

NOVA SCOTIA'S POST-CONFED- ERATION LEADERS

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NOVA SCOTIA, I think, has been neither unhappy nor unfortunate in its choice of political leaders for the Provincial Parliament. For a great many years that highly democratic institution has been an attraction (if not at all times composed of political Solons) to intelligent provincials, and also to visitors from abroad who have been in the capital when the Parliament was meeting. There have, of course, been exceptions, men and women who turned up their noses—perhaps from petty partisanship, or simply being unappreciative Philistines—at so small and to them uninteresting a political body as the one which has foregathered regularly during my four-score and more years. Before that, too, when Joe Howe at times thundered his philippics against uniting Nova Scotia politically with distant Ontario and French-Canadian Quebec, and then later, by the way, swallowed it all, after the manner of a performing sword-swallower on a stage!

For my part, I could never appreciate the pretence that Nova Scotia's Parliament is quite too "parish-pumpy" to be taken seriously. A Halifax lawyer once said to me in his office on Hollis Street, "No; I never waste my time listening to the debates over there," jerking his thumb towards the Provincial Building; "it's not half as good fun as to go to a meeting of the Halifax City Council, where they can, and do, slang one another, at any rate, without being pulled up by a Speaker smothered by a ludicrous wig." "That's sour grapes, old chap," I replied; "if your own side were in power 'over there,' you'd be on the spot half the time the House is in session, probably hoping to shake a plum now and then from the tree."

Nearly sixty years have passed since that little by-play. Many Provincial Parliaments in the interval have assembled in Halifax, and many aspiring politicians between the Bay of Fundy and the Bras d'or Lakes have whetted their swords or shaken their little tomahawks with a view to tickling the fancy of enthusiastic voters who had sent them to Halifax for six weeks out of fifty-two, during four years, at least.

"Enthusiastic" is the word. During a long residence in England I have witnessed an umber of general elections and by-

elections, all of them flat as the Tantramar Marshes compared with parliamentary elections in Nova Scotia.

A Short-Lived Agitation:

Probably the interest shown in Nova Scotia's politics during the Repeal Movement was greater than at any subsequent time. During the intervening years (the last serious notes of that bitter wrangle were struck in the Dominion Election of 1887) the ebb and flow of many tides in Halifax Harbour have washed away even a remembrance of the most exciting, to some the most acrid and to others the most exhilarating election campaign in the history of the Province. Even more exciting than when those doughty dare-devils, Tupper and Howe, fulminated at the height of their physical and mental powers on behalf of the causes they had supported as the spokesmen of their respective partisan organizations. The issue—"To be or not to be" a part of the Dominion of Canada, in preference to ploughing a lonely furrow—in the famous 1887 fight had been carried over as an aftermath from the previous provincial elections, when the Fielding Government went back to office with a people's mandate to take the Province out of the Confederation, if it could. This of course Fielding could not have done without permission of the British Parliament, which would not have been given, as Howe earlier discovered when he spoke in London about the desire of so many Nova Scotians to maintain their complete political independence.

It all seems rather far-fetched and extravagant in the light of developments since then, and especially now when it is doubtful if any Nova Scotian could raise another repeal flag without very severe heckling and hooting. Then why did the Provincial Parliament of 1886 contain a large majority elected for the purpose of returning politically to a pre-Confederation status? It is a commonplace in the world of to-day, as a result of the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, that Adam Smith was dead right when he attributed many of the ills of humanity to unsound economic conditions. That was Nova Scotia's trouble between 1867 and 1886, bringing in its wake a tremendously strong vote at the polls in favour of a greater possible prosperity than had actually followed the inclusion of the Province in the scheme which the Mother Parliament in London had sanctioned by the terms of the *British North America Act*.

What we have never had, we never miss. But Nova Scotia had had fairly prosperous conditions while the Reciprocity

Treaty of 1854 was in operation. When the Treaty was abrogated, the policy of joining forces with the Upper Provinces was presented by ardent and active advocates as tending to make up in whole or in part for the loss of the markets which had been provided in the New England States for some of Nova Scotia's natural and most profitable products. "There's the rub," said many perfectly conscientious Nova Scotians when they found that Confederation had not improved their affairs economically; "so let's get out of it, and run the show as we did before Ottawa's management of our affairs in so many different ways, when it may be feasible to negotiate another Reciprocity Treaty with the New England States." Rather a narrow view, as we see it at this distance of time. But in those days it appeared to offer a change for better things. So Fielding made his clean sweep in 1886.

From "Repeal" to "Respect:"

It was the one very conspicuous error in Fielding's career in public life, for the reason that he and his Government were unquestionably popular and would therefore have been returned without a syllable of Repeal being heard in the land. At the same time, I am certain that he was downright honest in his contention that Confederation had not been of much value to Nova Scotia. I was close enough to him in the office of the *Morning Chronicle* to know his mind on that point. Having been reared in an anti-Confederation atmosphere during the notoriously impressionable years of early adolescence, he could scarcely have been other than favourable, on general grounds, to a return to former conditions, provided it could have been done without embarrassing dissonance, disservice and discredit. In that personal view he was firmly backed by other members of his Cabinet, especially by the Attorney-General, J. W. Longley, second in command, the valuable, slightly vain but cleverly versatile member for Apple-growing Annapolis, who may have loved that fruit, but who also loved the lime-light of office as truly as a dragon-fly loves to flicker and flutter in the sunshine.

It is, however, one of the most interesting things in Nova Scotia's political history that the Provincial Premier who tried to "contract out" of the Dominion spent sixteen years of his life in the heavy and burdensome task of budgetting at Ottawa for the necessities of his Province, along with the other eight which composed the Union. It was evident, as one could see at

the time, that he bore the rebuke of 1887 with the least political molevolence or personal rancour. Though apparently, after the 1886 crisis, a Daniel come to judgment, ten years later, when Laurier beckoned, the Daniel become a docile and decorous administrator in an All-Canada Cabinet. Was it on the general principle that what cannot be cured must be endured? Not wholly. Between 1886 and 1896 (when the Liberal Party under Laurier started trooping hungrily to feast at Ottawa's flesh pots) Fielding's more mature mind had undergone a decade of gradual transformation from repeal to respect, respect for the Dominion as a whole, a British community of which Nova Scotia could be one of the units without sacrificing its local patriotism and personal pride, a frame of mind fully endorsed by those bright young Nova Scotia Liberals, A. K. McLean and E. M. Macdonald, both of whom at later dates held portfolios at Ottawa.

On leaving Halifax for the capital, Fielding no doubt was confident that the plans and policies which he had originated and organized after twelve years in the saddle could be safely entrusted to the keeping of his moderate and faithful friend, George H. Murray, a *fidus Achates*, if ever there was one. At that time there were some Fieldingites who believed that the gap could not be completely filled with any of the material then in sight. They were wrong. Once again it was demonstrated that in politics, at any rate, no man may be wholly indispensable. For in George Murray a Liberal came to power in provincial politics as popular as Fielding himself, perhaps not quite as able and adroit, or as alluring historically, as his predecessor and political mentor, yet loved as few Nova Scotians have been in the exercise of a premier's duties to the public.

Divulging a Secret:

Conceivably, some future writer may regard it as a curious paradox for the man who had once so unequivocally set his feet on the slippery slopes of Repeal to have accepted the position of Minister of Finance in the Dominion from which he at one time had sought to remove his own province. He continued, too, that exacting position for a longer period than any other Finance Minister in the British Commonwealth. Yet it was not so curious on more intimate analysis of the situation, or of similar situations elsewhere. For example, Mr. Winston Churchill, once a vivid and vital personality in a Liberal Government, is now leader of English Conservatism. Many others have

"crossed the floor" in parliaments the world over, sometimes swallowing a camel instead, as before, of straining at a gnat. That does not however apply to Fielding, who took his embedded and encrusted Liberal principles, if not his repeal policy, to the grave after fifty years of continuous, devoted and useful activity for his country.

A point that has never been emphasized in Nova Scotia, and is never likely to be even casually mentioned in Quebec, Ontario or further west—is the immensely interesting fact that after Laurier it would almost necessarily have been a Nova Scotian to whom the seals of office would descend. Let us, for speculation to-day, and for the information of posterity, assume that Laurier had retired instead of being whipped at the polls. In that case his successor would have been the Finance Minister, his right-hand man, as everybody at Ottawa was then aware. As it fell out, the Conservatives succeeded to the purple on Parliament Hill, and another Nova Scotian, Sir Robert Borden, became Prime Minister. Is it not reasonably certain that such a coincidence has not happened before or since (though it may happen again!) with regard to any other Province in the Dominion?

There was, however, and it should be frankly realized, another possibility. The Laurier Government might have been returned again in that spirited struggle. What then? Let me divulge a secret, one which I would very much like to have confirmed if there is anyone in Ottawa now who, having lived in that lively era, can agree with me that Laurier, in such an event, would have sought retirement at an early date, passing to another the mantle so gracefully worn during the longest premiership with one exception (the Macdonald regime) at the capital up to that date, Mackenzie King now being the triumphant owner of the long-distance trophy. And, in that event, the recipient of the voluntarily discarded toga? I have already made that incontestably clear.

Holmes and Thompson:

This is not a record of any one Nova Scotian's activities in the particular niche where destiny had placed him. My contacts with premiers of the province occurred over a wide field as to time and tide. I can recall only a little about the Hill Government, I fancy rather a colourless combination. But of the succeeding Holmes-Thompson Government I have rather vivid memories. Pictou-County Holmes, like Halifax-County

Thompson, had read enough law to set his mind, after the manner of legions of lawyers wherever parliaments flourish, on being greeted as the First Minister of his Province. Nor is it so long since he answered the call that comes to all of us, that one may not remember with affection the Simon Holmes who at middle age realized the ambition of his youth and, later, in his declining days, enjoyed the emoluments attached to the post of Prothonotary in the Court House on Spring Garden Road. In politics Tupper was the acknowledged master whom Holmes admired and gladly followed, seeing in that statesman the fighting flair which he himself possessed in a degree much less notable.

My acquaintance with Holmes's partner in the Nova Scotia Legislature was from the standpoint of a young journalist. I noticed, however, that whereas Holmes invited friendship for friendship's sake, with political foes and all, Thompson's nature may have appeared to some at that time to have been much more reserved, almost to the extent of austerity. The man who could determine that point beyond all doubt is Sir Joseph Chisholm, who is the best qualified living authority on everything pertaining to the political career and successes of a man who would probably have enjoyed the fruits of office fully as long and as brilliantly as Laurier, had he lived to an equal age, seeing that militant Conservatives throughout the Dominion would have been glad to work their passage for a long time under the captaincy of Thompson. This made his comparatively early departure a tragedy for his Party.

Indeed I can think of no more grievous loss to Canada in general, and to Nova Scotia in particular, than the passing at that particular time of a genius in law and in leadership while only in the heyday of an amazingly outstanding middle age. From the Provincial Building to Parliament Hill was therefore as natural a progress as for the morning sun to reach noontide brightness. Would this man eventually have found his way to the House of Lords, had he lived to the allotted span? There is the example of Viscount Bennett. And a little bird in London has whispered in my ear that Mackenzie King can have another Viscounty merely by the twinkling of an eyelid. What a jolly good joke if one of these fine days Bennett and King again faced each other in the famous Red Chamber of the Commonwealth!

Premier Pipes:

To-day's young Nova Scotians, if interested in the past politics of their Province, who may have read in the pages of the *Halifax Herald* (which was simply waterlogged by the Toryism of Stewart and Cahan during the days of which I write) about "the great Fielding", may be under the impression that immediately after that gentleman was first elected as an M.P.P. in 1882 he became the leader of the House of Assembly by the sheer force of a resourceful and dominant personality. They would be a little astray. It was Pipes, for twenty years practising his legal profession in Amherst, who rose to the surface, "Premier Pipes" as a Liberal organ in Cumberland County fondly announced in a headline when the promotion became known. But what a short-lived "Premier Pipes!" Not for the want of brains. The want of their exercise—that was the weakness of Pipes as a politician who was expected to earn his salt by ably legislating for his people.

Fielding, on the contrary, each day of his always busy life used every atom of a brain whose activity not for an instant flagged. So very shortly it was "Premier Fielding" in the papers and the records. I sympathized with Pipes. A friendly soul and a sound Liberal, but fonder of his briar than of the politics he was obliged to represent as leader of his Party in the House. I can see him, coming down the Hollis Street steps of the Provincial Building after an adjournment of the House, briar well elinched between his teeth and wearing his hat tipped at an angle which brought it dangerously near to the bridge of his nose. I have seen but one other man who likewise wore a hat which obscured a substantial portion of his forehead, and that was Judge Shannon, for many years a resident of Spring Garden Road, whose silk topper was constantly making love to his eyebrows.

The only man in the House in the eighties whose brain was as active as Fielding's, was the member for Annapolis. It was possible to reach that conclusion when listening to Cahan, the Opposition Leader, baiting the Attorney-General and the latter's caustic replies. Could he have shed an innate love of the rococo and bizarre, Longley would have stepped into Fielding's shoes when the latter shook Nova Scotia's dust from his feet on boarding the train for Ottawa in 1896.

Thompson and Murray:

With all these provincial potentates off the stage, their weaknesses and oddities, as well as their strength and sagacity, should perhaps be recorded for the edification and enlightenment of generations to come. Holmes's weakness seems to have been an inability to "score off his own bat" with the legislation which Nova Scotia needed on the heels of Confederation. As the joint leader in the same Government, John S. D. Thompson (that was before he received the accolade from his Sovereign) had not the indolence of Pipes, the occasional indiscretions of Longley, or Fielding's very jaunty manner. At that time, though less so later at Ottawa, he was very quiet and discreet. When a lad he may have been told that a still tongue makes a wise head, and have then determined to avoid unnecessary outbursts of volubility. Possibly he had also heard the trite but obviously truthful saying that "Temper and policy cannot go together," supported more or less by the Chinese proverb that "Those whom Heaven would prosper it first invests with humility." Certainly as Minister of Justice and Prime Minister he was everything that could be desired in a leader, even to the deliberate practise of pugnacity when the occasion required it.

So if Longley was frequently ridiculed by critics in the enemy camp as "the missing link", if Fielding was facetiously nicknamed "Billy Bow-Legs" by J. J. Stewart and S. D. Scott—both editorial writers for the *Herald* and *Mail* in the eighties—and if Pipes was described as being "too lazy to legislate," my ears never caught similar jibes about Thompson. His Liberal contemporaries admitted that behind a naturally serene and serious demeanour were rare capacities for statesmanlike service to the Dominion, a corroboration of the theory that the serious man is the one who is taken seriously and rewarded with preferment, that extremely capable ("dour" his Sassenach opponents describe him) Scotch statesman, Sir John Anderson, being a good illustration in our day. As with many other rules, that one has however its exceptions, the inveterate joker, Sir John A. Macdonald, having without either method or malice put ambitious rivals for leadership in the cool non-competitive shades during 19 tumultuous years.

The usefulness of the Murray Government arose largely from the confidence which so many people on both sides of the fence had placed quite freely in the Premier. Personality may have a stabilizing or a sinister influence. Roosevelt had it,

but so had Nero. While no such glaring divergence can be pointed out in the public life of Nova Scotia, it will suffice for my purpose to indicate that desirable personality was an outstanding quality in Murray's long and skilful handling of the reins. But in addition to that indefinable quality, Murray was really a more experienced politician when he took up the cudgels than his immediate predecessor had been at the same stage of development. In the "Upper House" he had been leading the Legislative Councillors with characteristic ease and felicity, so that when he stepped backward, so to speak, yet paradoxically forward, to the "Lower House," he was in close touch with whatever had been done by his Party or was then on the carpet.

The Future of the Province:

It may be natural for me to think of Nova Scotia's Premiers from Confederation to the end of Murray's quiet and orderly regime as playing a more important part in provincial affairs than the men who followed on, though after all that may not be so. It is quite inevitable that the elderly live considerably in the past. For example, one would like to have read the thoughts of that great Bluenose, Sir Charles Tupper, during his retirement in the green and pleasant land that is England, where many (not all!) evenings are soft and kind and beautiful, where "the tongue that Shakespere spake" is at its best, and where a man's slowly ebbing life may be lived with a comforting degree of equanimity, although the arrival of the atomic and electronic age is not considered by many to have improved the outlook in Great Britain. But if there is really a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will, England as well as Nova Scotia must have many great days to come.

That for Nova Scotia a healthy future is assured, seems beyond the possibility of serious doubt. Provincial Governments whose leaders are yet unborn will be influential factors in the unfolding of that future, even though Ottawa has so large a say and is so fond of putting a finger in the pie. Exact y on what lines development will proceed, it is not in any man's power to define categorically in 1946; one can only generalize. Reliance must be placed on the saving common sense of the Scottish, English, and Irish elements which blend and predominate, a fortunate combination when one compares it to the mixed grill in parts of Western Canada, where such freak finance as Social Credit can make unorthodox headway, and where Doukhobors have so often paraded in "the altogether" in an effort to draw

attention to their alleged wants and absurd demands. Perhaps it is doubtful if one Nova Scotian in ten values in their proper light the ordinary conditions under which such a large number of them live, move and have their being.

As to the future, no more Pyrrhic victories like that of 1886! And if a stitch in time saves nine, it may be wise to consider *now* the kind of immigrants that the Province can best assimilate, provided efforts are to be made in that way to enlarge the population and add to the sum total of productivity. Ontario House, near London's historic Strand, announced two years ago that 100,000 British settlers, going across at the rate of 10,000 a year, could be accommodated in that Province. They will not be available, you may take it from me, to that extent, with due deference to Ontario's opportunities and attractions. The migration movement from England to Canada and to other Dominions and Colonies will be very much slower than many suppose, unless Socialism should fail and bring down with it some of the top storeys of the financial solvency which for centuries has been England's pride and portion. Such a calamity would of course drive thousands to seek pastures new, with Canada as a desirable home—if the doors were open.

The Question of Legislative Union:

Maritime Union, in a parliamentary sense, is so mildewed a subject that one might very properly apologize for dragging it again into the light. One Legislature for not quite a million people appears on a superficial view to be enough. It is not however a matter of population. The effects on provincial self-esteem—that is the hard core of the problem. Brighton and Hove, in England's seaside Sussex, are for business purposes as much one community as Halifax north and south, yet each clings tighter than a limpet on its rock to its own civic autonomy and institutions. A hundred "brown bombers" would fail to register a knock-out to that spirit of the sheerest independence and separatism. So it is with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

A Premier of the Maritimes may not therefore be in evidence during the life of the living in 1946. Beyond that, one may not venture to prophesy. Each of the three Provinces must go forward as far as provincial legislation is concerned on its own initiative, which avoids the heartburnings and jealousies that would certainly poison some of the springs of inter-provincial relations and amenities for a long time, were one Parliament to

be substituted for three. So the difficulties which the "Fathers of Confederation" were obliged to contend with in bringing about a union of the Canadian Province in 1867 will not, if Maritimers are wise, be duplicated in the Provinces "down by the sounding sea."

If difficulties are met, they will be but the common experience in a world where the rough places not infrequently outnumber the smooth. It goes without saying that to make Nova Scotia a model for some other parts of the Commonwealth and empire has never been a conscious effort by the people as a whole, whose modesty in any case would make them shrink from a deliberate attempt to stand so vividly in the spotlight of publicity. At the same time, there may not be a great many places under the heavens where the bulk of the people spend their lives with less cause for grievance and gloom. On a certain occasion I heard "Count your blessings, count them one by one" sung in a Nova Scotia church with inspiring vigour. It is good advice, despite the terrible experiences in Halifax during the two World Wars, which make one shudder merely to recall.

Canadian Offices in London:

Combining the Legislatures of the Maritimes being apparently impracticable as matters stand, their co-operation in advancing their mutual interests should not be ignored. I am pointing out only one avenue in which such efforts might be directed with advantage—a Maritime Provinces' Office in London. Ontario House is doing important and significant work. British Columbia House, on Lower Regent Street, in the heart of London and therefore of the Empire, may have paid satisfactory dividends for many years notwithstanding the drawbacks and handicaps of two long and devastating wars. It was opened at a time when British Columbia contained no more people than Nova Scotia, although now the population is very much larger, probably owing to benefits from a campaign of publicity in the United Kingdom.

The Nova Scotia office in London should not have been closed. It was a case of cheese-paring at a time when efforts might well have been made to enlarge its scope and usefulness. Than John Howard there was never a more faithful representative in London of a Canadian Province, and partly at his own expense, the allowance made by the Nova Scotia Government being insufficient to cover the annual outlay. Withdrawal from London was indeed one of the mistakes of the Murray Govern-

ment. Will it be rectified by a re-opening? An energetic young Nova Scotian, able to speak well in public, and adequately provided with the sinews of war, would not only be likely to prove a success in London, but he should be able to make his services profitable to his employers.

It may be said that Canada House in Trafalgar Square provides the representation which Nova Scotia needs in England. If that is true of the Canadian Provinces generally, then why should Ontario and British Columbia have their own premises and staffs in the same field? Canada House is all to the good. Its recent record has been excellent:—Vincent Massey seems to have been a very industrious High Commissioner throughout the war. But Canada House does not represent Ontario and British Columbia on the scale which those Provinces believe is important for maximum benefits to be derived. It is an argument which applies with less force to Nova Scotia only because it is a smaller unit than its much more formidable sisters. But as to objections of that kind, why not overcome them by cutting Nova Scotia's coat according to the cloth?

A New London Office:

If the Province is not to have direct and adequate representation in the centre of the Commonwealth, the second best would be a habitation and a name jointly enjoyed by the three Eastern Canadian Provinces, or by two of them if Prince Edward Island's financial resources do not stretch so far. I venture the view, for what it is worth, that New Brunswick might not unwillingly co-operate; so far as I know, never having been on the list of Canadian offices in London, it might regard this as a change for the better. Nova Scotia being admittedly "the best off," the expense could be borne as to 60 and 40 per cent as between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively, assuming that Prince Edward Island stayed out.

With its finances apparently, at this distance, in a flourishing state, Nova Scotia appears to be in a good position to blow its trumpet a little louder than Canada House is able to do on its behalf, however willing and courteous the officials there may be. Two things which await development—more exports of Eastern Canadian products to Britain, and more Britons exporting themselves to Eastern Canada—could be moved forward more expeditiously by a separate office in London than through the medium of the Dominion's stately and massive quarters in Trafalgar Square. If under one roof and jointly

footing the bills, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia might roll up satisfactory results from year to year after becoming fully established. But if this is not to be, then a purely Nova Scotia Office in London.

Shortly before closing in London, John Howard, the Agent-General for many years, said in effect to me; "Nova Scotia has never done this thing properly. Sufficient money has not been provided. That has been the nigger in the woodpile. Fielding was always a bit tight-fisted and Murray, genial and gracious but indifferent, seemed unable to appreciate the importance of enlarging rather than diminishing Nova Scotia's contacts with the British public." With the present surplus in the provincial treasury, the cost should not be a deterrent. So it turns out to be a matter of policy for Mr. Macdonald's Government.

The Importance of "Tourism:"

If Nova Scotia will once again be making itself heard in the United Kingdom, there should be no neglect of fields worth cultivating nearer home. In that respect, what leaps to the eye? First and foremost, the New England and the Middle States for an inflow of tourists. England is aiming at £100,000,000 a year during the 1947-57 decade, and more after that, from the outpourings of overseas pockets, mostly American pockets. Have the figures ever been compiled as to Nova Scotia's possible receipts from so profitable a source? Friendly, and at one time supposedly "highbrow" Boston, with its blue-stockings on Beacon Hill, for many years has had kindly feelings towards the Province and its people. That Bostonians themselves have been generously toasted on public and private occasions, is indeed highly probable. In this connection I am able to recall a toast on a pleasant occasion some years ago:

And here's to good old Boston,
The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Lowells talk to the Cabots
And the Cabots talk only to God.

If tariff walls very considerably shut out provincial products from New England, Nova Scotia should tolerate no impediments to an ever-increasing stream of Americans six months out of twelve. On the contrary, invitations to come might be extended to the very summit of the possible. Would it be right to say that that has seldom if ever been done?

And Old England as well as New England might be advantageously explored with a view to attracting tourists to the

Province. The position with regard to heavy cross-Atlantic travel westward will be entirely changed when cheap air transport sends great numbers of people to Canada between May and November. What facilities are being provided or thought-out to secure for the Province a fair percentage of that lucrative business? I am not informed with regard to it. But if apathy exists, and defeats or delays adequate action, the loss could conceivably be no minor one.

At the moment, transatlantic air travel is too expensive except for a few. Nor is passenger-ship accommodation easily got. Over 20,000 British brides and children of Canadian ex-servicemen were in July patiently (for the most part, patience being an inbred and fine English virtue) hoping for the command to embark. And according to the general view of England's air and mercantile shipping authorities, any migration movement to Canada can scarcely be in full flow before the spring of 1948.

"Only Ne'er-Do-Wells," says Professor Joad:

Should Ottawa and Halifax pull together in a scheme to secure British settlers on land in Nova Scotia, the spadework would need to be undertaken without procrastination and with a minimum of red tape. Australia is moving briskly and forcibly to get thousands of men, women and children aboard ships at Liverpool, Southampton, Cardiff and Glasgow, bound for Sydney and Melbourne, to be distributed from those centres as soon as arrangements can be made for their settlement in the districts most favourable for newcomers who are necessarily "green" with regard to life in the Antipodes.

The Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias, Kenya and Tanganyika are all convinced of the importance of suitable types of immigrants; likewise New Zealand, although there is not as much room there nor as much opportunity as in Australia and South Africa for large numbers of immigrants. All this indicates the keen competition there will be to secure the coveted personnel with which to develop Empire resources. So the Dominions and Colonies wanting to strengthen their position turn first to the United Kingdom, and to Continental Europe only when the British supply is insufficient.

Whatever encouragement, if any, the Nova Scotia Government may wish to give to English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish to come across and settle where farms can be had in the Province, it should be done with the knowledge that it is not a proposal which everybody in the United Kingdom cordially supports. There is in fact no little opposition to migration.

the Brains Trust, usually described as "England's philosopher," would not send a son overseas unless he was likely to be a failure at home and therefore a drain on father's pocket. "A consideration by which most English parents have notoriously been animated in this matter of emigration . . . For the best part of a century we sent to the Dominions our failures and our ne'er-do-wells. 'Oh, he is a fool, is he?' 'Oh, he drinks, does he?' 'Oh, he's failed at the Law, or Accountancy, has he?' 'Oh, he can't pass his examinations, can't he?' 'Right; then let us send him overseas' "!

But even Professor Joad admits that there is an obverse as well as a reverse side to this problem. On general principles he favours young men emigrating, there being too many people in England and not enough in the Dominions. He wants a smaller English population because of overcrowding and many miserable lives in consequence. As for himself, he would sooner be poor in England than rich in the Dominions any day, partly because he finds the conversation of almost all people from the Dominions "boring" and their company "tedious;" they seem to him to be like "ungrown-up children." "They have no knowledge of books and music," he tells us, "and they have no facility for the handling of ideas, which means that they have no conversation. In a word, their interests are limited by the practical and their aspirations by the utilitarian." The inference?—if many Joads in England, then quite a few nit-wits coming your way, O Canada!

The migration of *British children* to Canada at one time was very energetically pursued by the Dominion Government. Would a renewal of that movement be useful to Nova Scotia, say a hundred children yearly? They could be found. It would be a matter of arrangement behind the Governments of Nova Scotia and Great Britain, first as to the financial problem, second as to the willingness of Nova Scotians to take British children into their homes and "see them through" to earning a living by their own efforts, and third, a date for the inauguration of the scheme. Does anyone remember when Arbuthnot Lane, who became one of England's greatest surgeons, was a schoolboy in Halifax? I understand that his father, a British officer, was stationed at that time with the Garrison on Citadel Hill, the son being sent to a school kept by Dr. Gilpin. It has just been alleged in an English paper that Gilpin "made a habit of thrashing the boys on the head with a heavy strap." I remember him well, a very innocent-looking dapper little man who would seem,

as I picture him in my mind's eye, to have been the last person one would have suspected of using such a vigorous form of correction, although severe corporal punishment in school was not frowned upon in those days as it is now. Possibly the accusation is intended to be more sensational than accurate. However that may be, the only thing that Arbuthnot Lane is said to have remembered of Gilpin's school was the incident of a bear having once entered a graveyard nearby and tried to dig up a freshly buried coffin!

As for immigration, being mainly under Ottawa's control, the Nova Scotia Government does not appear to have taken a very active part in promoting it, although John Howard had many enquiries when representing the Province in Great Britain. If my own personal recollections could go as far back as the lesser but picturesque days before Confederation, I should probably be able to point out that there was more interest then than now in the subject, the advantage of suitable types of settlers entering the Province having been proved beyond a shadow of doubt in the case of the United Empire Loyalists, and later by so many people from Old Scotland selecting New Scotland as their future home. Some of their descendants, by the way, provided events and scenes which I can very happily recall out of those distant depths:

For when upon my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood;
They crowd upon the inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude.
And then my heart with pleasure fills
And dances like the daffodils.