

Richard A. Davies

**“Not at all the man that we have imagined”:  
Mr. Justice Haliburton in England (1835-65)**

In 1856, at the age of sixty, Thomas Chandler Haliburton re-organised his life. He moved from Nova Scotia to England and re-married. The prevailing judgment on his new life is the one V.L.O. Chittick enunciated towards the close of *Thomas Chandler Haliburton (“Sam Slick”): A Study in Provincial Toryism* (1924), that Haliburton’s later life in England was a failure.<sup>1</sup> Chittick formed his judgment by reading the accounts of Haliburton’s activities in England which he found in the Nova Scotian newspapers. A very different impression of these years emerges if we view them through English eyes. Haliburton’s political speeches, involvement in philanthropic schemes, attendance at social functions, sudden entry into Parliament (the full story of which has not been told), career as an M.P., and wide business connections in the early 1860’s all suggest that Chittick’s view of Haliburton’s life in England needs correction.

Haliburton always occupied a special place in the affections of the British reading public as the creator of “Sam Slick.” On a visit to England in 1853, he felt the full force of public esteem for his literary achievements. It recalled his celebrated arrival in London in 1837-38 when he had been lionised. At the Royal Agricultural Show in Gloucester in July, 1853, Haliburton told an after-dinner audience that “He had never spent two such delightful days in his life...”<sup>2</sup>

The invitation to attend the Royal Agricultural Show came from Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker (1807-86) of Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire, not, as might be expected, from his old friend Edmund Hopkinson, who lived at Edgeworth Manor near Cirencester.<sup>3</sup> Haliburton mixed with a new circle of friends. In the company of his hosts, “Capt. T.B. Ll. Baker and Mrs. Baker”, he attended the Pavilion Dinner and the Horticultural Committee Ball in the Shire

Hall, Gloucester. At the Ball, the *Gloucester Journal* listed among those in attendance a "Mr. & Mrs. Watkins" and a "Miss Williams."<sup>4</sup> The "Preface" to the second edition of *Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances*, signed at Sarah Harriet Williams's home at Eaton Mascot, Shropshire, in August, 1853, increases the possibility that Gloucester was the place of the first meeting between Haliburton, his second wife, and their good friends during his retirement years, W.B. and Ellen Watkins of Legh House, Ardwicke, Manchester.

Three years passed before Haliburton (widowed since 1841) married Sarah Harriet Williams (widowed since 1844), not in Shropshire, where she resided, but at St George's Church, Hanover Square, London, with the Bishop of London officiating.<sup>5</sup> Retirement in the Shropshire countryside would have been easy: Sarah Harriet owned 495 acres of land in the township of Eaton Mascot.<sup>6</sup> The couple chose, instead, to rent Gordon House, on the banks of the Thames at Isleworth, Middlesex. The choice of his new surroundings suited Haliburton's personality and interests, as I have noted elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

Although Haliburton chose Isleworth for its salubrity, it is hard to believe that his intention was retirement. In November, 1856, a month after their marriage, the Haliburtons appeared in London society. In December, Haliburton delivered a speech to the Manchester Athenaeum, a deliberate attempt to gain national attention for his views on North American affairs. The Athenaeum was a social and literary club of distinction, and in order to interest his audience in the plight of North America, Haliburton drew a comic portrait of colonial dependence on the mother country.<sup>8</sup> His exaggerations offended the Nova Scotian press. Consequently, Chittick's view of the speech, based on these "meagre" reports, is critical.<sup>9</sup> Haliburton's picture of colonial dependence on the mother country forms part of an overall strategy designed to convince a British audience that they were neglecting loyal colonists by their poor management of colonial affairs:

The child who was born in that country was washed—first thing—in an English bowl, put into English flannel, English petticoats, and an English frock trimmed with English lace, and the first word he spoke was English. When he went to school, his hat, his coat, his shirt, his trousers, and his shoes—all came from England; his satchel was made in Manchester, and his slate was from English slate-quarries; his book and paper, his lead pencil, his ruler, and copybook, were all sent from England. The moment he began to use a horse, his saddle and bridle, spurs, crupper, girths, whip, halter, reins, bits, currycomb, brush, and

iron shoes, were made for him in England. If he enjoyed the sports of the field, his gun, his flask, his shot-bag, powder and shot, and percussion caps, were English. If he went fishing, his rod and line, the sinker, the floats, and even the flies (laughter), were English, although there were flies in the colony big enough and strong enough to bite through a boot, and the borders of the lake were covered with wood that would supply the whole world with fishing-rods. If he built a vessel, not a single thing in it belonged to the country where it was built; the rigging, the iron, the copper, the ropes, the chains, the rudder, the compass, and all the fittings were English. If he built a house, which he did very early, for he was a very amorous young gentleman and frequently caught his bird before he had got a cage (laughter), then the trees were cut with an English axe, sawn with an English saw, planed with an English plane; the boards were nailed with English nails and by an English hammer and the windows were of English glass and puttied with English putty. Then the carpets, knives, forks, plates, were English, and so were the decanters—for he would drink something besides cold water, and he (Judge Haliburton) did not much like that, to tell the truth (cheers and laughter). He thought, too, it was something touching that the colonist still said that he was going "home" when he came on a visit to England (cheers); and though it might be thought that the man he had been supposing, having brought nothing into the world, took nothing out with him, yet he was put in a coffin lined with English flannel, covered with English cloth, screwed down with English screws and an English screw-driver, and his name was an English coffin-plate. The priest, in an English gown, read the service over him out of an English book and the earth was shovelled over him with English shovels. From the cradle to the grave the colonist was dependent on England (hear).<sup>10</sup>

Haliburton followed this piece of fun by asking his audience: "Were these the people whom we should turn the cold shoulder to?" and ". . . what was to become of that country?" At Manchester, he outlined three possible answers: amalgamation with the United States, an American-style Canadian confederacy, or union with England. In a speech at Glasgow, three months later, he added a fourth, independence.

After Manchester, Haliburton had been inundated with requests to speak throughout Britain. His career as a platform speaker was in the ascendant, an ascent that Haliburton felt he could not sustain. His speech at Glasgow in March, 1857 was therefore penned for publication, so that his views of British North America would be known to everyone and relieve him of the physical necessity of explaining them in person.<sup>11</sup>

Haliburton was a reluctant traveller to Glasgow on 25 March, 1857, although the accounts of the occasion suggest he was received royally by the Corporation of Glasgow:

That the author of Sam Slick is about as widely known and universally read as the creator of Sam Weller must have been evident to the most sceptical of the large and brilliant audience who repaired on Wednesday night to listen to the lecture of Judge Haliburton on the condition and prospects of our North American Colonies. It was not ordinary curiosity, indeed, which drew together such a crowded assemblage to see and hear one who has combined in his life the gravity of the judge with the quaint humour and irresistible drollery of the Yankee story-teller.<sup>12</sup>

The publication of the Glasgow speech curtailed Haliburton's career as a platform speaker. When he next spoke in public, on 20 May, 1857, it was in more congenial surroundings of the Free Mason's Tavern, London. The occasion was the 68th Anniversary Festival of the Royal Literary Fund at which Haliburton responded to the toast of "Literature in the Colonies": "It reminded him of the proverb that 'the Spanish Fleet you cannot see because 'tis not in sight' (Cheers and laughter)."<sup>13</sup> His speech on this occasion caused further annoyance in Nova Scotia because its main theme was summed up in the hope that ". . . their literature would long continue to be as it was now—the literature of the empire."

More social engagements followed. Miss Helen Watkins (the daughter of W.B. Watkins) accompanied the Haliburtons to a banquet at the Mansion House on 17 June, 1857.<sup>14</sup> On 6 August, the Haliburtons dined on the Lord Mayor's barge as part of a private party given by the Lord Mayor, an "aquatic" occasion in all senses of the word.<sup>15</sup> Three weeks later, at the Mansion House again, Haliburton participated in a public meeting called to assist the sufferers of the "Mutiny in India."

Here he moved the main motion of the day, calling upon the ladies present to relieve those who had suffered from the Indian mutiny. He spoke as an old judge with a stern sense of retributive justice: "He had no mawkish sensibilities on the subject, and did not cry out shame for punishing wretches who had surpassed in their atrocities all that history could produce,"<sup>16</sup> and could not recall anything in the history of the white man's relations with the "red devils" in North America to compare with the recent outrage in India. North Americans were ready, he said, to aid the British with money and troops. Haliburton was appointed to be one of the managers of the Indian Mutiny Relief Fund, and found himself at the centre of an international relief fund that caught the imagination of the British Empire.<sup>17</sup>

During 1858 Haliburton continued to enjoy himself socially. He attended the Annual Festival of the British Orphan Asylum at the London Tavern on 22 March, was present at the launching of the P&O liner "Northram" in Southampton on April 1st, and participated in a deputation of distinguished colonial gentlemen who called on the Colonial Office and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 15 June to promote the Halifax and Quebec railway. On 16 June he received an Honorary D.C.L. at Oxford.<sup>18</sup> A year later, the *Illustrated Times* recalled "that when he attended an Oxford Commemoration, and was greeted with cheering from the undergraduates, he threw up to his admirers one of his arch glances and set the whole of the gallery in a roar of laughter."<sup>19</sup>

In early September, the Haliburtons spent several days at Buxton, so that the Judge could repair his ailing constitution by taking the waters.<sup>20</sup> In October, Haliburton stayed with W.B. Watkins in Manchester. On his return to London, he experienced another outbreak of bodily pain, a "tumor on the point of my left elbow about the size of a plum" which the doctor pronounced to be gout.<sup>21</sup> The attack lasted three months. Despite his illness he managed to attend a convivial Canada Club meeting on 24 November. Canada Club meetings were famous orgies of good eating and drinking!<sup>22</sup>

On 25 January, 1859, Haliburton attended an orgy of a similar kind, the Robert Burns Centenary Dinner in Glasgow. As Haliburton confessed to Richard Bentley, "We had a jolly time at Glasgow. My speech there they tried to flatter me was the best of the evening. I had an unexpectedly warm and enthusiastic reception."<sup>23</sup> The Burns Centenary Dinner was not the most judicious affair for a Judge trying to recover from gout to attend. The editorial in the *North British Daily Mail* for Wednesday, 26 January, 1859, remarked that while Burns night was officially over ". . . not a few headaches and other penalties of pleasure will this morning be found remaining behind." Haliburton's task at the dinner was to respond to the toast "The Clergy of Scotland." In his speech Haliburton said little about Robert Burns. He spoke mainly about North America and the activities of the Scottish clergy there.

After his prolonged illness and the appropriate period of recuperation, the surprising event in Haliburton's life during 1859 is surely his decision to become a Member of Parliament for Launceston in Cornwall. It has always been assumed that Haliburton's election as Member of Parliament for the Borough of Launceston in April 1859 was a matter of formality only. Launceston was one of a handful of

pocket boroughs to survive the 1832 Reform Act. Before 1832, the small Cornish town returned four members to Parliament; afterwards, it returned just one. Since 1832, the Duke of Northumberland had controlled borough politics and nominated its member. It has been assumed that Haliburton was the Duke's nominee. When Haliburton travelled to Launceston for his "election", the borough was a surprising hot-bed of Conservative/Radical rivalry. By 1858-59, the patience of some local electors was exhausted. They sent a satirical open letter to the Duke deploring his control of their borough and urging immediate reform.<sup>24</sup> The files of the local paper, *The Launceston Weekly News*, provide a full account of the "election." The prevailing view of Haliburton's Parliamentary career is Chittick's: that Haliburton cut a pathetic rather than an heroic figure in the service of British North America in the Imperial Parliament. But his failure is only apparent if we measure Haliburton against a level of political achievement that was never his intention in the first place. What his intentions were emerge clearly in the reports of his "election" in *The Launceston Weekly News*.<sup>25</sup>

On Monday last at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a meeting of the electors of this borough was held in the Central Subscriptions Room. The meeting was numerously attended by both Conservatives and Liberals, and several ladies were also present. An unusual amount of curiosity was manifested to hear the address of Mr. Haliburton, who is a gentleman of world-wide reputation as the author of "Sam Slick" and other humorous works, besides some of much merit on colonial subjects. Several gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood were present, as well as a large number of leading agriculturalists.<sup>25</sup>

After a Dr. Pethick had been appointed chairman, the Duke of Northumberland's steward, a Mr. Gurney, pointed out that he had been returning candidates in the borough for the past twenty-seven years and had the honour "of introducing to you on this occasion a gentleman well known throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America (Cheers)." Mr Gurney distributed copies of a memoir of Haliburton which he had found in Herbert Fry's "National Gallery of Distinguished Men", and he urged the assembly to study the main details of a life that prepared Haliburton to represent four million people, ". . . who are under the sovereignty of this country, but who are not represented in Parliament." Before the meeting could proceed Haliburton tried to repair the damage that had been created by zealous local conservatives:

Mr. ROBBINS. I think it an insult to this meeting to issue a bill inviting the attendance of Conservatives only. I think it a perfect insult (Hear) and I have come to the meeting to protest against it (Hear, hear, cheers and uproar).

Dr. PETHICK. My duty is simply to request that you will give him a patient hearing . . . I think therefore, as Englishmen we should conduct ourselves in an orderly manner (Cheers).

Mr. JUSTICE HALIBURTON, who on rising was received with much cheering, said—After the manner in which Mr. Gurney has been so good as to introduce me to you, and before making any observation with respect to my political creed, I wish to express my regret that any notice should have been issued to exclude any person from hearing me on this occasion. If I have the honour to become the representative of Launceston, I expect to be that of those in case of a contest might vote against me (Cheers). I have no connexion with the Government, nor any communication with any member of the Government, and I think I may say, with any Member of Parliament. But you may ask what has brought a stranger here, I will endeavour to give a plain answer, and anticipate the question. I heard at Richmond a few days ago that Mr. Percy [Mr Jocelyn Percy, Launceston's M.P. for the last nine years] through an accident which we all deplore would be unable to resume his Parliamentary duties, and that it was his intention to retire.

I have retired from public life myself; have never held office under this government; and never had a shilling from the British Government. I have been paid as a judge for my services; have earned my bread, and am independent of any party connexion (Hear, hear). I have often been solicited to go into Parliament, not so much as a representative for any borough, but for four millions of people on the other side of the water. If returned for you I think I should be member for the largest constituency in the empire (Cheers). But I have come not to serve my own country exclusively, but conjointly with the interests of those who more immediately elect me; so that the town of Launceston will be known from Cape Sable Island to the Borders of Russia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans; it will be rendered memorable as the first place to give in the Imperial Parliament a colonial representation (Loud Cheers).

Haliburton was quick to hold himself above the party rancor. Surprisingly, he did not regard the election as a foregone conclusion, although it is hard to believe that he did not know that the Northumberland political machine was still intact. Haliburton presented his political creed to a meeting frequently on the verge of stormy disruption. If his performance cannot be described as brilliant, it can be described as tactful (with inspired moments):

To look at, I am an old man, but young enough yet to do good service. I am not like a young man come here to mount the first step of the ladder, and, after succeeding, to kick it away (Cheers). Neither am I come

to make large promises, but, if you elect me, shall be happy to serve you; and if you refuse me I can but return to my happy home on the banks of the Thames, regretting not to be your member, but happy that you have got one of your choice (Cheers). Having represented a large county seat I know what is due to differences of opinion (Hear, hear). I was not elected representative by an unanimous choice; but when returned felt I was as much the member of those who opposed me as of those who voted in my favour, and I believe that if I had not quitted political life, should to this day have continued to represent Annapolis. Differences of opinion there must and will exist. But let there be no mistake; I don't call myself an advanced Conservative, a Liberal Conservative, but a plain—Conservative. I wish to use plain English, if I do not succeed in pronouncing it exactly.

He continued by describing himself as a lifelong businessman and "promoter" of steam travel and railways. Although he was not a "capitalist," he did claim "influence with leading men" and would be most happy to use it on behalf of Launceston, for the area lacked a railway link with the outside world. He was wise enough to conclude with no promises: "I can do nothing more than advocate on your behalf, which I would do with pleasure in return for your kindness should you elect me to be your representative (Loud cheers)." Mr. Robbins, the most vocal Radical present, reminded the meeting that any nominee of the Duke's should be rejected:

Mr. ROBBINS. That gentleman says he is ready to answer any enquiry—will he say he is not sent here by the Duke of Northumberland?

Mr. HALIBURTON. I will say that, neither directly nor indirectly, have I had any communication with him about this election (Cheers).

Mr. ROBBINS. With his agent?

Mr. HALIBURTON. No. I should be ashamed to put such a question, and would not sit as his nominee (Loud Cheers).

Before Mr. Robbins could finish commenting upon various elections in the Borough since 1832, the chairman interposed, "a scene of great uproar having taken place." He requested Robbins to keep to the point, for "a plain question had been put, and a plain answer given (Hear, hear)." Despite the reprimand, Mr. Robbins managed to relate the history of candidates since 1832 and to note their non-contribution to the town: "He [Haliburton] professes to come and ask our votes: he knows they were all promised before. Why not at once give the Duke of Northumberland a certificate to enter the House of Commons for us. It is a monstrous farce to come and

pretend to solicit us." Mr. Robbins was nicely warmed up at this point and proceeded to an analysis of the candidate before them, using the "Memoir" Mr. Gurney had presented to the meeting as ammunition: "Mr. Robbins spoke throughout with extraordinary vehemence, and resumed his seat amid mingled uproar and cheering."

Much of the abuse hurled by Mr. Robbins was aimed at the Duke of Northumberland and his followers, the existence of rotten boroughs, and the pusillanimity of an electorate that allowed the Borough to be used for Haliburton's private purposes. Haliburton was affected by the opposition to him enough to imply that he did not take his "election" for granted. In his defence it should be said that the speed with which he came to seek the Launceston seat does preclude much in the way of elaborate political intriguing on his behalf. The sin of a rotten borough was somehow neutralised in Haliburton's mind by the larger sin of the Parliamentary neglect of North American colonists.

Haliburton reminded Mr. Robbins why he had come, in part "to represent the interests of his native country in the British Parliament," an argument designed to flatter the electors of Launceston that they could have an importance beyond the boundary of their little borough. He then defused the smouldering Mr. Robbins with a fine piece of imagery reminiscent of Sam Slick at his best:<sup>26</sup>

But my friend yonder (Mr. Robbins) shows the benefit of free discussion. It lets off the steam. When such high pressure as his is carried, if the steam were not let off, the boiler would burst, spreading dirt and destruction all about. If he hadn't let off his steam he might have had a fit tonight that would have killed him; now he will go home and sleep well. As to his hits at the Old Judge, I am happy to tell him he does not feel anything the worse for them (Laughter and cheers).<sup>26</sup>

Before he concluded, Haliburton reaffirmed that he had ". . . no communication whatever with the Duke of Northumberland in reference to becoming your member; although he is my neighbour, and we are acquainted with each other. I have my own object in view, as well as yours and it has cost me no little effort to emerge once more from the retirement of private life." Haliburton survived the stormy reception and appeared at the "hustings" in the Cornmarket on Friday, 29 April, 1859 as the only candidate.

He concluded his acceptance speech with a warning: "Don't expect me to be a talker in the House, it is not modest to push before old political trained hacks. They would say he makes a jump at everything. As a new member, not a young one, I shall devote myself to the best of my ability to the consideration of the various measures that may be presented."<sup>27</sup> He was immediately congratulated by a Mr. W. D. Pearse on being M.P. of an "incureably rotten and miserable borough (laughter)." Mr. Pearse earnestly hoped that Haliburton would kick away the ladder that had elevated him. This proved not to be the case. Launceston continued as a pocket borough until 1885, although the Duke of Northumberland's control over it, waning in 1859, ceased in 1864, on the sale of his Werrington Estate (and with it the right to return an M.P. to Westminster) to a cotton merchant named Campbell.

Haliburton's remarks to the electors of Launceston are relevant to any estimate of his success or failure as an M.P. Because he was a celebrity, much more was anticipated from his Parliamentary career than materialised:

The most notable man that the general election has sent up to Parliament is unquestionably Mr. Justice Haliburton, the conservative member for Launceston [commented *The Illustrated London News*] . . . . He is tall and portly, rather bald, and the hair that he has is grey. His face is full and somewhat florid, and he wears neither whiskers nor a beard; and, on the whole, he appears, to a casual observer at a distance, a commonplace, plodding man, and might be taken for a farmer of the better class, or a respectable tradesman. This was our impression of Mr. Haliburton, alias "Sam Slick," when from the gallery we saw him walk into the House, take his seat on the Ministerial side, and afterwards come up to the table to be sworn; and we said to ourselves, "So this is the immortal Sam! Well, he is not at all the man that we have imagined. Is it possible there can be so much humour, archness, and waggery in that stolid looking man?" But, afterwards, we had an opportunity of seeing him closer, and then he looked somewhat different. And when, in the course of conversation, his face lighted up with a smile, we saw at once indications of his peculiar power: his small eyes seemed to twinkle and get closer together, and there was an expression about his mouth full of that archness and roguery which abound in his books. At a distance he seems Mr. Justice Haliburton, but closer, and when his face was lit up, we could easily imagine him to be Sam Slick.<sup>28</sup>

Haliburton's Parliamentary record reveals a conscientious M.P. who spoke on many matters of colonial and wider interests: the defences of British North America, protective tariffs for New Brunswick lumber,

the Anderson Slave Case, American encroachments on the Island of San Juan, the Maine Liquor Law, the responsibility of Directors of railroads for railway accidents, the political situation in Mexico, and the Italian nationalist Manzini.<sup>29</sup> It is true that there is little wit in the Hansard record worth remembering. Instead we find some injudicious moments of spleen directed at Gladstone on the subject of New Brunswick Timber Duties. But in Haliburton's defence it should be said that he found himself arguing, before a House of "free traders," that protection was essential to the livelihood of the timber industry in New Brunswick. Unable to let the matter rest, he dragged the timber duty question into a debate, the next evening, on the budget, insulting Gladstone in a manner the speaker deemed unparliamentary. The Gladstone affair was not typical of his Parliamentary career, and after it Haliburton exhibited caution in what he said.

Haliburton's Parliamentary career was one facet of a busy life, locally, nationally, and internationally. Twice, in successive years, he re-crossed the Atlantic. His first trip, in August-September-October of 1860, coincided with an American tour of his friend William Schaw Lindsay; and the second, between August and November, 1861, might well have been made in the company of W. B. Watkins, who travelled to New Brunswick on railway business at this time.<sup>30</sup>

Haliburton's business interests blossomed as a result of his status as an M.P. between 1859 and 1864. He became a director of several companies: the Canada Land and Emigration Company,<sup>31</sup> the Canada Agency Association,<sup>32</sup> the Credit Poncier Company, and the Credit Mobilier Company (both of which advanced money on deposit of leasehold property in the United Kingdom).<sup>33</sup> Other active interests during these years included the P & O Shipping Line and the extension of the Halifax-Saint John railway into Quebec, although how far he was financially implicated in these two companies, I do not know. He was not averse to making money out of his North American promotions and taking advantage of the commercial possibilities he so loudly proclaimed.

Haliburton's "Speech on the American Crisis", given at the Isleworth Infants School Room on 28 January, 1862, was his last of major significance.<sup>34</sup> It is also Haliburton's final view of the society which he had explored to its pre-revolutionary roots in the second and third series of *The Clockmaker*, through Sam's encounters with the Rev. Mr. Hopewell. Haliburton felt that he had prophesied long ago the explosion that was taking place in American society. The happenings in America supplied the answers to the questions being asked

about electoral reform in England: "Has the ballot been worthwhile?" "Have the extended franchises improved the quality of candidates?" The answer to both questions was "No." The events in America proved that a system of checks and balances in British society prevented the worst effects of the popular will being experienced. Haliburton felt that he was now witnessing what old loyalists had always predicted. His speech ended with a sigh of patriotic relief that ". . . we have been spared the pain and mortification of having tried an unsuccessful experiment" and with a vow to "maintain and uphold our glorious constitution, and to transmit it, strengthened, and unimpaired, to our posterity (Loud and continued cheering)."

Between 1856 and 1859 Haliburton successfully presented himself to the British public as the man behind "Sam Slick." The years between 1859 and 1862 were filled with political, business, and social as well as literary activity. After his "Speech on the American Crisis," Haliburton slackened his pace. In July, 1863, ill health prevented him from attending the Annual Dinner of the Isleworth Philanthropic Society, one of his favorite diversions. His health had finally deteriorated. He managed to signal his intention not to seek reelection at Launceston before the Duke of Northumberland sold the Werrington Estate (and the right to return the Member for Launceston) in 1864. He therefore brought his association with the little Cornish borough to a dignified close.<sup>35</sup> His new life in England was not the disaster Chittick maintained, and Haliburton's pre-eminence as a public figure during this period calls into question Chittick's tag of "provincial Tory."

#### NOTES

1. Chapter XXII, "Home to England, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton: ("Sam Slick") A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp. 565-602.
2. *The Times*, 15 July 1853, p. 8, col. 3. See also the "Supplement, *The Gloucester Journal*, 16 July 1853.
3. A.L.S. Barwick Baker, 1 July 1853. University of California, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles.
4. See "Supplement," *The Gloucester Journal*, 16 July 1853.
5. *The Shrewsbury Chronicle*, Friday, 10 October 1856, p. 4, col. 6.
6. *Kelly's Post Office Directory* (1856).
7. "Thomas Haliburton in Isleworth (1856-65)," *Dalhousie Review*, No. 57 (Winter, 1977), pp. 619-27.

8. See *Manchester Athenaeum Addresses 1835-1885* (Manchester, 1888): "It is the social club and literary home of some hundreds of young men engaged in business in Manchester."
9. Chittick, p. 578.
10. My remarks and all quotations from the speech are taken from *The Standard*, Friday, 19 December 1856, cols. c & d. See also *The Times*, Friday, 19 December 1856, p. 5, cols. 4-5.
11. A.L.S. Dr. Browne of Dumfries, 17 March 1857. Acadia University Special Collections.
12. Haliburton tried to persuade W. B. Watkins to accompany him to Glasgow to relieve the tedium of the journey, but as Watkins' name does not appear in the very full news reports in the *North British Daily Mail* for 27 March, 1857, he does not appear to have travelled with him.
13. My quotations are from reports of his speech that appeared in *The Times*, Wednesday, 20 May 1857, p. 12, col. d. "Royal Literary Fund."
14. *The Standard*, Wednesday, 17 June 1857.
15. Although the report in *The Times* does not mention Haliburton's attendance at this event, his presence is verified by A.L.S. W. B. Watkins, 8 August 1857.
16. All quotations from Haliburton's speech are taken from the report in *The Standard*, Wednesday, 26 August 1857.
17. See *The Times*, Friday, 30 April 1858, p. 8, col. d., a list of committees for the Indian Relief Fund.
18. The previous items are reported in *The Times*. The Oxford D.C.L. was conferred on 16 June 1858 as part of the Encaenia, the celebration of the dedication of the Sheldonian Theatre, and the commemoration of the benefactors of the University. I am indebted to Ruth Vyse, Assistant Archivist at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for this information.
19. As reported in *The Launceston News*, 18 June 1859. The Launceston paper reprinted the article "Sam Slick in Parliament" from the *Illustrated Times*.
20. Sarah Harriet wrote to Richard Bentley in early September, 1858, describing Haliburton's ailments: ". . . the pain has shifted [to?] the knee, which makes him more of a Cripple than he was before." Harvard Library, 45 M 542, 3 letters from Sarah Harriet Haliburton to Richard Bentley.
21. A.L.S. W. B. Watkins, 27 October 1858. Massey College, Toronto.
22. J.G. Colmer, *The Canada Club (London) Some Notes on Its Origin, Constitution and Activities* (1934, Issued by the Committee of the Club), B.L.010349 cc 36, pp. 60-62.
23. A.L.S. Richard Bentley, 28 January 1859, *The Canadian Collection*, p. 89.
24. H. Spencer Toy, *The Cornish Pocket Borough* (Penzance 1968), pp. 80-81.
25. My quotations are from *The Launceston Weekly News*, for 23 April 1859, by kind permission of the editor of *The Cornish & North Devon Post*.
26. Cf. *The Season Ticket* (London, 1860), p. 283.
27. *The Launceston Weekly News*, 30 April 1859, "Launceston Election."
28. "Sam Slick in Parliament." See footnote 19 above.
29. See *Hansard*, 1859-64.
30. A.L.S. by H.W. Wickham to George Wilson, 21 November 1861, The Wilson Papers, Manchester Public Library, refers to Watkins having "been out lately to Canada on Railway matters."
31. See *The Times*, Thursday, 25 April 1861 for a report on the Company's prospectus which Haliburton helped to draft.
32. *The Times*, 4 March 1861.
33. *The Manchester Examiner & Times*, 24 June 1864.
34. *The Standard*, 29 January 1862.
35. The tone of his letter "To the Electors of the Borough of Launceston," 4 July 1865 published in *The Launceston Weekly News*, Saturday, 8 July 1865, suggests this: "In everything connected with the welfare and advancement of Launceston, I shall always feel a deep concern, etc."