idea of founding a memorial hall in honour of the Loyalist centennial, at the sixth anniversary meeting of the New Brunswick Historical Society in November 1880, and repeated it again at the 1881 annual meeting.34 The proposed hall was to contain a "Picture Gallery, Art Union, Museum, rooms for the Natural History Society and the Historical Society, a Free Library, Reading Room, and Gymnasium".35 In January 1882, the common council celebration committee resolved that efforts should be made to build a memorial hall at a proposed cost of $100,000, one-half of which was to be contributed by the provincial government, and the other

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34 Daily Telegraph November 26, 1881, in Scrapbook C27, p. 5.

35 Scrapbook C27, p. 31.
half by the city and county. During the anniversary-of-settlement celebration in May 1882, a literary and music festival held under the auspices of the N.B.H.S. provided a forum for a discussion of the memorial. The citizens at the meeting resolved to adopt the hall as the primary memorial of the celebration, with one dissenting voice from the Saint John lawyer, David Shanks Kerr, who proposed building an obelisk in memory of the militaristic prowess of the second generation of Loyalists who fought in the War of 1812. Isaac Burpee, M.P., advised that the proponents of both sides should follow their own agendas, for rivalry between the two would cause little harm. The Rev. Dr. Currie also wanted the women of New Brunswick to participate in the founding of the memorial in an effort "to bring about the enlargement of the city of Saint John". Thus, the women of the province were invited to lend their assistance to the memorial movement, and a women's "commission" was appointed, with the power to act and add to their numbers.

The women's commission was comprised of 122 women,


113 (or approximately 93%) of whom can be positively identified (See Appendix 3). Most of the members of the commission were the wives of prominent men in the community; fourteen were married to J.P.'s, and a handful to M.P.P.'s and M.P.s, including the wives of Senators John Boyd and James Dever. Seven aldermen's wives were represented, as well as the wife of the city recorder, and the mayor's wife, Mrs. Simeon Jones, who was the president of the commission. Three of the women were related to members of the historical societies: Mrs. William Jack was wife of the president of the N.H.S., Mrs. Alfred A. Stockton the wife of a vice-president of the N.B.H.S. (in 1883), and Mrs. W.P. Dole the wife of a member of the latter organization. In terms of occupation, 15% of the women were married to lawyers and doctors, while 18% had husbands with white collar occupations, such as civil servants, newspaper proprietors, superintendents of utility companies, bank workers (ranging from a bank manager to a bank teller), and insurance men (ranging from the president of an insurance company to insurance agents). Six of the women were married to industrialists or manufacturers, most notably Mrs. John Parks, wife of the prominent cotton manufacturer. However, most significant were the thirty-five merchants' wives,

38 There was no listing for the New Brunswick Historical Society in Barnes N.B. Almanac, 1882-83; instead, see 1883-84, N.B. Museum.
including eight women married to wholesalers, and ten to merchants involved in shipping and timber. A number of illustrious businessmen were represented in this merchant/husband category—wholesaler J.S. DeBois DeVeber, merchant Robert Hazen, and Henry Gilbert, ship owner and timber merchant. This large representation of merchants' wives (about 31% of the entire membership of the commission) reflects the continued domination of "great merchants" in the ranks of "good society", and the social prominence and power acquired by their wives. Women related through their husbands' business connections also constituted another interesting pattern in the commission. For example, Mrs. Harris Allan, Mrs. Robert R. Allan, and Mrs. Thomas Allan were married to the "Allan Brothers", who ran the Union Iron Foundry in Carleton. The wives of James Manchester, James F. Robertson, and Joseph Allison of "Manchester, Robertson, and Allison's" dry goods store also appeared together on the commission. Mrs. John Boyd and Mrs. Thomas W. Daniel represented the wholesalers, "Daniel and Boyd", while Mrs. Charles H. Fairweather and Mrs. Stephen Hall were married to the flour dealers, "Hall and Fairweather". The wives of Jeremiah Harrison and William F. Harrison, prominent flour and West Indies merchants, also participated on the commission, as did Mrs. John McMillan and Mrs. George Whitley, wives of the business partners "J.& A. McMillan", booksellers and
publishers. Business and family connections evidently influenced the interaction patterns of middle-class women in late Victorian Saint John. Only six women on the commission were married to lower middle-class shopkeepers and small businessmen. Unmarried women on the commission included five widows, two teachers, one nurse, two female boarding-house keepers, and a spinster.

Some of the commission members actively contributed to other causes as well. Three of the women on the commission joined the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notably the secretary-treasurer of the commission, Miss M.M. Skinner, Mrs. John V. Ellis, and the artist, Clara O. McGivern. Miss M.M. Skinner, brother of alderman C.N. Skinner, participated in many other organizations, such as the ladies auxiliary of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the ladies auxiliary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Local Council of Women. Although the women on the commission undoubtedly had personal values and ambitions which drove them to activism, their involvement in the community and in women's causes may also have been encouraged by supportive family members. Miss M.M. Skinner's sister, Emma Fiske, served as the president of

39 Mrs. Thomas E. Millidge and Mrs. C.N. Skinner had relatives who were prominent suffragists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association for sixteen years. Mary Ellis's husband, John, an M.L.A. for Saint John, pressured the University of New Brunswick to convert to co-education in 1885. Mrs. A.A. Stockton's husband was also one of earliest and most sincere male proponents of suffragism in New Brunswick.40

Two months after encouraging the appointment of this women's commission, male representatives from the N.H.S., the N.B.H.S., the common council, and the Mechanics Institute, met to consider the Loyalist centennial celebration and memorial.41 Because of the province's refusal to make any provision for the memorial, the common council celebration committee shortly after pooh-poohed the feasibility of the $100,000 hall, and recommended that special efforts be made to find a more "suitable" Loyalist memorial. Indeed, the council granted D.S. Kerr a site at the head of King Street for a granite obelisk, subject to their approval of the monument, and provided that he could show the collection of sufficient funds.42

Public meetings and the press served as arenas for

40 Mary Eileen Clarke "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919", M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1979, pp. 25, 40, 43, 48, 66, 92-94. I wish to thank Dr. Gail Campbell for referring me to this thesis.


42 Saint John Common Council Minutes, August 9, 1882.
spirited debates over the memorial. D.S. Kerr argued that monuments made good objects for sightseeing. The obelisk's tribute to the War of 1812 was a bona fide public memorial to the Loyalists, unlike the memorial hall, which would be used as a private meeting place for the historical societies. A letter-writer named "Loyalist" argued that some of the hall supporters "hated the memory of the Loyalist", and were using the unrealistically expensive proposal of a hall as a means of "killing the Loyalist monument". The writer suggested that the women's commission redirect their energies:

> If the ladies have superfluous money or energy to devote to public uses, they had much better devote their gifts to charitable purposes than waste them in providing a receptacle for stuffed birds and a room in which the History Society may meet once a quarter, even though the pretence is raised that all this is done in honour of the Loyalists.

The proponents of the memorial hall felt that a "pretentious column" dedicated to "non-existent martial virtues" was a "petrified idea".

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44 "Loyalist" in *Daily Sun* November 27, 1882, in Scrapbook C27, pp. 32-33.

president of the N.B.H.S., denied any selfish motives in proposing the hall as a celebration memorial. Although the present rooms in which the two historical societies met were sufficient, he believed that it was "proper" for the historical society to celebrate a "great historical event" with a practical memorial which stimulated the city's cultural life. As Lawrence put it: "We should aim to make our city not only a commercial and manufacturing city, but also an intellectual city".46

The drive for a Loyalist centennial memorial eventually disintegrated in disarray. The ill feelings generated by this affair came to a head at a public meeting at the end of October. The meeting started with only about 140 people present, not even half the number who had signed a requisition in favour of the meeting.47 Although a movement for adjournment because of the small turn-out was met with "wild confusion", the majority voted to carry on. D.S. Kerr took the opportunity to present plans for the obelisk, to cost approximately $10,000, and moved that a committee be appointed to erect the monument, and that the costs be defrayed by subscriptions or grants. This was declared carried, amidst cheers and "derisive laughter". Kerr "waxed wroth", describing the meeting as

46 Daily Telegraph December 20, 1882, in Scrapbook C27, p. 47.

one of the most disorderly he had ever seen. He moved to adjourn the meeting, and if the motion was accepted, he promised that he would never again show his face before them on a public platform. Although the vote was lost by a large majority, the chair of the meeting declared that he would be made a fool of no longer and dismissed the meeting. A "general stampede" then ensued, with sounds that resembled a "beer garden" or a "badger fight".48 This mayhem may have been caused by members of the N.H.S. and N.B.H.S., or more likely, by a "lynch mob" of rowdies recruited by the societies to publicly censure D.S. Kerr and his obelisk scheme. Or the meeting may simply have been overrun with the "unruly element", who wished to disrupt the proceedings as a means of ridiculing their social superiors. In either case, the Daily Evening News noted a "determined attempt" to "burlesque the affair."49

As it became more obvious that the men would not be able to set aside their differences and found a memorial for the Loyalist centennial celebration, the memorial hall proponents turned to their women-friends on the commission to see if they could help to bring the idea to fruition. In October, the N.H.S. and the N.B.H.S. invited the


women's commission to cooperate with them in the struggle for a memorial hall.50 At the following meeting, A.A. Stockton, one of the vice-presidents of the N.B.H.S., noted that the women of Saint John were very much interested in establishing a public library (like many other Canadian women's groups in the late nineteenth century).51 Saint John women had adopted the movement for a free public library after the great fire of 1877, and undertook to raise money for new books and a new location for the library.52 In October of 1882, the women held a conversazioni to raise funds.53 Of the sixteen women who were positively identified and associated with the conversazioni, seven also appeared on the memorial hall commission (See Appendix 3). Considering the interest of the women in a public library, and the desire of the historical societies for larger rooms in which to meet and store their books and specimens, A.A. Stockton declared


51 Strong-Boag The Parliament of Women, pp. 213, 264 comments that the public library movement was a major goal of the National Council of Women from the 1890's until WWI.


53 Daily Telegraph October 27, 1882, Scrapbook C27, p. 25.
that the men and women should cooperate, and accommodation would be found in the memorial hall for both a library and a museum. Before the meeting broke up, members reaffirmed the suitability of the hall as a memorial, and invited the women of New Brunswick to aid the women's commission in securing the institution. 54

A couple of commentators viewed this desire for cooperation as an attempt by the men to save face after their failure to found a memorial. "Loyalist" contended that "these gentlemen, being unable to collect any money themselves, have called in the ladies and seek to make them do the work for them". 55 "Patrick Parsley" advised that "if the gentlemen are afraid to ask [for subscriptions], then let the ladies go forward, since it has come to this". The men of the historical societies obviously had confidence in the fund-raising capabilities of the women. Indeed, Victorian women had a reputation for organizing lucrative fairs and bazaars. 56 In the case of the memorial hall, "Parsley" thought that a women's committee should be appointed to go from house to house to collect subscriptions. Women could wield their feminine


55 Daily Sun November 27, 1882, Scrapbook C27, pp. 32-33.

wiles to solicit funds: "Send the prettiest you have got. Attack the rich old chaps first", and then those with "hidden hands".57

Men also solicited female assistance because of the belief in their superior moral sensibilities, which helped them overcome the base tendencies of the opposite sex.58 Upon turning to the women for help in founding a memorial, the Rev. D.D. Currie of Saint John commented that they could "take up a sentimental question better than we [the men] can and carry it to a successful issue".59 Also, as non-voters and as non-political beings, it was thought that women could rise above male partisan competitiveness, and more easily collaborate with each other.60

Although the men initially urged the women to take over the fund-raising responsibilities for the memorial, at a conversazionne held in December, a committee of ten men was appointed to "assist" the women. Four of these men


59 Quote in a letter from J.W. Lawrence to Mayor Simeon Jones in Daily Telegraph May 14, 1883.

were married to women on the commission. Shortly after, thirty-four additional men added their names to the list. In February 1883, the house of assembly received a bill to incorporate the "New Brunswick Centennial and Loyalist Memorial Association", consisting of seven men and six women as directors.

The re-entry of men into the memorial hall project reflects their dissatisfaction with the progress made by their female colleagues, and a male desire to resume command. It is difficult to see how the women could have succeeded with a task which the men, according to "Patrick Parsley", "are incapable of doing themselves, as they virtually admit". Because of the male bickering over the hall, little time remained to raise sufficient funds. Besides the enormity of the project, female institution-builders faced further limitations. Because men still retained the capital and political power, women relied

63 Daily Telegraph February 9, 1883, Scrapbook C27, pp. 55, 58; J.W. Lawrence in Daily Telegraph May 4, 1883.
65 See Pedersen "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow'", pp. 225-242 for a discussion of the reliance of the Young Women's Christian Association on businessmen for the establishment of their institutions.
on them for public and political support and for financial contributions. The *Daily Telegraph* contended that the women would do all that could be "reasonably expected of them", but in order to enlist "general and effective sympathy", men of "ample means" needed to make substantial contributions.66 Similarly, according to the *Daily Evening News*, now that the affair was in the hands of a "large committee of gentlemen", they could expect "practicable" and "judicious" results. Although the memorial had received a "valuable impulse" from the "angels", success would depend on the "sons of Loyalists".67

Once again, however, the men could not agree on the memorial. Although individuals like J.W. Lawrence continued to support the project, a number of leading men in the community stressed the impracticability of the venture; indeed, the federal, provincial, and civic governments had withdrawn financial support, and little time remained to raise additional funds.68 By the end of December 1882, the Loyalist memorial hall project was

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again beset by a "great diversity of opinion", which meant that little "material progress" was made by the committee members.69

Not surprisingly, the New Brunswick Centennial and Loyalist Memorial Association failed to lay the cornerstone of the memorial hall during the Loyalist centennial celebration in May 1883. The N.B.H.S. salvaged its reputation by contributing the balance of a church offering to the restoration of the old Loyalist burial ground.70 J.W. Lawrence also published a memorial book entitled *Foot Prints, or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick* (Saint John, 1883), and organized a tree planting ceremony on arbour day in 1883, to "do something permanent for the Centennial".71 However, the efforts of the women's commission to raise money for the memorial hall were forgotten by the organizers of the celebration. This prompted an angry letter from J.W. Lawrence, who urged the mayor and common council to find a place "where the ladies may take part in the preparation, as well as grace with their presence the closing ceremonies of the Centennial". They deserved a place, not only in light of


70 *Daily Telegraph* June 4, 1883, Scrapbook C27, p. 127.

71 *St. John Globe* October 1, 1883, program of tree-planting, Scrapbook C27, pp. 157, 161, 162, 163.
their contributions to the memorial hall scheme, but also in honour of the sacrifices of the female Loyalists, who "laid their hands to the spindle and their hands [to] the distaff, [and] sought wool and flax and worked willingly with their hands". Furthermore, Lawrence pointed out that had it not been for the fountain erected by the Women's Christian Temperance Union in King Square in 1883 in honour of Loyalist wives and mothers,72 there would be no permanent memorial "to the founders of New Brunswick and to its first century".73

On May 18, 1883, the day of the Loyalist centennial celebration, the women's public library committee also opened Saint John's free public library in a room in the Market Building.74 After they realized the fate of the memorial hall scheme, the women channeled their efforts in other directions. At the request of the women's library committee,75 the corporation placed four women on the


73 J.W. Lawrence to Mayor Simeon Jones, in Daily Telegraph May 4, 1883. Mr. and Mrs. James T. Kennedy also built a fountain in Indiantown in 1883 in memory of their son Wilmot, and in celebration of the landing of the loyalists--"Monuments in Saint John, N.B.", pp. 1, 3, 4-5. The Polymorphians established a fountain in Haymarket Square shortly after the centennial--see Chapter 6.


75 Daily Evening News February 9, 1883.
first library commission established later that year,76 two of whom had been former members of the memorial hall commission--Miss M.M. Skinner and Mrs. Sarah P. Tuck.

The women's library committee continued to search for a more suitable location for a free public library. In 1897, they supported the erection of a new memorial library in commemoration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, on a lot tendered to the city by two library commissioners, James R. Ruel and James Manchester, and offered to contribute $500 for the interior decoration of the building.77 Ruel and Manchester eventually withdrew the offer of land, once again because of disagreement among the men of the common council over the library's usefulness and expense.78 After the library memorial fizzled, the W.C.T.U. regretted the lack of a tangible memorial of the celebration, believing that the ephemeral pageantry would soon be forgotten.79 A year later, and still in need of a suitable building, the library commissioners sent a resolution to the women's library

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76 Loyalists' Centennial Souvenir, p. 50; "St. John's Free Library", p. 329.

77 Daily Sun February 22, 1897.

78 For discussions and reservations regarding scheme, see Daily Telegraph March 29, 1897, April 7, May 9, 12, 20, 1897; Daily Sun February 22, March 18, 29, April 7, 1897; "St. John's Free Library", p. 333.

79 W.C.T.U. in Daily Sun June 25, 1897, also see editorial in June 9, 1897.
committee to establish a fund for the building, but they did not respond. It was not until the tercentenary of the discovery of the St. John river and city by Champlain and deMonts in 1904, that a new library building was opened, largely as a gift from American philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie.80

These charitable and cultural memorials were theoretically meant for the benefit of all citizens. Although charitable institutions were of long-term benefit to the poor, the initial founding of the institutions offered no immediate gratification. Many of the memorials were not actually completed until much later. The centenary meeting in 1849 for the general hospital comprised only one step in a continuous campaign for the institution, which began in 1832 and was not fully realized until 1859. Similarly, no permanent quarantine station and fever hospital appeared in Halifax until 1871. The lunatic asylum opened its doors three years after the laying of the cornerstone in 1856, while construction continued for another eighteen years. The V.O.N. officially established its Halifax and Saint John branches one or two years after Lady Aberdeen's initial proposal

for the order in 1897.81

Critics of cultural memorials, like the diamond jubilee memorial library, felt that it would primarily benefit the rich, not the poor. The North End Women's Christian Union feared that the new library would usurp the support for their institution, the Portland Free Public Library and Reading Room,82 which provided the cultivating power of literacy for less fortunate children, who did not have access to city facilities. In a letter to the editor of the Daily Sun, the women exclaimed:

The boys and girls are the hope of any city, and we should make a united effort to place clean, wholesome literature within their reach, if we would save them from the debasing influence of the street. It rests with us in great measure to try whether they shall grow up as useful, law-abiding citizens, or graduate from the street corner to the police station, hence to the reformatory...can we believe that our city


82 It was located in the Union Hall, donated to the town by the Hon. Isaac Burpee--Campbell Challenging Years, Appendix, p. 127. At one of the Centennial meetings for the erection of the Memorial Hall in 1883, A.A. Stockton referred to the example set by the ladies of Portland and their library--Daily Telegraph November 21, 1882, in Newspaper Clippings--Loyalists Centennial Celebration, 1883, pp. 25, 27, 29. The Portland women were taking action to erect a "public hall" as early as 1879, the first anniversary of their organization--Temperance Union of Christian Women of Portland, N.B., First Annual Report, 1879, pp. 13-15, N.B. Museum.
fathers will erect a magnificent building to commemorate the diamond jubilee of our good and gracious Queen and take from the children of the North End their birthright in order to provide funds?83

Alderman Dr. James Christie of the Saint John common council also questioned the desirability of a new public library as a diamond jubilee memorial. He believed it would have little benefit for the poor residents of Saint John, and should therefore be supported by the voluntary subscriptions of the rich, who would be the primary patrons of the institution.84

During the golden jubilee celebration in 1887, the Rev. Canon Brigstocke of Saint John identified "hospitals and asylums", and other social institutions, as markers of the social progress attained during Queen Victoria's reign.85 Whereas the spectacle and the feast temporarily gratified the eye and the appetite, the memorial institution provided more expedient and long-term benefits, and thus served as a more respectable manifestation of the celebration. Although memorial

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83 Letter to editor of Daily Sun March 3, 1897. The Portland women were later assured by the common council that their north end library would not be affected by the new institution—Daily Sun March 19, 1897.

84 Daily Sun April 7, 1897; Daily Telegraph May 7, 1897.

85 Rev. Canon Brigstocke during the commemorative service at Trinity—Daily Sun June 22, 1887. Also see comments of the Rev. T.F. Fotheringham of St. John's Presbyterian Church—Daily Sun June 20, 1887.
institutions were founded for the betterment of all citizens, the middle class received most of the benefits, at least from the cultural memorials. The involvement of middle-class women in the process of memorial founding and building helped them to penetrate the public sphere. However, their efforts to make celebrations more respectable by contributing their fund-raising and organizational talents to the founding and establishment of memorials, were limited by the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of men.
CHAPTER 8
SPORTS

Although respectable spectacles and the founding of memorials attracted a relatively diverse group of participants, by the end of the Victorian period, most citizens experienced celebrations primarily as spectators. This pattern was reinforced by the evolution of sports from public athletic displays to more organized and sophisticated spectator sports. "Folk sports", a pot-pourri of contests involving men and animals, marked many early Victorian festivities and fairs in England and North America.1 By the 1880's and 90's, traditional folk sports had declined, as a result of urbanization, and pressure from moral reformers and civic authorities. Certain vestiges of folk sports survived, such as gymnastic competitions and horse races, but in a more organized and commercialized form.

While members of the middle class participated in picnic games during early Victorian celebrations, such as

football, quoits, sack races, and nine-pins,2 larger manifestations of folk sports were held for the general public. A newspaper made the distinction in public celebrations between balls for "the nob" and "slippery poles and greasy pigs", or folk sports, for "the mob".3 Folk sports became more common in Halifax than in Saint John, perhaps because of the large open common area in the former city. The various contests held during folk sports were usually organized by subcommittees of citizens or by the city council. A list of the subcommittees appointed to organize the folk sports during the Prince of Wales' visit to Halifax in 1860, illustrates the nature of the competitions and races:

- Foot Races Committee
- Leaping and Vaulting Committee
- Pole Climbing Committee
- Sack Races and Wheelbarrow Committee
- Putting Stone and Hammer Committee
- Indian Amusements Committee
- Greased Pig Race Committee

The athletic contests held during such events provided the lower orders with the opportunity to display athletic ability,5 and to release pent-up energies. Plebian participation was undoubtedly encouraged by the

2 Novascotian June 12, 1839; Halifax Sun June 11, 1845.

3 Halifax Reporter April 11, 1863.

4 Acadian Recorder July 28, 1860.

prizes offered and the publication of the results of the events. Thousands of spectators came to witness the sports, for there seemed to be "something innate in the popular desire to witness exhibitions of physical power and endurance in man and beast".6 Similar to the sports in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England, a number of the competitions involved animals.7 During Halifax's coronation festivities in 1838, a Sable Island pony, shaved and painted like a zebra, was released and caught two hours later on the Northwest Arm. Greasy pig chases also caused a great deal of excitement. During the folk sports held in 1838, a mad scramble ensued for six greasy pigs let loose on the common.8 The organizers of the regatta for the Prince of Wales' visit to Halifax in 1860, featured a nautical version of the greasy pig chase and the greasy pole climb. During the typical greasy pole competition, participants scampered up a greased pole, approximately forty-five feet high, to obtain a prize at the top, usually a sovereign. In the nautical version, the prize was a pig, placed in a bucket at the end of the pole, which was suspended over the harbour in an

6 Acadian Recorder August 20, 1887.


8 Novascotian July 5, 1838; Times July 3, 1838.
observatory jetty. After a number of sailors failed to acquire the pig, the "porker" was launched into the water, and the sailors jumped in after it, the fastest swimmer capturing the prize.9

The composition of the crowds who attended such events remains largely anonymous. Indeed, a "major mass of pleasure seekers" observed the sports during Halifax's centenary in 1849.10 Nonetheless, certain groups can be identified from among the participants and spectators. For example, according to the *Acadian Recorder*, Irish men dominated the hurling matches during Halifax's coronation festivities in 1838.11 Also, many of the chairmen of the sports subcommittees during the prince's visit to Halifax in 1860, had Irish names, such as Joseph Murphy, Daniel O'Brien, Michael Cochran, and Thomas Donovan. This notable Irish presence at the folk sports may be attributed to the relatively high proportion of Irish Roman Catholics at the lower end of the economic scale in early nineteenth-century Halifax.12

9 *Morning Journal* August 3, 1860; *Evening Express* August 3, 1860; *Morning Sun* August 3, 1860.

10 *Novascotian* June 18, 1849.

11 Excerpt in *Acadian Recorder* June 20, 1887.

12 According to the 1838 Census, as interpreted by Terrence Punch, Irish Roman Catholics were over-represented among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers until mid-Century, when they made a progression into artisanal and white collar work—Terrence M. Punch "The Irish in Halifax, 1836-1871: A Study in Ethnic
Folk sports also accommodated Indians and blacks. Although Indians comprised less than 1% of the population in Nova Scotia in 1851 and 1861, "Indian amusements" such as bow and arrow competitions and foot races were frequently held during the athletic displays, with the stipulation that aboriginal participants wear "traditional costumes". Blacks were not singled out in the same way during folk sports in the early nineteenth century, perhaps because they could not sport a traditional costume, which added to the interest of the spectacle. There was more to it than that, however. The Young Men's Literary Society of New Brunswick decided that native people were more generally "deserving" of attention than the blacks, perhaps because of the white colonists' sense of guilt over expropriating Indian land. Indeed, in suggesting a feast for the Micmacs during the prince's visit in 1860, "A Highlander" referred to them as "a race


13 Census of Canada, 1851-61, Nova Scotia.

14 One of the subcommittees for the 1860 games was named "Indian amusements"—Acadian Recorder July 28, 1860. During Halifax's natal day in 1868, the sports on the common included races for Indians and squaws, and bow and arrow competitions, but rain cancelled most of the events—Novascotian June 22 1868.

15 "Auditor" in Morning Freeman April 16, 1863.
we are elbowing out”, if not entirely supplanting”. Indians were also thought to be more in need of "civilizing influences" because of their strong racial pride, whereas blacks were viewed as relatively malleable. Furthermore, native people, in their traditional costumes, symbolized what was distinctive about the colony. In 1887, however, "A Colored Voter" in Halifax complained that no provisions had been made in the golden jubilee program for the "colored portion of the city, and as we pay our taxes just as well as the white folks, we think a great injustice has been done us. We hereby appeal to the city council to see that justice is done us." Subsequently, the sports committee organized an inter-district foot race solely for blacks. Since none of those who entered showed up for the start of the race, the committee created "considerable merriment" by dragging out black spectators, from forty year old men to twelve year old boys, to form two teams of five each, to run a


18 Letter to editor in Citizen May 31, 1887.
relay race.  

Athletic displays also provided an outlet for the energies of soldiers and sailors, which may account for the popularity of folk sports in Halifax, the site of a major garrison and naval station. Robert Day argues that one of the most regular diversions from the monotony of drill and guard duty for the rank and file consisted of "participation in several low organization sports characteristic of festive occasions such as the Queen's Birthday". Indeed, soldiers and sailors frequently competed with civilians in events like the greasy pole competitions. A soldier won the greasy pole contest in Halifax during the Prince of Wales' marriage festivities in 1863. Similarly, during the confederation celebration in 1867, and the Queen's birthday festivities in 1897, a sailor successfully climbed the pole.

19 Citizen June 22, 1887.


21 Acadian Recorder April 18, 1863; "A Civilian" in Halifax Reporter April 21, 1863.

22 Novascotian July 8, 1867; Herald May 19, 25, 1897. During the gathering of the Highland Society at McNab's Island in 1869, members of 78th Regiment won nearly half the prizes—Novascotian August 30, 1869, in Newspaper
Although both sexes watched the celebration sports, participants were usually male. In regard to nineteenth-century British recreations, Robert Malcolmson has commented that "sex, in fact, was probably a social determinant of greater weight than age", for "while many of the major holidays involved women as much as men, most of the sporting events assumed that women would attend only as spectators".23 Prevailing notions of feminine beauty propounded pale, thin, and frail ideals, while Victorian biology emphasized woman's physical weakness and neurasthenia. Competitive sports, it was believed, would lead to an imbalance of physical and mental faculties, and the contradiction of feminine nurturing qualities.24 Native women were permitted to enter special foot races and other sports,25 which probably enhanced the spectacle, but also reflected the more active and assertive role of

Indices, Halifax Citadel.

23 Malcolmson Popular Recreations, p. 56.


25 Squaws were to participate in a foot race during Natal day in 1868, but it was rained out--Novascotian June 22, 1868. Native women also participated in canoe races during the Prince of Wales' visit--see description in Nicholas Augustus Woods The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States (London, 1861), p. 34.
Micmac women in society.26 The increasing acceptance of sport and recreation as a cure for nervous irritability, and as a means of promoting "graceful athleticism", encouraged more general female participation in sports in the late nineteenth century.27 The bicycle was a major vehicle in the recreational emancipation of women. Indeed, Haligonian women participated in short distance bicycle races on the Queen's birthday in 1897.28

The most popular events during folk sports involved crowd participation, and offered a prize, such as the greasy pig chases and greasy pole climbs. Despite the disorder of the folk sports held during Halifax's coronation celebration in 1838, the pig chases captured everyone's attention.29 Greasy pigs also caused great amusement on the Grand Parade in Halifax in 1863, as chasers followed them into the hall of Dalhousie College.


27 Smith "Graceful Athleticism or Robust Womanhood", pp. 120-37.

28 Herald May 19, 25, 1897. For a discussion of the impact of bicycles on female recreation, see Heather Watt's Silent Steeds; cycling in Nova Scotia to 1900 (Halifax, 1985).

29 Novascotian July 5, 1838; Times July 3, 1838.
A newspaper writer claimed that the cancellation of the rest of the sports did not matter, for they still had the greasy pig. Although most of the natal day sports were rained out in Halifax in 1868, celebrants still chased the greasy pig on the muddy and slippery ground.

The active and animated crowds attending folk sports did not adhere to middle-class standards of "proper decorum". This vivacity may have been instigated by the poor organization and control of the events, but it was also a product of the dynamics of outdoor amusements. In a letter to the editor of the *Morning Journal*, a Haligonian admitted that the "Codfish Aristocracy" had every right to hold a ball for the Prince's visit in 1860 and to set the admission so high that "plebeians" could not attend, but it was not so with the outdoor demonstration, which "ought to be every person's business, and every person's privilege to share in". The "out of doors" also conveyed images of freedom; indeed, the *Acadian Recorder* described the "out of doors" as "the proper field for a full and unrestrained feast of enjoyment". The freedom of outdoor celebrations kindled a conviviality between

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30 *Acadian Recorder* April 18, 1863; *Evening Express* April 15, 1863, reported that many went away "pleased".

31 *Novascotian* June 22, 1868.


33 *Acadian Recorder* April 18, 1863.
participants and spectators. In 1863, a soldier entertained the crowd by his repartee, as he proceeded to conquer the greasy pole. Also, during the greasy pig chase, two claimants amused the committee and crowd by a "noisy parley" over the pig; one eventually paid for his share of the prize, and took it away.

Sometimes the liberty and conviviality of outdoor events degenerated into confusion and congestion. During the coronation festivities in 1838, such confusion ensued that the committee could not clear the field for many of the contests. In 1860, the Prince of Wales arrived to preside over the sports, attended by about 15,000 people, but was so "crowded upon" that he left early. Three years later, during the prince's marriage celebration, the crowds descended on the Grand Parade, destroying several small trees as spectators climbed them in an attempt to see the sports. After the first race, the crowd broke through and filled the Parade, and most of the sports had

34 *Morning Sun* April 15, 1863.

35 *Morning Sun* April 15, 1863. At the outdoor ox roast in Saint John in 1838, the black butcher who carved up the animal entertained the crowds with his whistling and slicing—Excerpt in *Daily Sun* June 18, 1887.

36 *Novascotian* July 5, 1838.


38 *Novascotian* April 20, 1863.
Sometimes this rowdy behaviour became violent. During the greasy pole climb in Halifax in 1863, the winner, a soldier from the 17th Regiment, was pulled from the pole by a civilian, who probably objected to the soldier's contraption of ropes and blocks used to climb the pole. A row ensued between soldiers and civilians, which later led to a disturbance in one of the city's taverns, and a riot in which about 300 soldiers from the 16th and 17th Regiments took to the streets, fighting with civilians and destroying property. This incident is sometimes referred to as the "Greasy Pole Riot", and is evidence that celebrations can be catalysts of disorder and saturnalia.

John Tobin, M.L.A. for Halifax County, Western Division, argued that the military riot was instigated by "foolishly" holding sports on the Grand Parade, where disturbances were easily generated by the density of the crowds. It is interesting to compare this riot to the general descriptions of order and decorum which abounded in the press. According to the Evening Express:

> it is our boast to say that so far from there

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39 Morning Sun April 15, 1863.

40 Acadian Recorder April 18, 1863; "A Civilian" in Halifax Reporter April 21, 1863.


42 Morning Sun 24 April 1863.
being a blow struck, not a defiant look or angry word was spoken during the whole of the celebration, although the streets were crowded from early morn to past ten o'clock at night.43 This is definitely a warning to treat press comments with care.

Another altercation during Queen Victoria's golden jubilee celebration in 1887 eventually turned into a spontaneous manifestation of popular justice. After a scrimmage over the greasy pole prize, a "rather tough looking citizen" emerged from the fray and ran out of the grounds. Many of the spectators thought that he had grabbed the prize, so a large group of about one thousand ran after him, some scaling fences and a half dozen fields, in a "rare exhibition of sport not set down in the programme". He got away, so the persistent chasers straggled back, only to find that he was not the culprit, but a man who was afraid of arrest by the police, who seemed glad to "get rid of him so easily".44

The confusion and violence of folk sports concerned middle-class reformers and the authorities. Like the ox roast, folk sports became increasingly associated with drunkenness and rowdyism. The Christian Messenger commented on the sports in 1860:


44 Citizen June 23, 1887.
These drew together vast crowds, but of them we can only say that their connection with drinking and rowdyism added but little to the favorable impression of Halifax which the other parts of the celebration were calculated to produce.45

Middle-class reformers also objected to the animal sports, a surviving element of rural culture in Halifax.46 While the Acadian Recorder wrote playfully about the "rude attempts" by the crowd to catch the pigs during Halifax's coronation festivities in 1838, and "the eloquent squeaks which proclaimed the plaintive appeal 'let go my tail'".47 by the 1840's, animal sports were declining in popularity.48 Reformers saw public celebrations as "prime targets" for condemning animal sports, for they were "open and public exhibitions of cruelty" and "drew whole communities into a kind of pagan ritual accompanied by drinking and uninhibited enjoyment of tormenting the animal".49

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century,

45 Christian Messenger August 7, 1860.


47 Excerpt in Acadian Recorder June 20, 1887.

48 Bull-baiting had also begun to decline in England by the early nineteenth century--Malcolmson Popular Recreations, p. 122 and ff.

49 Thompson The Rise of Respectable Society, p. 280; Harrison "Animals and the State", p. 120.
the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty (founded in Halifax in 1877) helped to suppress animal sports. Although a greasy pig competition and horse races did appear on the program of the Queen's birthday celebration in Halifax in 1897, the city council launched an inquiry shortly after to discover who had given permission to have the festivities on the common. H.S. Moir, Secretary of the Driving Club, withdrew the greasy pig competition from the diamond jubilee program in 1897, in response to the protests of John Naylor, secretary-agent of the S.P.C. Some celebrants opposed the interference of the animal rights activists. An old gentleman reminisced after Halifax's diamond jubilee about the enjoyable sports held during the coronation in 1838, which had "no S.P.C. to interfere".

Organizers of the later Victorian displays attempted to minimize the danger and disorder which had characterized previous demonstrations. The congestion of people and horses on the common had frequently resulted in

50 *Herald* May 19, 25, 1897.

51 Halifax City Council, *Minutes*, June 29, 1897, p. 37, PANS.

52 *Daily Echo* May 18, 21, 1897; *Acadian Recorder* May 21, 1897.

53 *Acadian Recorder* July 10, 1897. The English working class often complained about the meddling of the R.S.P.C.A. in their affairs—Harrison "Animals and the State", pp. 188, 119.
injuries. During the natal day sports in Halifax in 1873, a mare collided with a cow crossing the common, and a young man was knocked down by a running horse and suffered a broken leg.54 The following year, also during the natal day sports, a horse bolted and threw down an old woman, and then fell on a boy, who was seriously hurt.55 In 1887, the sports committee of the golden jubilee attempted to avoid these collisions by forbidding carriages on the playing field.56

Athletic competitions continued to be a part of large outdoor displays in the late nineteenth century. In 1887, the golden jubilee program featured professional and amateur foot races, a hose reel competition for firemen, shot putting, the broad jump and high jump, and a tug of war open to the army, navy, and militia.57 More frequently, however, athletic displays were fragmented into smaller organized exhibitions, under the auspices of voluntary organization and institutions. For example, during the prince's marriage celebration in Halifax in 1863, visitors watched gymnasts perform their exercises in the "little known but highly useful" gymnasium run by the

54 British Colonist June 24, 1873.
55 British Colonist June 6, 25, 1874.
56 Acadian Recorder June 10, 1887.
57 Acadian Recorder May 27, 1887.
Early Closing Association. In Saint John, firemen held sports on the Barrack Square in celebration of the Loyalist centennial in 1883. In 1893, the Saint John and St. Stephen branches of the Young Men's Christian Association competed in athletic games during the Queen's birthday, followed two months later by Clan Mackenzie, which sponsored an afternoon of "Scotch games" on dominion day. The military frequently organized their own field exercises in the late nineteenth century, thereby avoiding the skirmishes with civilians which marked earlier public displays. Large-scale military tournaments marked Halifax's golden and diamond jubilee celebrations in 1887 and 1897, featuring athletic and gymnastic exercises, swordsmanship, sham fights, musical rides, and other manoeuvres. The military nature of the exercises seemed to hold little interest for anyone save the participants, friends and family, and other military personnel. Moreover, in 1887 the admission structure

58 Morning Sun April 15, 1863. According to Smith, the Early Closing Association's gymnasium was the only such institution in Halifax before 1882--"Graceful Athleticism or Robust Womanhood", p. 121.

59 Daily Sun May 19, 1883.

60 Daily Sun May 18, 20, 25, 1893.

61 Daily Sun July 3, 1893.

62 For example, the 62nd Regiment had a field day of sports during the Queen's birthday in Saint John in 1882--Daily Telegraph May 23, 1882.
favoured the army and navy at ten cents, while the general public had to pay twenty-five cents and fifty cents.63

Another vestige of folk sports—the horse race—also survived the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Horse races had been introduced in Halifax as early as 1768, when the military governor, Lord William Campbell, and a few sporting friends built a circular race course.64 In Saint John, horse races emerged in the 1790's on the sands of Courtney Bay on the Bay of Fundy.65 But like the other animal sports, horse racing came under the attack of temperance advocates and other moral reformers, because of its associated rowdyism, drunkenness, gambling, and injuries.66 Nonetheless, horse racing, in conjunction with folk sports and as a separate event, became an increasingly popular form of celebration.

The committee in charge of sports for the celebration of the Prince of Wales' visit to Halifax in 1860 received a petition from sporting enthusiasts to consider horse races as an event to mark the celebration. Although the sports committee opposed the proposal, they did not make a

63 Acadian Recorder June 16, 1887; Citizen June 20, 22, 1887; Critic June 24, 1887; Daily Echo June 21, 1897.


final decision, and submitted the petition to the city council. At a meeting to discuss the celebration, four of the aldermen defended horse racing, but the others objected to the races for their "excess and gambling", drinking and quarrelling, and the damage inflicted on the horses.\textsuperscript{67} The last races on the common were even blamed for introducing a fatal epidemic. Eventually the city council negotiated a tripartite proposal: no drinking booths were to be permitted on the common, no liquor sold without a permit, and the races scheduled one week before or after the visit. The motion passed by a very slim margin of eight to six, and a notice of reconsideration was given.\textsuperscript{68}

The next day the city council rescinded its original resolution. Aldermen Nash and Jennings, who probably came under pressure from their constituents, regretted their previous approval of the races. Alderman William Evans, a butcher from Ward four, emerged as a champion of the people. According to Evans, the city council's refusal to allow horse races was a violation of popular privilege. He complained that poor citizens had to pay taxes for the common, yet were denied its use for preferred activities.

\textsuperscript{67} For similar arguments, see "Tax-Payer" in \textit{Novascotian} July 9, 1860; \textit{Morning Sun} June 27, 1860; "Common Sense" in \textit{British Colonist} June 28, "Citizen" in July 5, 1860.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Morning Sun} June 27, 1860; \textit{Evening Express} June 27, 1860.
like horse races. In other words, Alderman Evans claimed the "common rights" of the people to the common land, a tradition that dated back to at least eleventh-century England.69 Despite his objections, the original resolution to hold horse races during the visit was eventually defeated by a vote of ten to five.70

During the interval between meetings, sporting enthusiasts held a race on the strength of the first resolution. The riders and horse owners were subsequently brought before Mayor Samuel Caldwell in police court, for violation of the city bye-law against horse racing. At the hearing, the other attending magistrate, Alderman Leahy, disagreed with the mayor over the legality of horse races, arguing that the bye-law in question did not apply in this instance. The split decision necessitated an acquittal, but Mayor Caldwell ranted that next time he would be attended by an alderman who did not differ with him on this matter.71

Shortly after, a requisition in favour of horse racing, signed by over 250 citizens, urged the mayor to


70 Morning Sun July 4, 5, 23, 1860; British Colonist July 5, 1860. For a discussion of this incident, see Howell "A History of Horse Racing", pp. 55-60.

71 Evening Express July 18, 1860, "One of the Lower Orders" in July 20, 1860.
call a public meeting to discuss the issue. Because of his strong feelings against horse racing, Mayor Caldwell refused to preside at the meeting, so the sympathetic Alderman Evans took the chair. The 2000 people assembled on the Grand Parade passed three unanimous resolutions: 1) that a majority of citizens were in favour of horse racing; 2) that the city council be requested, in the person of Alderman Evans, to reconsider their negative vote; and 3) that the city council be at once requested to repeal the law, and grant the privilege to hold horse races, at least during the visit. Their efforts, however, came to naught, and no horse races were held during the prince's sojourn in Halifax. The city council continued, throughout the decade, to reject petitions for races on the common.

Boating enthusiasts suggested that the city should hold a regatta for the prince's visit, instead of horse races. Alderman Hugh Bell, for example, opposed the horse race, but viewed the regatta as patriotic, from a "maritime point of view". The *Morning Sun* referred to the regatta as that "old favorite amusement", and one of the only attractions that Halifax could do as well as

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72 *Evening Express* July 18, 1860; *Morning Sun* July 16, 1860.

73 Markham "An Investigation", p. 64.

74 *Morning Sun* July 6, 1860.
anywhere, even London.\textsuperscript{75} The celebration organizers agreed to hold a regatta during the prince's visit to Halifax,\textsuperscript{76} and also during later nineteenth-century celebrations, such as the prince's marriage festivities in Halifax in 1863,\textsuperscript{77} the governor-general's visit in 1881,\textsuperscript{78} the golden jubilee in Halifax and Saint John in 1887,\textsuperscript{79} and the diamond jubilee in Halifax in 1897.\textsuperscript{80}

Despite the organizers' preference for regattas, entrepreneurs and sporting enthusiasts ensured the survival of horse races as an ingredient of late Victorian celebrations. Organizations such as the Halifax Driving and Riding Clubs, and the Moosepath Driving Park Association in Saint John transformed races into commercialized, profitable, and professional endeavors. By the 1870's, holiday races were often held in Saint John's Torryburn Track, or "Pleasure Grounds", opened in 1865.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Morning Sun} June 22, July 20, 1860.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Morning Journal} July 20, 1860.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Evening Express} June 24, 1863.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Morning Chronicle} July 9, 1881.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Herald} August 20, 22, 1887; the statement of expenditure for the jubilee in the City of Halifax, \textit{Annual Reports}, 1887-88, p. 65, PANS, notes a $500 prize cup for the regatta; \textit{Daily Sun} June 20, 1887.
\textsuperscript{80} A sum of $350 was earmarked for the diamond jubilee regatta--statement of expenditure for the diamond jubilee in Halifax, \textit{City of Halifax, Annual Reports}, 1896-97, p. 67.
and the Moosepath Driving Park, opened in 1871. In Halifax, natal day races became an institution. In 1892, the *Morning Chronicle* contended that the decision of the Halifax Riding Club to reschedule the races to the first week of August would lessen their popularity, for people had gotten into the habit of attending them on June 21st, the anniversary of settlement. Beginning in 1891, the Halifax Driving Club also began the tradition of holding trotting matches on the Queen's birthday.

The commercialization of horse races intensified in the late nineteenth century. Although Halifax and Saint John had exchanged horses and horsemen since the 1820's, by the time of the jubilee races in 1887, improved transportation networks, superior facilities, and the standardization of rules had created an extensive harness racing circuit, running from the Maritimes to New England. Substantial prizes also attracted the best horseflesh. The golden jubilee races in Halifax offered a Maiden Plate, Riding Ground Club Cup, Riding Ground Pony

81 Flood *Saint John*, p. 55.

82 *Morning Chronicle* May 24, 25, 1892.

83 They also wanted to have a meeting on natal day, but the Riding Club executive would not rent them the grounds—*Morning Chronicle* May 24, 25, 1892. For a discussion of the differences between running and trotting, see Flood *Saint John*, p. 55.

Cup, Quinpool Plate, Seaside Purse, and Jubilee Purse, the latter of which was open only to Maritime-bred horses, as part of an effort to improve local breeding and excite local interest. The birthday trotting meetings also grew in favour, as the liberal purses offered began to induce the top breeders to compete. The administration of horse races became more complex, requiring a staff of stewards, judges, starters, clerks of the scales, and clerks of the course. In 1896, the Driving Club races featured a "professional starter" to keep the field in good order.

The growth of an urban population base sufficient to support the sport, and the creation of an "audience" also guaranteed the survival of horse racing. A desire for organized leisure activities developed among the working class in the late nineteenth century as a result of the greater separation of work and leisure, and an increase in disposable income. Commercialized sports provided an

85 Morning Chronicle May 24, 25, 1894.
86 Program for Halifax Summer Races at the Riding Grounds, Quinpool Road, Wednesday August 24, 1892, PANS.
87 Morning Chronicle May 25, 1896.
89 Howell "Baseball, Class, and Community", pp. 269-70.
90 Although little is known about real wages in Maritime urban centres, Colin Howell argues that they probably increased as in Britain and elsewhere in North
outlet for these new consumers. Besides paying the standard twenty-five cents' admission fee to the grounds and open stand,91 working-class patrons could also buy food and drink at the refreshment booths which abounded at the race meetings,92 a contrast to the free feasts provided during celebrations in the early Victorian period.

The audiences at Victorian derbies were not, however, solely of a working-class nature. During the natal day race in Halifax in 1894, a mixed audience streamed in on foot, horseback, and in every sort of vehicle, from carriages to fly dogcarts, rickety busses, and dilapidated go-carts.93 Some critics believed that most of the support for racing emanated from among the lower orders. In 1860, a Haligonian disputed this assumption, contending that he enjoyed horse racing, but was not a member of the lower


91 Halifax Summer Races, 1892.


93 Morning Chronicle June 22, 1894; Flood Saint John, p. 58. For social mixing at Derby Day in England, see Thompson The Rise of Respectable Society, p. 298.
Indeed, the influence and support of Halifax's elite helped to ensure the survival of the sport. Military officers often owned or rode the horses, and competed against other officers. Unlike the horse races held during the folk sports on the common, where there was little differentiation among the spectators and the participants, the elites attending the race course could separate themselves from the "unscrubbed" by paying fifty cents for access to the grand stand and enclosure, or $1 for the right to watch the races from their carriages. Elites justified their enthusiasm for horse racing by asserting royal patronage; Queen Victoria, the symbol of respectability and morality, attended the race course, so the races must be respectable and morally correct.

The advent of commercialized spectator sports, like

94 "One of the Lower Orders" in *Evening Express* July 20, 1860.

95 During the natal day races in 1873, garrison officers competed against the navy in a one-mile hurdle race—Allen "Halifax Natal Day", p. 4. In 1875, horses owned and ridden by the officers of the army and navy competed for the "Garrison Sweepstakes"—*Morning Chronicle* June 18, 21, 23, 1875; also see May 24, 1864, June 23, 1868, June 19, 1880, July 5, 1881, June 26, 1884, Newspaper Indices, Halifax Citadel.

96 *Halifax Summer Races*, 1892; "Many gentlemen and their families occupied their carriages for the afternoon" during the natal day races in 1886—*Morning Chronicle* June 23, 1886; Thompson *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 299, 301.

the horse race, precluded the more universal participation
that had characterized the pig chases and pole climbs.98
The spectators were not, however, merely passive
onlookers. Even the women shouted and waved their
handkerchiefs for their favorites. At the natal day races
in 1880, the Morning Chronicle noted the eagerness of the
"fair sex to welcome the winner of the handsome piece of
plate exhibited in the Grand Stand."99 In 1894, women
stood up in the grandstands to the annoyance of those
behind.100 Professionalization and commercialization also
encouraged widespread gambling. A reporter noted during
the natal day races in 1896:

"It was an eye opener to the uninitiated to note
the avidity with which the fair sex plunged into
this form of mild gambling. Not only did the
ladies go into the pools but they wagered dozens
of pairs of gloves and boxes of handkerchiefs
quite recklessly."101

Unrestrained crowd behaviour not only characterized horse

98 Dale A. Somers "The Leisure Revolution: Recreation
in the American City, 1820-1920", Journal of Popular
Culture, Vol. 5, no. 1, Summer 1971, pp. 134-35; Howell
"Baseball, Class and Community", pp. 283, 286.

99 Morning Chronicle June 19, 23, 1880.

100 Morning Chronicle June 22, 1894.

101 Morning Chronicle June 22, 1894; during the
Halifax races in 1886, "the fair sex backed their
favorites in the different events quite lavishly. As a
result many dozens of gloves, etc were lost and won"--
Morning Chronicle June 23, 1886. The behaviour of the
women is an interesting contrast to the reformers' concern
that the "bad manners" of the crowds would have a negative
effect on the female spectators--Howell "Baseball, Class
and Community", p. 275.
races, which had already acquired a bad reputation for rowdyism and drunkenness, but also organized team sports, such as baseball, which had initially been promoted by the reformers as a means of curbing such behaviours by instilling the "manly virtues" of "courage, strength, agility, teamwork, decision-making, and foresight".102

The nature of sports as a celebration activity changed considerably between Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838 and her diamond jubilee in 1897. Early Victorian folk sports encompassed a variety of athletic competitions and animal sports. By the late nineteenth century, athletic displays had primarily fallen into the hands of voluntary organizations and institutions, reflecting the increasing fragmentation of community-based festivities like folk sports. The disintegration of rural culture in the face of urbanization and urban reform, also resulted in the decline of rural recreations, such as pig and pony chases. Ironically, urbanization and improved transportation and communication networks ensured the survival of horse races, by creating the necessary substructure for the expansion and commercialization of the sport. The changes produced by industrial capitalism—higher incomes and more leisure time—also created a working-class audience for the sport. The overall result

102 Howell "Baseball, Class and Community", pp. 266-68.
of these changes was the transformation of celebration sports from rather ill-organized contests encouraging public participation, to organized events relegating the public to the role of spectators. Nonetheless, audiences continued to participate indirectly in organized sports, by impressing upon the events their own values and behaviours.
CHAPTER 9
COMMERCIALIZATION AND TOURISM

Organized spectator sports comprised only one of the alternatives created by the commercialization of public celebrations. Improved transportation and the evolution of cheapexcursions made the family outing a popular celebration activity. As well, the commodification of celebrations enabled the working class to purchase a variety of cheap souvenirs and other commemorative items. The entrepreneurs who provided these goods and services also catered to the needs and desires of the visitors who came to Saint John and Halifax to partake of the festivities, and thus helped to convert public celebrations into tourist attractions.¹

The railway and steamer transformed celebrations into a "time for going away from home".² These improved modes


of transportation opened up the countryside to the city dwellers who were "tired of dust and hard roads and crowds" and wanted to enjoy a "breath of country air".3  

The opening of the Windsor railway line in Nova Scotia in 1858 expedited travel between the United States, Saint John and Halifax. Instead of travellers having to take a tedious Cunard steamer the entire distance, excursionists could now take a steamer from Portland, Maine, to Saint John, then board the "Emperor" steamer to Windsor, take a coach to within eight miles of Halifax, and then ride the rails into the city.4  

The 108 mile long line of the European and North American railroad, opened just in time for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860, facilitated travel between Saint John and Shediac.5  

Steamers also transported Saint Johners up the St. John River, and across the Bay of Fundy to Digby, N.S. In Halifax, pleasure boats frequently crossed the harbour to Dartmouth, were engaged for outings to McNab's Island, and also cruised up the Bedford Basin to various picnic spots, such as the Prince's Lodge.  

By mid-century, most citizens preferred individual trips and outings to open spaces within and beyond the 

3 Morning Chronicle June 26, 1884.  

4 Acadian Recorder June 5, 1858; Evening Express June 7, 14, 1858.  

cities, as the primary means of marking annual celebrations like the Queen's birthday, dominion day, Loyalist day in Saint John, and natal day in Halifax. Sometimes the travel arrangements were insufficient to deal with the numbers of excursionists. On dominion day in Saint John in 1889, the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific railways had to remove their freight cars and replace them with passenger cars to accommodate the crowds.6 The Morning Journal grumbled over the subsequent inactivity in the cities during these celebrations:

It is only those whom force of habit or necessity chains to the dull streets of the city [such as the businessmen and press] who grumbles at the holidays... What shall we of the can't-get-away class do to amuse ourselves while the rest of the community is merrymaking?7

The failure to sustain public enthusiasm in organized observances may be attributed to the unwillingness of the cities to sponsor three celebrations in the space of the three month time period between May and July. The significance of the events may also have dissipated in the face of more pressing engagements. According to Murray Barkley, New Brunswickers of the mid-Victorian period lost

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6 Daily Sun July 3, 1889. During natal day in 1890, there were not enough cars on the Western and Annapolis railway for all who purchased tickets—Morning Chronicle June 24, 1890.

7 Morning Journal June 29, 1864. The celebration of natal day in 1892 was also described as a "dull and pointless day" for those remaining in the city—Morning Chronicle June 22, 1892.
their interest in the Loyalists, and thus in Loyalist day, because of their preoccupation with the state of the economy and the problems of confederation.8 Dominion day was observed by pro-confederates during this period, but others less sympathetic to the cause responded with apathy or opposition.

The most important factor in explaining the decline of organized civic spectacle is probably the seasonal nature of these celebrations. Indeed, all of the anniversaries fell in the spring and summer months, the best time of the year for private outings. The Queen's birthday on May 24th marked the unofficial beginning of summer, and became a popular time for fishing expeditions.9 From mid-century to his death in 1897, William F. Bunting of Saint John rarely missed a fishing trip on the Queen's birthday.10 According to the Daily Telegraph, dominion day became an increasingly popular celebration in the early 1880's because its date of observance, July 1st, afforded the best opportunities for


9 Robert M. Stamp Kings, Queens, and Canadians (Markham, 1987), pp. 126-27.

10 See entries for the month of May in the William Franklin Bunting Diaries, 1858-96, N.B. Museum.
outdoor amusements. The railway and steamship lines frequently offered excursion rates and extended schedules during these celebrations. On Dominion Day in Saint John in 1893, "everyone seemed to be anxious to induce the crowds" to "flock out in various directions". The inability to travel during the Dominion Day celebration in 1877 distressed William F. Bunting: "I never recollect having spent a more unpleasant and irksome day".

Excursions not only permitted residents of Saint John and Halifax to leave the cities during public celebrations, but also brought in visitors from the surrounding towns and villages, and from elsewhere in the Maritimes, Canada, and the United States. James H. Morrison argues that Nova Scotia did not experience its first large-scale American tourist excursion from Boston until July 1871. However, one must not underestimate the large numbers of visitors who traveled to Halifax and Saint John earlier in the century to partake of public celebrations. The Morning News estimated that approximately 6000 visitors attended Saint John's railway celebration in 1853, from the Maritime provinces, Canada,

11 Daily Telegraph July 3, 1883.
12 Daily Sun July 3, 1893.
13 Bunting Diaries, July 11, 1877.
Britain and the United States. The visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John in 1860 attracted approximately 25,000 visitors to the city. An almost unbroken line of people from the surrounding towns and villages travelled to Saint John in wagons, on horseback, and on foot, to see the prince. Crowded rail cars and steamers also arrived from points in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

After a slump in civic festivities in the middle decades, a handful of major celebrations in the 1880's and 90's, namely the Loyalist centennial in Saint John in 1883, and the golden and diamond jubilees in 1887 and 1897, revived the residents' interest in large-scale civic demonstrations, and attracted large numbers of visitors. The Saint John board of trade asked the railway and steamboat agents for extended excursion tickets to and from the city during the centennial celebration in 1883, to attract "pleasure seekers", businessmen, and those who wanted to combine business with pleasure. On June 18th, 1887, the Intercolonial railway brought 1000 people into Saint John for the golden jubilee, the largest number of excursionists ever brought into the city on any one day.

15 Morning News September 30, 1853.
16 Freeman August 4, 1860.
17 Daily Sun May 12, 1883; Daily Telegraph May 16, 1883; St. John Globe May 11, 1883.
express train, according to the Daily Sun. Although the Acadian Recorder thought that few "rural dwellers" would be able to afford the Intercolonial's general fare of 1½d during Halifax's golden jubilee, there were not enough cars on the train to bring everyone "coming from the Westward". Special celebration rates established between Saint John and Halifax in 1887 stimulated an exchange of visitors between the two cities. The Halifax Herald noted: "A large number of St. John folk came over yesterday to do the jubilee and in order that they might not be lonesome while here, they brought with them an inexhaustible supply of St. John fog of the choicest quality". According to one estimate, about 50,000 people came to Halifax for the golden jubilee festivities. The Acadian Recorder thought that more people visited Halifax during the two days of jubilee than at any other time since the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. By 1897, the organizers of the diamond jubilee celebration in Saint John and Halifax began to realize the potential of the events as tourist

18 Daily Sun May 21, June 10, 16, 20, 1887.
19 Acadian Recorder June 10, 1887.
20 Acadian Recorder June 28, 1887.
21 Herald June 22, 1887; Acadian Recorder June 22, 1887. Also see Daily Sun June 16, 28, 1887.
22 Citizen June 23, 1887.
23 Acadian Recorder June 22, 1887.
attractions, and thus approached the railway and steamship agents to secure special excursion fares.24

Entrepreneurs of all sorts exploited the hordes of visitors and residents who enjoyed public celebrations in Saint John and Halifax. Several organ-grinders with monkeys solicited contributions during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John in 1860.25 Similarly, an increasing number of street musicians performed for the crowds during Halifax's celebration of the golden jubilee in 1887, including two couples with harps and violins, a man with a "wheezing hurdy-gurdy", and two or three "Italians" with trained birds which told fortunes for five cents by picking out printed cards.26 Ten years later, a "goodly number" of beggars arrived in Halifax to cadge the "jubilee crowd". The Daily Echo noted that the "worthy" and "unworthy" beggars undoubtedly "reaped a fair harvest", as everybody was "charitably inclined" and had no time to "make discriminations".27 Pickpockets also rode the rails, stopping off at various cities where they would be assured of large crowds. American "crooks" picked many pockets during Saint John's celebration of the prince's

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24 Daily Telegraph June 5, 1897; Daily Sun June 3, 1897; Acadian Recorder May 11, 1897.

25 Morning News August 6, 1860.

26 Citizen June 22, 1887.

27 Daily Echo June 28, 1897.
visit in 1860.28 In 1878, disguised pickpockets, in bands ranging from four or five to thirty or forty, descended on Halifax during the visit of Governor-General Lord Lorne, but were chased away by the police.29 Eighteen years later, the police received word that scores of "Crooks" and "Black Legs" of both sexes intended to patronize Halifax's summer carnival, but the efforts of Detective Power of the Halifax police force, Detective Skeffington of the I.C.R, and Sergeant Lehan, detailed for special duty during the carnival, resulted in the arrests of many of these mobile entrepreneurs. Many of the "suspects" agreed to leave town, while those on the outskirts of the city who heard of the crack-down, decided to bypass the carnival.30

While these entrepreneurs attended public celebrations in order to earn money, most people came to spend it. In an effort to exploit this market, theatrical agents offered tickets for special holiday performances at the various houses. For example, during the three days of Halifax's golden jubilee celebration, the Academy of Music ran "The Mikado", "H.M.S. Pinafore", and "La Mascotte",

28 *Morning Freeman* August 4, 1860.


30 City of Halifax *Annual Report*, 1896-97, p. 289, PANS.
while the Lyceum featured "Under the Gaslight". Shopkeepers also stocked their shelves with various commemorative items. Excursionists, in particular, needed presents for those at home, souvenirs for themselves, and sufficient goods and supplies for travelling. According to H. Hamish Fraser, "The greater the mobility, the wider the range of consumption. Holidays and outings... not only created a specialist demand of their own, but stimulated a general demand".32

Businessmen used advertising to reinforce or even create a demand for certain items.33 For example, shopkeepers advertised special clothing items to take advantage of the desire for social display and courtship, and the need for suitable and respectable clothing for travelling.34 According to Robert Malcolmson "dressing up and spending freely for a holiday were relatively accessible means of winning approval" for working-class women, although middle-class observers thought it was

31 Acadian Recorder June 20, 1887.
32 Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, pp. 76, 80, 100.
34 Delago The Annual Outing, pp. 58, 71; Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, p. 80.
overly extravagant and irresponsible. 35 C.D. Everitt and Son of Saint John were "anxious that all should look well for the [prince's] reception" in 1860, and offered a variety of hats and caps. 36 A merchant named Jones appealed to "strangers from the country" to visit his clothing establishment. 37 "Crown toques" and "VR toques", and patriotic tri-colour ribbons for the women were some of the goods advertised during the jubilees. 38 The emergence of ready-made clothing in the 1880's and 90's made many of these clothing items affordable for the working class. 39

As advertising became more widespread in the late nineteenth century, advertisers began to use gimmicks to attract customers during the celebrations. Some businesses, such as Halifax's Great London and China Tea Company, gave away gifts. 40 Merchants also used window

36 Freeman July 31, 1860.
37 New Brunswick Courier August 4, 1860.
38 Daily Echo May 8, 1897; Daily Telegraph June 11, 1897.
39 Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, pp. 60, 61; Ewen and Ewen Channels of Desire, pp. 162, 183, 197, 212.
40 Acadian Recorder June 14, 1887; Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, p. 143; Pope The Making of Modern Advertising, p. 235.
displays to advertise their wares. Sometimes they manifested their civic spirit and patriotism in the form of thematic exhibitions. For example, during the Loyalist centennial in Saint John in 1883, King Street merchants displayed centennial relics and antiquities. Manchester, Robertson, and Allison on King Street advertised their own wares and provided a thematic display, by contrasting the harshness of the past with the luxuries of the present, using their own dry goods as illustrations. Saint John's mayor later called on M.R.& A to thank them for their centennial spirit. Shopkeepers also advertised by illuminating their establishments. Gas and electric light transformed civic illuminations from general practices, as during the coronation celebration in 1838, when every small pane exhibited a candle in a tin scone, to special competitive displays undertaken by business establishments. It was thought that business would increase with the display of electric light.

"Speculators" frequently took advantage of the name, theme, or associated images of the celebration for

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41 Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, p. 133.
42 Daily Evening News May 17, 19, 1883.
43 St. John Globe May 19, 1883.
44 Daily Sun May 21, 1883.
45 Acadian Recorder July 10, 1897.
46 Daily Telegraph May 21, 1883.
advertising purposes. For example, during the Prince of Wales' visit to Halifax in 1860, the correspondent of the London Times commented that the prince's name and titles were somehow mysteriously associated by advertising with cheap pork, old patents, ladies' dresses, sales of timber—everything in fact from a waterproof coat to a barrel of mild cider. You could not sit down to dinner but his portrait loomed dimly from beneath the gravy in the centre of the plate. It was Prince's hats, Prince's boots, Prince's umbrellas, Prince's coats, Prince's cigars, and the whole colony nodded, in fact, with Prince's coronets and feathers.47 Queen Victoria's picture had crept into advertising shortly after her accession to the throne in 1837, though there was no general agreement about the utilization of her image.48 Dr. Macrae, an orator during one of Saint John's golden jubilee meetings, could not remember when her "features" were not a "mental possession".49 According to John M. Mackenzie, however, it was not until the 1870's that the Queen was more frequently adopted as an object of commercial exploitation. This trend coincided with the romanticization of the empire during this period, and the


49 Daily Sun June 22, 1887.
proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.50

The growth and proliferation of the advertising business also accounted for the increased commercialization of the Queen's persona. According to Thomas Richards, Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887 intensified and routinized the methods of modern advertising to such an extent that the advertising business gained a new international prominence.51 Speculators exploited the golden and diamond jubilees to an unprecedented degree. In Saint John and Halifax, jubilee items advertised in the local press included jubilee china, tumblers and children's mugs, jubilee quilts and rugs,52 a jubilee rocker, diamond steel jubilee pocket knives, jubilee perfumes, jubilee biscuits,53 jubilee handkerchiefs, boots, bows, and badges,54 diamond


51 Richards argues that advertising gained a "national" (English) prominence, but judging from the proliferation of Jubilee items throughout the empire, it also achieved international prominence--Richards "The Image of Victoria", p. 16.

52 Daily Echo May 3, June 5, 1897; Acadian Recorder June 18, 19, 1897.

53 Daily Sun March 31, 1897; Daily Telegraph May 25, June 1, 21, 22, 1897.

54 Acadian Recorder June 1, 9, 19, 1897; Herald June 11, 1897.
rings for the "Diamond Jubilee", and a "Grand Jubilee" ten cent bag for children to "help make this Jubilee a long to be remembered time in the minds of all".

Special packaging and advertisements also appropriated Queen Victoria's name, face, or coat of arms. Some disapproved of this practice, attributing to it an element of lesé majesté. During the diamond jubilee, a correspondent of the Halifax Herald commented: "It looks like taking her [Victoria's] name in vain to attach it to a brand of cigars made out of Quebec tobacco, and to a quack cure-all". Queen Victoria's credentials and image also adorned various sorts of bric-a-brac entitled "jubileeana". While there was nothing novel about commemorative souvenirs, which had been prevalent in the eighteenth century, the significance of jubileeana lay in its genre, created by the advertisers and entrepreneurs, and the sheer volume of items. Halifax entrepreneurs reported selling over 20,000 mementos during the diamond jubilee celebration, and many still had items left over. While some of the mementos were undoubtedly

55 *Daily Telegraph* June 1, 1897.

56 *Acadian Recorder* June 12, 1897.

57 *Herald* May 27, 1897; Fraser *The Coming of the Mass Market*, pp. 134, 139.

58 Mackenzie *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 27.

59 *Daily Echo* June 25, 1897.
imported, local entrepreneurs also made souvenirs, for all it required to transform a common object into a piece of jubileeana was to create a "makeshift decal" or a "crude engraving". 60 Local artists and painters made many of the jubilee transparencies. George Smithers, a Halifax painter, designed the transparency displayed on the Union Protection Company Hall during the golden jubilee. 61 Like the ready-made clothing items advertised during public celebrations, jubilee souvenir items were also notable for their affordability. For example, diamond jubilee medals cost only ten cents and fifteen cents. 62 Furthermore, by overwhelming the public with these bric-a-brac, advertisers and entrepreneurs created a demand for them. Everyone seemed to want some token of the jubilees. 63 Finally, the popularity of jubileeana is also a product of late Victorian fashion, which dictated that "as much as possible of one's worldly possessions should be on display", thereby generating a desire for knick-knacks for the mantelpieces of middle-class drawing rooms and working-class parlours. 64

60 Richards "The Image of Victoria", p. 18; Mackenzie Propaganda and Empire, pp. 22, 23.
61 Herald June 22, 1887.
62 Daily Sun June 22, 1897.
64 Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, pp. 51, 207.
Various printed souvenirs also abounded on the shelves of shopkeepers and souvenir salesmen. Developments in the paper industry and technological improvements in printing resulted in an increase in the publication of cards, pamphlets, programs, souvenir booklets, and other items. In celebration of Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883, the New Brunswick Historical Society and the St. John Typographical Union, No. 85, published souvenir booklets. Five years later, Saint John and Halifax issued similar golden jubilee souvenir publications. Halifax's diamond jubilee celebration was marked by the publication of the A.B.C Handbook to Halifax, N.S., and the Jubilee Gripsack, which contained portraits, information on previous celebrations, and other bits of information. These programs and booklets made excellent souvenirs for tourists, for they contained

65 Mackenzie *Propaganda and Empire*, pp. 18-19.


67 *Souvenir of the Queen's Jubilee: An Account of the Celebration at the City of Saint John, N.B., in Honour of the Jubilee Year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria*, SJRL. In Halifax, J.S. Knowles published copies of *A Queen's Jubilee Souvenir--Acadian Recorder* June 20, 1887; *Critic* June 24, 1887.


69 *Daily Telegraph* June 8, 1897.
photographs, descriptions of places of interest, and discussions of the history of the cities. Stationary stores in Saint John also carried cards of congratulation to send to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her diamond jubilee, and stationary with diamond jubilee letterhead. Commemorative postage stamps enjoyed especial popularity as jubilee souvenirs. Guests from Bristol who attended the diamond jubilee celebration in Halifax, asked for postage stamps as souvenirs of the occasion. The shortage of diamond jubilee stamps led to accusations in Saint John and Halifax that members of the post office were hoarding them.

Special books and newspapers were also issued as celebration memorials. William F. Bunting mailed as mementos to friends and family several copies of J.W. Lawrence's centennial publication, Foot-prints, and several books and pamphlets of the centennial

70 Daily Sun May 15, 1897; Daily Telegraph May 14, 1897.

71 Daily Sun May 6, 1897; Mackenzie Propaganda and Empire, p. 21.

72 Acadian Recorder May 28, 1897 gives the design and image of the stamp; Daily Sun May 24, June 21, 1897.

73 Acadian Recorder July 12, 1897.

74 Letter from Edwin J.H. Pauley, one of most noted stamp and coin collectors on the continent to the Herald July 5, 10, 1897; Daily Sun June 30, 1897.
The exhibition. Newspapers issued special commemorative editions, such as the *Acadian Recorder's* diamond jubilee supplement entitled "Sixty Years a Queen", which contained accounts of the local festivities, and descriptions and likenesses of royal figures. Enclosed portraits and reproductions distributed by the papers were intended for framing. The special golden jubilee edition of the Halifax *Critic* featured articles, stories, and poems, many written by Maritime authors. Imported British newspapers, with accounts of the festivities in London and elsewhere in Britain, could also be acquired at the newsstands.

Many desired visual representations of the celebrations, but in the early days, few could afford them. In the early nineteenth century, visual images consisted mainly of sketches or wood block engravings. During the Queen's coronation festivities in Saint John in 1838, a sketch of the regatta could be lithographed only when enough subscriptions were collected to cover the cost.

75 Bunting Diary, May 14, October 9, 1883.

76 *Acadian Recorder* June 19, 1897.

77 For an example of a reproduction, see *Daily Echo* May 8, 1897; Peter Roger Mountjoy "The working-class press and working-class conservatism", in George Boyce et. al. (eds.) *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (London, 1978), p. 280.

78 *Critic* June 4, 1887.
expense. The *Morning News* suggested that daguerreotype artists take shots of Saint John's railway celebration in 1853, for they would demand good prices, and were suitable to send abroad as mementos. The last half of the nineteenth century witnessed many improvements in photography. In 1860, Saint John's photographer imported a photographic apparatus from Paris, so he could take better shots of the prince's visit. A Halifax photographer in the same period displayed in his studio likenesses of royal figures and photographs of celebrations, which were reportedly much in demand by those who could afford them. In 1878, the royal suite accompanying Lord Lorne, and Princess Louise on their visit to Halifax, had a sitting at William Notman's local studio. Improved technology in the late Victorian period enabled photographers to make "shilling views", leading to the collection of small "cartes de visite" and photographs of royal figures. The invention of new roll film, embodied in George Eastman's Kodak camera in 1888, and new printing

79 *New Brunswick Courier* July 7, 1838.
80 *Morning News* September 12, 1853.
81 *Freeman* July 26, 1860.
82 A. Wonner "A Lounge Among the Photographers" in *Novascotian* June 2, 1862.
83 Special edition of *Halifax Reporter* November 27, 1878, PANS.
84 Mackenzie *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 20.
processes which allowed rapid and cheap runs, transformed photography from a professional occupation to an amateur pastime.85 Lady Aberdeen used her own Kodak camera to take a snapshot of the unveiling of the John Cabot memorial during Halifax's diamond jubilee celebration in 1897.86

Entrepreneurs also exploited the demand for certain services, most notably accommodation. Nonetheless, people had been complaining about the inadequacy of room and board in Saint John and Halifax, at least since the early nineteenth century.87 Hotels were booked a week before Saint John's railway celebration in 1853; furthermore, the Morning News admitted that "our accommodations are not what travellers are in the habit of receiving".88 Because of the shortage of rooms, private homes opened their doors to billets. George Fenety, editor of the Morning News, remarked that his "house was full of strangers" during the railway celebration.89 Visitors began looking for accommodation several days in advance of the prince's

85 Pope The Making of Modern Advertising, p. 50-51. Also see Mackenzie Propaganda and Empire, p. 20; Fraser The Coming of the Mass Market, p. 224.

86 Daily Echo June 25, 1897.


88 Morning News August 29, 1853.

89 Morning News September 16, 1853.
arrival in 1860. \textsuperscript{90} Local entrepreneurs made efforts to feed and shelter the celebrants during the visit. In Halifax, W.L. Stewart, proprietor of the Head Quarters and the Branch saloons, erected a temporary structure with a piazza front and two rows of seats for spectators, called the Royal Pavilion, on the corner of his Head Quarters saloon on Hollis Street, where he fed hundreds, some thought thousands of people a day. \textsuperscript{91} Henry Hesslein, proprietor of the Acadian Hotel, opened a dining and oyster saloon, with limited accommodation for lodgers in the upper stories. \textsuperscript{92} Thomas Keating and Mrs. Sullivan also established eating saloons. \textsuperscript{93} In Saint John during the visit, J. Kenny advertised apartments and meals in the

\textsuperscript{90} \textit{Morning Journal} July 25, 1860.

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Morning Journal} June 8, 1860; \textit{Evening Express} June 11, August 15, 1860, p. 2. The building was decorated with the city's new Kingfisher flag, and the Liverpool Band played in the evening—\textit{Morning Journal} August 3, 1860. "Will the Ranter" said of Stewart:

Stewart's pavilion stands out bright
It is a very pretty sight;
He is a cunning little wight;
    With a great head;
Fair play in justice and in right
    He takes the lead.

"Preparing for the Prince of Wales" in \textit{Morning Journal} July 11, 1860.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Morning Sun} June 8, 1860; \textit{Evening Express} June 11, July 16, 1860. Like Stewart, he decorated his new establishment in a patriotic manner, with a miniature of the Parker and Welsford memorial—\textit{Morning Journal} July 27, 1860.

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Morning Journal} July 25, 27, 1860.
Coffee House, while Thomas McColgan offered meals at the Exchange.94

Despite these efforts, in Saint John "no accommodation was to be got for money, and certainly not for love".95 The Morning News admitted that Saint John was considerably behind Boston in terms of the availability of respectable room and board, but contended that the city was at least ahead of Halifax.96 In Halifax, the shortage of rooms was such that J.D. Nash set up bedsteads in the street near his Variety Hall.97 Nicholas Augustus Woods, correspondent of the London Times, contended that beds in Halifax commanded "fancy prices", and many who were late could find no accommodation. Woods also complained that, because of the lack of accommodation, it was customary for people to "pig together" during meals and on mattresses on the floor, and that his hotel room was "the smoking and drinking room".98 The correspondent of the New York Herald contended that the "want of a decent hotel" made Halifax

94 Freeman August 2, 1860.
95 Woods The Prince of Wales, p. 49.
96 Morning News September 7, 1860.
97 Morning Journal July 30, 1860.
98 London Times in Novascotian September 3, 1860; British Colonist August 23, 1860; Morning Sun August 27, 1860.
the "most miserable town in North America".99 His claim that there was no one "enterprising enough" to take over the newly renovated Halifax Hotel was erroneous, for two entrepreneurs, including W.L. Stewart, had made offers to dispose of the lease of the hotel, but their offers had been rejected.100 The shortage of respectable hotels and hotel-keepers can be partially explained by the unrespectable nature of the establishments,101 where a good deal of drinking took place.102 The Freeman suggested that the drunkenness in Saint John during the visit could be blamed on the "fast young men" who drank in the hotels.103 Nonetheless, after the visit, the Morning News realized that "without first class Hotels...no City or Village, be it ever so well situated and pleasant, can expect to draw visitors".104

By the time of Saint John's Loyalist centennial in 1883, accommodation facilities were still inadequate.

99 New York Herald in Evening Express August 10, 1860. For similar comments, see "Ager" from Boston Post in Morning Sun August 10, 13, 14, 1860, and Toronto Leader in Halifax Reporter August 16, September 22, 1860.

100 Evening Express July 9, 13, August 5, 1860.

101 Acadian Recorder September 15, 1860.


103 Freeman September 13, 1860.

104 Morning News September 7, 1860.
Despite the establishment of the "Centennial Dining Hall" and the "Centennial Hotel", some celebrants were forced to camp out in doorsteps and hallways. The *St. John Globe* suggested that the city establish a hotel as a memorial of the Loyalist centennial, for the current lack of "suitable" hotels was "a poor encouragement to American neighbors to visit". In Halifax, visitors engaged hotel rooms a week before the golden jubilee. The *Acadian Recorder* estimated that at least one thousand guests resided in the various hotels in the city at this time.

In order for celebrations to become more effective tourist attractions, Saint John and Halifax not only needed better accommodations, but also more extensive advertising of the events themselves. Although the advertising industry grew in the late nineteenth century, the amount spent on the advertising of celebrations had changed little since mid-century. For example, while the committee in charge of Nova Scotia's celebration of the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860 allocated only £163 15s 5d...
of the total £4579 13s 1d to advertising, 110 Halifax's golden jubilee committee in 1887 spent only $118.11 of the $3056.34 Publicity was mainly confined to local newspapers, although sometimes American journals copied the notices. The organizers of Halifax's golden jubilee regatta did attempt to bill the event throughout the province, and in many of the towns in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Professor Sumichrast, a member of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Club, also went to New York to drum up some interest. 111 Nonetheless, these efforts were still insufficient, and organizers failed to draw American yachts to the event. 112 In his 1897 inaugural speech, Mayor Stephen of Halifax regretted the inadequate publicity of the city's diamond jubilee celebration. 113 Indeed, railway and steamship agents, such as the S.S. line and the Plant railway line, did most of the out-of-province advertising for the event. 114

110 Financial Account at the end of the Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, PANS.

111 Citizen June 15, 1887; Herald July 7, 1887; Critic July 15, 1887.

112 Critic August 26, 1887.

113 Daily Echo May 15, 1897.

114 Acadian Recorder May 26, 1897; Daily Echo May 19, 1887. Excursion rates from Mass.--Acadian Recorder May 20, 1897. The prominent role of these transportation agents was symbolized by the planting of a Royal Florida palm tree in Halifax's Public Gardens during the diamond jubilee on behalf of the American Plant line and railway
The formation of the New Brunswick tourism association in May 1897, followed shortly after by the Nova Scotia tourist association in October, answered the need for a more extensive and coordinated advertising effort. These provincial tourist organizations were dedicated to bringing visitors to the area "by making known various attractions existing here."115 It is no coincidence that both tourism associations were founded around the time of the diamond jubilee, when the need emerged for better advertising. The celebration of the diamond jubilee must thus be understood as a catalyst in the development of the more highly marketed, professionalised, and integrated tourism industry of the twentieth century.116

Throughout most of the Victorian period, the commercialization of celebrations remained in the hands of a largely unintegrated body of entrepreneurs, who stimulated and exploited consumer demand by offering a variety of goods and services—souvenirs and supplies, meals and shelter, transportation and entertainment.

115 Morrison "American Tourism in Nova Scotia", p. 42; Daily Echo May 19, 1897.

Commercialization not only benefited the entrepreneurs, but also provided working-class celebrants with the freedom to travel and to consume; in other words, the "collective power of the working-class purse" placed the control of celebrations in the "hands of the people themselves", and thus protected them from the "imposition of middle-class values".117

CONCLUSION

The celebration of Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilees in Halifax and Saint John in 1887 and 1897 sparked an interest in how the cities had observed festivities in the "bygone era" of the early nineteenth century. The Halifax Herald commented in 1897:

A retrospect embracing the various occasions of public rejoicing that have taken place in our midst and during the past sixty years would prove an interesting theme under any circumstances, but in view of the approaching celebration of the Diamond Jubilee, the subject is invested with special significance.

In Saint John, the Polymorphians revived the early Victorian custom of the ox roast during the diamond jubilee celebration. Retrospective press accounts looked back at the 1838 coronation celebration with nostalgia, as "one of the kind of things which they did better in olden

1 According to Roger Callois, celebrations seek to restore the "mythical era" and "primal chaos" of a "bygone era"—Roger Callois as quoted in Jean Duvignaud "Festivals: A Sociological Approach", Cultures, Vol. 3, no. 1, 1976, p. 15. For descriptions of coronation celebrations, see Acadian Recorder June 20, 1887, "Doesticks" in July 10, 1897; Daily Sun April 12, (also includes description of marriage celebration in 1840), June 18, 1887. For Saint John's railway celebration in 1853, see John Willet "How Saint John Celebrated in the Good Old Times", New Brunswick Historical Society Colls, Vol. 4, no. 11, 1914-28, pp. 238-76.

2 Halifax Herald June 15, 1897, in Lady Aberdeen's Scrapbook, 1897, p. 66, NAC.

3 See Chapter 3.
times." 4 The Acadian Recorder similarly commented in 1897 that "the day has gone by for devising efficient celebrations of any kind in Halifax". 5

Nostalgic commentators in Saint John and Halifax regarded early Victorian celebrations, in the words of Roger Caillois, as "paragons of collective communication", 6 particularly appreciating the extent to which they accommodated the public and the poor. Upon reviewing Saint John's celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation and marriage in 1840, the Daily Sun of 1887 noted "that on all public occasions they [the celebration organizers] remembered the poor and the unfortunate". 7 The institutionalized poor enjoyed special dinners and entertainments, while those in the streets participated in communal activities such as public feasts and general illuminations. 8 The large open common area in Halifax also fostered the popularity of folk sports among the lower orders.

Charitable and penal institutions continued to treat

4 Acadian Recorder July 10, 1897.
5 Acadian Recorder July 3, 1897.
6 Caillois in Duvignaud "Festivals", p. 15.
7 Daily Sun April 12, 1887.
8 For a discussion of these public activities, see "Doesticks" in Acadian Recorder July 10, 1897.
their inmates throughout the nineteenth century, but communal outdoor events like ox roasts and folk sports largely disappeared by the late Victorian period. The golden and diamond jubilee programs, like late nineteenth-century July 4th celebrations in the United States, were mainly comprised of processions, orations, concerts, and organized sporting events, and did not invite the same degree of public participation as earlier festivities. Indeed, as author Pierre de Coubertin commented in 1910: "the men of old possessed the feeling for collective movement which we have lost".

Class differentiation contributed to the decline of public participation in celebrations. By mid-century, the middle and upper working classes, who comprised the organizing committees of the celebrations, began to mark themselves off from the public by diverting the celebration funds from common amusements to more exclusive entertainments for themselves and other members of

9 The Halifax Herald's complaint that the city's golden jubilee program contained nothing substantial for the poor, infirm, aged, or the prisoners is not quite accurate, considering the special meals in the institutions--Herald June 20, 1887.


respectable society. The celebrations of the poor also suffered from the supervision and regulation of the civic and military authorities, who had a vested interest in maintaining public order, and the incursions of middle-class reformers—politicians, evangelicals, temperance advocates, and animal rights activists—who wished to suppress the "disreputable" elements of public celebration, such as rowdism, drunkenness, and animal sports, and promote instead more "respectable" festivities.

Organizers, reformers, and regulators did not, however, put forward a united front. Celebration organizers, for example, evinced class tensions, and personal and political divisions over the boundaries of their respective responsibilities and powers. Vacillation and dissension over the identity of the rightful practitioner of royal clemency led to the decline of the prerogative as a celebratory observance. The definition of the respectable celebration event varied considerably. Middle-class celebrants expressed respectability through the elegance and exclusivity of balls and banquets. Some members of the lower middle class also sacrificed their often meager earnings to attend such functions, in the hope of upward mobility. A correspondent named "Bluenose" ridiculed the efforts of "would-be elites" to impress their social betters at Halifax's coronation ball in 1838:
Tom, Dick, and Harry, tag rag, and bobtail, might have an opportunity of displaying their breeding before the wives and daughters of the big wigs; and the wives and daughters of the little wigs an opportunity of being laughed at by Tom, Dick, and Harry, by Lord Somebody, and the honble Mr. Nobody, or the red-coat and blue-coat schools.12

Parades and processions also articulated respectability through social display and the definition of social distance. Although lower middle-class citizens marched as members of voluntary organizations, master tradesmen defined a more class-oriented respectability, based on craft pride and a sense of corporate identity. The "middling strata" was not, however, united in its appreciation for gaudy exhibitions as expressions of respectability. Evangelical and temperance advocates defined respectability, not as the outward manifestation of status, but as the embodiment of public morality. They objected to the garish pageantry of processions, and the gregariousness of balls and banquets, and public feasts. Moral reformers also censured the drunkenness, disorder, and cruelty of animal sports like the horse race, which, in 1860, engendered divisions within the Halifax city council, and between the aldermen and the citizens. Instead, evangelical and temperance supporters attempted to rationalize the existing celebrations, or offer an array of morally respectable alternatives. When they did

12 *Times* May 22, 1838.
participate in parades, temperance organizations presented a staid and solemn spectacle.

While the "agents of respectability" did enjoy a degree of success, they were not sufficiently unified to produce substantive results without the assistance of other factors. Indeed, urbanization and the associated processes of bureaucratization and institutionalization, helped to break down the rural and communal context of early Victorian celebrations. Cultural changes, such as the decline of English customs, and the development of different tastes and preferences also contributed to the disappearance of ox roasts and folk sports.

By 1894, the Morning Chronicle commented regarding public celebrations:

Climbing greased poles and chasing greased pigs round the common has been superseded by more rational and aesthetic enjoyments. There is not so much boisterous hilarity, perhaps, but after all there is more real enjoyment.13

These more "rational and aesthetic enjoyments" were rarely as inclusive as the events "under attack".14 Indeed, temperance soirées effectively excluded the "unscrubbed" by restricting ticket sales to members of the temperance organizations, and by enforcing stringent standards of behaviour and appearance. The founding of memorials

13 Morning Chronicle May 25, 1894.

encouraged greater middle-class female involvement in celebrations, but offered no immediate gratification for the poor. Furthermore, the enforced participation of children in school demonstrations separated children from their parents, and interfered with family plans for the celebrations. Parades and processions often involved subordinate groups, such as blacks, Indians, women, and children, but catered primarily to white men from the middle and respectable working classes. The limited number of participants in parades and processions meant that they were less prone to disorder than the more public events, which probably accounts for the procession's relative immunity from the assaults of the reformers. Despite a decrease in direct participation, the poor were still called on to pay for public celebrations through civic assessment.

By the late nineteenth century, the emergence of organized spectator sports reinforced the transformation of public celebrations from participatory events to "spectacles", characterized by a bicameral distinction between actor and audience. Spectacles, however, were a "dynamic form", demanding "action, change, and exchange", not only on the part of the "human actors on centre stage", but from the audience as well.


16 MacAlloon "Olympic Games", p. 244.
passive on-lookers, many spectators in nineteenth-century celebrations indirectly participated in the proceedings, by gambling, cheering, and insulting the players at organized sports, or by joining in celebratory processions.

The emergence of commercialized alternatives like organized sports, theatrical performances, excursions, and a whole range of consumable goods and service, gave Victorians the freedom to choose how they wished to celebrate. Commercialization provided an escape from the "should" and "ought" of ritual, allowing celebrants to "fabricate" their own "alternatives".17 As Brian Harrison has noted, it was the entrepreneur, not the reformer, or the celebration organizer, who "filled the recreational gap created by the decline of old leisure patterns".19 Entrepreneurial efforts to indulge the consumer demands of visitors as well as residents completed the conversion of celebrations from public rituals into marketable tourist attractions.


APPENDIX 1

General Committee, Queen Victoria's Coronation Celebration, Halifax, 1838

Chair: James Boyle Unlacke—executive councillor, barrister
Secretary: James Stewart Clarke—barrister

Almon, Mather Byles—barrister
Archibald, Samuel G.W.—attorney-general, speaker of house of assembly, barrister
Binney, Stephen—merchant
Cunard, Edward, jr.—lawyer, businessman
DeBlois, Stephen W.—merchant and auctioneer
Hartshorne, Lawrence—hardware dealer, member for Dartmouth
Jeffrey, T.N.—executive councillor, collector of customs
McNab, James—merchant
Richardson, Andrew—excise dept.
Sawyer, J.J.—J.P., high sheriff
Starr, John Leander—merchant, shipbuilder, entrepreneur
Tobin, Michael, jr.—merchant
Tobin, M.—merchant, executive councillor
Wallace, Charles W.—provincial treasurer
Wallace, Edward—
Young, William—M.P.P., barrister

General Committee, Queen Victoria's Nuptial Celebration, Saint John, 1840

Payard, William—physician, coroner
Besnard, Peter—
Black, William—executive councillor, merchant, shipper
Boyd, Dr.—physician
Druy, Charles—registrar of deeds and wills
Gray, John H.—barrister
Hazen, Robert F.—mayor, barrister
Hazen, Robert L.—barrister
Jack, William—barrister
Jarvis, Edward L.—merchant
Johnston, Charles—barrister
Partelow, John R.—merchant
Perley, Moses H.—barrister, naturalist
Peters, James W.—barrister
Peter, James, jr.—barrister, Common Clerk
Pollok, John—merchant
Ritchie, William J.—barrister
Robinson, George D.—merchant
Street, Alfred L.--barrister
Stewart, Charles C.--
Thurgar, John V.--merchant
Wright, William--shipbuilder

Managing Committee, Celebration of the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax, 1860

Members of N.S. Executive Council:
Howe, Joseph
Johnston, James W
McCully, Jonathon
Wier, Benjamin
Young, William

Members of N.S. Legislative Council:
Almon, Mather Byles
Kenny, Edward, president

Hon. Members for City and County
Mayor Samuel Caldwell

Members of the City Council
Sheriff and Recorder
Judges:
Bliss
Stewart
Wilkins

Other members:
Cochran, James--merchant
Coleman, William--merchant
Compton, John T.--editor of Evening Express
Cunard, William--merchant
Davis, Robert--builder
Drillio, George--editor of Daily Reporter and Times
Findlay, William--architect
Kenny, Thomas, sr.--merchant
McCulloch, John--silversmith
McKenzie, George--editor of Halifax Reporter
Mitchell, Thomas—founder
Mott, John P.—soap and candle manufacturer, Dartmouth
Northup, Jeremiah—merchant
Penney, W.—proprietor and publisher of
Halifax Journal
Phelan, Cornelius—Lt. in Volunteer Fire Co. No. 1
Power, Patrick—dry goods merchant
Ritchie, John W.—barrister
Robson, Charles—merchant, Dartmouth
Smithers, George—painter
Stairs, William—hardware merchant
Taylor, John—merchant
Tupper, Charles—physician, M.P.P.
Uniacke, Andrew M.—barrister
Walsh, Thomas—
Wetmore, Robert—guilder
Wilson, James—distiller

General Committee, Natal Day Celebration, Halifax, 1862

Secretary: William Garvie—editor & proprietor of Halifax Citizen
Ackhurst, William—alderman, commission merchant
Anderson, George R.—messenger, Bank of Nova Scotia, Capt. of Victoria Rifles
Barnstead, Charles—tannery
Bulger, Peter—Capt. of 1st Irish Co. Volunteers
Caldwell, Samuel R.—chairman of fire dept., blacksmith
Campbell, J.B.—policeman
Chearnley, William—Capt. of Chebucto Greys, Commandant of N.S. Volunteers
Cochran, M.—commission merchant
Cogswell, James C.—barrister
Compton, John T.—alderman, editor of Evening Express
Drillio, George—editor of Daily Reporter and Times
Duggan, James—alderman, grocer
Fraser, George—Capt. of Mayflower Rifles
Gray, George G.—grocer
Jones, Alfred G.—1st Lt. of 1st Halifax Regiment
Kenny, Thomas E.—Capt. of Halifax Rifles
Lyons, Patrick—Lt. of Union Engine Co.
MacKinlay, Andrew K.—Capt. of Scottish Volunteer Rifles
Manning, W.C.—no occupation listed
McIlreith, M.—tailor and gent's furnishings
McIntosh, ??—
Morrow, Robert—merchant
Nash, J.D.—alderman, auctioneer
Noble, Robert, sr.—hardware merchant
Pallister, T.—Capt. of ??
Phalen, Edward—Lt. of Union Engine Co.
Pryor, Henry—M.P.P., barrister
Pugh, ??—Capt. of ??
Roome, alderman—alderman,
Scott, Archibald—insurance agent
Shannon, S.L.—barrister
Smithers, George—painter
Smithers, J.—Captain of Union Fire Protection Co.
Tobin, John—M.P.P., merchant
Townsend, William T.—gauger
Tremain, R.—Captain of Halifax Volunteer Artillery
Whytal, John L.—boot and shoe maker
Willis, John R.—National School
Yates, George S.—boots and shoe maker
Managing Committees, Golden Jubilee, Saint John, 1887

Federal Government M.P.'s:
Boyd, John
Dever, James, Senator
Ellis, John V.
Lewin, J.D., Senator
Skinner, Charles N.
Weldon, Charles W.

Provincial Government M.P.P.'s:
Alward, Silas
Berryman, John
Jones, T.R., Legislative Council
McLellan, David, Provincial Secretary
Quinton, W.A.
Ritchie, R.J., Solicitor General
Stockton, A.A.

Other Members:
Allan, Harris—brass founder and ship hardware
Allen, George W.—barrister
Allen, W. Watson—barrister
Almon, Lewis J.—barrister, insurance agent
Armstrong, J.R.—barrister, Lt. Col. in N.B. Artillery
Ashe, John F.—barrister
Barker, George A.—druggist
Blaine, A.A.—Lt. Col. in 62nd Fusiliers, book binder
Brittain, Samuel L.—fish inspector
Carvill, William B.—iron merchant
Clark, J.A.—lumber merchant
Clark, W.—Capt.
Cruikshank, Robert—grocer
Daniel, John W.—physician
DeVeber, J.S. DeBoles—County Treasurer
Earle, Sylvester Z.—physician
Ervine, William J.—painter
Estey, James A.—dealers in rubber and leather
Everitt, Arthur—dry goods, wholesale importer
Finlay, Andrew—dry goods merchant
Finn, Michael A.—liquor merchant
Fraser, J. Fen.—clerk
Fulton, Robert—boatman customs
Furlong, Thomas—book agent
Gallagher, M.H.—grocers and liquor merchants
Gilmour, John W.—manager of Daily Telegraph
Grant, J. Macgregor—insurance broker
Hall, Thomas H.—book dealer
Harding, George F.—water commissioner and tax collector
Harding, James A.—High Sheriff
Hunter, Thomas—dry goods merchant
Hutton, Samuel—tide waiter, customs
Jack, D. Russell—insurance agent, Spanish Consul
Jack, I. Allen—barrister, Recorder
Jackson, John—sailmaker
Jones, Simeon—brewer
Kickham, Thomas—harness maker
King, Charles—liquor merchant
Knight, R.M.—druggist
Leah, John H.—painter
Macauley, Alexander—dry goods importers
Macdonald, Charles A.—barrister
McArthur, Robert D.—druggist
McAvity, Thomas, Jr.—hardware dealers
McCullough, Henry A.—dry goods merchant
McLean, Major Hugh H.—62nd Fusiliers, barrister
McMillan, John—publisher, printer
Merritt, William H.—grocer
Nevins, Charles—salesman
O'Brien, Richard—printer, publisher
Olive, Isaac J.—ship builder
Peters, B. Lester—stipendiary magistrate, common clerk of common council
Powers, E.A.—book and job printer, publisher
Quigley, Richard F.—barrister
Robertson, George—grocer
Ross, Elijah—race boat builder, spoon oar maker
Sears, Edward, Jr.—no occupation listed
Seely, Capt. George B.—barrister
Smith, George F.—ship broker, commission merchant
Sturdee, Major Edward T.—62nd Fusiliers, accountant, water commissioners
Thorne, W.H.—hardware dealer
Tole, James—grocer
Vroom, William E.—insurance agent
Walker, Thomas—physician
Warner, Gen. Darius B.—mill owner, U.S. consul
Wetmore, Edwin J.—secty of S.P C.A.
Wilkins, S.W.—dry goods merchant
Wilson, Jarvis—lumber merchant
Subcommittees:

Oratorio and Music Festival

Chairman: A.A. Stockton--*

Alward, Silas--*
Barker, Frederick E.--barrister
Baskin, William D.--alderman, grocer
Boyd, John--*
Ellis, J.V.--*
Everitt, Charles A.--clothing dealer
Gilmor, John W.--*
Hall, Thomas T.--*
Jack, I. Allen--*
Jones, Simeon--*
Lawrence, Joseph W.--secty of N.B.H.S.
Reynolds, James--no occupation listed
Ritchie, R.J.--*
Robertson, T.N.--alderman, printer, publisher
Ruel, James R.--collector and registrar of shipping
Tufts, Samuel--alderman, grocer
Weldon, C.W.--*
Woodburn, James R.--alderman, confectioner

Regatta:

Chairman: Smith, A.C.--druggist

Allen, W. Watson--*
Barker, G.A.--*
Belyea, James W.--alderman, fisherman
Berryman, J.M.D.--*
Carvill, W.B.--*
Clark, J. A.--*
Daniel, J.W.--*
Davis, George A.--alderman, barrister
Emerson, Charles--alderman, tinsmith
Fulton, Robert--*
Gallagher, M.H.--*
Hutton, Samuel--*
Morrison, John F.--alderman, clerk
McCarthy, Patrick--alderman
McGivern, Richard P.--alderman, coal merchant
McLellan, David--*
Peters, B. Lester--*
Price, George—tide waiter, customs
Ross, Elijah--*
Skinner, Charles N.--*
Smith, George F.--*
Stackhouse, James O.--alderman, ship wright
Thorne, W.H.--*
Troop, H.D.--ship owner, ship chandler
Vroom, W.E.--*
Walker, Thomas W.--*

Fireworks and Illuminations:

Chairman: Kerr, John--chief of fire dept.

Ashe, John E.--*
Blackadar, Fred--crockery and china
Blizzard, Stephen G.--alderman
Frink, R.W.W.--insurance
Jack, D. R.--*
Kickham, Thomas--*
Lantalum, Edward--alderman, junk dealer
Leah, John H.--*
McCulloch, H.A.--*
Payne, Robert A.--editor of Daily Sun
Wilson, John--book-keeper

N.B. Artillery:

Chairman: Armstrong, Lt. Col. J.R.--*

Armstrong, Major A.J.--paymaster and supt of militia stores
Seeley, Capt. George B.--*

62nd Fusiliers:

Chairman: Blaine, Lt. Col. A.A.--*

McLean, Major H.H.--*
Sturdee, Major E.J.--*

Bands and Music:

Chairman: Mayor Thorne--*

Armstrong, Lt. Col.--*
Blaine, Lt. Col.--*
Jordan, James G.--alderman, ship broker
McNichol, James—merchant tailor
O'Brien, Richard—*
Quigley, R.F.—*
Sears, Edward, jr.—*
Smith, Albert C.—alderman, druggist

Railway and Steamboat Fares:

Chairman: Thorne, W.H.—*

Cruikshank, Robert—*
Everitt, Arthur—*
Jones, T.R.—*
Manchester, James—dry goods merchant
Masters, Charles—manufacturers and dealers in china, glass, earthenware
McAvity, T., jr.—*
McMillan, John—*
Robertson, George—*

*—previously mentioned

Managing Committees, Diamond Jubilee, Saint John, 1897

General Committee:
Armstrong, John R.—Lt. Col., barrister
Barry, James—principal of St. Malachi's School
Berryman, D.E.—physician
Christie, James—physician
Clark, Charles A.—grocer
Codner, H.—reporter on St. John Globe, rep. of I.O.O.F.
Godsoe, Frank A.—dentist
Hazen, J.D.—barrister
Henderson, George A.—police clerk, police magistrate
Lewis, William—shipsmiths, manufacturers of iron and railroad work
Maxwell, Robert—contractor
McKinney, Robert W.—printer
Pore, Rev. Dr. Henry—Methodist clergyman
Read, Rev. John—Methodist clergyman
Robertson, George—Mayor, wholesale grocer
Scott, Snowdon D.—editor of the Sun
Skinner, A.C.—
Ladies Committee of the Free Public Library (Husband's Occupation):

Foster, Mrs. Frank H.—merchant tailor
Phillips, Mrs. Alexander M.—broker
Skinner, Miss M. Manning—no occupation listed
Tuck, Mrs. W.H.—chief justice, supreme court

Local Women's Council:

McLellan, Mrs. Fanny B.—widow
Peters, Miss—
Smith, Mrs. E.W.F.—widow

Subcommittees:

Finance:

Chair: Jarvis, William M.—barrister

Christie, William—alderman, physician
Daniel, John W.—alderman, physician
DeBury, Robert V. Count—no occupation listed
Macauley, Alexander—dry goods importer
McAvity, Thomas—hardware manufacturer and dealer
O'Brien, Richard—proprieter and publisher of St. John Globe
Robertson, James F.—dry goods merchant
Robinson, T.B.—insurance agent
Sears, Edward—no occupation listed
Smith, Alfred C.—druggist
Thorne, William H.—hardware merchant

Bands and Music:

Christie, James—*
Godsoe, Frank A.--*  
Maxwell, Robert--*  
Reynolds, James--pres. of Relief Society  
Smith, I.E.--*  

Parade:

Chair: Hazen, J.D.--*  
Secretary: Robinson, John I.--cashier, C.P.R. Tel. Co.

Allan, W.C.R.--druggist  
Armstrong, J.R.--barrister, Lt. Col.  
Berryman, D.E.--*  
Blaine, Arbuthnot A.--book binder, Col.  
Blake, George--plumber  
Brown, C.E.--  
Carleton, John L.--barrister  
Ellis, Frank B.--reporter on the Globe  
Gleeson, David--cashier customs  
Kickham, Thomas--harness maker  
Killen, Thomas--blacksmith  
Skinner, A.O.--*  
Wilson, J.E.--alderman

Fireworks and Illuminations:

Allan, W.C.R.--*  
Berryman, D.E.--*  
Blake, George--plumber  
Brown, C.E.--*  
Ellis, F.B.--*  
Gleeson, Davis--*  
Kerr, John--chief of fire dept., barrister  
Killen, Thomas--*  
McGardrick, John--alderman, junk dealer  
Skinner, A.O.--*  
Wilson, John E.--alderman, galvanized iron worker

Railway and Steamboat:

Fisher, W.S.--stove dealer  
Merritt, G.W.--wholesale grocer  
McArthur, Douglas--alderman, stationary and wall paper dealer  
Pitfield, Ward C.--wholesale dry goods merchant  
Sealy, John--wholesale grocer  
Woodburn, James R.--machinist
Hotels and Accommodation:

Cornwall, Ira—insurance agent, secty. of St. John Board of Trade
Edwards, Matthew B.—insurance agent
Everitt, Charles A.—secty. and manager of Exhibition Assn.
Foster, Frank—merchant tailor
Lewis, William—*
Millidge, Thomas—alderman, barrister
McSorley, George—barrister
Tilley, Herbert C.—insurance agent

*—previously mentioned
APPENDIX 2

Polymorphians Prize Committee, 1882

Simeon Jones—Mayor, brewer
Andrew Emery—"A. Emery & Co", grocer, and "Jones & Emery", iron knee manufacturer
George V. Nowlin—no occupation listed
R.J. Richey—painter
Arthur C. Smith—"A.C. Smith & Co", druggist

Haymarket Square Polymorphians, Officers, 1883

Pres: Chas Nevins—clerk
Vice: Wm. McAdoo—ship joiner
    David McQuarrie—conductor, ICR
    James Morrison—
Secty: James Fraser—ship carpenter
John Simonds—brush maker
R. Wilkins—painter
Samuel Wilkins—accountant

Polymorphian Procession, 1883
(New members, not mentioned above)

Cabin:
Callaghan, D.--
Caver, M.--
Dunlop, J.--
Foley, J.--
Kelly, John--
McQuade, John—laborer
Morrell, G.--
Patterson, D.--
Sullivan R.--
Willis, John—stonecutter

Ship cabin:
AswalD, Wilder--
Carr, Mrs.--
Clarkins (Clarkin), Wm—ship carpenter
Dunlop, Mrs--
Ellingham, E.--
Ewing (Ewing), Rbt—laborer
Griffin, John—millman
Hannah, Mrs.--
Kimble (Kimball), Albert—clerk
Mackin, Mrs.--
McAdoo, Jerry—shipjoiner
McCarthy, Wm.--
Orbell, W.--
Smith, Chas.--
Tait, Wm.--
Tobin, John—ship carpenter
Ward, Robert--carpenter
Wilson, Wm.--

Irish Jaunting Car:
Carney, Jas—blacksmith
O'Neil, Daniel--"O'Neil Bros", victuallers
Pike, Geo--teamster
Turnball, George--

Bridal party:
Claney (Clancey), Jas—laborer
Kingston, Walter--baggage master, ICR
Kingston, Walter--baggage master, ICR
Noble, J.--
O'Neil, J.T.--
Stailing, Wm.--
Woody, Wm.--

Tally Ho Coach:
Day, J.A,--
DeArborn, Master--
DeArborn, Miss--
Folsom, S.J.--
Jones, TJ--pattern maker
Saunders, J.J.--
Stevens, Miss A.G.--
Stevens, B.--
Stevens, D.B.--
Thompson, Nettie--

Knights in Armor and Officers:
Fraser, J--ship carpenter
Love, Wm--bookkeeper
Marshall, James L.--
McAdoo, Wm.--
Wilkins, Samuel--accountant
Woods, Edward--

Artillery:
Clawson, Samuel--painter
Pye, P.--
Wilkins, T.--

104th Rgt:
Barlow--
Clawson, Joshua--teller, Bank of NB
Lafferty, Robt--blacksmith's helper
Manning, George--
McQuarrie, David--conductor, ICR
Nixon, J.--
Roulston, Joseph--customs appraiser and packer
Simond, J.A.--

Haymarket Square Polymorphians, Officers, 1887

Pres. Chas Nevins--salesman, spar merchant
Vices: J. Fenwick Fraser--clerk
    Robert J. Wilkins--painter
    John Slater, Jr.--merchant tailor
    Chas Jackson--sailmaker
Sergt-at-arms: John Doherty--
Asst Sergt-at-arms: Geo. A. Campbell--millman
Secty: WH Love--"Scott, Lawton, & Love", Builders and Planing Mills
Asst secty: F. Goodere--tailor
Treas: David McQuarrie--conductor, ICR

Haymarket Square Polymorphians, Membership, 1887

Allingham, Edward--brakeman, ICR
Alston, Wm--last maker
Alward, Louis--
Armstrong, Beverly--
Barker, Geo A--Druggist and Apothecary
Baxter, Herbert W--clerk
Belyea, David--teamster
Belyea, W.R.--
Berryman, Alex--
Bertram, Jas--laborer, ICR
Black, Samuel--
Bourke, Wm H--printer
Brooks, John A.--clerk
Buchanan--
Byrne, Joseph--
Calvert, Chas--gardener
Cameron, Joseph W.--picture framer
Campbell, Norman--
Campbell, Wilfred--
Campbell, Wm J--currier
Carney, Jas.--
Carr, Robt--engineer, ICR
Clawson, Jas--engineer
Clawson, Samuel--painter
Coyle, Andrew--wheel wright
Cox, Wm--Fireman, driver No 1 hose cart
Crawford, Wm--
Crookshank, Arthur--baggage master
Dalzell, Fred—Electric Light Works
Day, George R—teamster
Deneh, Robert--
DeVae, C.N.--
Dick, Oscar--stevedore
Doherty, John--
Donahoe, John--no occupation given
Donaghy, Andrew--
Dooley, M.J.--
Dryden, H.--
Duncan, Alex--laborer
Dunlop, W.--
Evans, W.E.--
Farmer, Arthur--clerk
Farmer, R Jr.--clerk
Ferguson, Fred--clerk
Foley, John E--victualler
Foss, F.--
Foster, James--printer
Fraser, James--seaman
Fraser, J Fenwick--clerk
Frost, George D--clerk
Givan, Chas F--photographer
Godsoe, Oscar--employee, ICR
Goodwin, AL--wholesale fruit and commission merchant
Gough, Arthur--moulder
Graham, James--
Graham, John--milk dealer
Greenwood, P.--
Gregg, Arthur--bookbinder
Griffan, John--
Goodere, J Frank--tailor
Hall, Jas--Captain
Higgins, Michael--"WJ Higgins & Co", merchant tailors
Hopkins, John--victualler and sausage maker
Hunter, Andrew--locksmith
Hunter, W.--
Jackson, Chas--sailmaker
Jackson, George--
Jackson, Robt--sailmaker
James, C.--
Johnston, Robert--
Kee, Samuel--teamster
Kerr, Robert S--"Miranda & Kerr", confectionary, wholesale and retail
Kiloran (Killorn), Patrick--mason
Lafferty, Robt--cabinetmaker
Leetch, Chas H--clerk
Love, Wm H--"Scott, Lawton & Love", Builders and Planing Mill
Madigan, Rich--stone cutter
Malcolm, Wm.--
Manson, Jas.--
Markham, Alfred--
Marshall, Fred--painter
Matthews, Joseph--mason
McAdoo, Geo--painter
McAdoo, WJ--ship carpenter
McAllister, John--grocer
McAndrews, G.--
McCann, Patrick--fruit dealer
McCarthy, Geo V--clerk
McCarthy, M.--
McCarthy, W.--
McDade, John--painter
McDade, Wesley--
McDade, W.J.--
McDevitt, Thos--clerk
McGillvary, Neil--
McKenzie, E.--
McLaughlin (McLauchlin), Wm--clerk
McLean, Sheppard J--barber
McQuade, John--fireman
McQuarrie, Daniel--carpenter, ICR
McQuarrie, David--conductor, ICR
McRobbie, Malcolm--commercial traveller
Meehan, Thos.--
Melvin, Robt J--bookkeeper
Moore, Wm.--
Morrison, John F--alderman, clerk
Murdock(h), Joseph A--bookbinder
Nelson, John--fireman, Gas Works
Nicholas (Nichols) Chris--barber
Nicholl (Nichols) Robt--brass finisher
Nixon, Jas--carpenter
Nixon, Robt--liquors
Noble, Joseph I--boot and shoemaker
Nugent, Robert--
O'Shaughnessy, Robt--"R. O'Shaughnessy & Co", manufacturer of trunks, satchells, etc...
Patchell, I--laborer
Patterson, Chas--bookkeeper
Patterson, Samuel--
Paul, Alex--painter
Paul, G--laborer
Petch, Gus--printer
Peters, Thos W--barrister, alderman
Pinney, J.--
Ramsay, David--
Rawlings, Rich Jr.--employee, ICR
Rawlings, Capt Rich--Chief of Police
Richey, Samuel--clerk
Ritchie (Richey), Samuel--machinist
Ross, John R--grocer
Ross, Louis—
Ross, Rod—grocer
Scott, Clement R—bookkeeper
Scott, Walter—dry goods
Selfridge, John—tinsmith
Simon, John A—physician (business and home at Haymarket Sq)
Slack, Rich—coal dealer
Slater, John Jr.—merchant tailor
Steele, John—
Stephenson, A.F.—
Sterling, Edward—engine cleaner, ICR
Sterling, Jas.—
Storey, Wm J—warehouseman
Sullivan, Patrick—
Thomas, John F—axlemaker
Thompson, Alex—
Thompson, John—
Thompson, Oliver—rigger
Warren, Fred—
Wilkins, Rob J—painter
Wilkins, SW—dry goods
Williamson, Arthur—sailmaker
Williams, Moses—laborer
Williams, W.—
Wilson, Alfred—ropemaker
Wilson, Andrew E—ropemaker

Haymarket Square Darktown Fire Brigade, 1887
(Members not mentioned above)

Boyd, James—
Burke, John—
Burns, James—
Cahers, Wm—commercial traveller
Christie, John—sparmaker
Connolly, Edward—
Damery, Thomas—
Dinsmore, Jas—janitor, Victoria School Building
Evans, Edward—tinsmith
Foss, Lorne—dyer
Kennedy, Edward—
Leech, Chas—clerk
Lowry (Lowrey), John—tide waiter, customs
Mullin, Wm.—
Seeds, Samuel—machinist
Smith, John—
Stewart, Andrew—millman
Tufts--
Vaughan, Walter--clerk
Williams, Arthur--clerk

Haymarket Square Armoured Lancers, 1887

Donahue, A.--Fraser, James E--draughtsman
Knodell, Chas--clerk
Magee, J.--
Millican, Samuel--laborer
McLean, S--barber
O'Regan, John--
Patchell, J.--

Haymarket Square Zulus, 1887

Case, John--grocer
Crawford, G.--
Dalton, R.--
Davis, W.--
Diamond, Wm--waiter
Donahue, Eugene--
Driscoll, N.--
Duffy, G.--
Duncan, John--baker
Gleeson, F.--
Hayter, F.--
Leslie, Steve--barber
McAfee, J.--
McAfee, Samuel--laborer
McCann, M.--
McFarlane, Cyrus--carpenter
McLaughlin, Henry--clerk
McQuarrie, H.--
Moody, J.--
Rafferty, John--boiler maker
Shea, A.--
Simpson, Jas--book keeper
Thompson, J.--
Thompson, S.--
Wilson, E.--

Haymarket Square Blind Half-Hundred, 1887

Cooper, R.J.--
Goodier (Goodere), Frank--tailor
Griffin, Daniel--car builder
Hanlon, Geo--laborer
McDade, West--
McKenzie, Wm.--
McLeod, Jas--ship carpenter
McNeill, John--printer
Milligan (Millican), Jas--conductor, ICR
Myers, Chas.--
Peacock, Jas--millman
Penny, John--
Ramsay, Thos--laborer
Sutcliffe, Alfred--
Warn, Fred--shoe cutter
Wilson, Thos--bartender

Haymarket Square Blind Half-Hundred Band, 1887

Boden, John--barrister
Carpenter, G.--
Dairn, J.--
Finn, J.--
Harrington, J.--
Hoyt, S.--
Lockhart, H.--
Low (Lowe) Jas--no occupation listed
Marshall, Thos--clerk
McManus, M.J.--
Murphy, Francis--carpenter
O'Neill (O'Neil), Felix--restauranteer
Quigley, Wm--tailor
Ring, W.--
Sheeham, Wm.--
Sheehan, Cornelius--trunk maker

Haymarket Square Band Stand, 1887

Angevine, Louis--
Dunn, Harry--
Irvin, Orvell--
Irvin, R.--
Jenkinson, Wm.--
McBride, Herbert--
McGinlay, Wm.--
Phillips, Andrew--
Tait, Hugh--

Haymarket Square Canada, 1887

Belyea, Annie--
Belyea, Hossie--
Belyea, Janie--
Climo, Lillie--
Graham, Laurie—
Jackson, Martha—
Jackson, Sadie—
Morrison, Miss—
Munroe, Katie—
McBride, Josie—
McQuarrie, Sadie—
Rennick, Nettie—
Rodgers, Mary—
Ross, Bella—
Saunders, B.—
Thomas, Lottie—
Vanwart, Nettie—
Warren, Laura—
White, Maggie—

Haymarket Square's Fairyland, 1887

Benson, Lillie—
Blair, Tessie—
Higgins, Miss—
Mills, Maud—
Munro, Laura—
Myers, Beauty—
McDade, Tillie—
McQuarrie, Josie—
Neil, Bell—
Northrup, Gertie—
Ross, Crissie—
Rusk, Gertie—
Rusk, Tessie—
Portland Polymorphians, Officers, 1887

Pres: John Johnston—Chief Engineer, fire dept
Vice: Chas F Brown—crockeryware
2nd Vice: Rich Rawlings—Chief of Police, Portland
Sergt-at-arms: Herbert Eagles—surveyor
Secty: Robert H Rubins—tailor
Asst Secty: Frank E. Williams
Treas: Duncan Lingley—no occupation listed
Marshal: Herbert Howe—laborer

Portland Polymorphians, Members, 1887

Andrews, John—blacksmith
Austin, MD Jr.—clerk
Black, Alex—
Black, Geo T—"Black & Thompson", livery stable
Black, Jas—bus driver
Bradley, Wm—no occupation listed
Brown, Hazen—ship carpenter
Brown, John—teamster
Carvill (Carvell) Fred—"Carvell & Sons", beer manufacturers
Chapman, Arthur C—millman
Chesley, Purdy—engineer
Colwell, Melvin—
Corkery, Joseph—
Creig, Herbert—
Cunningham, Fred—carriage maker
Duffy, John—
Eagles, E Herbert—surveyor
Eagles, George—teamster
Elliot, Rolly—captain, steam tug
Gallo, F—carpenter
Giggy, Hiram—
Gorham, Frank—cutter and presser
Hammond, Frank—clerk
Horncastle, Joseph—
Irvine, Joseph—printer
Irvine, Wm—salesman
Lingley, Fred—laborer
Lloyd, John—millman
Mason, Herbert—
Maxwell, John—
McConnell, Robt—grocer
Patterson (Paterson), Rob—jeweller
Patterson, Wm—
Ritchie, Chipman—carriage trimmer
Ritchie, Francis W—moulder
Rogers (Rodgers) H—laborer
Rubins, Alex—tailor
Salmon, John—photographer
Sarah (Sarrah), Joseph—blacksmith
Smalley, Frank--
Smith, Jas W--victualler
Spearin, Frank--manufs agent
Stevens, Isaac--policeman, ICR
Stevens, R LeBaron--surveyor
Watts (Watt), John--carpenter
White, R--painter
Williams, James--

Portland's Five Decades of Victoria's Reign, 1887
(New members, not mentioned above)

Black, James--
Brayley, Wm--fisherman
Brown, Andrew--
Brown, Bert--salesman
Brown, F.--
Chamberlain, James--
Chapman, A--millman
Duffey, James--
Elliot, Miss--Maxwell, H--"H Maxwell & Son", lumber merchants
Elliot, Edward--scowman
Gray, Miss--
Gregg, Herbert--clerk
Hannah, Thos B--ledger clerk, Bank of NA
Johnston, Wm.--
McBeath, Eli--salesman
Miller, S.--
Rawlings, Miss--
Rubins, Mrs. John--wife of merchant tailor
Salmon, Miss--
Sutherland, Leishman--salesman
Vincent, GR--barrister, alderman
Vincent, Mrs.--
Weatherall, Miss--

Portland's Queen's Drawing Room, 1887

Brown, Harry--
Chesley, Edith--
Chesley, Harry--
Chesley, Louise--
Courtney, Miss Lily--
Flewelling, Lizzie--
Gorham, Master--
Gregory, Robbie--
Grogan, Jennie--
Shaw, Annie--
Shaw, Maggie--
Smith, Florie--
Smith, Hazel--
Smith, Marion--
Smith, Willard--
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professionals</th>
<th>Merchants/Industrialists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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**White Collar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baggage master, ICR</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank teller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book keeper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductor, ICR</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs appraiser and packer</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Skilled Tradesmen**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith's helper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush maker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern maker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship joiner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone cutter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Semi-Skilled**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teamster</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Unskilled**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>Merchants/Industrialists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barristers</td>
<td>Trunk manufacturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Collar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baggage master, ICR 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book keeper 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief of Police 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductor, ICR 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draughtsman 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fireman 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tide waiter, customs 1</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small Businessmen</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barber 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal dealer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial traveller 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionary 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druggist 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry goods 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Light Works 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit dealer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit merchant 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant tailor 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk dealer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restauranteer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spar Merchant 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victualler 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skilled Tradesmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Axlemaker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiler maker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book binder 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot and shoemaker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brakeman, ICR 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass finisher 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet maker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car builder 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, ICR 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currier 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engine cleaner, ICR 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer, ICR 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locksmith 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinist 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sail maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spar maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinsmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Service Occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar tender</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouseman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Semi-Skilled**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stevedore</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamster</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
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**Unskilled**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer, ICR</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**No Occupation listed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
## Portland Polymorphians, 1887

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professionals</th>
<th>Merchants/Industrialists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrister</td>
<td>Lumber merchants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer's agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>Small Businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Engineer, fire dept</td>
<td>Beer brewers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief of police</td>
<td>Crockeryware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policeman, ICR</td>
<td>Jeweller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>Livery stables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Photographer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steam tug captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Tradesmen</td>
<td>Victualler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage maker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage trimmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutter and presser</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship carpenter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus driver</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scowman</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamster</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No occupation listed</th>
<th>2</th>
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</table>
APPENDIX 3

Women's Memorial Hall Commission, 1882

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEMBERS</th>
<th>HUSB.'S OCCUPATION OR INDEPENDENT STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>President:</strong></td>
<td>brewer, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Simeon Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secty/Treasurer:</strong></td>
<td>brother of Alderman Skinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.M. Skinner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Mrs. Robert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Mrs. W.H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan, Mrs. Harris</td>
<td>brass founder (Allan Bros. Union Foundry, Carleton), alderman, JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan, Mrs. Rob. R.</td>
<td>Allan Bros. Union Foundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan, Mrs. Thos</td>
<td>Union Iron Foundry (Allan Bros)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison, Mrs. Jos.</td>
<td>merchant (Manchester, Robertson, and Allison)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison, Mrs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almon, Mrs. L. J.</td>
<td>attorney and barrister, insurance agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglin, Mrs. T.W.</td>
<td>MPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berton, Mrs. Sam.D.</td>
<td>commission merchant and wholesale grocer (Berton Bros.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd, Mrs. B.B.</td>
<td>teller At Bank of NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd, Mrs. John</td>
<td>wholesaler (Daniel &amp; Boyd Dry Goods), MP, senator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burpee, Mrs. FTC</td>
<td>manager of Red Granite Works, Union, Carleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burpee, Mrs. Isaac</td>
<td>iron and steel merchant (I &amp; F Burpee &amp; Co.), MP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carr, Mrs. Marg.</td>
<td>widow, school teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

374
Chipman, Mrs. A.  druggist (A Chipman, Smith, & Co)
Clark, Mrs. Wm.  grocer (Wm. J. Clark & Co), Carleton
Clinch, Mrs. RT  super of Western Union Tel. Co.
Crane, Mrs. Mary  private school teacher
Crookshank, Mrs. Rbt  manager of Dominion savings bank
Cruikshank, Mrs. Rbt  grocer (Jardine & Co.)
Daniel, Mrs. Thos.  wholesaler (Daniel & Boyd Dry Goods), JP
DeBury, Countess  common councillor, Portland
deForest, Mrs. Geo.  ship chandler, JP
DeVeber, Mrs. JS Boies  wholesaler (J Finlay & Co Dry Goods)
Dever, Mrs. Jas.  Senator
Disbrow, Mrs. J.W.  widow
Dole, Mrs. W.P.  school inspector, Portland
Domville, Mrs. Jas  MPP, common councillor
Drake, Mrs. Uriah  tax assessor, JP
Elder, Mrs. Wm  editor and proprietor of Daily Telegraph, MPP, JP
Ellis, Mrs. John V.  proprietor and publisher of Globe (Ellis, Robertson & Co)
Fairweather, Mrs. C.  flour dealer (Hall & Fairweather), JP
Gilbert, Mrs. Henry  ship owner and timber merchant (Gilbert & Co)
Gilbert, Mrs. Thos.  No occupation listed
Grant, Mrs. J. McG.  insurance agent and broker, alderman, JP
Hanford, Mrs. Thos  inspector of inland revenue
Hall, Mrs. Stephen: flour dealer (Hall & Fairweather)
Hamilton, Mrs. George: physician
Harding, Mrs. Jas A.: high sheriff
Harding, Mrs. John H.: agent of Custom House
Harrison, Mrs. Jer.: flour and West Indies merchant (J & WF Harrison)
Harrison, Mrs. Leigh H.: flour and West Indies merchant (J & WF Harrison)
Hazen, Mrs. F.B.: No occupation listed
Hazen, Mrs. Robert: merchant
Hazen, Mrs. Wm: attorney and barrister
Holden, Mrs. Chas: physician
Holly, Mrs. James: lumber merchant (McLellan & Holly)
Jack, Mrs. Henry: insurance agent (North British & Mercantile & Scottish Union & National Insurance Cos.)
Jack, Mrs. Wm: attorney and barrister, QC, advocate general, court of Vice Admiralty
Kaye, Mrs. J.J.: agent for Royal Insurance Co. (JJ Kaye & J Sydney)
Kinnear, Mrs. C.F: commission merchant (Kinnear Bros)
Knight, Mrs. Rich. N.: druggist, JP
Lawton, Mrs. Jas: No occupation listed
Leavitt, Miss
Leonard, Mrs. Henry: blacksmith
Magee, Mrs. John  coal and commission merchant (Magee Bros)
Manchester, Mrs. Jas.  merchant (Manchester, Robertson, & Allison)
McGivern, Mrs. R.P.  coal merchant
McLellan, Mrs. David  MPP
McLeod, Mrs. George  lumber merchant and ship owner
McMillan, Mrs. John  bookseller/publisher (J & A McMillan)
Merritt, Mrs. Chas  widow
Millidge, Mrs. Thos. E.  attorney and barrister (Hanington & Millidge)
Murdoch, Mrs. Gilbert  super of Water Works
Nicholson, Mrs. John W.  wholesaler of liquors
Palmer, Mrs. A.L.  MP, JP (Supreme Court)
Parks, Mrs. John  cotton manufacturer (Wm Parks & Son)
Perley, Mrs. C.W.  widow
Prescott, Mrs. Gideon  no occupation listed
Price, Miss
Quinton, Mrs. Wm  boarding house keeper
Reed, Mrs. James R.  shipowner (J & R Reed)
Ring, Mrs.  widow
Ritchie, Mrs. R.J.  barrister, MPP
Robertson, Mrs. David  clerk
Robertson, Mrs. James  merchant (Manchester, Robertson & Allison)
Robertson, Mrs. James
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, Mrs. Ludlow</td>
<td>ledger keeper at Bank of N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, Mrs. T. B.</td>
<td>attorney and barrister, insurance agent (M &amp; TB Robinson, Agents for Marine, Fire, Life, and Accident Ins.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salter, Mrs. A.C.A.</td>
<td>millowner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sears, Mrs. Edw</td>
<td>no occupation given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skinner, Mrs. C.N.</td>
<td>attorney and barrister, MP, JP, QC, alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. A.C.</td>
<td>chief engineer, fire dept, JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. George F.</td>
<td>shipowner, JP, alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. G. Sidney</td>
<td>attorney and barrister, court of Vice Admiralty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snider, Mrs. George E.</td>
<td>auctioneer, commission merchant, JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spurr, Mrs. J. deWolf</td>
<td>president of Dominion Safety Fund Life Assn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starr, Mrs. RP</td>
<td>coal merchant (RP &amp; WF Starr), agent for Spring Hill Mining Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Mrs. Luke</td>
<td>ship owner and broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton, Mrs. A.A.</td>
<td>barrister (AA &amp; RO Stockton), registrar and scribe, court of Vice Admiralty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sturdee, Mrs. HL</td>
<td>barrister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapley, Mrs. David</td>
<td>police magistrate of Portland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapley, Mrs. John</td>
<td>tug boat owner (Tapley Bros.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple, Mrs. Thos A.</td>
<td>insurance agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Mrs. Rich</td>
<td>fancy goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomson, Mrs. Wm.</td>
<td>ship brokers and commission merchants (W. Thomson &amp; Co)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurgar, Mrs. John V.</td>
<td>common councillor, Portland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurgar, Mrs. J. V.</td>
<td>no occupation listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travers, Mrs. Boyle</td>
<td>physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis, Mrs. Jeremiah</td>
<td>attorney &amp; barrister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troop, Mrs. Howard</td>
<td>ship chandler, broker, and owner (Troop &amp; McLaughlin, Troop &amp; Son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuck, Mrs. W.H.</td>
<td>attorney and barrister, QC, city recorder, clerk of Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnbull, Mrs. W.</td>
<td>flour and commission merchant (Turnball &amp; Co)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughan, Mrs. Henry</td>
<td>shipowner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venning, Mrs. J. A.</td>
<td>dry goods merchant (Beurd &amp; Venning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade, Mrs. Nugent</td>
<td>no Occupation listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Mrs. Thos.</td>
<td>physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watters, Mrs. Chas.</td>
<td>MP, court of Vice Admiralty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon, Mrs. Chas W.</td>
<td>attorney and barrister (Weldon, McLean, &amp; Devlin), QC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon, Mrs. John W.</td>
<td>JP (Supreme Court)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetmore, Mrs. E.J.</td>
<td>commission merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler, Miss M.L.</td>
<td>boarding house keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney, Mrs. Geo</td>
<td>bookseller/ publisher (J &amp; A McMillan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willis, Mrs. Edw</td>
<td>MPP, editor and proprietor of Daily Evening News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Mrs. Jarvis</td>
<td>lumber merchant (McLachlan &amp; Wilson), Alderman, JP</td>
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### Occupations of the Husbands of the Women on the Women's Commission, 1882

#### PROFESSIONALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

#### WHITE COLLAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper proprieter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ledger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company pres.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent/broker</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super. of Western Union Tel. Co.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super. of Water Works</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Civil Servants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fire dept, chief engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High sheriff</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School inspector</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent, custom house</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector, inland rev.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax assessor</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

#### INDUSTRIALISTS/MANUFACTURERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cotton manufacturer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundry owners/operators</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granite Works manager</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill owner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### MERCHANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Commission 2
Coal 3
Dry goods 5
Flour 5
Iron and steel 1
Wholesale 8

**Ships and Timber**
Ship broker/ 1
commission merchant 1
Ship Chandler 1
Ship chandler/broker/owner 1
Ship owner 3
Ship owner/timber merchant 2
Timber merchant 2

**SHOPKEEPERS/SMALL BUSINESS**
Bookseller/publisher 1
Druggist 2
Grocer 2
Tug boat owner 1

**SKILLED TRADES**
Brewer 1
Blacksmith 1

**LAW/POLITICS**

**Courts**
Court of Vice-Admiralty 2
advoc. gen. 1
registrar/scribe 1
J.P. 16
Q.C. 4
Police magistrate 2

**Provincial/Dominion govt**
M.P.P. 4
M.P. 5
Senator 2

**Civic Govt**
Alderman 9
City recorder 1
INDEPENDENT WOMEN

Boarding house keeper  2
Daughter            1
Nurse               1
Teacher             2
Widow               5
Library Conversazionne, 1882

HUSB'S OCCUP, INDEP. STATUS, OR MEMBERSHIP IN MEMORIAL COMMISSION

Allison, Mrs. Jos.  *
Armstrong, Mrs JR  barrister
Blair, Miss Ada  *
Eaton, Miss S.  *
Fielders, Miss Minnie  *
Fiske, Mrs, JMC  widow
Holden, Mrs Chas.  *
Jones, Mrs. Simeon  *
King, Mrs. Geo E.  JP (Supreme Court)
King, Mrs. ST  mill owners (ST King & Sons)
Lawrence, Miss Mary  *
Marvin, Miss  *
McLeod, Mrs. Geo.  *
Murray, Miss  *
Ruel, Mrs. JR  collector of customs
Skinner, Miss Belle  *
Skinning, Mrs, Maning  *
Skinner, Mrs. R.C.  barrister
Temple, Mrs.  *
Travers, Mrs Boyle  *
Tuck, Mrs. WH  *
Wade, Mrs. N. * 
White, Mrs. John furniture dealers (Stewart & White) 

*--Member of Memorial Commission
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Donkin, Eliza, Reminiscence, collected by Morley Scott, CB Doc.

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Temperance Banner, c. 1870's-80's, Accession no. 28581.
SJRL


Newspaper Clippings—Loyalist Centennial Celebration, 1883, SB.

Scrapbook C27, SB.

Ward Scrapbook, SB second lot, Shelf 19.

2. Printed

a) Pamphlets, Programs, Booklets

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ABC handbook to Halifax, NS, 1837-97, Jubilee souvenir (n.p., n.d.).

Belcher's Farmer's Almanack, 1838-97.

Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, Report, 1887, 1897.

Card of admittance to children's demonstration, Halifax, 1860.


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*Halifax Summer Races at the Riding Grounds, Quinpool Road, Wednesday, August 24, 1892*, program.

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Halifax:

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Daily Echo, 1897.
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Halifax Times, 1838-42.
Morning Chronicle, 1860-94.
Morning Herald, 1843.
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Morning Freeman, 1860, 1883.
Morning News, 1840-62.
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Weekly Chronicle, 1838

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Sun Printing Co., 1896).


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4. Unpublished Papers

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