

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

NOVA SCOTIA AND THE

RECIPROCITY ELECTION OF 1911

April, 1971

Date

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Title Nova Scotia and the Reciprocity Election of 1911

A thesis submitted by A. Gordon Brown in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at Dalhousie University.

Department or School Graduate Studies

Degree M. A. Convocation Spring Year 1971

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ABSTRACT

After a campaign which was probably the most keenly fought of any since Confederation a ministry which for fifteen years had enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian public went down to humiliating defeat in the election of 1911. While the general outcome surprised many Liberals it was perhaps in Nova Scotia that the Laurier administration had least expected to sustain losses because of the appeal the election's chief issue was believed to have for that province.

Parliament had been dissolved and a general election had been called over the question of reciprocity in natural products with the United States. While most Canadian manufacturers were opposed to the proposed trade arrangement largely because they feared it would eventually lead to reduced tariff protection for their particular economic concerns, Nova Scotians were expected to welcome it because their province's economy was so heavily dependent on the fishing, farming, mining and forest industries.

This dissertation attempts to account in some measure for the failure of Nova Scotians to respond enthusiastically to the reciprocity arrangement negotiated for them by their own W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance for Canada. As it is contended that the relative prosperity which prevailed in Nova Scotia during 1910 and 1911 was largely responsible for the apparent indifference of the province toward reciprocity much of this study is concerned with the state of the primary industries as the second decade of the twentieth century got under way.

Since the election of 1911 was one of the most colourful in Canadian history and as much of this colour was reflected in the Nova Scotia press the thesis also devotes considerable attention to an examination of this medium - so influential during the years just prior to the advent of electronic broadcasting.

INTRODUCTION

Many members of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal party expected victory in the federal election of 1911 because they were in a position to offer Canadians something which had been vainly sought by both major parties on quite a number of occasions since Confederation - economic reciprocity in natural products with the United States. Most Liberals were realistic enough to expect that some of the more industrialized areas of the nation would reject reciprocity but felt that such rejection would be more than offset by the great enthusiasm for reciprocity which they expected would be found in the rest of Canada.

Having managed to retain twelve of Nova Scotia's eighteen seats in the 1908 federal election - without being in a position to offer reciprocity - the Liberals expected to do particularly well, in 1911, in this province whose economy was based so largely on the export of natural products. But the election results for Nova Scotia were most disappointing to the Laurier party. Gains by the Tories left the Liberals controlling only half of the province's seats. Two important cabinet ministers, representing constituencies expected to benefit particularly from reciprocity, were defeated.¹ And only firm support from industrial Cape Breton, an area which presumably would have

1. Sir Frederick Borden in Kings and W. S. Fielding in Shelburne-Queens.

suffered from a proposed eight cent reduction in the coal duty, prevented what was a Liberal defeat nationally from being almost a rout in Nova Scotia. Since the Liberals won half of Nova Scotia's seats perhaps it cannot be said that Nova Scotians rejected reciprocity. But if they did not exactly reject the Liberal proposal neither did they respond to it with enthusiasm. The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to account, in some measure, for the seemingly paradoxical results of the election of 1911 in Nova Scotia, an election in which Nova Scotians - to the surprise of many-did not thrust into office all or nearly all those candidates championing reciprocity with the United States.

But since 1911 was far from being the first time reciprocity was an issue in Nova Scotia there is perhaps some value in examining briefly other periods in the history of the province, when this question was an issue of considerable political importance. Attention should be paid to the influence the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 may have had on Nova Scotia. Unusually prosperous during the time it was in effect, many Nova Scotians in later years would look back to the 1854-1866 period as their "Golden Age."

This habit of looking too much to the past may have inhibited the integration of Nova Scotia with the rest of the Dominion. It would likely, however, have gained total victory for the Nova Scotia Liberals in September, 1911, but for the fact that the prosperity of the moment dimmed for a time the vision of that decreasing number of Nova Scotians ordinarily inclined to gaze backward to see golden days of the past.

Reciprocal trade with the United States, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned, would, in essence have meant reciprocal trade with New England, an area whose relationship with Nova Scotia extended back to the founding of Acadia early in the seventeenth century¹ and whose influence upon the maritime province "as a formative force" has been seen as being probably second only to that of the sea.² Nova Scotia's economic ties with New England showed promise of becoming even stronger with the agitation for reciprocity which arose in the British North American colonies - largely as a result of the general disarray of North American commerce after 1846, and, as well, of the partial failure of crops which ensued at almost the same time.³ The Nova Scotian published in Halifax viewed the situation in the summer of 1849 in this manner;

Our trade has been too long cribbed, cabined and confined. We want a wider field for the products of colonial industry. We want something to stimulate colonial capitalists and labourers - a market.⁴

Later, however, when Nova Scotians came to realize that the price of reciprocity was the entry of American fisherman to the coastal waters of British North America, enthusiasm for the agreement turned to anger against it; and in a 1,000 word petition addressed to "the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty" by the "merchants, traders, and fisherman residing in Halifax, and

1. J. B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, (Toronto 1945), pp. 27, 28
2. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Regional Protest, 1867 - 1967", Queen's Quarterly, LXXV, No. 1, 1968, p. 111.
3. D. C. Masters, The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, (London, 1937), p. 8.
4. Nova Scotian, August 27, 1849.

the adjoining harbours on the shores of Nova Scotia" the proposed reciprocity agreement was labelled in 1852, as being "not only utterly ruinous to the shore fishery of this Province, but most injurious to the national welfare and derogatory to the honour of the British Crown."¹

The signing of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 despite Nova Scotia's protests caused even Joseph Howe to feel "less and less a British subject." But Howe was also very angry at Canada and in speaking against the Reciprocity Treaty manifested a bitter and almost paranoid anti-"Upper Canadian" attitude which would be very common in the Liberal press during the election campaign of 1911. Howe declared:

Canada, for years, has wanted to get this treaty at any price. Canada has no fisheries, and frozen up for half the year, her commerce is limited and circumscribed. She has comparatively nothing to do with the ocean. - Therefore Canada is in favour of reciprocity, on these terms, and I believe she would have been glad if the whole of Nova Scotia had been thrown into the bargain. So infatuated have been the statesmen of Canada on this subject, that I believe they would not have greived [sic] if, after having robbed us of our Fisheries, Nova Scotia had been submerged in the waters which surround her! 2

Despite the fears of Howe and others, a period of great economic prosperity prevailed in British North America during the twelve years the treaty was in effect.³ Although the prosperous times enjoyed in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick

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1. Journal of the Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1852, Appendix No. 17, pp. 116 - 118.
 2. Nova Scotian, March 11, 1854
 3. D. C. Masters, "Reciprocity, 1846 - 1911", Canadian Historical Booklet No. 12, (Ottawa, 1961), p. 7.

and Nova Scotia occurred largely because "a concomitance of circumstances favourable to the Maritime provinces synchronized with the period of the Reciprocity Treaty"¹ and although the Conservative press pointed this out on many later occasions when tariff reciprocity with the United States was again being discussed, the further the period of the 1854 Treaty receded in time the more attractive it seemed to become to those looking back on it. As a member of the editorial staff of a Halifax newspaper observed in November, 1910, following a trip to South Shore areas of western Nova Scotia,

The most vivid recollection the people of that section of the province have is of the days when under reciprocity every harbor along the coast had its fleet of fishing vessels and there was no sailing out of Gloucester for the men of the South Shore. When, not only the fishermen, but the shipbuilders and the outfitters were busy and prosperous and found all the employment they desired under their own flag. Rightly or wrongly, they inseparably couple those days with Free Trade with the States, and believe absolutely that they would come under a renewal of reciprocal trade relations . . . The success they have had this year served to remind the old men of those days when the industry was most prosperous; and they were contemporaneous with reciprocity. It is a magical word among the fishermen. The younger ones who never lived under it themselves, have heard enough about it to make it look to them like the Golden Age, a return of which they would like to see and experience . . . 2

The "Golden Age" aura in which the 1854 - 1866 period in Nova Scotia appeared enveloped, in retrospect, contrasted most unfavourably with the conception most Nova Scotians had

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1. S. A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty," G. A. Rawlyk (editor), Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces, (Toronto, 1967), p. 161.
 2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, November 15, 1910.

of the British North American union created in 1867. For Confederation marked profound economic as well as political changes in their province as practically concurrent with union, industrial and technological changes rendered obsolete the elements of Maritime prosperity.¹ Nova Scotians, unable to realize that the age of wind, wood and water had practically expired, saw Confederation as the evil which had to be destroyed. The disenchantment which set in almost immediately after Confederation continued for two decades. The factors which led to its development included the advent of the iron steamship but also such other elements as the loss of local markets to central-Canadian competition, following the completion of the Intercolonial Railway, and the absorption of many Nova Scotia companies by large corporations from central Canada.²

Nova Scotia got off to a bad start in Confederation by being dragged almost simultaneously into a severe economic recession.³ To Joseph Howe - and apparently to most of his fellow Nova Scotians - repeal represented the most promising solution to their economic and collective psychological problems.

Central to all issues in Nova Scotia at this time was the question of the tariff;⁴ and one of the chief attractions of

1. C. M. Wallace, "The Nationalization of the Maritimes, 1867 - 1914", J. M. Bumsted (editor), Documentary Problems in Canadian History, II, (Georgetown, 1969), p. 129.

2. Ibid., pp. 129, 130.

3. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest", p. 130.

4. C. M. Wallace, "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 130.

"repeal" as seen by Howe and others in 1868 was that once detached from Canada the province, which formed part of that region most adversely affected by the high tariffs which came with Confederation,¹ could arrange its own scheme of duties - hopefully, in such a manner as to foster increased trade with the eastern United States. For with the British "betrayal of 1867" pro - New England sentiment, which had lain largely dormant since the Revolution, again manifested itself in certain areas of Nova Scotia and the former "outpost of New England" began, increasingly, to look southward towards the United States.² Nova Scotia's sluggish economic growth contrasted most markedly with the dynamic and vigorous society that was nineteenth century commercial and industrial America and favourable trade arrangements with this area - hopefully reciprocity - was seen by traditionally free trade Nova Scotia as a most worthwhile objective.³ Howe's acceptance of a position in the John A. MacDonald cabinet, in 1869, ended for the time being repeal agitation and consequently the hope of achieving tariff reciprocity between Nova Scotia and New England. Conceived in frustration and economic discontent the repeal movement withered when indications of an economic revival appeared in 1869.⁴ Nova Scotians, however, would continue to look back on the period immediately preceding Confederation as their golden era and would continue, as well,

1. Ibid., p. 130.

2. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest", p. 114.

3. C. M. Wallace, "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 130.

4. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest", p. 114.

during their frequent periods of recession and depression to regard reciprocity as the panacea for most of their economic ills.

In 1871 it is not surprising that many Nova Scotians followed closely and hopefully John A. Macdonald's role in negotiating the Treaty of Washington. But when it was eventually revealed that not only had reciprocity not been obtained but that again Americans were to be given access to the Atlantic fisheries there were heard once more in Nova Scotia "frantic ravings against Great Britain, and against Sir John A. Macdonald and Dr. Tupper."¹ A people with a "Golden Age" in their recent past could not easily accept being denied the medium of its restoration.

In 1874 the Liberals, represented by George Brown, took their turn at attempting to pry reciprocity from the Americans and again Nova Scotians were in an anticipatory mood, for as the Morning Chronicle reported, "there was not one of them who does not acknowledge that the former Treaty was to our advantage and that its cessation struck a heavy . . . blow at our trade."² But Brown's mission to Washington was a failure as were all of the later ones in the nineteenth century, having the same objective. And Nova Scotians, by now largely deprived of their foreign markets and obliged to "buy Canadian" at the same time, more and more felt their province to be but a

1. British Colonist, June 20, 1871.

2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, June 20, 1874.

"peripheral colonial appendage of 'Upper Canada.'"¹

This feeling can be said to have reached its culmination in the mid-1880's, allowing Premier W. S. Fielding to capitalize on it, in the spring of 1886, by moving a series of resolutions condemning Confederation and exhorting Nova Scotians to vote for the separation of their province from the Dominion of Canada.² Such political blackmail³ had the potential of forcing John A. Macdonald to once more grant "better terms" to Nova Scotia - thus relieving the province of its acute financial embarrassment. Nova Scotians had little difficulty in seeing the financial woes of their province as being the result of grossly unjust "exactions of the Canucks."⁴ A return to the "Golden Age", they felt, would be realized as soon as they could be liberated from these inequitable "Upper Canadian" exactions. Once free of "Upper Canadian" control Nova Scotians would then be in a position to "hold their own without difficulty."⁵ A surplus of half a million dollars following secession was envisaged,⁶ but more important, Nova Scotia, following repeal, could then negotiate reciprocity with the United States, to launch herself once more into a golden era of prosperity.

1. G. A. Rawlyk, "A New Golden Age of Maritime Historiography?", Queen's Quarterly, LXXVI, No. 1, (Spring, 1969), p. 55.

2. P. R. Blakeley, "The Repeal Election of 1886", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXVI, (Halifax, 1945).

3. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest", p. 118.

4. P. R. Blakeley, "The Repeal Election", p. 143.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

A mandate to take Nova Scotia out of Confederation was to be sought in a provincial election slated for June 5, 1886, and although there were other issues the question of paramount importance, according to Fielding, was repeal.¹ The Liberals easily won the election.² Only the industrial areas of the north-eastern section of the province - with a vested interest in the federal government's National Policy -³ rejected the possibility of closer relations with the United States and a return to the "Golden Age."⁴

Although apparently granted a clear mandate by the people of Nova Scotia for secession, Fielding took no immediate steps to carry out such a move, insisting that he also required "a decisive and overwhelming vote . . . for repeal" in the federal election of 1887. When this was not obtained⁵ the repeal movement passed out of practical politics; in 1890 Fielding himself admitted that repeal was dead.⁶ In actuality, it was dead because it had been a medium for Nova Scotians to release their frustrations against "Upper Canada"⁷ more than it had

1. P. R. Blakeley, "The Repeal Election", p. 138.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

3. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, (A Study Prepared For The Royal Commission on Dominion - Provincial Relations (Ottawa, 1939), pp. 20-22.

4. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest", p. 118.

5. The Liberals won only seven of the twenty-one seats.

6. P. R. Blakeley, "The Repeal Election", p. 152.

7. R. C. Brown, Canada's National Policy, 1883 - 1900. (Princeton), 1964), p. 126.

been a viable political issue.¹ By this time the attitude of Nova Scotians towards Confederation was beginning to mellow as their ties with "Upper Canada" gradually became stronger. By the spring of 1887, with repeal obviously breathing its last, the Halifax Morning Herald rather accurately predicted that it would doubtlessly be succeeded "by some other donkey with a different name mayhap 'Commercial Union'!"² By the summer of 1887 Liberal newspapers which a few months previously had been lauding Fielding's secession policy were now loud in their praise of Commercial Union,³ believing it to have a strong potential for restoring Nova Scotia's "Golden Age".

At the "Mercier Inter-provincial Conference" of 1887, Nova Scotia, very much out of character with her previous conduct since Confederation, played an active role. This conference approved a resolution favouring Commercial Union and it is possible that its approval of a policy greatly desired by many Nova Scotians caused Nova Scotia at last to feel some measure of kinship with her sister provinces.⁴

By this time other factors, too, were at work, drawing Nova Scotia out of her seeming isolation and closer to the other provinces of the Dominion. The increase of communications with other parts of Canada had a lot to do with this

1. G. A. Rawlyk, "Nova Scotia Protest," p. 119.

2. Halifax Morning Herald, April 29, 1887, quoted by C. D. Howell, "Repeal, Reciprocity, and Commercial Union in Nova Scotian Politics. 1886 - 1887", (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1967), p. 84.

3. C. D. Howell, "Repeal, Reciprocity, and Commercial Union", p. 84.

4. Ibid., p. 95.

development, as for that matter, did the passage of time itself. Even the North-West Rebellion had its impact on Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia's role in putting it down, Sir Robert Borden stated in his Memoirs, did more to unite the province to Canada "than any event that had occurred since Confederation."¹

Not only did Nova Scotia's relations with the rest of Canada improve in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but there developed as well in the province, at this time, an even greater affection for Great Britain and for the British Empire than had prevailed earlier in the century. Thus in 1887 when repeal was an issue in Nova Scotia neither party seemed to have felt any loyalty to the Dominion of Canada² yet the most effective charge directed against the secessionists was that their conduct represented disloyalty - not to Canada, however, but to the British Empire!³

A bolstering of Canadian ties with Great Britain was a result not exactly anticipated by the Liberals when they began advocating unrestricted reciprocity following their defeat nationally, in 1887. Unrestricted reciprocity, to many, meant annexation to the United States and one way seized upon by the Conservatives to fight such a dreaded eventuality was to encourage Canadians to pay greater homage

1. Henry Borden (ed.), Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, I (Toronto, 1938), p. 25.

2. P. R. Blakeley, "The Repeal Election", p. 146.

3. Ibid., p. 146.

to the British connection. The Imperial Federation League proved useful in this regard and "anti-Americanism played a considerable part in the imperial federation movement in Canada."¹ It has been argued, for example, that:

The League did not become an organization to reckon with until some people came to believe that Canada was threatened with annexation to the United States. As a reaction to the Liberal programme of unrestricted reciprocity in 1887 the Imperial Federation League received an influx of new and militant members who emphasized the British connection in order to preserve a Canada distinct from the United States.²

The significance that the loyalty issue had attained in Nova Scotia is revealed in the federal election of 1891 when Unrestricted Reciprocity formed the basis of the Liberal campaign platform.³ Why did Nova Scotia, which had prospered so greatly under reciprocity between 1854 and 1866 and which was promised an even greater measure of reciprocity by the Liberals in 1891, spurn this offer and, in fact, give the Conservatives sixteen out of twenty-one seats, an increase of two over the previous election?⁴ Part of the answer, no doubt, lies in the fact that in Nova Scotia, during the 1891 campaign, the loyalty cry was heard and heeded above everything else.⁵

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1. G. R. MacLean, "The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada, 1884 - 1902", (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Duke University, 1958), p. 394.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
 3. R. M. Deering, "The Federal Election of 1891 in Nova Scotia", (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1967), p.55.
 4. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough, 1968), p. 68.
 5. Ibid., p. 68. See also R. M. Deering, "Election of 1891", p. v.

So although a kind of infatuation with the Empire was on the increase throughout Canada its greatest strength may have been in Nova Scotia.¹ Thus that province, although perhaps in a position to benefit more from unrestricted reciprocity than any other region of Canada, failed to respond to the offer of reciprocity in 1891 just as it would do two decades later, in 1911. Feeling proud of its ties with Great Britain and its membership in the Empire and beginning, also, to take some satisfaction in being part of the Dominion of Canada, Nova Scotia began at last, it would seem, to look to the future rather than to the past.

Nova Scotia's sense of belonging continued to develop rapidly after the Liberals came to power in 1896. Laurier gave the important finance portfolio to that erstwhile secessionist, W. S. Fielding, and a second important cabinet post, the Ministry of Militia and Defense, went to another Nova Scotian, Frederick W. Borden. Even adherents of the Conservative party who might despise all the Liberals, need not have felt left out of national politics since their beloved Sir Charles Tupper held the top position in the land for a few months in 1896 and five years later Frederick Borden's cousin, R. L. Borden, would become the leader of the official opposition in the House of Commons.

Thoughts of reciprocity and the "Golden Age" which coincided with the period during which it was in effect tended to be

1. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, p. 68. See also C.M. Wallace, "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 156.

thrust into the background for a further reason: the arrival in Nova Scotia, late in the nineteenth century, of a measure of economic prosperity.¹ A number of factors were responsible for this development. Since the middle of the 1890's world prices for raw materials were rising and Nova Scotia was in a fine position to meet the demand for products such as coal, fish and lumber.² Equally as important, through the combination of bounties and tariffs, legislation of the Laurier government in 1896 catapulted into existence the steel plants at Sydney.³ In addition to the virtual protection it was granted, the steel industry also prospered greatly from the high demand for steel rails which occurred during the era of railway expansion that preceded World War I.⁴ From about 1880 until shortly after the election of 1911 the Nova Scotian coal industry enjoyed during this period has been mainly attributed to "the large increase in railway mileage and railway traffic; the establishment of a local iron and steel industry; and the rapid development of coal-consuming industries in the province of Quebec."⁵

1. C. M. Wallace, "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 130.

2. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, p. 23.

3. E. Porritt, Sixty Years of Protection in Canada, 1846-1912, Second Edition, "revised and brought up to date by" A. G. Porritt, (Winnipeg, 1931), p. 169.

4. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, p. 34.

5. Ibid., p. 24. "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 130

2. E. Porritt, Sixty Years of Protection, p. 171.

Thus by the turn of the century Nova Scotians were becoming moderately well off;¹ and although E. Porritt no doubt exaggerates when he claims Fielding converted their province to protection "by bountiful largesse to the Iron and Steel industry of Cape Breton",² it is nevertheless true that reciprocity was now largely a forgotten issue. The Maritimes had become Canadian, the ties with New England had weakened and the prosperity which produced this phenomenon made it unnecessary, for a time, to look back to a "Golden Age".

Although practically a forgotten topic by the end of the nineteenth century reciprocity, nevertheless, had been a shibboleth in Canadian politics. Anxiously desired after 1846 it was finally achieved in 1854 only to be taken away in 1866. Zealously sought by both parties after Confederation it remained an elusive but enticing goal for the duration of the century. Finally, at a time when it seemed that at last Canada was a success and when most Canadians believed the twentieth century would be theirs, the long-sought boon was promised once again. Unfortunately for the Liberals, offering Nova Scotians reciprocity in 1911 was something like offering a steak dinner to a chronically hungry mendicant who only recently had acquired finally a hearty meal.

1. C. M. Wallace, "Nationalization of the Maritimes", p. 130

2. E. Porritt, Sixty Years of Protection, p. 171.

CHAPTER I

Historians have paid more attention to the Reciprocity Election of 1911 than to most post-Confederation federal elections held in this country since Confederation. Reciprocity, 1911, a two hundred page monograph by L. Ethan Ellis published in 1939 is still the standard work on the subject.¹ Briefer published accounts of the election of 1911 and the frenetic developments which preceded it are to be found in dozens of other books and articles dealing with the economic, social and political history of Canada and the United States in the twentieth century. One of the best as well as one of the most recent treatments of reciprocity and the election of 1911 forms a chapter of J.M. Beck's Pendulum of Power; Canada's Federal Elections, published in 1968.

But although quite a lot has been written about the Reciprocity Election, relatively little attention has been paid to this election and the campaign which preceded it in the province of Nova Scotia. Beck's sixteen page chapter in Pendulum of Power contains considerably more pertinent analysis of Nova Scotia and reciprocity in 1911 than does

1. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations, (Toronto, 1939).

Ellis' entire book on the Reciprocity issue. And it would seem to be true to state that the half page or so on Nova Scotia and the election of 1911 in Professor Beck's book represents the longest and most valuable published reference to this topic even though, to J. M. Beck, "the results in Nova Scotia appear quite unintelligible".¹

Unpublished theses do not provide very much information about Nova Scotia and the election of 1911 either. For example, what one might expect to be the most comprehensive work on the subject, Fletcher's "Nova Scotia and the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911",² is, despite its title, largely a history of reciprocity in Nova Scotia between 1846 and 1911. The final chapter is about the only portion of the thesis which deals directly with the election of 1911 and this chapter is based almost entirely on secondary sources. It would seem therefore that a detailed study of Nova Scotia's response to the Reciprocity Election of 1911 is badly needed.

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1. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections, (Scarborough, 1968), p. 128. After making this comment, however, Beck later gives a very succinct summary of what would seem to have been the factors chiefly responsible for the unimpressive showing made by the Liberals in Nova Scotia: "Apparently, two factors had counterbalanced the arguments in favour of reciprocity. One was the difficulty of making a case for a change in the status quo during prosperous times. The other was the strong residue of British sentiment which even recent elections indicate still exists in Nova Scotia".
 2. C. S. Fletcher, "Nova Scotia and the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911", (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Acadia University, 1941).

pretation of why Canadians spurned reciprocity in 1911:

In this present study it is suggested that the relative prosperity which prevailed in Nova Scotia in 1911 had a great deal to do with the lack of enthusiasm displayed by the electorate of the province toward the proposed reciprocity arrangement. But this economic well-being which Nova Scotians were enjoying in 1911 existed throughout most other parts of the country as well. Such prosperity would no doubt have a tendency to diminish any appeal which reciprocity might have. It would seem plausible therefore that the majority of Canadians - including many Nova Scotians - rejected reciprocity in 1911 largely because, they had not really asked for it; did not particularly want it; did not appear to need it and were thus quickly prepared to reject it when the Conservatives challenged its desirability.

This point of view cannot be maintained without challenging to some extent at least, the generally accepted explanation that the reciprocity agreement was negotiated by the Liberals mainly because irate western farmers had demanded it, and that Canadians turned it down in defiance of their own economic interests almost entirely as a result of a massive propaganda campaign directed against it by the country's banking, manufacturing and transportation interests.

L. Ethan Ellis' article in the Canadian Historical Association Annual Report for 1939 gives perhaps the most concise statement of what may be called the orthodox interpretation of why Canadians spurned reciprocity in 1911:

L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, p. ix.

It is obvious that Canadian beneficiaries of protection, Canadian railroaders managing lines built to defy natural trade routes by virtue of government subsidies, and bankers attuned to the interests of these powerful clients, would alike distrust any proposal which would lower tariff barriers or allow commerce to seek its natural level . . . Their influence, which it is here suggested was dominant in defeating the Taft-Fielding agreement, had therefore to be exerted so as to move popular majorities to hostility or to fear. Both time and circumstances aided these interests in the unfolding of a gradually-developing plan which used Conservative press and party as a vehicle of reciprocity's destruction. 1

Ellis adopts the same position in the preface to his Reciprocity 1911 when in reference to the reciprocity agreement he states:

. . . its obvious advantages to the producing classes were obscured by a smoke screen of national and Imperial patriotism designed to induce repudiation of the agreement. Behind the scenes the discerning reader will discover at work protected interests and their allies, direfully fearful of any slightest breach in the tariff wall behind which they had grown strong. 2

The Ellis interpretation appears to have been closely patterned after that of earlier Liberal or free trade sympathizers such as Edward Porritt, O. D. Skelton, and J. W. Dafoe. These writers all agreed on three main assumptions: that reciprocity was very much desired by Canadians in 1911, that the Taft-Fielding agreement had been negotiated in response to a grass-roots agitation by primary producers, and that the people of Canada were over-

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1. L. E. Ellis, "Canada's Rejection of Reciprocity in 1911", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1939, 99-111, pp. 101-102.
 2. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, p. ix.

whelmingly prepared to endorse the reciprocity agreement when it was first announced but were diverted from the realization of their true interests by a Big-Business-Conservative-Conspiracy making unscrupulous use of irrelevant "Loyalist and Imperialist" propaganda.

The Ellis interpretation has had a number of applications. Applied to Laurier and the Liberals it reveals them as martyrs in the cause of the common man. Borden and the Conservatives, on the other hand, emerge as villains, callously aligning themselves with Canadian "Monopolists", against the people of Canada, to defeat reciprocity. The explanation advanced by Ellis, Porritt, Dafoe and others to account for Canadian rejection of reciprocity in 1911 continues to appear even in relatively modern times. Thus in their book, Canada and the United States, H. L. Keenleyside and G. S. Brown, after outlining the results of the election of 1911, attribute the Liberal defeat to "the hostility of the manufacturing and financial interests of Ontario and Quebec, and the latent hostility of Canadians to the United States. Opposition to the agreement was organized, advertised, and subsidized", they maintain, "by the great railroad, manufacturing, and banking interests of eastern Canada".¹ The Canadian people, the

1. H. L. Keenleyside and G. S. Brown, Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of Their Historical Relations, (New York, 1952), First Edition: 1929, p. 268.

implication seems to be, were swayed from their convictions that reciprocity was highly desirable and beneficial, by the machinations of wealthy but unscrupulous "Interests".

Conservative writers such as Heath MacQuarrie¹ do not deny the need in 1911 for the Canadian electorate to be converted away from reciprocity. They place more emphasis, however, on the importance of Borden and a vigorous Conservative machine in rescuing the Canadian people from Reciprocity's allure. Actually there tends to be a considerable similarity between Liberal and Conservative interpretations of the 1911 election results. Both see the Canadian people being converted against reciprocity by the efforts of the Conservatives and their allies. The only dispute seems to be whether the conversion was in the best interests of the people of Canada.

One weakness of the orthodox interpretation of the 1911 election results is that it appears to imply that a great need in Canada for reciprocity prompted a strong demand from the Canadian people that reciprocity negotiations with the United States be carried out. But Canada, in 1911 - both parties readily agreed - was enjoying prosperity. Furthermore, Canada had not been the country to ask for reciprocity. The main initiative, as Ellis clearly shows in Reciprocity, 1911, came from the United States as a

1. H. MacQuarrie, "Robert Borden and the Election of 1911", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXV, No. 3, August, 1959, pp. 271 - 286.

consequence of Taft's domestic political difficulties following the outcry against the Payne-Aldrich Tarriff of 1909.¹

The Laurier government, however, did display a willingness to meet the Americans half-way. The explanation usually offered for this is that the Liberals were responding to grievances of western farmers, encountered by Laurier during his speaking tour of the west in 1910. But Ellis, himself, provides the information that reciprocity in natural products, far from being a primary demand of the western farmers, " . . . was more or less an afterthought."² What the western farmers did want in 1910, apparently, was "government ownership of terminal elevators, abolition of the protective tariff, construction of a railroad linking the West with salt water through Hudson Bay, and federal control of the chilled-meat industry."³ If Laurier's primary concern was really to conciliate the western farmers why did he not content himself for the time being with simply promising to relieve these grievances, as did Borden, later, in 1911?⁴

Actually the farmers of the West did make known to Laurier in 1910 their desire for reciprocity but the reciprocity they

1. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, pp. 8 - 27.

2. Ibid., p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. 21.

4. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911, (Toronto, 1912), p. 171.

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1910, p. 328.

had primarily in mind was concerned not with wheat, fish, and lumber but with agricultural implements!¹ That the farmers main agitation on the tariff was directed against the high cost of farm machinery and that they showed little concern with the question of expanded markets for their products in the United States emerges very clearly from a perusal of the large number of memorials presented to Laurier in the summer of 1910 by western farm groups and recorded in Edward Porritt's Revolt Against the New Feudalism. All of the memorials stressed the need for a removal of the tariff on manufactured goods in general and farm implements in particular, while only one or two mentioned any desire for greater markets for farm produce in the United States.²

As late as December, 1910, a few weeks before the Taft-Fielding agreement would have been completed, reciprocity in natural products with the United States was still not the primary concern of the western farmers. At the "Seige of Ottawa", from 850 to 1,000 delegates representing Grain Growers Associations in the West and Grange and Farmers Associations from other parts of Canada, poured into the House of Commons and presented a list of their demands to members of the government.³ At the very last of their list of resolutions was the demand for "United States Reciprocity"

1. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, p. 21.

2. E. Porritt, The Revolt in Canada Against the New Feudalism: Tariff History From the Revision of 1907 to the Uprising of the West in 1910 (London, 1911), pp. 185 - 228.

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1910, p. 328.

and even then it was combined with a request that duties on British goods be reduced. A careful study of the remarks made by those who spoke on this reciprocity resolution reveals clearly that it was still manufactured items and various non-farm products that the western farmers were overwhelmingly interested in having placed on the free list. That their concern was almost entirely with the duty on manufactured items is further revealed by their demand, in the same resolution, for increased British preference, since very few natural products would likely be imported into Canada from Britain.¹ With wheat prices usually higher in the United States than in Canada,² they did not, by any means, object to reciprocity in natural products but again it is to be emphasized that this was not their primary interest.

Yet Canadian negotiators W. S. Fielding and William Paterson went to Washington prepared to reduce drastically the tariff on everything but manufactured goods. It was the Americans who applied the pressure for reduction in this field. The final agreement appeared to remove the last vestiges of protection from farm produce but the proposed reductions on agricultural machinery ranged from only 2½

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1. "Report of Proceedings in the Hearings by Members of the Government of the Farmers' Delegation, December 16, 1910, With Correspondence Preliminary to the Hearings", (Ottawa, 1911), pp. 38-54
(Geo. V. Sessional Papers No. 113).
 2. P. F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada: A Survey Showing American Parallels, (Minneapolis, 1948), p.25.

per cent to 5 per cent.¹ The existing general duty from 17½ to 20 per cent was to be, after the Taft-Fielding agreement went into effect, a uniform but nevertheless quite formidable 15 per cent.² This was approximately the same amount as the reduction of 1907 and only about half as much as the reduction later carried out by Borden in 1914.³ That Canadian farmers were somewhat less than enthusiastic over the reciprocity agreement is hardly a cause for surprise.

A Winnipeg observer, in 1911, analysing the forces responsible for the defeat of reciprocity, places first in order of wickedness the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and second, "the banks and money power".⁴ This prairie writer was already under the delusion, which seems to have prevailed ever since, that reciprocity received strong support in the West but was defeated in the East. Why, if reciprocity in natural products was negotiated as a response to demand for it from western farmers did the West as a whole elect more Conservatives than Liberals in 1911?⁵

1. E. Porritt, Sixty Years of Protection in Canada, 1846 - 1912: Where Industry Leans on the Politician, (Winnipeg, 1931), p. 461.

2. Ibid., p. 461.

3. O. J. McDiarmid, Commercial Policy in the Canadian Economy, (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 256 - 257.

4. E. Porritt, Sixty Years of Protection, p. 465.

5. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, p. 128.

But were not the people of Saskatchewan, at least, overwhelmingly in favour of reciprocity? J. M. Beck selects Saskatchewan as being the western province most favourable to reciprocity, but the capture by the Liberals of nine of the province's ten seats does not necessarily indicate that it was reciprocity the westerners were supporting. The Liberals took just as many seats in 1908 when reciprocity was not an issue! Furthermore, the Conservative share of the popular vote in 1911 increased 2.2 per cent from its share in the previous election - hardly an indication that the people of Saskatchewan were estatic over the opportunity to obtain reciprocity in natural products.

If the West displayed a somewhat lukewarm attitude towards reciprocity it becomes rather difficult to contend that the reciprocity agreement was drafted as a response to their demands. But if the Laurier government was not primarily concerned with conciliating the western farmers what was its motive in espousing reciprocity? Possibly so that it might serve as a diversionary measure, a recent writer suggests, to turn attention in Quebec away from the naval question.¹ The same device had been used with effectiveness, as a distraction from politico-religious questions twenty years earlier and there was always the chance that it might function usefully a second time. With Henri

1. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, pp. 121 - 122.

Bourassa's emergence, by 1910, as the champion of French-Canadian nationalism some sort of a distraction was obviously needed. Previously, Laurier, despite a prestige in Quebec declining since 1902, had always been able to count on the fact that the Conservative party in Quebec was invariably less popular than his own. Now French-Canadians had what to them was a viable third choice and Laurier was in difficulty. How could he demonstrate his solidarity with the French Canadians in Quebec without jeopardizing his position in English Canada? The loss of a by-election to the Nationalists, in Drummond-Arthabaska, Laurier's old constituency and summer home,¹ in November 1910, was an ominous warning to the Liberals of the dangers which lay ahead.² Being outflanked on one side of the issues in Quebec by Bourassa and the Nationalists and on their other side in Ontario by Borden and the Conservatives seemed a real possibility.

To avoid such a catastrophe the Liberals needed a new and striking issue which would cut across racial lines, and, hopefully, re-invigorate the party across the nation. Reciprocity may thus have been selected to serve as an audacious remedy to heal the political ills of the Liberal

1. O. D. Skelton, Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, (Toronto, 1921), p. 338.

2. H. B. Neatby, "Laurier and a Liberal Quebec: A Study in Political Management" (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1956), p. 336.

party. In the election year, 1911, a daring remedy was obviously needed - and not just because of the threats of agrarian revolt in the West, and nationalisme in Quebec. In Ontario the party organization had crumbled seriously;¹ British Columbia was still sulking over the disallowance of its restrictions on Oriental immigration; and in the Maritime provinces Liberal support had slumped visibly in the previous election.

To the Liberals reciprocity, apparently, had the attraction of appearing to meet a traditional demand of the Canadian people which had its origin over a half-century before. If it did not exactly meet the desires of the West that region would at least appreciate it as a step towards free trade.² And reciprocity could surely be expected to supplant the racially divisive imperialist issues which could perhaps be expected to arise in a future election.

The Liberals, then, appeared to have little to lose and much to gain by adopting reciprocity. But what needs to be stressed is that the Liberal decision to respond positively to American overtures regarding reciprocity did not result from any careful assessment of the economic needs of the people of Canada. Nor was it made as a direct concession to any major interest group. Agitation by western farmers may have played a small role in encouraging the reciprocity negotiations but the decision to conduct them seems to have been primarily an

1. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, p. 126.

2. W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, (Toronto, 1950), p. 22.

audacious gamble dictated by a hazardous political situation and a belief in the popular tradition that Canadians perennially favoured limited reciprocity. Regarded in this light Canada's rejection of reciprocity in 1911 becomes more readily explainable.

As for the propaganda campaign, to credit or blame it for defeating reciprocity is to beg the question as to whether or not such propaganda was even necessary. If Canadians as a whole, as is being contended here, were rather indifferent, if not hostile, to reciprocity, then much of the propaganda was probably superfluous. Furthermore, the propaganda was not confined to one side. With such able propagandists as James McPhail, Edward Porritt and J.W. Dafoe to furnish materials with which to fill the columns of their newspapers and to churn out pamphlets as required, the Liberals appear to have been well served in this department. Railing against the "evil conspiracy of the Interests" may have been as effective for the Liberals in some sections of the country as the Loyalty cry was for the Conservatives in other quarters. If the Conservative propaganda instructing the electorate not to vote Liberal appeared to have had the greater success it was probably because the majority of the voters, being indifferent to reciprocity as well as somewhat weary with an administration which had been in power since 1896, would have voted Conservative anyway.

Since Nova Scotia would probably have benefited more from reciprocity in natural products with the United States than any other part of Canada the results of the election of 1911 in that province may at first appear unintelligible. But this

is so only when it is assumed that reciprocity had the same attraction for Nova Scotians in 1911 as it had had a half-century previously. But apparently prosperity had removed from reciprocity much of its allure, causing Nova Scotians, as a whole, to be rather indifferent towards it in 1911.

Reciprocity in Nova Scotia, as has been shown, was regarded many times during the nineteenth century as the great panacea for many of the province's economic ills. Apparently this attitude still prevailed to some extent late in 1910 and for the first few months of 1911. Some indication of reciprocity's initial popularity in Nova Scotia is evidenced by the fact that a furious assault against it had been under way in Ontario and Quebec for several weeks before the major Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia obtained sufficient courage to attack it directly. This initial hesitancy on the part of the Opposition press in Nova Scotia to wholeheartedly condemn the proposed trade arrangement was but one more indication of the reverence with which reciprocity was regarded in the maritime province. Even the Conservatives, it would seem, did not immediately realize the extent to which the relative prosperity which existed in Nova Scotia could weaken reciprocity's traditional appeal.

The newspapers of Nova Scotia in early 1911 reveal, in addition to the prevailing attitudes to reciprocity, a very high regard among inhabitants of the province, it would seem, for other less tangible things relating to the federal election

CHAPTER II

Reciprocity in Nova Scotia, as has been shown, was regarded many times during the nineteenth century as the great panacea for many of the province's economic ills. Apparently this attitude still prevailed to some extent late in 1910 and for the first few months of 1911. Some indication of reciprocity's initial popularity in Nova Scotia is evidenced by the fact that a furious assault against it had been under way in Ontario and Quebec for several weeks before the major Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia obtained sufficient courage to attack it directly. This initial hesitancy on the part of the Opposition press in Nova Scotia to wholeheartedly condemn the proposed trade arrangement was but one more indication of the reverence with which reciprocity was regarded in the maritime province. Even the Conservatives, it would seem, did not immediately realize the extent to which the relative prosperity which existed in Nova Scotia could weaken reciprocity's traditional appeal.

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of 1911. For it was very saliently reflected in the press that Nova Scotians, early in 1911, had strong national pride in their country, Canada, and took great satisfaction, too, in the fact that they were citizens of that Great Empire on which the sun never set. While still cherishing fond memories of reciprocal trade with New England in the previous century they were proud of being Canadian but were perhaps even more proud of being citizens of the British Empire.

In the final months of 1910, many Nova Scotians must have been observing with considerable interest negotiations being conducted at Washington for the purpose of arranging a measure of reciprocal trade between the United States and Canada. Part of their interest resulted from the fact that a native son, Minister of Finance and Laurier Lieutenant in Nova Scotia, W. S. Fielding, was the chief Canadian negotiator. Like many of his fellow Nova Scotians Fielding had long been attracted by the potentialities of increased trade with New England,¹ and it was he, in fact, who had played a key role in persuading

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1. Sir James Whitney, Premier of Ontario was not impressed by Fielding's alleged passion for closer trade relations between Canada and New England: "Mr. Fielding has never been loyal to Confederation, and from childhood up his political vision was apparently bounded by the New England States and the City of Boston. I heard an admirer of his say once that before he came into federal politics he never considered anything of more importance than the desirability of getting a hake of fish and a bag of potatoes into the Boston market on the most favourable terms. I am afraid too that this suggested that the ideas of a good many other people down in the Maritime Provinces were limited in the same way." R. L. Borden Papers, Sir James Whitney to R. L. Borden, January 27, 1911.

Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier to begin negotiating a reciprocity agreement with the United States. But if the chief Canadian negotiator was of special interest to Nova Scotians, so, also, was the subject of the negotiations itself. Despite the unusual prosperity which Nova Scotia was enjoying in 1911 the very word, reciprocity, still had an almost magical appeal. To the older citizens the attraction was especially strong, for many of them had actually lived under reciprocity; and their tales of Nova Scotia's "Golden Age" almost a half-century in the past must have precipitated in many of the younger people, too, a strong enthusiasm for the negotiating efforts in Washington of the Member of Parliament for Shelburne-Queens.¹

While Fielding was at Washington attempting to work out a reciprocal trade arrangement satisfactory to both sides, Liberal and Conservative newspapers speculated on the outcome of the talks and expressed opinions on reciprocity befitting their respective political affiliations.² With reciprocity with the

1. Halifax Chronicle, November 15, 1910.

2. Much of this chapter deals with the changing attitudes of Nova Scotians towards reciprocity as the year 1911 progressed. In such a study newspapers can be most useful. Serving as they did a highly literate population in a period before the advent of either radio or television they sometimes moulded sometimes reflected public opinion. In Nova Scotia public opinion in 1911 was rather distinctly divided into two segments - Conservative and Liberal - with each segment having its own massive newspaper support. The principal sources for this chapter have been the major Conservative mouthpiece the Halifax Herald and the major Liberal organ, the Halifax Chronicle. The smaller newspapers have been less valuable in part because their infinitely smaller potential readership required them to win acceptance from both Liberals and Conservatives in order to remain economically solvent - thus obliging them to avoid as much as possible

United States a strong possibility the Halifax Chronicle sent a member of its editorial staff to sound out the opinion of Nova Scotians on the subject. The journal stacked the cards, somewhat, in favour of the Liberal Party by seeking opinion in those areas of the province traditionally most enthusiastic for reciprocity - the "south shore and western counties" of the province. Not surprisingly the Chronicle found the "vastly preponderating body of opinion" . . . very strongly in favour of free trade with the United States."¹

editorial comment on emotional political issues such as reciprocity

Of the two major Halifax journals, the Herald probably had the greater coverage. The Herald itself had a circulation of about 10,000; the Herald's later edition, the Evening Mail, reached over 14,000 homes as did the Mail and Homestead, the weekly edition of the Herald. The publishers of these newspapers maintained that their three papers covered the whole province. Eighty per cent of the Herald's circulation apparently was in the towns, fifty per cent of the Mail's was in the city of Halifax and one hundred per cent of the Weekly Mail's was in the country districts.

The Chronicle's circulation was about fifteen per cent less than the Herald's but was nevertheless quite substantial. The Morning Chronicle itself had a circulation of 9,000; that of the evening edition (The Echo) was about a thousand less and the Chronicle's weekly edition, the Nova Scotian reached 18,000 homes.

So at a time when the population of Nova Scotia was still less than half a million the Halifax Herald Limited was claiming a readership for its papers of almost 250,000. The Chronicle on the same basis could have claimed about 200,000 readers. Even with ample alliance for exaggeration it would seem that those two newspapers, the Herald and the Chronicle, must have both been overwhelmingly influential in moulding and in reflecting public opinion in the election year, 1911, and are, therefore, by far the most valuable journals to examine when analyzing Nova Scotian attitudes to reciprocity and other issues of the day during the period under consideration. The Canadian Newspaper Directory, 1915, ninth edition, (Montreal, 1915), pp. 9 (advertising section), 152.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, November 15, 1910.

The reverence with which reciprocity was regarded in Nova Scotia before it became a political issue in 1911 is evidenced by the caution with which the usually partizan Halifax Herald treated the subject. True, an anti-reciprocity cartoon did appear in the Decemter 8, 1910 issue and featured a delectable "Miss Canada" attempting to ward off a villainous-looking old man - apparently "Uncle Sam" - whose intentions obviously left something to be desired.

But this cartoon, however critical of reciprocity, originated not with the Halifax Herald but with the Toronto News. Using this approach the Tory newspaper could preserve its self-respect by subtly attacking a major Liberal-sponsored policy while leaving itself free to lend support to reciprocity, if necessary, later on. The Herald gave the appearance of keeping an open mind on the subject of reciprocity when it published in its columns on December 30, 1910, an item from the Toronto Globe dealing with Yarmouth, a county whose inhabitants could "look back with regret on the old reciprocity days when wooden vessels of from 300 tons to 2,000 tons register were always on the stocks and a large part of the world's carrying trade brought money to the port in easy abundance."¹

However, on January 13, 1911, with the date for the revelation of the results of the reciprocity negotiations drawing closer, the Herald exerted a stronger effort to perform the role of a respectable opposition organ as it pointed out to its readers, "a fact well known to observant people":

1. Halifax Herald, December 30, 1910.

Namely, that the United States is rapidly reaching a point when, in its own interests it will have to reduce its duties on many lines, and that in now seeking and asking concessions from Canada, our neighbours are asking to be paid for doing what they would have to do of their own accord and in their own interest if left to themselves.

"Our readers can draw their own conclusions," declared the Herald, as it went on to underline the point for its more obtuse readers, "as to the bearing of that fact on the subject of reciprocity negotiations at the present time." Once again the Halifax Herald had criticized reciprocity - however mildly - without at the same time actually committing itself with regard to the reciprocity negotiations then being conducted at Washington¹

The same newspaper unleashed another gentle cuff at reciprocity a few days later in an editorial purporting to illustrate that Britain's prosperity has not resulted from free trade but had occurred in spite of free trade.² And for those readers lacking a penchant for reading lengthy editorials subtly pointing out the dangers of lowering tariff barriers, there were numerous anti-reciprocity cartoons - almost always from the Toronto News.

"Business moving satisfactorily" telegraphed Fielding in an optimistic communication to Laurier January 17, 1911.³ The Minister was obviously pleased at the extent of the free list

1. Ibid., January 13, 1911.

2. Ibid., January 18, 1911.

3. Laurier Papers, W. S. Fielding to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, January 17, 1911.

and that no interest was likely to be seriously hurt. That Canada was obligated to offer so little in return was also of considerable satisfaction. Fielding communicated to Sir Wilfrid on Friday, January 20, that the entire transaction should be completed by the following Monday, at the latest. He also made a point of commenting to Laurier on the "excellent spirit" shown by the Americans during the process of the negotiations.¹

On Tuesday, January 24, the Halifax Herald came as close as it ever would to offering praise to the member for Shelburne-Queens and his associates for their negotiating efforts at Washington. What was pleasing to the Herald was a rumour in circulation that no treaty would be signed. "If our Ministers have avoided or escaped making or agreeing to make such a treaty," declared the Herald, "it is a good thing for the country and the Empire, and we congratulate them and the country on the escape."² But just in case there should be some doubts as to which side the Halifax Herald was ultimately supporting with regard to the reciprocity policy being championed by its rivals, the Tory Journal, on the following day, published another Toronto News anti-reciprocity cartoon.³

At a time when most newspapers were still extremely partisan with regard to the major political issues of the day, the Halifax Herald probably longed to attack reciprocity in advance as was

1. Laurier Papers, W. S. Fielding to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, January 20, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, January 24, 1911.

3. Ibid., January 25, 1911.

being done by the Toronto News and other central-Canadian newspapers. However the Herald for a time was apparently as captivated by the magic of the word "reciprocity" in Nova Scotia as were most of the other journals of the province in 1911, whether Liberal or Conservative.

Since it was thus thought to be too risky for a major Nova Scotia newspaper to make a direct editorial assault on reciprocity in the early weeks of 1911 the best thing to do seemed to be to write practically nothing at all on the subject and this was the course followed by the Herald late in January, 1911, while it awaited the details of the Taft-Fielding agreement.

Waiting for the details of the Taft-Fielding agreement caused the Chronicle less discomfort, of course. Ironically, what the Chronicle called for most often while the cabinet minister it apparently spoke for quite frequently was in Washington obtaining tariff reductions, was more protection. Specifically the newspaper was concerned about the new wire rod industry at Sydney which owed its existence "directly to the subventions which were offered by the Dominion Government some two years ago."¹ On January 24, the Chronicle revealed the extent to which the prevailing industrial prosperity had mellowed its radical free trade philosophy of former years when it solemnly declared the question of protection for Sydney's newly-established wire-rod industry to be "a matter which deserves careful consideration."²

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 26, 1911.

2. Ibid., January 24, 1911.

3. Ibid., February 6, 1911.

Two days later the Liberal journal carried yet another editorial on the subject. "The Morning Chronicle has no illusions upon the question of a high tariff", it informed its readers, but then went on to insist that tariff or bounty protection should be given the Sydney industry.¹ Less than two weeks later the Chronicle was once again discussing the same subject. Protection for the wire rod industry, it insisted, would save millions of dollars annually in wages usually paid to foreign workmen. Using other economic arguments, equally as questionable, the Halifax Chronicle went on to reach the same conclusion it had arrived at on all the other occasions it had dealt with the topic; the situation in Sydney merited the Federal Government's most serious consideration.² If the arrival of large-scale industrialization in Nova Scotia had brought the province a greater feeling of kinship with Canada it apparently had the additional effect of imbuing Nova Scotia's journalists with some of the sentiments and characteristics of their counterparts in the nation's industrial belt.

The terms of the proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States were announced in Parliament on January 26, 1911. Basically the agreement consisted of free trade between the two countries in most natural products and reduced tariffs on a few manufactured goods. Of special interest to Nova Scotians was that "fish of all kinds" would enter the United States free of duty. There was to be, also, complete free trade in the

1. Ibid., January 26, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 6, 1911.

natural products of the farm and orchard - in grain, vegetables, fruits and farm animals. Moreover, there was provision for "lower and identical duties" on a variety of articles, including sizable list of natural products in their secondary form and as well on a considerable variety of manufactured articles such as agricultural implements and engines, building material, and partly finished lumber. Canada agreed to allow free entry of pulpwood to the United States once the provinces withdrew their embargo on the export of pulpwood cut from government-owned lands.¹

Judging by the very large headlines - further emphasized by being bordered in black - given to the Fielding revelations of the trade agreement the Herald, in spite of itself was obviously much impressed. It did manage, however, to retain sufficient of its composure to predict a considerable amount of unhappiness; - among the miners because of an eight cent reduction in the coal duty, and among the farmers of the West because of the failure of the government to reduce the duty on agricultural implements by a significant amount.²

After giving the minimum amount of attention to the dramatic performance of the Canadian Finance Minister from Nova Scotia - wherein he was occasionally forced to halt his triumphant recital of the long list of "free" items conceded by the United States until cheering had subsided³ - the Halifax Herald

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1. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, (Toronto, 1912), pp. 28 - 30.
 2. Halifax Herald, January 27, 1911.
 3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 30 - 31.

proceeded to pay its major tribute to another prominent Nova Scotian, Robert L. Borden. Despite the fact that there was the deepest dejection in his party at the magnitude of the free list,¹ Borden displayed none of this sentiment while delivering an attack, against the agreement, which contained a remarkable number of the major arguments his party would marshal against reciprocity in the campaign preceding the election of 1911.² Since the proposed agreement could be abrogated by either side at a moment's notice no one would invest, Borden maintained, under such a temporary and unstable arrangement. Many small industries then in existence might be seriously injured or even destroyed. Such a sudden reversal of the "National Policy" as would ensue, should the reciprocity agreement be accepted, would dislocate the trade and commerce of Canada. Furthermore, Borden continued, although Canadians had taxed themselves to the utmost in order to build great lines of transportation going east and west so that they might free themselves from dependence on the United States, the Laurier government, through its reciprocity agreement, was threatening to undo all of this. Certainly it was important, Borden agreed, that Canada should have good relations with the 92 million people living under the American flag but he for one was still more keenly alive to the importance of better trade relations with the 300 million of fellow subjects living under

1. Henry Borden (Editor), Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, I, (Toronto, 1938), p. 303.

2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 32.

the Union Jack.

But once the efforts of the Opposition Leader had been praised to the limit there still remained, for the Conservative press, the difficult matter of dealing with the reciprocity agreement itself. That the Herald was somewhat awed by the magnitude of Fielding's announcement is shown both by the contents of its editorial comment and also by the fact that the editorial itself appeared on the front page. The Tory newspaper was well aware of how Nova Scotians regarded reciprocity, and for the moment, at least, it had no intention of directly attacking it. To avoid directly approving it was a problem, too, but the difficulty was overcome by entitling its January 27 front page editorial, "How Nova Scotians Will View the Tariff Changes:"

In Nova Scotia there has always been a sentiment in favour of reciprocity, the recollections of the treaty of more than 40 years ago still holding good, and there are features in the proposals made today by Mr. Fielding that will commend themselves to a section of the people of this province. . . . The fish industry of Nova Scotia is estimated to be worth \$9,000,000 a year and free entrance for Nova-Scotian caught fish will be taken as a great boon along the shores of this province. The fishermen have freely expressed their wish for this form of reciprocity.

But in its initial editorial reaction to reciprocity the Herald, well aware that its journalistic opposition, the Liberal press, would be placing its remarks on file - hopefully to be used with devastating effect against it later on - selected its words carefully. And after admitting that some Nova Scotians (but not necessarily the Halifax Herald!) would rejoice over

reciprocity it went on to suggest rather cautiously and rather weakly, that market gardeners, fruit growers, and coal miners could certainly not be expected to be too happy with the agreement. The Herald concluded its front page editorial by stating that it would "take some time for the people of Nova Scotia to make up their minds exactly on the pros and cons of the tariff changes announced last night."¹

It would take a little time for the Halifax Herald, too, to get some of the wind back in its sails but on the whole it had done very well in its role as the chief organ of the Conservative Party in Nova Scotia. It had avoided expressing direct approval of the results of the reciprocity negotiations and it had suggested that the agreement might meet with the disapproval of all major groups in Nova Scotia but fishermen. Here was its only mistake. Later in 1911 it would be maintaining that the agreement would be particularly dangerous to the fishing industry. But even for the Halifax Herald this was too preposterous a conclusion to be reached without some time for thought - especially when its own pages were reporting that flags would be flying at half mast at Gloucester, Massachusetts.²

In late January the Herald found itself quite unable to make a direct frontal assault on reciprocity. Reporters were sent by the Conservative newspaper to Lunenburg and Canso as well as to Halifax itself, to obtain the opinions of prominent individuals on reciprocity. Evidence of the relative fairness

1. Halifax Herald, January 27, 1911.

2. Ibid. January 28, 1911.

of the Herald's approach at this stage is indicated by the fact that it seems to have found even more sentiment in favour of reciprocity than did T. M. Fraser of the Halifax Chronicle when he conducted similar interviews in November, 1910.

E. H. Hart, a prominent Halifax businessman told the Halifax Herald that he was sure reciprocity would be a good thing for fishermen "as it puts Nova Scotia fishermen practically on the same basis as the Americans" The same individual saw reciprocity as being beneficial to farmers of Nova Scotia because it would give them a wider market. Another prominent businessman of Nova Scotia, F. W. Bissett, felt reciprocity would be a great benefit to the Maritime Provinces, "especially to the fishermen, farmers, and lumbermen." W. C. Milner, Secretary of the Free Coal League, was even able to defend the reduction in the coal duty. He predicted that with Nova Scotia coal being cheaper for Americans a winter market in New England would develop, thus creating employment in the winter months for Cape Breton miners.

A Mr. Boutilier, Manager of the Halifax Cold Storage Company Limited told a Herald reporter that reciprocity "would be a good thing for the fishing industry at large." The Herald, however, found H. R. Silver of H. R. Silver Limited to be mildly opposed to reciprocity. He felt that there would be a greater tendency for fish to be shipped to the United States in a green or partially cured state and that this would result in less work for those normally employed handling fish in the province.¹

1. Ibid., January 28, 1911.

H. H. Banks of Banks and Williams, Commission Merchants, felt reciprocity would greatly benefit the Cape Breton fishing business. W. S. Davison of Campbell and Company told the Herald that he was of the opinion that "lines of steamships between Halifax and the United States ports would benefit by the increased freight." I. B. Shaffner, of the I. B. Shaffner Company, stated that he had not had time to study the question enough to warrant giving the Herald an interview.

In Lunenburg there was an enthusiasm for reciprocity which the Herald made no effort to conceal.

The reciprocity agreement announced in the house of commons [sic] was quite the topic of conversation in Lunenburg today. The people, almost without exception, are glad to hear that fish is placed on the free list. A Halifax Herald reporter interviewed two of the leading fish men and found them both warmly in favour of the new arrangement which allows fish to enter the United States duty free.¹

The Herald found in Canso the same rejoicing regarding the reciprocity agreement as it had encountered in Halifax and Lunenburg. It was generally conceded in that community that free fish would "benefit the industry and improve conditions." Canso business interests, apparently, welcomed the abolition of the license for foreign fishing vessels since they anticipated a great improvement both in business and in general relations with the Americans.²

So Nova Scotians in January 1911 had the assurance of what would become the chief anti-reciprocity journal in the province,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

that in Halifax, Lunenburg and Canso the new trade agreement was very popular. Late in 1911, the Halifax Herald might display ample evidence of political irrationality but for a few days at least, after the Taft-Fielding agreement was announced, the Tory journal seems to have reported the attitudes of Nova Scotians toward reciprocity in a fair and impartial manner. The paper was under no obligation to interview individuals likely to be, and who in fact were already, in favour of reciprocity. And when their pro-reciprocity views were obtained the Herald was under no compulsion to publish them. But publish them it did and it could almost be said that the Herald reports of the interviews it conducted in Halifax, Lunenburg and Canso represented almost as strong an endorsement for reciprocity as anything which appeared in the Liberal press in the province in 1911.

An interesting facet of the Herald's initial attitude to reciprocity is that although it had no doubts that Ottawa would ratify the agreement it could see little room for optimism that the agreement would get by the House of Representatives and the Senate - especially the section of the agreement pertaining to free fish. To a large extent the Herald gave the impression, in spite of itself, that the agreement, from Nova Scotia's standpoint, was just too good to be true. In the same editorial the Herald actually came rather close to endorsing the reciprocity agreement when it said that "the 'free fish' proposal seems the most promising change, and it may work out satisfactorily."

Surprisingly, perhaps, the reaction of the Gloucester Times to reciprocity seemed to hold a particular fascination for the Halifax Herald and it frequently reprinted reports from the Massachusetts city's major newspaper, predicting disaster should reciprocity be implemented. "Removal of the duties," reported the Gloucester Times, "meant the realization of the Canadian prophecy that grass would grow on the wharves of Gloucester." If reciprocity would bring great loss to New England, the implication was that splendid economic gains would accrue to Nova Scotia from the new trade arrangement which the Halifax Herald criticized, indirectly, almost daily. Nevertheless the Herald continued its ambiguous behavior of publishing on the same day and sometimes on the same page both anti-reciprocity cartoons and long reports from Gloucester describing how reciprocity would bring great benefits to Nova Scotians at the expense of the Massachusetts fishing fleet.

Reprints from United States newspapers were not so very common in Nova Scotia newspapers at this time and no great condemnation would likely have been directed against the Herald if it had neglected to print the items from the Gloucester Times. But while criticizing reciprocity daily, the Halifax Herald continued to carry such material.¹ Initially it seemed unable to escape the conclusion that although the agreement might possibly be against the interests of Canada as a whole it could

1. Ibid., January 28, January 29, February 4., 1911.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 27, 1911.

hardly be otherwise but of considerable benefit to Nova Scotia.

The reaction of the Halifax Morning Chronicle to the Fielding announcement of January 26 was as exuberant as that of the Herald was restrained. According to its front page, the agreement marked a "new era of commercial expansion for Canada;" it would injure no Canadian industry and, insisted the Chronicle, the Opposition found the agreement to be too good to be true.¹

The Halifax Chronicle's first editorial comment on the new trade agreement was only slightly less subdued than its front-page reaction. But considering the Chronicle's past history, perhaps what is most surprising about "Fielding's Master Stroke," the Liberal journal's January 27 lead editorial, is its very national, very "Canadian" approach. How reciprocity would benefit Canada was the aspect of the Taft-Fielding agreement which the editorial writer of the Nova Scotia newspaper strongest in support of secession about two-and-one-half decades previously, first examined. The removal of the duty on wheat would be an "enormous boon to the farmers of the plains," the Chronicle believed. The reduction of the tariff on agricultural machinery, though small, would also be helpful. After describing how other groups across the nation would greatly benefit from reciprocity, the Chronicle finally directed its attentions to the Maritimes and identified "Fielding's Master Stroke" as being his securing of the "free admission of fish of all kinds into the American markets."

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 27, 1911.

Judging from the description of the benefits which would ensue once "the master stroke" had been implemented it is obvious that the Chronicle believed another "Golden Age" was just around the corner. But now, for a change, with reciprocity seemingly a certainty Nova Scotians saw their golden era not in the past but in the immediate future. Furthermore, the prosperity that they saw so near in time was for Canadians as a whole - with whom, in January 1911, most Nova Scotians were proud to be numbered. In a few months, however, due both to the nature of the Conservative anti-reciprocity campaign and to its success, the tactics of the Liberal press would change to approximate those employed in the repeal period of the previous century. "Upper Canadians" would again be the villains. Heartless and selfish "Interests" centered largely in Montreal and Toronto would once more be seen by Nova Scotians as being responsible for depriving the country's easternmost region from entering a golden period of prosperity. But this unhappy development was some months away. In late January, 1911, the future to the Liberals appeared wholly bright.

"A Masterful Achievement" was what the Chronicle was calling the reciprocity agreement, on the front page of its January 28 edition. "Specials to the Morning Chronicle" written by correspondents from ten major centers in Nova Scotia - all of them hailing reciprocity - appeared also on the front page. The Chronicle's editorial comment in the January 28 issue echoed the enthusiasm of the front page. "The more the remarkable

reciprocity agreement which Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson have brought back from Washington is studied," declared the Chronicle, "the more valuable does it appear to Canada as a whole and to Nova Scotia in particular."¹ When Robert L. Borden invited the Premier of Ontario to give his opinion of the agreement he replied to the effect that it would apparently be to the advantage of the Maritimes - if of benefit to any area - and to the disadvantage of Ontario.² But the Halifax Chronicle appeared not to see this possibility and dealt at some length, on January 28, with the benefits which would accrue to Canada as a whole from the new reciprocity arrangement. The Chronicle's enthusiasm did not abate even when it came to discuss the reduced protection being offered the coal industry. The industry, the Chronicle felt, could probably have survived even if the entire duty of fifty-three cents a ton had been removed.³

Later in the same issue the Chronicle chastized Opposition Leader, Borden, for insisting that adoption of reciprocity would mean the neglect of the 300 million people under the British flag in favour of a mere 92 million individuals living under the Stars and Stripes. "The very agreement to which he takes exception," protested the Chronicle, "provides that all the advantages granted to the United States shall be extended to the United Kingdom and all of its colonies and possessions."

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1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 28, 1911.
 2. R. L. Borden Papers, Sir James Whitney to R. L. Borden, January 27, 1911.
 3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 28, 1911.

With prominent Conservatives such as Borden maintaining that the adoption of reciprocity would mean a weakening of the ties with Great Britain, the Halifax Chronicle, before the end of January, was accurately predicting the strategy which the Conservatives would employ against the Taft-Fielking agreement in the ensuing months:

It is evident that the line of attack which Conservative opponents of reciprocity are going to adopt is that the new arrangement will operate against closer relations with the Mother Country; and very probably we shall have a recrudescence of the old slander that the Liberals are engaged in a conspiracy to bring about annexation with the United States.¹

The first of the Chronicle's many editorial attacks against the "Interests" was made in the issue of January 30 when the newspaper criticized various special groups in both the United States and Canada which, according to the Chronicle, enjoyed special tariff favours and which were "making the air vocal with their protests against the reciprocity agreement." The Chronicle was by no means alarmed, at this stage, by such protests, concluding that the fact that "high tariff interests" both north and south of the border were against the agreement was probably the best indication that the agreement should work to the advantage of both countries.² The Chronicle carried on the same theme in its February 9 edition. It felt that there were strong reasons for not denying such provinces as Nova Scotia the opportunities represented by reciprocity. Nova Scotians, after

1. Ibid., January 31, 1911.

2. Ibid., January 30, 1911.

all, had for years made sacrifices;

by paying prices unduly enhanced by a protective tariff to which has been added large freight charges. Trade routes, East and West, run in artificial channels, and the consumer, in this case the people of Nova Scotia, have been paying the piper to the tune of millions of dollars."¹

This being the case, "what reasonable complaint could the manufacturers of Central Canada make," the Chronicle wanted to know. "Supposing the American tariff had been reduced without reference to Canada at all?" As far as the Chronicle was concerned it was about time that the primary producers received some reward for their efforts, even if the manufacturers should suffer slightly.²

The Chronicle also had plenty to say against what it considered to be the hypocrisy of those manufacturers who attacked reciprocity because of the damage which might be wrought to plans for federation of the empire. "We need not take very seriously the querulous complaint that the reciprocity agreement is designed to defeat some nebulous scheme for Imperial federation," declared the Chronicle; "So far as we know there is no 'Imperial Federation Scheme' in sight."³

There was much to gladden the hearts of Liberals in Nova Scotia within the first week or so after the reciprocity agreement was announced in Parliament. Judging from the news being received from coastal New England, part of the United

1. Ibid., February 9, 1911.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., January 31, 1911.

States was in the depths of depression as it speculated on the likely consequences of reciprocity. The Chronicle's January 31 edition contained a letter originally appearing in the Boston Transcript which stated that a boat costing \$15,000 in the United States could be purchased for \$6,000 in Nova Scotia. The writer to the Boston journal predicted the depopulation of Gloucester because of such factors if reciprocity became a reality.¹

Closer to home in Canada itself the individuals who would normally offer criticism of a major government measure such as reciprocity were, according to the Chronicle, hopelessly divided on the issue. "OPPOSITION ARE IN A BAD FIX OVER RECIPROCITY AGREEMENT," smirked Halifax's leading Liberal organ, in its February 3 edition. "AFTER SIX HOURS HEART-TO-HEART TALK IN CAUCUS THEY COULD NOT AGREE WHETHER TO SUPPORT OR OPPOSE IT."² The Chronicle was equally amused over the uncertainty the chief Conservative newspaper seemed to be displaying with regard to reciprocity. "If it has any convictions on the question," declared the Chronicle, disdainfully, "it has been remarkably successful in concealing them."³

So with New England seemingly despondent at the gains Nova Scotia would make at its expense once reciprocity was implemented and with the Conservatives at home apparently too divided to

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., February 3, 1911.

3. Ibid., February 9, 1911.

oppose the new trade arrangement, reciprocity's acceptance and Nova Scotia's new "Golden Age," to the Liberal press, at least, seemed assured. Soon reciprocity would come into operation as the result of concurrent legislation and Nova Scotians could then "expect thousands of their sons and daughter [sic] to return to the land of their birth, to make it the brightest jewel in the diadem of Confederation."¹

Nova Scotians, generally speaking, were apparently proud of their province's role in the nation and their nation's role in the Empire as the second decade of the twentieth century got underway; and newspapers of both major political affiliations reflected this pride. The Halifax Chronicle, despite its support for secession in the past, was by 1911 not an exception to this general rule. The "deliberate, persistent and organized campaign being conducted on behalf of the Tory party and the protected interests to stampede the Canadian people with the cry that the trade arrangement with the United States spells ruin and disaster for the Dominion and Empire"² caused the Liberal journal considerable annoyance. After decrying Tory anti-reciprocity tactics in its February 13 edition the Chronicle paraded its rather recently acquired philosophy that much pride was to be taken both in Canada's individual greatness and in the role which the North American nation was playing in the British

1. Ibid., February 10, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 13, 1911.

Empire. "Never," asserted the Chronicle, "has the bond of Union between the Dominion and the Mother Country been stronger than it is today. Never have the Canadian people been so deeply seized of the fact that Canada is the twentieth century country and that [it] has a great part to play as the premier over-sea nation of the Empire."¹

Continuing on this high plane on the following day the Chronicle foresaw benefits ensuing from reciprocity far more laudable than those involving mere economic gain:

The closer our relations are with the United States, the more will it make for a closer and better understanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. If Canada can be the means of bringing the United States and Great Britain into closer unity of purpose and aim, it will have performed a service of inestimable value to the Empire and to the peace of the world.²

So in mid-February this was the Chronicle's euphoric vision of reciprocity's destiny: - to promote Anglo-American friendship and to further world peace. A few months later, devastated by the onslaught of the anti-reciprocity barrage, the same journal would agonizingly plead with its readers to support reciprocity so that their province might sell more fish.

If initially the agreement announced in Parliament by Fielding on January 26 seemed to the Halifax Herald to be too beneficial to Nova Scotia to be criticized, this journal soon recovered much of its more normal attitude to Liberal-sponsored

1. Ibid., February 13, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 14, 1911.

political policies. The views expressed on the reciprocity agreement in the Toronto News, Montreal Star, Montreal Gazette and other strongly Conservative Ontario and Quebec newspapers probably did much to give heart to the Halifax Tory organ. Almost daily the Halifax Herald printed an editorial or editorials, unaltered, from one or more of these papers. Sometimes the Herald editorial staff would write its own editorials but would indicate its sources to have been central Canadian Conservative newspapers. On other occasions the Herald presented editorials obviously very much inspired if not actually plagiarized from central Canadian, Conservative newspapers. In those editorials all the major threats supposedly represented by reciprocity, that Conservatives from coast to coast could conceive of, made their appearance. Nevertheless the Herald seems to have taken a dual approach in its reaction to reciprocity. Although it was always able to point out aspects of the proposed reciprocity agreement which allegedly would have been bad for Nova Scotia it was not able for quite some time to declare emphatically and without qualification that the new trade agreement, would not be of economic benefit to the province. The initial stance it chose to adopt was that although Nova Scotians might benefit from reciprocity they should place their country ahead of their province and be willing to make sacrifices if necessary. As the Herald explained in a February 1 editorial:

The proposed reciprocity arrangement may be a fine thing for some points of view . . . but it

behoves all Canadians, even those who apparently stand to be personally benefited to consider well what the apparent benefits are likely to cost this country at large; and whether Canada is not running great danger of having to pay too dear for the whistle.¹

In line with the pro-reciprocity aspect of its dual approach to the new trade arrangement the Herald published a letter from a prominent Nova Scotian, E. F. Hart. Hart effectively drew attention to his letter by recalling for his readers the "Golden Age" of their province's past when Nova Scotia's coast-line east and west hummed with trade activity; American vessels were in every harbour buying bait and ice and supplies and their money was THE IMPORTANT SOURCE OF WEALTH TO THE WHOLE SOUTHERN SHORE."² No less vivid than this description of the benefits he felt the Treaty of 1854 brought Nova Scotia was his grim portrayal of the consequences of its abrogation: "Trade was cut off. Places like Mulgrave and Hawkesbury it almost ruined - moss-grown wharves and tumble down stores remained - mute evidence of the prosperity of the past."

The point Hart eventually got around to making was that ratification of the Taft-Fielding agreement in his opinion would bring even greater prosperity to Nova Scotians and the recent performances of the people of Gloucester in reaction to the January 26 announcement supported such a belief.³ To be emphasized is that the Herald, while never coming very

1. Halifax Herald, February 1, 1911.

2. Ibid, February 7, 1911.

3. Ibid.

close to making such assertions itself hesitated not at all in providing space for others to do so.

The Herald showed what little sympathy it had for Hart's pro-reciprocity position when in the same edition carrying the Hart letter it launched an attack against Liberals who maintained that Conservatives had no right to criticize the new reciprocity arrangement since in the past, the Conservatives themselves had been in favour of reciprocity. "Suppose they were, what of it?" snapped the Herald. The fact was, or so the chief Tory organ in Nova Scotia maintained, that industrial and commercial conditions in Canada had changed drastically since those days "and what was thought, and might really have been desirable, years ago, may indeed certainly would be industrially, commercially, and nationally suicidal at the present time."¹

The Halifax Herald's suggestion that the adoption of reciprocity in 1911 might prove "industrially, commercially, and nationally suicidal" did not seem to upset the Halifax Chronicle as much as the news that the Toronto Board of Trade had declared itself against reciprocity. Nova Scotia had become "Canadian" far too recently for the traditionally strong resentment against "Upper Canada" in general and Toronto in particular to have disappeared completely from the columns of what had once been the province's leading "anti-Confederate" newspaper:

The financial and manufacturing magnates of the Board of Trade of Toronto have spoken, and there is nothing more to be said. The whole question has

1. Ibid.

been settled by the oracular deliverances of a few important personages representing the special interests . . . That . . . was quite to be expected. Toronto . . . affects a superior air on all questions and holds itself in such profound esteem that it seems to imagine that Toronto is Canada . . . The truth is that Toronto is lamentably narrow and parochial in its outlook.¹

The Chronicle's anti-"Upper-Canadian" and more specifically its anti-Toronto campaign continued on, February 23, when the Liberal paper concentrated its attentions on the leading member of the group of eighteen prominent Toronto Liberals who had defected from their party because of reciprocity. Sir Edmund Walker, so far as the Chronicle was concerned, was "truly a sinner above all that dwell in Jerusalem" in that he assumed the right to "sell the money of his Bank at the highest rates in New York, but wanted to deny the fisherman of Nova Scotia the right to sell his fish in Boston."² "If we are going to have the real downright Toronto brand of 'loyalty' in this country," the Chronicle wrote angrily, "let us have it all around. . . If tariff walls are necessary to conserve the loyalty of all fishermen, let us put up the barrier against 'call loans'; and keep our distinguished financiers free from the blandishments and contamination of the Wall Street operators."³

But in February, 1911, having absolute faith that the Liberal party would be successful in getting reciprocity implemented, the Chronicle was not yet at the stage where anger

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, February 21, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 28, 1911.

3. Ibid., February 23, 1911.

and bitterness would dominate most of its editorials. For a time, in fact, the Chronicle displayed a rather amused attitude towards the anti-reciprocity campaign of the Opposition. The debate on reciprocity, in its initial stages, at least, had its moments of humour and of the major Nova Scotia newspapers, it was the Chronicle more often than not, that introduced some levity into its columns. This should hardly be surprising for if the threat of reciprocity was as serious as the Conservative press was maintaining then certainly humour had little place in any attacks against it.

The Chronicle displayed its lighter side in a February 25 editorial in which it attacked the notion that "we sell our birthright to the United States when we sell them our fish." With each profession of its faith in the guiltlessness of the Herald the integrity of the latter journal was brought more and more into question.

The statement that reciprocity must affect our loyalty is just about as logical and probable as to state that because the American consul flies the flag of his country from the top of the Herald Building (and there is no other flag flying there at the moment of writing) that that paper is disloyal. So far as the proprietor of the Herald is concerned, we have no doubt whatever that the Stars and Stripes is flown from his topmost battlement simply and solely because Uncle Sam is a good tenant and pays his rent promptly. We have no fear that the proprietor of that sometimes hysterical journal is plotting the undoing of his country or that there is anything cabalistic about the receipt he gives to the United States Government. We do not suspect that it embodies a cryptogram containing the Herald man's renunciation of George the Fifth and all his works, and an oath of allegiance to the United States.¹

1. Ibid., February 25, 1911.

The days remaining in which the Halifax Chronicle would find itself able to regard the Opposition to reciprocity so lightly were very few in number.

CHAPTER III
national assault against reciprocity which had been raging for four months would succeed, apparently with the help of the prevailing prosperity, in cooling the ardour of a significant number of Nova Scotians towards reciprocity. But a second result of the campaign against reciprocity would be the surfacing of strong though latent anti-"Upper-Canadian" feelings. This development was evident in some of the speeches made in the Nova Scotia Legislature but it was particularly reflected in the Halifax Morning Chronicle, the Liberal newspaper, in the province, which had been most vociferous in support of secession in 1886-1887.

The Chronicle, early in 1911, and presumably many of its readers, seems to have had a very national outlook and when the terms of the new reciprocity agreement were announced, the Liberal party mouthpiece first examined how they would benefit the nation as a whole. This "Canadian" approach continued for a number of weeks after January 26, 1911. But by the time spring was yielding to summer in 1911, Liberal defeat to the Morning Chronicle must have seemed a very real possibility. As it appeared ridiculous to challenge the deeply entrenched belief that reciprocity was unalterably popular in Nova Scotia, rejection of the new trade agreement could be expected to come about only as a result of a massive propaganda attack launched against it by lavishly wealthy interests centered in Montreal and Toronto. Here was the enemy! A new "Golden Age" of prosperity, although almost a reality, was about to be driven away by a few selfish groups located in Ontario and Quebec.

CHAPTER III

By mid-June, 1911, the furious national assault against reciprocity which had been raging for four months would succeed, apparently with the help of the prevailing prosperity, in cooling the ardour of a significant number of Nova Scotians towards reciprocity. But a second result of the campaign against reciprocity would be the surfacing of strong though latent anti-"Upper-Canadian" feelings. This development was evident in some of the speeches made in the Nova Scotia Legislature but it was particularly reflected in the Halifax Morning Chronicle, the Liberal newspaper, in the province, which had been most vociferous in support of secession in 1886-1887.

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Could such opposition be adequately dealt with merely by pointing out to Nova Scotian readers what a great national boon reciprocity was? The Morning Chronicle apparently thought not. Curtailing considerably its national approach the Chronicle began more and more to concentrate on pointing out to Nova Scotians what it conceived to be the machinations of the "Big Business Conspiracy", behind the headlines appearing in the Tory press, and emphasizing as well to its readers what great benefits they personally stood to reap in Nova Scotia from reciprocity no matter what effect the new trade arrangement might have on Canada as a whole. With the Liberal press attempting to gain support for reciprocity by attacking "Interests" in Ontario and Quebec opposed to it, the response of the Halifax Herald, the Tory party's mouthpiece, and other Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia was usually not to defend these "Upper-Canadian" concerns but rather to stress even more than before Canada's ties with the Mother Country.

Thus on the eve of the federal election campaign of 1911 Liberal forces in Nova Scotia were beginning to substitute narrow provincialism for the nationalism that they had been espousing only a few months earlier. Conservative elements in the province, on the other hand, quite aware of the latent sentiment in Nova Scotia against Quebec and Ontario, avoided defending very much the industrial interests of central Canada. And perhaps overawed by thoughts of reciprocity's traditional popularity in Nova Scotia, they usually attempted, as well, to refrain from discussing the local implications of reciprocity. Instead the provincial Con-

servatives chose to stress how the new trade arrangement would affect, detrimentally, the nation as a whole and Canada's role within the British Empire.

The results of the federal election of 1911 would seem to indicate that the dichotomy in the response of the Nova Scotia press towards reciprocity, which had developed before the provincial election, reflected rather clearly the change which many Nova Scotians underwent in their attitude towards reciprocity in the months following the announcement of the agreement on January 26. Whereas in January, 1911, the great majority of Nova Scotians appear to have favoured reciprocity, by the summer of the same year, the prevailing prosperity had enabled the Conservatives, it would seem, to persuade some uncommitted Nova Scotians that reciprocity was unnecessary. Apparently, then, many of those Nova Scotians who responded positively towards reciprocity on September 21, 1911, and many of those who did not had formed their respective attitudes towards the new trade agreement even before the federal election campaign.

But long before the attitudes of many Nova Scotians towards reciprocity had hardened into either support for the proposed trade arrangement - or the rejection of it - what would become the major issues of the election were before the public. They had been determined, for the most part, shortly after the initial announcement of the Taft-Fielding agreement, January 26, 1911; by the end of February, in fact, Nova Scotians had been exposed to practically all of the most discussed arguments on both sides of the reciprocity question.

Although the arguments for and against reciprocity may have seemed to have been many and varied there was in a sense only one issue - that of reciprocity. But reciprocity itself was made to be a multi-faceted question - largely by the Conservatives, who displayed considerable imagination and ingenuity in marshalling reasons why Canadians should not support the proposed trade arrangement.

It was in the newspapers that the major arguments and counter-arguments, employed in support of or in opposition to reciprocity, were expressed most frequently in 1911. From January 26 right up to election day itself the Nova Scotia press served as a sounding board for all shades of opinion on the reciprocity question. Although the anti-reciprocity campaign naturally reached its greatest intensity during the summer of 1911 so early did most of the arguments for and against reciprocity appear that newspaper quotations regarding the Taft-Fielding agreement originating in the winter and spring of 1911 are about as illustrative in showing campaign tactics of the election being examined as those of August and September.

For a short period the Nova Scotia Legislature served as a second major forum for the expression of opinion on the reciprocity issue. With the likelihood that there would be a provincial election in Nova Scotia before the year ended and with reciprocity receiving so much attention in the press a greater interest than usual may have been taken by Nova Scotians in the opinions being voiced in the Legislature by their representatives. Few Nova Scotians would have been able to hear for themselves views ex-

pressed by their local members on the subject of reciprocity. However the thorough coverage given by the major newspapers to speeches made in the Legislature had the effect of according wide circulation to the positions held by both provincial parties with regard to the proposed trade arrangement.

Largely because the Conservatives held only five of the thirty-eight seats in the Nova Scotia Legislature the assault of their newspapers on reciprocity was far more powerful than attacks made against the Taft-Fielding agreement by local Tory members. Avoiding as much as possible any discussion of how Nova Scotia alone would be affected by reciprocity the province's Conservative press delivered a daily deluge of the anti-reciprocity arguments which had been drafted with such amazing speed, after January 26, by the trade measure's opponents. Parliament in 1897, declared the Halifax Herald and its satellites, had repealed the legislation then existing relating to reciprocity and no mandate had since been given to the government to negotiate such a trade agreement.¹ The "unexampled prosperity" then prevailing was due to the National Policy - part of which had involved the construction of expensive east-west transportation systems. Adoption of reciprocity would mean the annihilation of this foundation structure of the nation's economic success, not to mention the termination of further developments along the same proven lines of operation.² Reciprocity, insisted the Conservative press, would seriously check the growth and development of

1. Halifax Herald, February 3, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, August 2, 1911.

inter-provincial trade.¹ Furthermore, any benefit which might accrue from the Taft-Fielding agreement to any section of Canada or to any interests or individuals would be more than offset by the loss and injury which would accrue to other sections and interests and individuals and with regard to Canada as a whole reciprocity would be greatly injurious.

The proposed trade agreement would seriously compromise the freedom of action possessed by Canada with reference to her tariffs and channels of trade thus hampering Canada's development of her own resources in her own way and by her own people.² It was further maintained by the Conservative press that once reciprocity had been in operation for a few years the main channels of the country's trade would be diverted from east-west lines to channels going north and south.³ This was seen as a most unfortunate eventuality in that the whole expensive transformation would be for nought should the United States decide - as very probably it might - to abrogate the agreement. Another danger seen in the Taft-Fielding agreement was that it represented but "the thin edge of the wedge": that once Canada approved reciprocity in natural products its big neighbour would soon force it to accept broadening of the agreement so that it would include manufactures and other things.⁴ The Tory

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1. Ibid., July 18, 1911.
 2. Ibid., July 27, 1911.
 3. Ibid., July 11, 1911.
 4. Ibid., August 2, 1911.

5. Halifax Evening Mail, September 11, 1911.

6. Halifax Herald, August 3, 1911.

organs were also convinced - or claimed to be - that the agreement, if adopted, would weaken the ties binding Canada to the Empire.¹ These ties would be still further weakened by the unrestricted reciprocity which, the Conservatives insisted, would surely follow quickly once the Taft-Fielding agreement was approved.² Such a severing of the Imperial ties would make most difficult the avoidance of political union with the United States.³ These two arguments, the "loyalty cry" and the "annexation cry" were the two most frequently used by the Conservatives throughout the campaign.⁴

The great number of the Tory arguments and the fury with which they were voiced and the frequency of their appearance forced the Liberals on the defensive very early in the campaign. True they had counter-arguments for each major point raised by the Opposition but so much time was spent in replying to these Conservative arguments that the Liberals left themselves with very little time to launch original offensives of their own. One original Liberal offensive would finally be launched around the end of July, in Nova Scotia, but this would not be soon enough apparently to avoid sizable Liberal losses in the province.

The favourite and most all-encompassing argument used by the Laurier party in replying to Tory criticism of reciprocity was that all such criticism was simply a reflection of the selfish and unjustified protests of the "big business interests" against

1. Ibid., September 2, 1911.

2. Ibid., August 2, 1911.

3. Halifax Evening Mail, September 11, 1911.

4. Halifax Herald, August 3, 1911.

something which would be of benefit to the masses of the people.¹ Other Liberal arguments against the Conservative stand on reciprocity were more moderate. Reciprocity had never been abandoned by the Liberals and Canadians wanted it and needed it as much as ever; Canadian trade and development would be increased rather than hampered by reciprocity.² Reciprocity would not ultimately injure the east and west transportation system of the country³ but that even if it did the railways were made for the people and not the people for the railways; the increased prosperity which farmers would enjoy under reciprocity would, after a time, make every other class prosper proportionally.⁴ Even if the United States did terminate the agreement abruptly no such result could follow as in 1866 because Canada was now a strong and united nation able to take care of itself.⁵

These major Conservative criticisms of reciprocity and the counter-arguments directed at them by the Liberals originated mainly in Ontario but appeared in Canadian newspapers from coast to coast. In Nova Scotia, however, as for a matter of fact in each of the provinces across Canada, these rather national arguments were accompanied on their daily appearances by pro and anti-reciprocity assertions much more regional or local in nature.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 19, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 15, 1911.

3. Ibid., May 12, 1911.

4. Ibid., March 11, 1911.

5. Ibid., August 7, 1911.

1. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto, 1912), pp. 230-239.

2. Ibid.

The central feature of the Liberal campaign in Nova Scotia was the alleged opportunity for enlarged markets. Feeling favourable to reciprocity, Liberal circles in the province maintained, was, in the fishing, farming and fruit-growing regions, almost a passion. Fishermen saw the duty on fish as not only a handicap to trade but a burden which they themselves bore directly. Orchardists were equally unhappy, according to the Liberals, at the prevailing tariff situation. In the 1911 season alone 250,000 barrels of apples, it was claimed, would be sacrificed in the Annapolis Valley for want of the United States market.¹ Lumbermen, it was claimed, were eagerly looking forward to having free access to the "ninety million market" and mining interests - especially those concerned with the province's large gypsum resources - anticipated great progress in the industry as a consequence of reciprocity. The Liberals predicted that reciprocity would lead to a tremendous growth in seaborne trade and that as a consequence of this development a revival would occur in the province's faltering shipbuilding industry. Due to "High Protection, Canadian and American, . . . sucking their life-blood", the Halifax Chronicle maintained, the Maritimes had been "steadily withering for over thirty years."² Now, however, a new "Golden Age", the Liberals were convinced, was just around the corner.

All of the Liberal predictions regarding the benefits which reciprocity could be expected to bring were ridiculed by the Conservatives. To the assertion that reciprocity would lead to increased markets for Nova Scotian produce they gave an un-

1. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto, 1912), pp. 238-239.

2. Ibid..

qualified denial. Not only would apple growers be unable to sell any significant amount of their product to the United States but they would, because of closer and earlier American fruit, lose their western markets.¹ Fishermen, the Conservatives insisted, would lose their markets in central Canada because of the shorter transportation routes for American fish.² Coal producers, their protection reduced, would lose their markets in Ontario and Quebec for soft coal; and farmers, so the Conservatives maintained, would lose much of the "home market" to American competition.³ The same development, brought about by reciprocity, which the Conservatives saw ruining the nation's railways - disruption of the channels of Canada's trade - would also, they claimed, ruin the port of Halifax.⁴ Admittedly, by having enough sense to adopt John A. Macdonald's great "National Policy" the Liberals had brought some prosperity to Nova Scotia but having done so they were now threatening to destroy Nova Scotia's iron and steel and coal industries.⁵ Such were the major arguments and counter-arguments in support of or in opposition to reciprocity which were repeated over and over again - primarily in the press - between January 26 and September 21, 1911.

1. Halifax Herald, September 1, 1911.
2. Halifax Evening Mail, September 22, 1911.
3. Sydney Daily Post, September 7, 1911.
4. Halifax Herald, August 23, 1911.
5. Halifax Evening Mail, August 26, 1911.

The Nova Scotia House of Assembly Debates for 1911 provide a valuable supplement to the newspapers in revealing attitudes towards reciprocity in the spring of 1911. But these same debates supply other useful and pertinent information too. A number of the legislators confirm in their speeches that Nova Scotians in general seemed to have looked back on the period of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 as their province's "Golden Age," and to have credited all of the prosperity of that time to reciprocity. The Debates reveal that in 1911 there was still magic in the name "Joseph Howe" and that the sentiments of repeal were not absolutely dead. Some of the legislators in their speeches show that in spite of the prosperity that their province was enjoying in 1911 it was in their opinion only relative prosperity and that in comparison with certain other parts of Canada, Nova Scotia, in 1911, seemed to be standing still. If Nova Scotia was not keeping pace with the rest of the country, "Upper Canadians", some of the assemblymen seemed to have felt, were largely responsible.

A definite anti-Canadian sentiment was felt at this time by certain Nova Scotia legislators just as it was reflected, in 1911, in certain elements of the press. And despite their province's relative prosperity some assemblymen still lacked faith in Confederation, and, in fact, used the rather derogatory term "confederates" to label those exhibiting faith in Nova Scotia's future in Canada. These politicians were the local representatives of the people who would fail to endorse reciprocity solidly, on September 21, 1911. Their remarks indicate

that the Halifax Chronicle was not exhibiting strong resentment against central Canada and the "Interests" who lived there simply because it could not escape its background of having once supported secession. The Chronicle and the local members who echoed its views were very probably reflecting the opinions of a very sizable percentage of Nova Scotians. These Nova Scotians felt that reciprocity was desirable even if it did threaten some "Upper-Canadian Interests" which, after all, had had things their own way for far too long. Three decades earlier or two decades later such views would likely have predominated, but not in 1911. In that year there was sufficient prosperity to neutralize the effect of reciprocity as an election issue; and Nova Scotians seemed to vote as though it were not on the Liberal platform at all.

The fifth session of the Nova Scotia Legislature was opened on February 23, 1911. The Liberals had been in office since 1882 and following the 1911 session were obliged to call an election. If in March, 1911, it had been detected by Premier G. H. Murray's shrewd administration that reciprocity was unpopular it seems likely that only the most necessary and the most cursory remarks would have been made about it by members of a party in power for almost three decades and obliged to fight an election in a few months' time. But Premier Murray and his colleagues responded very positively to reciprocity early in 1911 "for much was, at first, expected from a supposed Reciprocity sentiment in the Province."¹

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 514-516.

Even before the Legislature was opened, Provincial Liberals were speaking publicly on behalf of reciprocity. Addressing a banquet held in his honour on February 21, Premier Murray almost **immediately** expressed the gratitude of Nova Scotia to W. S. Fielding, "a representative who had no superior on the American continent", for negotiating a trade agreement which "if ratified will mean so much for our people and for the future of this province. . ." "I believe that no man today can foresee", the Premier declared, "what a free market for fish will bring to the population of our seaboard. I see no reason today why the fishing fleet of Nova Scotia should not increase three-fold. I see no reason why we should not become the principal food fish producers of this continent.¹" Over a month later, speaking in the House of Assembly on the same topic Premier Murray would still be highly enthusiastic about the new trade agreement.

The debate on reciprocity in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly began on March 24 and occupied two afternoon sessions and an evening one. In the early spring of 1911, it would seem, Premier Murray and his followers regarded reciprocity as an asset to their own political fortunes. If it had been otherwise a government holding thirty-three of the province's thirty-eight seats could surely have dispatched the topic with far greater speed. As it was, no less than six speeches were made in the House on the subject and the record of these speeches occupied over a hundred two-column pages of fine print in the House of Assembly Debates for 1911.

1. Halifax Daily Echo, February 22, 1911.

The reciprocity debate in the provincial legislature of Nova Scotia commenced with a motion by E. H. Armstrong, Liberal member for Yarmouth, expressing wholehearted support for the successful efforts of Fielding and Paterson in negotiating such a favourable trade agreement with the United States. Armstrong, said to be one of the most forceful speakers in the House of Assembly,¹ followed his resolution with a strong speech in praise of reciprocity. Early in his remarks he called attention to "what was known as the 'standing offer' of reciprocity by the Conservative Government" made in 1868. Armstrong then proceeded to give a Liberal interpretation of the history of the standing offer since Confederation, taking care to quote frequently remarks of prominent Conservatives, both living and dead, expressing approval of reciprocity.

After quoting from the American Statistical Yearbook and unidentified Canadian sources in an effort to demonstrate the impressive growth of Nova Scotia - New England trade Armstrong went on to give his analysis of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. As far as he was concerned the period from 1854 to 1866 was truly a "Golden Age" for Nova Scotia and the great prosperity of those years could be "accounted for in no other way than by the fact that Nova Scotians had a measure of freedom in tariffs and trade."²

And what was the point as far as Nova Scotians living in 1911 were concerned? Since, according to him, conditions in 1911 were

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 508.

2. Nova Scotia House of Assembly Debates, 1911, p. 195.

similar to those of the golden era from 1854 to 1866 it was reasonable to expect, Armstrong insisted, that "in 1911 and during the years for which a like arrangement can be continued, we can look for the same development and enlargement in our trade with the United States.¹"

Speaking in the spring of 1911 Armstrong was probably sincere in expressing his conviction that reciprocity would be most beneficial in 1911 because the prosperity which prevailed from 1854 to 1866 was due entirely to the 1854 trade agreement. It was not until a couple of months before the election that Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia began crediting the prosperity which followed the Treaty of 1854 to fortuitous circumstances arising out of the American Civil War.

The mover of the pro-reciprocity resolution then went on to deal rather well with most of the arguments which had been raised against the proposed trade agreement. To those who would suggest that the country was enjoying such prosperity that it should "let well enough alone" Armstrong pointed out to his listeners that Nova Scotia was not experiencing the prosperity which was being enjoyed by other parts of Canada, that her population was hardly increasing at all, that markets for sea and agricultural products were inadequate largely because of the American tariff barrier and that thousands of South Shore fishermen had been forced to become American citizens simply to escape the tariff when marketing the fruits of their labours.² In fact, it was this latter point which seemed to cause Armstrong the greatest concern. This

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp. 196-200.

is suggested by his selection of a quotation the author of which bore the magic name of Joseph Howe. When the politicians of 1911 were inordinately anxious to make a point they often called on the great party figures of the previous century. For the Conservatives it was almost always John A. Macdonald and Joseph Howe was usually the figure whose words came to the assistance of the Liberals, as they did for Armstrong in his pro-reciprocity speech. "I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet", Armstrong quoted Howe as saying, "and my head will be cold long before my prediction is verified, but I know that the day must come when Nova Scotia, small as she is, will maintain half a million of men upon the sea."¹ "If the then reciprocal arrangement had remained in force", continued Armstrong, "I have no doubt that ere this Joe Howe's prediction would have been partially realized, but it received a stinging blow after the restrictive tariff was replaced on fish."

So the dastardly tariff had had severe economic repercussions; but equally as bad, Armstrong seemed to imply, was that Howe's prophesy had been prevented from materializing. "The full realization of his hope and prediction, with which I am sure all will join", concluded Armstrong solemnly, "is only possible under the treaty now under discussion."²

Armstrong did not share the opinion of those who said Nova Scotia should reject reciprocity whatever benefits it as a province might expect to receive from the new trade agreement

1. Ibid., p. 201.

2. Ibid.

because Reciprocity might be bad for Canada as a whole. "Whatever benefits may result or however problematical they may be, we, in this province, in my opinion, stand to gain the most and to lose the least While I do not take the ground that it was a mistake that we ever went into Confederation", said Armstrong, "I do maintain that there were and are many things owing to the position of this province that make the terms of the union extremely onerous upon, especially in trade matters¹."

Cautiously the member for Yarmouth was voicing an opinion held by many Nova Scotians, especially Liberals, that things had not gone too well for their province since Confederation and the prosperity which was so bountiful in the rest of Canada had, to a large extent, passed them by. Still treading warily, Armstrong answered those who claimed interprovincial trade would suffer from reciprocity by maintaining that interprovincial trade and foreign trade were not inconsistent and that, in the past, one had kept pace with the other and it could therefore be expected that an increase in international trade would lead, judging from past experience, to greater interprovincial trade as well.

Armstrong was somewhat bitter about the contrast between the huge railway and canal expenditures in Canada since Confederation and the benefits ensuing to Maritimers from these expenditures:

The Canadian Pacific railway cost the country \$62,786,000 in cash besides other allowances. That road has not developed to any great extent the trade of the provinces by the sea. We have not received from its construction the advantages that we should have received in proportion to the sum that we contributed to its cost. The Grand Trunk Pacific has cost \$71,934,000 and will cost \$200,000,000. That has not created as yet any interprovincial traffic,

and it is too soon to prophesy as to its future. Then the canals of the country have cost \$126,328,000, and they do not assist very materially in developing interprovincial trade for Nova Scotia. 1.

Perhaps remembering that his party, even in 1911, was still trying to overcome its separatist reputation and possibly realizing that his remarks might be providing the Halifax Herald with sufficient grounds to label him as an "Anti-Confederate" or even a "Veiled Traitor", Armstrong began to modify, somewhat, the tenor of his complaints regarding the lot of Nova Scotia and the other Maritime provinces. "I am not", he insisted sincerely, "making any complaint with reference to these expenditures, because I think we should all be willing, generously and loyally, to contribute our part. However if the Maritimes had been contributing heavily for many years without complaining towards making the rest of the country prosperous this certainly did not mean, Armstrong felt, that when an opportunity finally arose which promised especially bountiful dividends to Atlantic Canada that it should be allowed to escape:

. . . I say that if it is possible through a reciprocal trade arrangement with the United States such as proposed to increase our trade many fold, it is hardly fair to charge the advocates of this scheme with disloyalty to our country, when it means increased trade and increased prosperity, particularly to the peoples of these provinces, who have contributed up to the hilt in these huge expenditures for the western provinces. 2.

But what about the argument that reciprocity would lead inevitably to annexation to the United States? This favourite argument

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid., p. 203.

of the anti-reciprocity forces was not very logical but then neither was some of the material marshalled by Armstrong in his efforts at refutation: "It was an ethnological fact that political units of English-speaking people had never been known to lose their autonomy", Armstrong insisted. "It cannot, moreover, be shown that any northern people, at any rate as far north as Canada, has ever been conquered or annexed by a southern people no matter how great or how numerous the southern nation may have been.¹"

Following this questionable analysis Armstrong ended his speech on a sufficiently high note by re-echoing words expressed on the floor of the House of Commons by Laurier when giving expression to "the key-note of all true Canadians":

. . . loyalty to the British empire and friendship to the United States; tariff preference to British manufactures and free trade in foodstuffs on this continent. 1

The Halifax Herald's reaction to Armstrong's speech was illustrative of the approach which would be taken by the Conservative press in Nova Scotia towards reciprocity in the months to come. The major economic arguments raised by the speaker were ignored and instead the Herald sought to minimize any effect the Armstrong speech might have by directing its fire at the speaker personally. The paper endeavoured to create the impression that anything the member for Yarmouth said was not to be taken seriously by men of intelligence:

As to Mr. E. H. Armstrong, no one takes him seriously, since his acrobatic performance on the temperance question. Having this year tabled a resolution for reciprocity, and having made a long and loud speech in its favor, Mr. Armstrong may be expected next year to move a resolution against reciprocity, and back it up with a speech twice as long as this year's.

1. Ibid.

It is quite probable that his record on reciprocity will prove that he has lost none of his gymnastic ability. 1

Why the resolution was introduced in the first place did not perplex the Herald too much and it found itself unable to resist the temptation to point out why:

As a matter of course, Mr. Murray had to get some one to bring down a resolution. Mr. Fielding having commanded it, a resolution had to be passed. Probably if Mr. Murray had been left to his own counsel he would have said nothing. It must be rather galling to be so much under orders from Ottawa. 2

The enthusiasm for reciprocity of the Liberal speakers as well as the length of the speeches themselves, belied this criticism from the Herald.

The next person to speak in the reciprocity debate in the House of Assembly was the member for Digby, A. E. Wall. In his introductory remarks Mr. Wall made two observations which would seem to have been rather accurate; he lacked the knowledge or ability to discuss the question of reciprocity, and he felt, moreover, that the topic had been dealt with so thoroughly by E. H. Armstrong that nothing remained to be said.

But the member for Digby was bothered by the fact that he represented a county "that possibly would be more favorably affected by reciprocity than any other county in the province".

Feeling thus obliged to make some contribution to the reciprocity debate, he brought the constituents of Digby to his assistance by reading to the House letters from fish merchants,

1. Halifax Herald, April 3, 1911.
2. Ibid.

farmers, general merchants, grocers, a captain of a fishing vessel, a pulp and paper producer and "a well-known gentleman who will be nameless", all expressing the utmost enthusiasm for reciprocity.¹ With such a pile of pro-reciprocity letters before him Wall exuberated that it was little wonder he was "emboldened to stand up on the floor of this house and give utterance to the strong desire that I have to see this reciprocity compact ratified!"¹

S. A. Nickerson, whose riding was Shelburne, was the third speaker in the reciprocity debate. Most of the points Nickerson dealt with had already been covered by Armstrong but where Armstrong had relied heavily on statistics culled from ponderous Canadian and American tomes to bolster his arguments Nickerson relied heavily on wit in his efforts to make a strong case for reciprocity. Such a strategy probably made the impact of his speech on Nova Scotians of 1911 as great as that of the first speaker. Nickerson declared:

While it is admitted that reciprocity might have been a good thing for the country once, it is argued that it is likely to be the reverse now. Is that an argument? Does any man old enough to grow whiskers expect people to be gulled by that sort of logic? What would you think of a man who thrived on food which seemed to make him grow fat and to pine when he was deprived of it - what would you say if that individual, when invited to go back to the food upon which he lived like a fighting cock, said that he preferred to live the rest of his life on suction like a wood cock? 2.

Nickerson's attack against those who claimed reciprocity would lead to annexation to the United States was in a similar vein:

1. Ibid., p. 210.

2. Ibid., p. 219.

If some of those politicians who are making themselves notorious by loud lip loyalty would read those documents [annexation manifestos of 1849] over and recognize who was concerned in drawing them up - some of their ancestors - they would be convinced that 'their ancient but ignoble blood had crept through rebels ever since the flood.' 1

Again, like Armstrong, Nickerson played on the magic of the name of Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia and read quotations from a speech that Howe had made in Detroit:

I am well enough acquainted with the Canadians to speak for them also when I make the assertion that no considerations of finance, no question of balance for or against them on the interchange of commodities can have any influence upon the loyalty of the inhabitants of the British provinces, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate the affections of the people from their country, their institutions, their government and their queen. 2

"I think", concluded Nickerson, "the sentiment of Canadians is the same today - I am happy to think so - and we need not, my fellow countrymen, be ashamed to emulate the conduct and adopt the language of that distinguished speaker at Detroit." Nickerson went on next to make the point that prosperity in Nova Scotia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, was due to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and the Washington Treaty of 1871 and "that their abrogation helped to retard further progress, and cause the falling off which I have pointed out, can be just as clearly demonstrated as any proposition in Euclid³."

Nickerson hastened to point out that despite the effect the abrogation of these treaties had the fishermen of Nova Scotia

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 220-221.
3. Ibid., p. 223.

were not to be considered as "molluscus animals" who could only exist if some foreign power took pity on them. "I believe that the man who can make headway in the teeth of a northwest gale can stand up about as much as anyone can.¹"

But what saved the fishermen, in Nickerson's opinion, following the lapse of the two major trade treaties was the increase in demand for Maritime lobsters in the United States. The province's exports in this branch of the fishing industry amounted to almost \$1,500,000 and should this market for some reason be taken away, Nova Scotians, in Nickerson's opinion, "would have to fold their tents like the Arab and silently steal away somewhere, as the Nova Scotia shore, for the most part, would be a howling desert." Despite the use of such a figure of speech the point was clear; the prosperity of the Nova Scotia fisherman was based on too unstable a foundation for the splendid offer of reciprocity in natural products to be turned down.²

The droll member for Shelburne approached the end of his speech still discussing how reciprocity would inevitably make the fishermen of his province prosperous and still quoting facts which, in his own estimation, absolutely clinched his case. Realizing that the opposition was finally to have its say immediately following his own contribution and certain of what the tenor of the remarks to follow would be, Nickerson found himself unable to resist a gibe at the Opposition, house leader,

1. Ibid., p. 224.

2. Ibid..

in his concluding sentence: "Now, Mr. Speaker, we have drawn up, I think, a solid breastwork of facts, and if any man has the temerity to butt his head against the same it will be a sign that very little loss of brains will follow.¹"

Ignoring Nickerson's advance insult J. M. Baillie, Conservative leader in the House, showed himself capable of launching a gibe or two of his own. He agreed with Nickerson that the fishing industry was an important one "but the fishermen", he reminded Mr. Nickerson, were "not the whole population of the country."² The matter of reciprocity, he pointed out was "a broad question" which not only concerned many Nova Scotians besides fishermen but had complex repercussions in a great variety of industries from Atlantic to Pacific.

The Conservative leader's approach is of interest. He practically conceded that reciprocity would benefit the fishing industry. At this time even the Halifax Herald accepted such a claim. So from a Conservative standpoint the best strategy was to avoid examining how reciprocity would likely affect Nova Scotia and instead to regard the subject as "a broad question".

Thus there was little in the speech of the Conservative leader in the House, the only Conservative to speak in the reciprocity debate, to indicate that he was a Nova Scotian. The speech could have passed for one delivered in Toronto by a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. After re-

1. Ibid., p. 226.

2. Ibid..

mind S. A. Nickerson that there were other industries besides the fishing industry Baillie went on to outline the reasons, as formulated by the Conservative Party, as to why the United States suddenly desired reciprocity with Canada. Then like the speakers who preceded him, Baillie came forth with some Canadian economic history, quite different however from that related in the House earlier in the same session, in an attempt to bolster his argument.

Railways had been built from east to west at tremendous cost to the country and now the Liberals in league with the United States trusts, Baillie told the House, were attempting to make all this effort and expense count for nought and to cause the east-west lines to yield to lines running north and south. It was the national effects of reciprocity that had to be considered, Baillie stressed. Perhaps reciprocity might benefit the fishermen, farmers and lumbermen but Nova Scotians were Canadian and should regard reciprocity from a national perspective and not from a selfish, regional viewpoint. This was the theme sounded by the Conservative House leader throughout much of his speech and from a Conservative party standpoint it was sound strategy.¹

However it was not necessary for the entire speech to be in this vein, not when the proposed agreement provided for an eight cent per ton reduction in the coal duty, not when the competitive position of a major Nova Scotia industry providing employment for

1. Ibid., pp. 230-232.

thousands of men appeared threatened. Thus, after dealing at great length with the national implications of reciprocity Baillie's speech suddenly assumed a provincial character as he began an examination of what he considered to be the probable effects of reciprocity on the coal industry of Nova Scotia.

He began by emphasizing the importance of the coal mining industry. About 120,000 persons, he suggested, were dependent on the industry. In addition, the government of the province depended on it for needed revenue and the consumers of Nova Scotia and of other parts of the nation as well depended on the industry for their fuel. The railways of Nova Scotia depended on the coal industry for a large proportion of their freight. The Liberal speakers had emphasized the fishing industry; the Conservative House leader made it quite clear that he felt the coal industry, not the fishing industry, was of the greatest importance to Nova Scotia.¹

But, according to Baillie, despite the overwhelming importance of this great industry the premier of Nova Scotia himself was remaining silent with regard to the proposed eight cents reduction. He was remaining silent despite the fact that not so long ago he had made non-reduction of the coal duty an election promise. So rather than being the unqualified boon the Liberals were claiming it would be, reciprocity, suggested Baillie, was a serious threat to the livelihood of a very large percentage of Nova Scotians. The Conservative House leader, therefore, moved an amendment to the effect that the provincial

1. Ibid., p. 232.

government was strongly opposed to the implementation of reciprocity without a mandate having been first obtained from the people of Canada.¹ Baillie's concentration in his speech on the reduction of the coal duty, although sound strategy, was of questionable effectiveness as the coal-producing areas of Nova Scotia gave the Liberals some of the strongest support they obtained in the September, 1911 election.

C. U. Mader, Liberal member of Lunenburg, spoke next in the reciprocity debate. After dutifully criticizing the preceding speaker ("for saying so little about the great interests of lumbering and fishing") Mader went on to attack that group of individuals whose "sympathies did not go any further than the coal barons and large corporations", the "Confederate Party:"

Anything that will help the upper provinces they are willing to vote for, but to the Toronto man the east is Toronto and to the Montreal man the east is Montreal and they do not want to know anything about our east. That has been the position of the supporters of the confederate party ever since the days of confederation. 2

C. U. Mader had apparently not become "Canadianized" by 1911 as some of his remarks were as harsh as many of those uttered in the repeal debates of the previous century. Mader would be one of the few Liberals to be defeated in the June, 1911, provincial election. In times of relative prosperity sentiments such as those Mader expressed against Confederation and against "Upper-Canada" tended to receive scant appreciation.

The praising of reciprocity in the legislature continued when the Liberal member for Lunenburg, H. H. Wickwire, rose to give

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1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 106.
 2. Nova Scotia Debates, 1911, p. 282.

his opinions on the proposed trade agreement. As no province, Wickwire felt, stood to gain more from reciprocity than Nova Scotia it was most regrettable indeed that unlike the provincial Conservatives of Saskatchewan the members of the Opposition in Nova Scotia were not broad and patriotic enough to support Armstrong's resolution favouring reciprocity.¹

Wickwire saw reciprocity benefiting all parts of the country but expressed his intention to consider reciprocity particularly as it affected the special interests of that part of the province of Nova Scotia which he represented. Wickwire's speech, in fact, dealt almost entirely with the benefits which he predicted would accrue to the fruit-growing areas of Annapolis, Kings, Hants and Digby Counties. According to Wickwire, Conservatives as well as Liberals in these areas regarded the proposed trade agreement as being just too good to be true.² He had no difficulty in understanding such an attitude. After all was not the United States market the "only market available for early varieties of fruit which will not bear transportation to England or Europe"? Furthermore, access to the United States market, Wickwire insisted, would stimulate the growth of pears and plums and other tender fruits and fruits produced from trees whose lives were shorter than those of apple trees, which came

1. Saskatchewan was the only province where a resolution introduced in the Legislature, favouring reciprocity, was supported by both the Liberal party and the Conservative party. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 96-110.
2. Nova Scotia Debates, 1911, pp. 284-285.

into bearing sooner and which were an important asset, according to Wickwire, to the owners of orchards while their apple trees were coming into full maturity. Wickwire saw reciprocity bringing great benefits to those who grew vegetables and potatoes but strawberry growers, he felt, should particularly benefit from the new trade agreement:

If strawberries were admitted free to the American market it would be one of the greatest benefits that could happen our farmers, because if they could get their berries free into the Boston market the amount that is now paid for duty would cover the cost of picking, packing and placing the fruit on the market. Besides this, owing to the difference in the conditions under which they are produced, our berries would get to the market after the American berries are gone. 1

Powerful evidence that the proposed trade agreement would benefit fruit growers, Wickwire felt, was a resolution passed by the Kings County Board of Trade favouring reciprocity. This Board of Trade was composed of members of both parties and the seconder of the resolution was a man who was "independent in politics."²

Next in support of reciprocity Wickwire drew the attention of the House to remarks made by one S. C. Parker, who was to be a Conservative party candidate for the riding of Kings in the next provincial election. Parker had been one of the representatives of the Maritime provinces who had attended a farmers' conference in Ottawa the previous year and had, according to Wickwire, made the following comment regarding reciprocity in the presence of the Prime Minister and members of the government:

1. Ibid., p. 285.

2. Ibid., p. 285-286.

I have the honour to speak for the fruit-growing interests of Nova Scotia. Our industry is rapidly growing; with increasing production we see the importance of as wide a distribution as possible. We are convinced that a fair measure of reciprocal trade with our neighbor to the south would be of immense advantage to all our horticultural interests." 1

As Parker, besides being a Conservative, had been for many years secretary of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers Association it might seem that Wickwire had produced some rather convincing evidence that reciprocity would benefit the fruit growers of the province.

Parker's advocacy of reciprocity, however, was not sufficient to get him elected in the 1911 provincial election in the major fruit-growing area of Kings County² and it can be perhaps wondered, therefore, if S. C. Parker really did represent the views of most Nova Scotia fruit growers when he spoke so enthusiastically of the benefits which reciprocity would entail for the orchardists of his province. In the federal election of 1911 the Minister of Militia for Canada, Sir Frederick Borden, would go down to defeat in the same constituency as did Parker in the provincial contest. A year in which apple production records were broken and in which for the first time in history a sizeable quantity of Nova Scotia apples was shipped to western Canada was an unfortunate time, from a Liberal point of view, to be emphasizing to fruit growers the need for reciprocity with the United States.

1. Ibid., p. 286.

2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 518.

1. Nova Scotia Debates, 1911, pp. 296-297.

Following H. H. Wickwire's speech Premier Murray indicated his desire to make a few remarks regarding reciprocity before the vote on the Armstrong resolution was taken. After praising the Liberal speakers who had already expounded on reciprocity the premier proceeded to torment Baillie for paying so little note in his speech to "the great industries of fishing, farming and lumbering upon which probably three-fifths of the rural population depend for means of support . . ."¹

But despite the Premier's disparaging criticism of Baillie's speech the latter representative, by practically confining his remarks to the national implications of the proposed trade agreement, had followed the wisest approach, from his party's standpoint. But Premier Murray and the speakers before him who spoke in a similar vein acted just as wisely, from a Liberal standpoint, when they criticized Baillie for refusing to consider the economic implications of reciprocity for Nova Scotians engaged in farming, fishing and lumbering. The argument of the Nova Scotia Liberals was at its strongest when examination was being made of benefits which, it could be expected, reciprocity would bring to their own particular province. The Nova Scotia Conservative case, on the other hand, had its greatest strength when consideration was being taken of the possible consequences of reciprocity to the whole of Canada and, in fact, to the British Empire and Canada's place in it as well. Loyalty to the Empire was a powerful bond uniting English Canadians in 1911; this bond was perhaps at its strongest in Nova Scotia. Thus when the results of the federal election of

1. Nova Scotia Debates, 1911, pp. 296-297.

1911 became known it was seen that Conservative strategy had paid off nationally and that Nova Scotians who on a per capita basis probably stood to gain more from reciprocity than any other Canadians, did not respond to the offer that they had been actively seeking for decades.

Following the lengthy reciprocity debate the House of Assembly, on March 29, voted on the Armstrong resolution. The vote was thirty-one to four in favour of the resolution expressing the support of the Nova Scotia legislature for the proposed Canada - United States trade agreement. The amendment to the resolution, proposed by J. M. Baillie, was defeated - also by the figures thirty-one to four - the vote in both cases being along party lines.¹

In the spring of 1911 the Murray Administration, having been in power in Nova Scotia for almost three decades, probably had some qualms about the provincial election slated for June 14. For a government in power so long, a striking proposal of widespread voter appeal to place before the electorate would have seemed most useful. Reciprocity had been seen as such an issue by the federal Liberals early in 1911 and that it was not similarly regarded by the Murray party in the campaign leading to the election of June 14, 1911, might seem surprising. Certainly it would appear that late in March the local Liberals had no doubts about the popularity of reciprocity in Nova Scotia. So confident did they appear to be of its merits, in fact, and so weak was the Conservative attack against it in the Legislature that it would

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 106.

be difficult to imagine reciprocity not having been a dominating issue in the provincial campaign had the election been called for early in April. The provincial election, however, was designated not for April but for June. And between the time the Legislature was dissolved at the end of March and the holding of the June 14 provincial election a great deal transpired to convince the wily Murray government that for the provincial Liberals to associate themselves with the Laurier government's reciprocity agreement might not be to their advantage.

Interestingly enough, with regard to the Murray government's assessment of the reciprocity question in Nova Scotia, the local Conservatives also decided to avoid introducing the issue of reciprocity into their campaign. Following the election the Morning Chronicle all but admitted that reciprocity had been played down as a campaign issue by the Liberals but blamed this fact on what it termed "the peculiar character of the campaign waged by the opposition."¹ What the Chronicle was referring to and why the Conservatives largely skirted the reciprocity issue in their June, 1911, campaign is revealed in a letter which Robert Borden wrote to Sir Charles Tupper primarily to explain why the former had cut short a recent visit to Nova Scotia. If Tupper read the Halifax Chronicle regularly he might already have been acquainted with one explanation of Borden's aborted visit as in its June 10 edition the Liberal organ had gleefully given its interpretation of the Opposition leader's apparent vacillation in deciding to come to Halifax and then of his early departure for central Canada:

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, June 16, 1911.

Mr. Borden's press correspondents announced that he was going to take an active part in the Provincial campaign". After hesitating for weeks Mr. Borden came to Halifax. Again his press correspondents announced in dispatches to papers in other provinces that the Opposition leader would take a hand in the fight and "address two or three meetings in Halifax." Now we are told that while Mr. Borden is "in good trim", he is going to start for Montreal this morning. Apparently he has found the outlook for Toryism in Nova Scotia more dispiriting than he expected. No wonder he hurries off to the more sympathetic company of his millionaire anti-reciprocity allies, who are dead against giving the fishermen of Nova Scotia the chance to get two dollars a barrel more for their mackerel.

The Chronicle was apparently quite correct in reporting that it had been Borden's original intention to take an active part in the provincial campaign in Nova Scotia. Borden, it would seem, went to the province with every intention of assisting the local Conservatives in attacking reciprocity but those he planned to assist decided against accepting the offer as Borden later revealed in his explanatory letter to Tupper:

I have just returned from Nova Scotia where our friends are very hopeful of the issue which will be decided on the 14th inst. After careful consideration they came to the conclusion at the commencement of the campaign that it would be unwise to abandon or becloud the issue upon which they began their campaign against the Provincial Government a year ago. Upon that issue they have prepared and distributed an enormous variety and amount of very excellent pamphlets and other literature. It involves the inaction, lack of policy, maladministration and extravagance of the Provincial Government. To introduce the issue of reciprocity which is not Provincial in its character or aspect, might play into the hands of the enemy as two months ago public opinion in Nova Scotia was less pronounced against reciprocity than it is today. I presented myself at their disposal for meetings upon this great question but with some doubt and after a great deal of consideration they concluded to adhere to the issue upon which the campaign had been progressing for more than a twelve month. 1

1. R. L. Borden Papers, R. L. Borden to Sir Charles Tupper, June 12, 1911.

"Two months ago public opinion in Nova Scotia was less pronounced against reciprocity than it is today." This observation of Borden's was apparently quite an accurate one for slightly more than two months earlier Premier Murray and his fellow Liberals were lauding reciprocity, in the Legislature, with the utmost enthusiasm. They had obviously felt that reciprocity would be a great boon for Nova Scotia and that it would ensure a Liberal government in power federally for yet another term. Most important of all, perhaps, to the Murray government, some of the gratitude with which Laurier and his party were being flooded could also be expected to envelop local Liberals in the province which had produced the prime Canadian negotiator of the proposed trade agreement, W. S. Fielding. Apparently in April, 1911, provincial Conservatives would not have quarreled with such an assessment of the popularity of reciprocity in Nova Scotia since Borden wrote Tupper that its introduction into the campaign by the local Conservatives might have backfired against them.

But between the time the reciprocity debate in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly terminated and the holding of the provincial election in June, the Taft-Fielding agreement, apparently lost a great deal of its attractiveness in the eyes of many Nova Scotians. That this happened seems to have been due largely to developments arising outside the province rather than to factors originating within Nova Scotia itself.

One of these developments concerned the leadership of the Conservative party. About the time members of the Murray government

were enthusiastically eulogizing reciprocity in the Legislature, Robert Borden was preparing to submit his resignation because of what he termed cabals against his leadership. Had Borden, a Nova Scotian, actually resigned the psychological impact of the move alone would have been most useful to the Murray administration. It would probably have done much to persuade the local Liberals to emphasize in their campaign that they formed a branch of the same party which secured the reciprocity agreement - an agreement so popular in Nova Scotia that the province's own Robert Borden in his discouragement chose to resign rather than to fight a policy promising such great benefits for Nova Scotia. But Borden, to the disappointment of the Halifax Chronicle, did not resign; he emerged from the crisis stronger than ever with his leadership no longer in doubt. With a strong Opposition now in existence in Ottawa, opposed to reciprocity and led by a Nova Scotian, lending active support to the federal Liberals may suddenly have seemed less palatable to the Murray government.

A further indication to the Murray administration that reciprocity was perhaps not as popular in Nova Scotia in 1911 as had been assumed came early in April when Clarence Jameson made an extremely able speech in Parliament against the Taft-Fielding agreement.¹ Since Jameson represented a constituency where fishing was a major industry, had he accepted the traditional belief that almost all Nova Scotians of whatever party would support reciprocity under practically any circumstances, the member for Digby

1. House of Commons Debates, 1911 (third session) pp. 6966-7006.

2. Ibid., p. 88.

would probably have chosen not to have spoken at all. But Jameson did participate in the great debate. And not only did he vehemently criticize reciprocity in his speech but he directed some of his major criticisms to the effect he predicted reciprocity would have on fishermen and based his arguments largely on material which he had culled from the Halifax Morning Chronicle! That a member of Parliament, apparently quite sane, and representing a Nova Scotia constituency having an economy based almost entirely on the primary industries, would have the courage to make such remarks in Parliament about reciprocity may have given the local Liberals of Jameson's home province considerable food for thought. At any rate by the time Premier Murray gave his major address of the provincial election campaign at Pictou, less than two weeks after Jameson's Anti-reciprocity speech in Parliament, his enthusiasm for the Taft-Fielding agreement had apparently abated considerably. Murray openly denounced reciprocity in coal and advised his audience that reciprocity was not an issue which should affect their judgment on provincial affairs.¹

Between April 26 and May 1, several more developments occurred which may also have contributed to the reluctance exhibited by the provincial Liberals to associate themselves too enthusiastically with reciprocity. Following a caucus of the federal Conservative Party on April 26 Borden announced the determination of its members to "offer firm and determined resistance to the proposals to the bitter end."² The ultimate result of this determination was

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 516.

2. Ibid., p. 88.

an adjournment of Parliament from May 23 to July 18. Borden justified his obstructionist policy on the grounds that the reciprocity question involved no less than "the national existence of the country,"¹ and that furthermore it was one which gravely affected Canada's relations to the Empire. That he probably believed, sincerely, that Canada's relationship with the Empire was in grave danger is indicated by these words from a letter Borden sent to the future Lord Beaverbrook in London, appealing for his active support in the forth-coming campaign:

It will be entirely mischievous and perhaps fatal if you are prevented from fighting with us in the impending struggle. That conflict will assuredly determine whether Canada's future path must lie within or without the Empire. Any public man in Great Britain in whose vision extends beyond the three mile limit must realize this truth. . . ."²

But whether Borden really believed Canada's relationship with the Mother Country was in jeopardy or not, members of the Murray government no doubt realized instinctively how risky it would be for them to appear to be against the Mother Country and the Empire. Here may have been one more reason why Nova Scotia's local Liberals seem to have quickly lost much of their enthusiasm for reciprocity following the legislative debate on the question in March.

On April 27, just one day after a reinvigorated Tory party emerged from its caucus in a fighting mood United States President Taft, speaking to the Associated Press and Newspaper Publishers Association told his audience that the time was a criti-

1. Ibid.

2. R. L. Borden Papers, R. L. Borden to Max Aitken, May 1, 1911.

cal one and that if the United States did not get reciprocity then it probably never would because of the Imperial Federation Movement. He maintained that:

The forces which are at work in England and in Canada to separate her by a Chinese wall from the United States and to make her part of an Imperial commercial band reaching from England around the world to England again by a system of preferential tariffs, will derive an impetus from the rejection of this Treaty, and if we would have Reciprocity with all the advantages that I have described, and that I earnestly and sincerely believe will follow its adoption, we must take it now or give it up forever. 1

In the ultra-loyal province that was Nova Scotia, Premier Murray and his followers probably saw scant wisdom in aggressively appearing to place themselves on the same side of the reciprocity issue as President Taft.

Another external development which may have played at least a small part in persuading the local Liberals of Nova Scotia to disassociate themselves to a great extent from the Taft-Fielding agreement was the stand taken by Sir Charles Tupper in the campaign. That Tupper, although ninety years of age in 1911, had lost little of his mental alertness was indicated by his "Open Letter to Fielding"² which appeared in Conservative newspapers (including the Halifax Herald) across Canada on May 1. So impressed were Borden's propagandists with Tupper's anti-reciprocity diatribe that they decided to issue it in pamphlet form and to distribute a million copies of the Tupper letter throughout Canada.³ In the Halifax Herald, at least, Tupper's open letter to Fielding took

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1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 74.
 2. Printed in Tupper's biography. E. M. Saunders, Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, II (New York, 1916), p. 267.
 3. R. L. Borden Papers, J. T. Bethune to Sir Charles Tupper, May 30, 1911.

up all of the space usually reserved for the journal's editorials. Since Tupper, in addition to being a Nova Scotian was an ex-premier, an ex-prime minister and the "Father of Confederation" primarily responsible for bringing his native province into the union, his opinion undoubtedly carried some weight in Nova Scotia, even as late as the second decade of the twentieth century. The provincial Liberals of Nova Scotia could hardly be blamed if they proved somewhat less than anxious to voice publicly the praises of an agreement so harshly condemned by their province's Grand Old Man.

Tupper's "Open Letter" represented but a miniscule part of the Tory propaganda barrage with which the Liberals now had to contend. By early March three major anti-reciprocity groups had formed in Ontario and each of them was responsible for circulating great volumes of propaganda throughout the various provinces of Canada, including Nova Scotia.¹ The Eighteen Liberals who split with their party formed the Canadian National League. Arthur Hawkes, with the encouragement of Clifford Sifton (who pointed out to him the large number of Canadians who were recent emigrants from Great Britain) began making speeches and writing articles by way of carrying out his "Appeal to the British Born." A third Ontario organization, the Anti-Reciprocity League, also sent large quantities of anti-reciprocity material to Nova Scotia and to other provinces.²

But at about the same time that reciprocity was being subjected to greatly increased buffeting from sources outside Nova

1. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity 1911 (Toronto, 1939), pp. 154-156.

2. Ibid.

Scotia, within the province itself Conservative elements - no doubt encouraged by national developments favouring the Borden party - began to obtain sufficient courage to assault more directly the Taft-Fielding agreement. Particularly was this so of the Nova Scotia Conservative press. The Halifax Herald may have been especially encouraged by the conclusion of a Conservative caucus late in April that reciprocity represented a dire threat both to Canadian independence and to the imperial connection. "THE RECIPROCIITY PACT IS ALREADY SEPARATING CANADA FROM THE EMPIRE" was the heading for the second editorial in the April 29 issue of the Halifax Herald. The editorial elaborated further: "The Laurier Government is afraid of the people at the polls, and Taft and Fielding have agreed that it is 'now or never' with their secret reciprocity scheme." Those who have carefully studied that scheme are convinced that, if adopted, it would tend irresistibly to take Canada out of the Empire."¹ That in addition to withdrawal from the British Empire reciprocity also meant annexation to the United States was pointed out to Herald readers May 3 and again in the May 8 edition of the major Nova Scotia Conservative newspaper.

It would be quite erroneous to maintain that the twin "fates" of separation from the British Empire and annexation to the United States were not predicted in the Conservative press in Nova Scotia prior to the decision of Borden and his party to wage unrestricted political warfare on reciprocity. However the impression is obtained that following this apparent resurgence of the Tory party the assault on reciprocity became much more aggressive and much

1. Halifax Herald, April 29, 1911.

less equivocal.

Prior to Borden's April 26, announcement, it would seem that the most intense criticism of reciprocity appearing in the Halifax Herald was culled from central Canadian newspapers. That this was so is suggested by the Halifax Chronicle's frequent taunting of the Herald, prior to April 26, for allegedly not knowing whether it was for or against reciprocity. Thus the Chronicle's March 25 edition declared: "If the local Opposition have any opinions of their own on reciprocity they seem to be very reluctant to make them public." And again in the edition of April 3 it trumpeted: "Our Conservative contemporary . . . does not seem to know whether it is for or against the reciprocity arrangement as a business proposition . . ." And a little more than a week later, on April 12, the Chronicle made the same taunting observation regarding the Herald's alleged uncertainty about reciprocity: "Even the Organ [Halifax Herald] itself does not know whether it is opposed to it - reciprocity - or not." Any justification there was for such tormenting of the Herald by the Chronicle ended, apparently, in April. And by the time the provincial election campaign got under way the Herald even ceased admitting the possibility that reciprocity might be of benefit to the fishing industry." "Whoever else may vote for the Taft-Fielding Secret Pact," declared the Halifax Herald, emphatically, in a June 2 editorial, "NO NOVA SCOTIA FISHERMAN CAN REASONABLY DO SO."¹ Once having reached the conclusion that reciprocity would be disastrous to Nova Scotia

1. Halifax Herald, June 2, 1911.

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 518-519.

fishermen as well as to every other economic group in the province the predictions of "that sometimes hysterical journal" right up until the day of the Federal election, on September 21, were as gloomy as any in the Montreal Star or the Toronto News.

So largely as a consequence of the many-faceted Conservative attack against reciprocity the provincial Liberals, despite their initial enthusiasm for the Taft-Fielding agreement, chose not to make reciprocity the major election issue when their active campaigning began in the latter half of May. To a great extent they seem to have dealt with it at length only when, in Premier Murray's words, it was "used for local effect by our opponents."¹ That they failed to make greater mention of reciprocity in the campaign was not because of any feeling they possessed that their prospects of winning an overwhelming victory were so great that they had little need of a major issue to lend vitality to their election appeal. Robert Borden would not likely have seen the possibility of victory for the local Conservatives² if there were not indications that these men were winning confidence from the people of Nova Scotia at the expense of the Murray administration. Despite the fact that the election gave the Liberals twenty-seven seats and the Conservatives only eleven³ the latter party had won six additional seats and had defeated three cabinet ministers. The Murray Liberals must have been

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 516.
2. R. L. Borden Papers, R. L. Borden to Sir Charles Tupper, April 24, 1911.
3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 518-519.

quite aware of their waning popularity but they apparently did not see reciprocity as the medium of a revival of their fortunes in the province. That they lacked such a faith in reciprocity, a faith which they seem to have had in March, indicates, surely, that they must have sensed a growing indifference, at the very least, among the people of Nova Scotia, for the Taft-Fielding agreement.

Traditionally, then, Nova Scotians have had an almost mystical faith in the power of reciprocity to heal their economic ills. Apparently the prosperity which they enjoyed under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was largely responsible for creating the myth that reciprocity was the panacea for any type of economic distress which the province might be suffering. The reciprocity myth, it seems clear, was very much alive in December, 1910, and for at least a few months in 1911.

But sometime between January 26, 1911, and the Nova Scotia provincial election of June 14 a considerable lessening of enthusiasm for reciprocity apparently occurred among Nova Scotians. That this marked decrease in desire for reciprocity occurred before the end of March seems doubtful. A group such as the Nova Scotia Liberals, with so much political acumen that they had remained in power for three decades, would not have dealt with reciprocity in the Legislature at such length if they had not known it to be very popular with their constituents. But that support in Nova Scotia for reciprocity declined after the end of March seems just as certain as that it was strong before the 31st of that month. The decline in support for reciprocity was reflected in the attitude towards the issue exhibited by the Murray government

while contesting the provincial election of 1911 and seems to have been brought about primarily by developments which largely originated outside Nova Scotia.

Long before the provincial election campaign was over reciprocity had been converted from a highly positive factor in favour of the local Liberals to a neutral issue. It was neutral because it does not seem to have assisted either the Liberals or the Conservatives. Apparently the Liberals avoided it because they sensed the growing indifference, and sometimes even hostility, in the province towards it and also because they were becoming impressed with the growing array of forces which were marshalling against it. That the local Conservatives avoided the reciprocity question was largely because they made the decision to stick to campaign strategy planned many months before the election. They were also sufficiently in awe of Nova Scotians' traditional response to reciprocity probably that they lacked the courage to assail the policy in case this should backfire.

That such a transformation of attitude towards the Taft-Fielding agreement as had apparently taken place in Nova Scotia could occur in such a brief period seems to indicate that the original enthusiasm for reciprocity was not very deeply entrenched. But to maintain that desire for reciprocity was not strongly rooted in Nova Scotia in 1911 is to contradict, it might appear, the claim already made that Nova Scotians were traditionally so anxious for reciprocity that they would accept it on almost any conceivable terms. But this traditional claim regarding reciprocity, though practically a truism, was apparently without much validity for the

year 1911. For at that time the province's ancient and almost chronic hunger for reciprocity had been temporarily satiated by a prosperity as rare as it was brief, which reached its climax as the second decade of the twentieth century got underway.

Leading the Conservative assault against reciprocity in Nova Scotia were several of the party's top orators. All of them except the Opposition leader were from outside the province and without exception these prominent politicians were well received in Nova Scotia. Some of the apparent decline in support for reciprocity which occurred as the campaign progressed was probably due to the great variety of arguments which the Opposition managed to array against the proposed arrangement and the effectiveness with which eminent Conservative speakers used these arguments on the hustings during the summer of 1911.

When Parliament reassembled July 18 the scent of victory was in the air for Robert Borden's Conservative party. After the short period of depression which followed Fielding's momentous announcement of January 26 events had progressed extremely well as far as the Conservatives were concerned. With reciprocity enormously popular in the country, initially, and with Borden's leadership being challenged in March by a party faction which even contained some Nova Scotia members there was an element very badly needed by the Opposition. But sufficient time did elapse both for reciprocity to lose much of its initial appeal and for Borden to strengthen greatly

CHAPTER IV

Leading the Conservative assault against reciprocity in Nova Scotia were several of the party's top orators. All of them except the Opposition leader were from outside the province and without exception these prominent politicians were well received in Nova Scotia. Some of the apparent decline in support for reciprocity which occurred as the campaign progressed was probably due to the great variety of arguments which the Opposition managed to array against the proposed arrangement and the effectiveness with which eminent Conservative speakers used these arguments on the hustings during the summer of 1911.

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his position as leader within the party. Thus the Conservative chief's greatest stroke of fortune, perhaps, was that the announcement of the Taft-Fielding agreement had not been immediately followed by a federal election, since as Borden himself was convinced, Conservative defeat would have been the outcome.¹

Conservative interests were also admirably served by the fact that in London during the months of May and June an Imperial Conference was to be held and the Coronation of George V was to take place. Laurier was faced with the dilemma of either leaving himself open to a charge of neglecting Imperial matters by remaining in Canada to promote the political interests of the Liberal Party or of attending the Imperial Conference and giving the Conservatives time to rally their forces for an attack on reciprocity. The Opposition gave Laurier no excuse to choose the former, offering as they did to co-operate in voting the necessary supply for an adjournment and urging upon the Prime Minister his duty to the Empire. The Halifax Herald gave a preview of the cry which would be adopted by the Conservatives if Laurier remained in Canada by suggesting on April 29 that he was disloyal in preferring American to Imperial interests and by suggesting to its readers that very possibly "Mr. Taft won't let Mr. Wilfrid Laurier go."² Finally at a Liberal

1. Henry Borden (ed.), Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, I (Toronto, 1938), pp. 303, 311.

2. Halifax Herald, April 29, 1911.

caucus early in May it was reluctantly decided to adjourn Parliament for two months, from May 23 to July 18.¹

Even the American Senate seemed to be supporting the Conservative strategy of forcing the Liberals to the country - but not too soon - by taking months to come to a decision regarding the reciprocity bill. The delay in the United States had the effect of making plausible Conservative demands that no decision be taken in Canada until the United States had acted and conversely the American situation hamstrung any possible Liberal efforts to push affirmative action in Parliament.²

Conservative obstructionist tactics had yielded rich dividends. Initially uncertain and disunited the Borden party had gained time to solve its internal difficulties and to receive bolstering from powerful quarters. Profiting from the American delay the Conservatives had gone on to take the offensive in Parliament and to build up by means of a country-wide campaign sufficient momentum to enforce its demand for a popular verdict. The Liberals would have the decisive battle which Laurier had desired in May. But now in the summer of 1911 it would be waged on ground chosen by their adversaries. Within ten minutes after parliamentary proceedings got under way following the two month adjournment, Conservative obstruction resumed. As the Conservatives showed

1. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, (Toronto, 1912), pp. 88 - 89.

2. L. E. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations, (New Haven, 1939), pp. 150, 151, 163.

no signs of discontinuing such tactics the government, with dramatic suddenness, decided, July 29, upon immediate dissolution with an election to follow on September 21.¹

If the provincial Liberals of Nova Scotia had been aware for some time of the dwindling enthusiasm for reciprocity in the province it would seem that their federal counterparts - judging by their feeble campaign efforts in Nova Scotia, at least - lacked such perceptiveness. Despite the fact that two of the province's Liberal representatives in Ottawa were cabinet ministers the aging and over-worked Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself ended up carrying, it would seem, a disproportionate share of the campaign burden in Nova Scotia. Fielding, initially for reasons of health, and later on, because "of uncertainties in his own constituency" did not make many speeches in the campaign.² The other Nova Scotia cabinet minister, Sir Frederick Borden, was not even in Nova Scotia during much of the campaign.³

The inaction of the federal Liberal organization for Nova Scotia was in no way nullified by any pro-reciprocity enthusiasm on the part of the Murray government. Despite the fact that their province could expect to benefit more from reciprocity than any other the local Liberals did not take as

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 88 - 89.

2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911. p. 239.

3. Carmen Miller, "The Public Life of Sir Frederick Borden" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1964), pp. 238 - 239.

active a part in the campaign as did their counterparts in most of the other provincial governments.¹

Very much in contrast with the apparent lack of effort put forth by the leading Liberals during the campaign was the impressive turnout of prominent Conservatives to participate in the Nova Scotia segment of the contest. Opposition leader Borden made a large number of speeches in Nova Scotia in August and September, 1911.² Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper came all the way from British Columbia to participate in the Nova Scotia campaign. George Foster, who would later become a cabinet minister in the Borden government, took time away from his New Brunswick constituency to address Tory meetings in Nova Scotia. Possibly the most impressive of the "Big Guns" participating in the Conservative election effort in Nova Scotia was prominent Liberal and former cabinet minister, Sir Clifford Sifton.³ The same involvement characterized the provincial opposition, C. H. Cahan, former leader of the Conservative opposition in the Legislature, spoke twice in Halifax, while C. E. Tanner, the actual leader of the Opposition in 1911, did much organizing work throughout Nova Scotia.⁴

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 239.

2. Halifax Evening Mail, August 26, 1911.

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 239.

4. Ibid., August 30, 1911.

4. Journal of the House of Assembly, 1910 - 1911, Appendix No. 12, p. 20.

The first of the leading candidates of either party to speak in Nova Scotia was the Prime Minister himself. Finance Minister Fielding as well as Charles Marcil, member of Parliament for Bonaventure, and Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied the Prime Minister on his Nova Scotia speaking tour.¹ Sir Wilfrid spoke at Digby and Kentville on August 29, at Halifax and Truro on the 30th and finished the Nova Scotia segment of his campaign on the final day of August - making speeches at both Stellarton and New Glasgow.² Although Digby would re-elect the Conservative incumbent, Clarence Jameson, with twice the majority he had enjoyed in the 1908 election, the Liberal Prime Minister, even by the Halifax Herald's admission, was given a "good" reception by "big crowds" which attended his meetings at Digby and Kentville.³ There was nothing particularly "local" in the Digby appeal of the Liberal principals. In fact it was this area noted primarily for fruit raising, lumbering and fish-curing⁴ that Fielding, in an apparent attempt to give reassurance to the manufacturing interests, made the following remark - destined to be much - quoted afterward across the nation. "I am a reasonable, sane, and rational free trader, but I am not such a free trader as to strike down any legitimate industry, and I have told the manu-

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 239.

2. Ibid., pp. 165 - 166.

3. Halifax Herald, August 30, 1911.

4. Journal of the House of Assembly, 1910 - 1911, Appendix No. 22, p. 28.

facturers that if they are fair and reasonable they can count on my support."¹

The Halifax Morning Chronicle devoted the entire front page of its August 31. edition to a glowing report of the "Laurier Evening" in Halifax, August 30. An estimated 8,000 to 10,000 people were on hand at the Halifax Arena to hear what was apparently a fine example of the Liberal leader's oratorical appeal.² Fated though he was to go down to electoral defeat but a few months later, Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Halifax showed that he was still very much the master politician. First he expressed pleasure at the realization that some of "his Tory friends" were probably in attendance. Next he went on to make a few well chosen remarks regarding Sir John A. Macdonald, "the idol of the Conservative party, its best guide and most trusted leader He more than any other leader of the Conservative party made the greatest efforts to obtain what we now have within our own gift."

Having likely won at least a modicum of support from a few Conservatives at the meeting by calling them his friends and praising Macdonald the Prime Minister was then obliged to quickly heap praise on a "Great Departed Liberal" in case his previous remarks had had the effect of alienating some adherents of his own party. A generation later the name of Sir Wilfrid

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 165.

2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 31, 1911.

1. Ibid.

himself would be trotted out to complement that of Sir John A. Macdonald by politicians seeking bi-partisan support. But not to mention the fact that Laurier could hardly proclaim himself a virtual deity to Haligonians there was the problem that being still very much alive he could probably not, according to practice, be categorized with Macdonald as a great Canadian statesman. Fortunately for Laurier, however, the name of a well-known Liberal, whom death had transformed from a politician into a statesman, was available, that of Joseph Howe. And speaking in reverential tones of the Tribune of Nova Scotia represented Laurier's third display of outstanding political acumen at the Halifax Arena. "Today in passing through one street of your city I was attracted by a monument erected by the filial piety of the people," declared Laurier, with veneration, "to one of the greatest men of this country, Hon. Joseph Howe."

But in the Liberal leader's somewhat hyperbolic account of just why Howe was so great it was not responsible government but rather reciprocity that received the stronger emphasis. "Need I remind you men of Halifax," continued Laurier, "that this prince of orators achieved for us the greatest triumph of his life, when in the year 1865 he went to Detroit, a city in Michigan, to advocate the cause of reciprocity, and delivered there an oration which was the wonder of those who heard it and the pride of the people of Nova Scotia and will live forever in the pages of Canadian literature."¹ Eventually touching on

1. Ibid.

Howe's involvement in the fight for responsible government Laurier had no difficulty in seeing a parallel between the famous Nova Scotia reformer's great struggle and his own battle in the summer of 1911. "When Joseph Howe in this city tried to reform the condition of things at that time, tried to obtain Responsible Government, the Tories of that day, as of this day," Laurier told the citizens of Halifax, "said, 'let well enough alone'". Such a deplorable attitude, Laurier assured his audience, was absolutely foreign to himself and to the party which he led in 1911 as it had been to Joe Howe in the 1830's and 1840's.¹

The adulation with which Laurier was treated in the Liberal press stood in marked contrast to the vituperation heaped upon the Government Leader by newspapers supporting the Conservative party. The Herald harshly attacked the Liberal leader even before he arrived in Halifax in a fantastically imperialistic harangue contained in an "open letter" in which it was most unsubtly alleged that Laurier represented a major threat to "the grand ideal" of "Anglo-Saxon unity:"

Our people are . . . Imperialists both by policy and sentiment. You are not . . . In all your public dealings - YOUR sympathy with the North-West rebellion which would have created a Metis republic in the North-West; the friendly attitude YOU assumed to Paul Kruger when he sought to strike down British authority and prestige; YOUR open hostility to any co-operation for mutual protection between the Motherland and the congerie of states that have sprung from her; YOUR assumption of the doctrine that "Britain can be at war with any power and Canada be neutral and enjoy such friendly relations with such power - these various moods on your part

1. Ibid. Canada's Federal Elections, (Toronto, 1907), p. 139.

betray a personal instinct so hostile to the sentiment of our people - namely, the pride of race the glory in our achievements as a nation and in the freedom of our institutions - that we cannot accept you as a safe guide today in the making of treaties any more than you would have been had the Canadian people entrusted you with the duty of negotiating with Louis Riel or Paul Kruger.

We are face to face today not with Reciprocity pure and simple, but with our IMPERIALISTIC DESTINIES. 1

Obviously the Herald was imperial-minded to a point approaching fanaticism. But it seems apparent, as well, that the editors of this newspaper having the largest readership in the province felt reasonably certain that their imperialistic utterances would strike a responsive chord in the hearts of a very large number of Nova Scotians. For if Nova Scotia was the province which stood to gain more, economically, from reciprocity than any other province it was the good fortune of the Conservative Party and its supporters that it was also a province where the devotion of large segments of the population to the British Empire was about as zealous as anywhere in the Dominion. ²

To judge from its August 31 headline the Halifax Herald apparently gathered the impression after hearing Sir Wilfrid and the prime Canadian negotiator of the reciprocity agreement, W.S. Fielding, deliver campaign speeches in Halifax, August 30, that it considered Canada and the Empire were in considerably less danger than the Tory journal had previously believed:

1. Halifax Herald, August 30, 1911.

2. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power; Canada's Federal Elections, (Scarborough, 1968), p. 129.

The Prime Minister, As He Stood On The Platform At The Arena Last Night, Looked Like A Man Over Whom Hangs The Shadow Of Defeat And The Audience Was Quick To Feel The Dispiriting Influence. Hon. W. S. Fielding Was Very Hoarse - Neither He Nor The Prime Minister Could Be Heard By Half The Great Assemblage That Had Gathered, And By The Time The Minister Of Finance Had Finished HALF THE AUDIENCE HAD SLIPPED AWAY.¹

In the wake of adulation from the Liberal press and derision from the Conservative, Laurier and his party left Halifax for appearances in Stellarton and New Glasgow. At the latter place the Prime Minister once more displayed his political acumen of making the appropriate remarks in the appropriate centres by paying high tribute to the British policy in South Africa.² After visiting Charlottetown and Moncton on September 1 and September 2 respectively Sir Wilfrid Laurier returned to Nova Scotia where he addressed a total of at least 25,000 people at the centres of Pugwash, Oxford, Maccan and Amherst before returning to Central Canada.³

Following Laurier's departure all of the influential politicians from outside the province speaking in Nova Scotia, thenceforth, would be supporters of the Conservative cause; and right up to the eve of the election it would be the Borden party which would dominate the campaign. Of those who spoke in Nova Scotia on behalf of the Conservatives in the summer of 1911 the

1. Halifax Herald, August 31, 1911.

2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 166.

3. Ibid.

1. Sydney Daily Record, August 29, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 2, 1911.

politician of major stature who probably made the greatest contribution to the success of the Conservative Party was not even one of its members. Clifford Sifton was entering Nova Scotia to speak against reciprocity at about the same time Laurier was leaving the province after having pleaded for reciprocity's acceptance. Following the election Laurier would express the opinion publicly that it was this former Liberal cabinet minister and not simply Borden and the Conservative Party which brought about his political defeat.¹

After making strong anti-reciprocity speeches in major New Brunswick centres Sifton arrived in Nova Scotia, August 30th. As the following excerpt from the pro-Liberal Sydney Record of August 29 suggests, Sifton apparently enjoyed a prominence at the Conservative rallies rivalling that of Robert Borden himself:

He [Sifton] is advertised to speak at North Sydney this week in terms which are usually reserved for the party leader, and he is "featured" in party organs as if the fate of the party in Nova Scotia depended on his visit.²

Sifton made his major Nova Scotia speech in Halifax on September 1. The Halifax Herald pointed out that Sifton was not a good speaker and only 5,000 came to hear him whereas 8,000 had been present at the "Laurier Evening." But the same journal labelled the speech of "The Great Liberal Leader of the West" a "Masterly" one.³ In contrast with his speeches

1. J. W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, (Toronto, 1931), p. 377.

2. Sydney Daily Record, August 29, 1911.

3. Halifax Herald, September 2, 1911.

in Parliament on the subject of reciprocity Sifton's Halifax appeal was skillfully local in nature. The farmers of Nova Scotia, he insisted, could not now meet the yearly demands of their own home market. Why should they make national sacrifices for a foreign market? Nor should the fruit-growers support reciprocity as reputable men in their industry had maintained that the removal of the duty on apples would not increase the market for apples in Boston and New York. Nor did knowledgable lumbermen think differently as far as their industry and reciprocity was concerned. Sifton was not even willing to concede that the fishermen of Nova Scotia might benefit from reciprocity. This was only an assumption of Fielding's, he insisted. If a free United States market for fish was so beneficial why did Gloucester Massachusetts have a population of only 60,000? Reciprocity, furthermore, Sifton assured his Halifax audience, was a positive threat to those persons involved in processing fish into its various forms and what he referred to as "the big Western Market for fish" would be taken from Canadians should reciprocity be implemented. Sifton foresaw a gloomy future for the Cape Breton coal industry should reciprocity be adopted, as the reduction of eight cents in the duty on coal might mean the loss of the home market for the product to Americans.¹

The general press reaction to Sifton's attacks on reciprocity is of some interest. The Conservative Party in Nova Scotia, through its principal organ, the Halifax Herald, played up the

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 198 - 199.

Liberal minister's defection for all that it was worth. The Herald's major theme seems to have been that if a Liberal as great as Sir Clifford Sifton opposed the Taft-Fielding agreement this was practically overwhelming evidence, surely, that reciprocity was all wrong and that Borden and the Conservatives were right in forcing an election over the issue.

The great respect with which Clifford Sifton was regarded in Liberal circles is indicated by the restraint exercised by the Liberal press in Canada with regard to his defection - a defection which apparently damaged severely the Liberal case for reciprocity. Thus, in the opinion of the Halifax Chronicle, Sifton had probably "made the best case that could be made" against the Taft-Fielding agreement.¹ Nova Scotia's Chief Liberal organ avoided the temptation - and perhaps the trap - of launching a vehement tirade against a personality, who, as it turned out, so greatly weakened the position of the federal Liberal Party in Canada. Rather its attitude was akin to that which might be displayed by an individual towards an old and respected colleague who had lapsed suddenly into senility. So while the Liberal press adopted a pitying attitude towards Sifton's conduct in 1911 no real attempt was made to detract from his past greatness.

Sifton had barely made his departure when a second major political figure, the Honourable George E. Foster, arrived in Nova Scotia to castigate the iniquitous trade agreement. Foster's

1. Halifax Chronicle, March 1, 1911.

impact as an anti-reciprocity figure would hardly have equalled that of Sifton if for no other reason than that he belonged to the party which was expected to oppose government programmes. Nevertheless, among the many who campaigned in Nova Scotia against reciprocity, Foster was definitely one of the heavyweights. A university professor before entering politics he served in Ottawa as Minister of Finance in five Conservative administrations. And in Borden's cabinet, following the forthcoming Liberal defeat, he would once again play a conspicuous part.¹

Speaking at Westville, September 2, 1911, Foster warned his Nova Scotia listeners that reciprocity, far from bringing them larger markets would give them, instead, the competition of 90,000,000 in their home markets.² It was in Halifax on September 5 that Foster made his major Nova Scotia campaign speech, Haligonians greeted the former cabinet minister with what today would be sarcastic invective: "Welcome Foster, Imperialist" proclaimed the banner suspended across the front of the platform at the Mayflower Curling Rink.³ Being labelled an Imperialist in 1911, was, of course, a compliment of the highest order - at least in Halifax. Foster responded to this high praise by thrilling and inspiring, according to the Halifax Herald, the large audience which came to hear him. As he had done elsewhere

1. J. E. Robbins (ed.), Encyclopedia Canadiana, IV, (Ottawa, 1965), p. 236.

2. Halifax Herald, September 4, 1911.

3. Ibid., September 6, 1911.

in Nova Scotia Foster insisted that rather than reciprocity bringing about a great Canadian invasion of the United States market quite the reverse would be true. There would be an "invasion" but it would be from south to north.

Effectively employing metaphor and simile, Foster painted a vivid picture of what reciprocity would do to the east-west lines of railroad communication built in Canada at such great cost after Confederation. "Jim Hill's thirteen railways are now with their snouts against the 49th parallel of latitude like so many leeches," asserted Foster dramatically, "waiting till election day to fasten on their victim to suck the life blood out of Canada to succor Uncle Sam."¹ The impressive Conservative campaigner apparently saw his chief duty in Halifax to be to destroy any favourable impression the Prime Minister might have made when speaking in the city a few nights previously. That he was successful the Halifax Herald had little doubt. "Before Mr. Foster had finished his merciless dissection of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech, declared the Herald, "not a rag was left to cover the ludicrous nakedness of his Halifax address."²

The arrival of Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper from British Columbia was yet another indication of the greater determination of the Nova Scotia Conservatives, and of the superiority of their organization in contrast with the Liberal campaigns. Tupper had an historic name which carried a lot of appeal for

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

many Nova Scotians. At the age of twenty-seven he became the Pictou County candidate in the House of Commons. Young and aggressive the son of Sir Charles was popular with his constituents and won re-election in 1887 in 1891 and again in 1900.¹ In 1888, when but thirty-three, he was appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries and while in that office he acted as agent for the British government at the Behring Sea Fisheries Arbitration. It was on account of his services at the Arbitration that Hibbert Tupper was knighted by the King. Sir Hibbert became Minister of Justice in 1894. He was Solicitor-General in his father's administration and went out of office with the defeat of that government in 1896. Having become interested in matters on the West Coast through his connection with the arbitration relating to the Behring Sea Fisheries, Sir Hibbert moved to Vancouver to practice law in 1897.²

Thus it was from Vancouver, that Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper arrived in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1911, having been summoned, according to the Halifax Chronicle, "by an urgent call sent out by the Tory Candidates in their extremity."³ Tupper was scheduled to address two meetings - one with the Opposition Leader at Halifax and the second for his old-time colleague, A. C. Bell, in Pictou.

1. E. M. Macdonald, Recollections Political and Personal, (Toronto, 1938), p. 523.

2. Encyclopedia Canadiana, X, p. 159.

3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 12, 1911.

The great caution with which the Liberal press treated this former Nova Scotian with the famous name is interesting. In an age when personal abuse of politicians of opposing political persuasion was commonplace, the Halifax Chronicle chose not to handle Tupper in such a fashion. Thus while the Borden-Tupper meeting, September 12, was itself, "a disappointment", Charles Hibbert Tuoper's speech, on the other hand, was found by the Chronicle to be lacking neither in spirit nor in enthusiasm.¹ Sir Hibbert's reputation as an orator may have accounted for the apparent anxiety of the Chronicle at his participation in the 1911 campaign. "I unhesitatingly say that at the height of his career," maintained an old political opponent, E. M. Macdonald, "there was no more effective public speaker than Hibbert Tupper."²

But while the Chronicle apparently felt unable to criticize Sir Hibbert's speaking abilities, this was not to say that the paper made no effort to weaken any impact Tupper might have on his Nova Scotia audiences. As with Sifton, the individual went unassaulted but the significance of his words was called severely into question. In the case of Sir Hibbert the Chronicle even went so far as to anticipate what he would say to his Halifax audience and then attacked the speech it itself had conjured up. "He will doubtless argue that the farmers and fishermen are liable to become disloyal if they sell their products to the

1. Ibid., September 13, 1911.

2. Macdonald, Recollections, p. 524.

United States,"¹ predicted the Chronicle. But as evidence that Nova Scotians should pay no heed to such assertions the Chronicle was able to discover in no less an unimpeachable source than "the stenographic account published in the Halifax Herald" that C. H. Tupper (in 1891) had stated that partial reciprocity would be in the interests of both Canada and the United States.²

But since it was in Halifax that Tupper was speaking it was perhaps even more damaging to the Conservative campaign that the Chronicle had unearthed some uncomplimentary remarks he had apparently made regarding the Mother Country:

"What is the policy of the Motherland today? Driven from the civilized markets of the world; steadily and every year finding their output to these markets decreasing; they spend millions on their Navy and millions on their Army to force their wares, and their goods and their merchandise into the uncivilized markets of the world, which they are endeavoring to occupy, to settle and to control"³

"Who made this startling statement?", the Chronicle asked, rhetorically, and then went on to eliminate the obvious suspects: "These words were not issued by Bourassa or by Monk or by any other of Mr. Borden's Nationalist allies, let all of British-born stock remember." Incredibly the dreadful words were uttered, it seemed, "by a King's Council, a Privy Councillor, a man whose shoulders the late Queen touched when she made him a Knight." Finally and dramatically the Liberal organ revealed that

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 12, 1911.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

"the man who slandered the Mother Country and insulted her men of commerce" so deplorably was none other than the platform speaker with Robert Laird Borden in Halifax that evening, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper. Finding it impossible to believe that such a man would have the audacity to come to Halifax to warn of dangers to the Imperial connection the Chronicle could only assume that the real purpose of Tupper's visit to Halifax, September 12, was to apologize!¹

But Tupper apologized neither in Halifax nor in Pictou. Especially had he no feelings of guilt with regard to his party's relationship with certain French-Canadian nationalist elements. For so great was the crisis facing the country that the Conservative alliance with Bourassa, an alliance, in fact, that he, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, had once spoken against, was now justified. "To save the country, in such a crisis," said Tupper, "I would co-operate with the vilest, with the scum of the earth; I would accept the help of the scum of the earth." With the threat of reciprocity hanging over Canadians the Conservatives were willing, in such an emergency, Tupper concluded, to accept as much assistance from "all the Monks and Bourassas and others of their ilk," which could be obtained.²

Having given his views on the Conservative alliance with Monk and Bourassa, Tupper got on a topic with which he probably

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Herald, September 13, 1911.

felt more comfortable - the grave danger that there would be a departure from the great economic policy initiated by Sir John A. Macdonald himself. Sir Hibbert appealed vigorously that support be given to the National Policy which had protected and developed the iron and steel and coal industries and without which, Tupper maintained, they could not live. Sir Hibbert pointed out that \$50,000,000 had already been invested in those interests, that they employed 17,000 persons and that reciprocity, in his opinion presented a great threat to them as it was the wedge which would surely shatter the whole framework of Canadian protection and industrial progress.¹

But while Tupper's trip all the way from the Pacific coast to speak in the campaign symbolized the dynamism and energy of the Conservative organization in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1911 it probably had little bearing on the outcome of the election. E. M. Macdonald was popular enough in Pictou County to hold his seat by a respectable majority despite the fact that so many of his colleagues in the province suffered defeat.² Also it seems that by 1911, despite his great reputation as an orator, "it was clear that Sir Hibbert's old dash and fire on the platform were fast fading."³

If Hibbert Tupper was somewhat past the peak of his political

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 239.

2. Macdonald, Recollections, p. 527.

3. Ibid., p. 529.

4. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 169 - 174.

career in September, 1911, Robert Borden was probably approaching this summit when he arrived in New Glasgow September 9 to begin the Nova Scotia segment of his campaign. Chief of the Conservative party since 1901 Borden had survived quite a number of crises. His position within the party was probably strengthened by his successful emergence from the two major ones which occurred in the election year, 1911. With the Conservatives "in the deepest dejection" following Fielding's January 26th announcement in the House regarding reciprocity it was Borden, apparently, who stemmed this tide of depression within the party despite his own initial discouragement.¹ Borden had survived perhaps his toughest challenge in the spring of 1911 when a revolt against his leadership threatened to erupt. By the time Borden arrived in Nova Scotia, less than two weeks before the election, the days of depression and discouragement must have seemed part of the distant past. Since the magnitude of public opposition or indifference to reciprocity had been realized in the winter of 1911 Borden had been "surrounded by a party practically united in firm determination to fight the reciprocity proposals to the bitter end."²

Borden had begun his campaign at London, Ontario, on August 16th and had spoken at many Ontario points and at the main centers in all of the eastern provinces.³ "Everywhere", Borden

1. Borden, Memoirs, I, pp. 303 - 304.

2. Ibid., p. 304

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 169 - 178.

states in his Memoirs, "my reception was all that I could desire."¹ So as the election campaign drew to a close confidence and optimism rather than the dejection and despondency of the early months of 1911 characterized the Borden party.

Borden was at Sydney Mines on September 11, and there laid stress upon the "manufacturing-protective" policy of his party. "Our policy," Borden told his Cape Breton audience, "should be to develop our natural resources and to convert them into finished commodities by the labour of our own people and to establish such conditions in this country as will ensure a generous living wage to Canadian workmen." "That result cannot be accomplished," the Opposition Leader insisted, "unless our industries are placed on a firm basis." "The aim and tendency of this treaty," Borden warned, "is to place them on an exceedingly insecure and unstable basis."²

Following his Cape Breton appearance Borden arrived in Halifax, his own constituency, on September 12. The Opposition Leader was given a rousing welcome by a crowd of between 4500 and 6000 people on hand at the Halifax Arena to hear their representative address them. If, as apparently was the case, two thousand fewer persons came to hear Borden speak at the Halifax Arena on the evening of September 12, 1911, than had come to hear Laurier in August,³ the success of the Liberals in organizing demonstrations

1. Borden, Memoirs, I, p. 325.
2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 177.
3. According to the September 13, Halifax Chronicle only "about 4,500 people, nearly half of whom were ladies" attended the Borden meeting. The figure, "6,000" is from the Halifax Herald, September 13, 1911. The same newspaper, in its September 1, 1911 edition, admitted that 8,000 were present to hear Sir Wilfrid Laurier speak in Halifax, August 30, 1911.

may have been in part responsible. Actually, if it is maintained that the Liberal organization in Nova Scotia in 1911 was weak and sluggish Halifax should probably not be included in such a generalization. Despite the fact that two of Laurier's cabinet ministers lost their Nova Scotia seats in September, 1911, the Liberals gained one of the Halifax seats from the Conservatives and came rather close to capturing the second from Robert Laird Borden himself.¹

The activities of both parties in Halifax on the evening of September 12, 1911, as reported in the Halifax Chronicle and the Halifax Herald, perhaps warrant examination in some detail as they are illustrative both of the seriousness with which people of the period took their politics and of the enthusiasm with which each side supported its candidates and ridiculed its opponents. Liberal party plans for the evening are revealed in an excerpt from a Halifax Herald item entitled, "PITIFUL EVIDENCE OF THE PANIC IN THE 'SUICIDE' CAMP IN HALIFAX!"² This item is useful in showing the typical strategy employed in 1911 to weaken, as much as possible, the impact of top-ranking speakers of the opposing camp. It also serves as but one more example of the totally partizan approach almost

1. In the 1911 election Borden's majority over the candidate (Liberal) polling the third highest number of votes in Halifax constituency was 161; but in the 1908 election his majority over the candidate (Liberal) polling the third highest number of votes in Halifax had been 741. Canadian Sessional Papers: 1911, No. 10, pp. 298 - 299; and 1912, No. 11, pp. 312 - 313.

2. Halifax Herald, September 12, 1911.

always taken by the newspapers of the period:

The government machine in mortal dread that Liberals will attend the Borden meeting as Conservatives attended that of Laurier immediately got busy in an effort to INDUCE LIBERALS TO KEEP AWAY FROM THE ARENA to-morrow night. Through the organization of a great counter-demonstration to be addressed by speakers of worth and standing?

NOT AT ALL! But by arranging for "smokers" to be held simultaneously in different parts of the city.

But by the lure of pipes, tobacco, cigars, biscuit, cheese, sandwiches, bologna, music, and last but by no means least, DRINKS in abundance, the grit machine hopes to prevent THE LESS INTELLIGENT LIBERALS from hearing Mr. Borden's arguments against "suicide by reciprocity."¹

The Halifax Chronicle however placed quite a different interpretation on the events of the same evening. Although the man who would become the next prime minister of Canada and who happened, as well, to be a Nova Scotian, had spoken in Halifax the headlines in the Chronicle the next day spoke of a "WAVE OF LIBERALISM" having swept over the city, "with UNPARALLELED ENTHUSIASM." "Thousands of Enthusiasts Made The Streets Ring With Cheers for Laurier, Maclean and Blackadder," the same newspaper continued, "while at Four Great Meetings the Halls were Filled to Overflowing and Hundreds Could Not Gain Admittance."²

Apparently Liberal activities for the evening got under way at the North Commons where crowds and a number of bands began to gather around 7:30 p.m. About 8:00 p.m. when eventually carriages, conveyances, torch bearers and all the ordinary individuals present had formed a line of procession on gathering, "headed by St. Patrick's Band" got under way.³ The big

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 13, 1911.

3. Ibid.

procession moved off down Cromwell Street with bands playing, torches alight and illuminated banners speaking to the public such words as "We want steel shipbuilding in Halifax. Vote for Maclean and Blackadder." "Food should not be taxed. Vote for Reciprocity and untaxed food for the workingman."¹

One carriage carried an illuminated cartoon entitled, "Sponging it out" whereon R. L. Borden was pictured on his knees with a sponge in one hand wiping up the "Halifax Platform of 1908." On the other side was pictured "A Sacrifice to the Gods of Mammon" showing Messrs. Borden and Crosby fastened down on to the altar of the manufacturing interests. As the jubilant Liberal procession advanced it encountered the great Conservative procession bearing Borden, Tupper and Crosby to the Halifax Arena. This gathering, in the unbiased opinion of the Chronicle observer, was like a funeral! Judging from the Chronicle's own report of the Tory procession, however, it may have been equally as enthusiastic as the Liberal one.

The Conservative candidates, apparently, were delivered to the Arena in carriages pulled by their supporters. Once the destination had been reached "the larger of the small boys" lifted Mr. Borden, Sir Charles and Mr. Crosby on their shoulders and carried them to the platform, which the first two reached in safety but Mr. Crosby, the Chronicle reported, "was not so fortunate, as a couple of his supporters fell over the side of

1. Ibid. Herald, September 13, 1911.

the stairway. This was probably a forerunner of the great fall that Adam will have on the 21st."¹

Once inside the Arena the Conservative candidates could see quite a number of posters which were displayed on either side of the rink and which attested to the fact that from the point of view of the Halifax Conservatives, at least, reciprocity was overwhelmingly the paramount issue in the federal election of 1911. These posters read, "Let Canada Finish her work! Don't Let the Bounty Go;" "Farmers! The home market is the best;" "Shall we sell our birthright to the States?" "Reciprocity will make Halifax a mere local port;" "Crush Reciprocity;" and "Canada for Canadians."²

In spite of the apparent gaiety of each of the two political processions already described, the 1911 campaign, with little more than a week before the election, was becoming, it would seem, a no-holds-barred struggle. That this was so was evidenced, in part, by comments appearing in each of the province's two major newspapers the day following Borden's appearance at the Halifax Arena on September 12th.

Conservative bitterness was reflected in the Herald's anger regarding the "three smokers" arranged, according to the Herald, to keep the more weak-willed Liberals away from the Borden meeting. Some of the labels affixed to these government

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Herald, September 13, 1911.

supporters by the chief Opposition organ in Nova Scotia suggest the great intensity of the rancor which prevailed between the two sides little more than a week before the election:

The office holders, the "middlemen," the "contractors," the "party leeches," the "camp followers" the fellows who "fed at the public trough," the FELLOWS WHO CAN BE FOOLED by PROMISES of PETTY 'PATRONAGE'; the more hide-bound PARTY MAD partizans and others of weak will, or who are EVEN more completely OWNED by the "party machine," the "heelers" and the "bosses," - THIS TYPE OF LIBERALS were NOT present at the great demonstrations in the Arena last night. They were induced to stay away by the . . . "allurements" afforded at the three "smokers" especially organized by the "machine" to keep EVEN this especial type of liberal from hearing the speech of the next member for the Imperial city of Halifax . . . "1

The Halifax Chronicle, while largely refraining from using the inflammatory language employed so profusely by its counterpart used tactics equally as questionable in attempting to advance its chosen cause. For Nova Scotia's chief Liberal organ opted to view the campaign in terms of a class struggle. Thus in reference to the political activities which took place during the evening of September 12th the Chronicle had this observation: "The Tories rode in carriages provided by the funds of the Big Interests, and the enthusiastic Liberals walked. That was the story of last night's procession. It illustrated the issue as between the forces of privilege and the plain people."² Elsewhere the Chronicle went into more

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 13, 1911.

detail as to why it saw the election contest as being more than a simple struggle between those in favour of reciprocity and those opposed to it:

No monied interests were behind the Liberals to furnish carriages such as conveyed the Tories to the Arena. The Borden meeting was a high class affair. . . . Society was out in force and the aristocracy of Halifax held sway at the Arena last night. Men of wealth were assembled under the Banner of the Big Interests, and many handsomely gowned women were in the audience which greeted Mr. R. L. Borden on his first appearance in Halifax for many months. This was the complexion of things at the Arena. But down town and in the North end, the plain people, the bone and sinew of the community were crowding the Liberal halls and cheering enthusiastically the gospel of hope and progress preached by the champion of the popular cause. At the Arena the voice was that of the plutocrats and the money kings who are striving to defeat a measure which will bring new life and new hope to the people of Nova Scotia.¹

At the Arena itself the chief "plutocrat" received a tremendous ovation from the audience and, if the Halifax Herald is to be believed, tried five times to speak before the cheering had subsided sufficiently for this to be possible.² Prior to commencing his attack on reciprocity Borden dealt briefly with other matters pertaining to the federal government. He was critical of what he considered to be enormous and wasteful government expenditure. He called for federal aid for permanent highways and thereby courted certain popularity in Nova Scotia. Borden criticized the federal government heavily for allegedly giving each eastern port of any size the impression a ship-

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Herald, September 13, 1911.

building industry was to be established there. The Liberal government's railway policies also came in for special abuse from the Opposition leader as he spoke in Halifax.¹

Reciprocity, however, was Borden's main target and, before his own constituents, he dealt with it rather ably. He played on the likely pro-British and anti-American sentiments of his audience by stating the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 "taught us that the British markets across the seas were of infinitely more advantage to us than the markets of the United States - in short it taught us that we were independent of the United States markets."

Borden was probably most effective in responding to the frequently voiced Liberal claim that the Conservative Party was hypocritical in denouncing the Taft-Fielding agreement since so many of its great leaders, living and dead, were on record as having spoken in favour of reciprocity with the United States. "This is the twentieth century, not the nineteenth," the Opposition leader emphasized, and then elaborated further:

It matters little what we needed or thought we needed forty years ago. The true question is what do we need today. The United States are offering reciprocity today because they realize too late their folly in terminating the former treaty of 1866. They have learned a certain lesson as to this country during the past forty years and we also have learned something in the meantime. The very reasons which induced the United States to offer eagerly what they refused forty years ago are sufficient to

1. Ibid.

1, Memoirs, I, p. 327.

justify Canada in maintaining that fiscal independence which she has since acquired."¹

With little more than a week to go before the election of 1911 the Conservative campaign in Nova Scotia was going well. During the summer months a considerable number of major Canadian political figures had spoken in the province and practically all had been supporters of the Conservative cause. By no means least among them had been the Opposition leader himself. Being a native of Nova Scotia he had no doubt been at his most effective speaking before his own constituents in the city of Halifax. And from this city, two days before the election, he sent forth his "final message to the Canadian people" and in his own opinion, at least, his "best appeal."²

The great danger of the Taft-Fielding agreement, he warned Canadians, was that it was "but a step in the greater process," that ultimately it meant the commercial and fiscal union of Canada and the United States. Much of Borden's appeal centered around the alleged threat reciprocity represented to Canada's position in the empire. "Let us never forget," he urged, "that Canada cannot become fiscally and commercially a part of the United States and remain politically a part - and an important part - of the British Empire . . . With Canada's youthful vitality, her rapidly increasing population, her marvellous material resources, her spirit of hopefulness and energy, she

1. Ibid.

2. Borden, Memoirs, I, p. 327.

can place herself within a comparatively brief period in the highest position within this mighty Empire." And the final words of Borden's appeal from the "Imperial City" spoke of Canada and the Empire:

To all who are proud of her past, to all who hope for her future, I make an earnest and sincere appeal to rise above all party ties, to take heed of the higher considerations and to determine their course with a sense of the enduring results of their decision. I entreat them not to swerve from the straight path that leads to the making of a great nation. I beg them to cast a soberly considered and seriously considered vote for the preservation of our heritage, for the maintainence of Canada as an autonomous nation within the British Empire.¹

It would seem to be very probable indeed that the Conservative position in Nova Scotia in 1911 was considerably bolstered by the campaign efforts in the province of Sifton, Foster and the Opposition leader himself. Although the Prime Minister had attracted the largest crowds of any of the speakers and although he had made a good case for reciprocity he had been - unfortunately perhaps for the Liberals - the first of the prominent speakers to campaign in Nova Scotia. The eminent speakers who arrived almost immediately after Laurier obviously tried and may have succeeded in neutralizing any gains achieved by Sir Wilfrid for the Nova Scotian Liberals. Nor is it likely that the two Nova Scotian cabinet ministers reduced the effectiveness of the Conservative "Big Guns" to any significant extent. Fielding, primarily

1. Ibid., p. 328.

L. Miller, "Sir Frederick Borden," pp. 238 - 239.

because of his health, made few speeches in the campaign and was not able to retain even his own seat. The Minister of Militia, Sir Frederick Borden, lost his seat also - in part because he apparently stayed too long in Ottawa hoping to be proclaimed Canadian High Commissioner to Great Britain.¹ Thus after the Prime Minister left the province on September 3 practically the only politicians of national consequence to speak on reciprocity were supporters of the Borden party. But it was in the latter part of the campaign that the Liberals really needed their most eminent and powerful speakers to rekindle some of the enthusiasm for reciprocity which had earlier prevailed. But such Liberal campaigners did not materialize to speak to Nova Scotians. The great national figures who appeared were Conservatives, all very conscious and very vocal of Canada's promise as a nation and Canada's prestige in the Empire. When such orators as these assured Nova Scotian farmers, lumbermen, fruit-growers and fishermen, then enjoying one of their best years ever, that they did not need reciprocity many of them may have agreed.

1. Miller, "Sir Frederick Borden," pp. 238 - 239.

CHAPTER V

In spite of the undoubted influence of Sifton, Borden, Foster and other notable campaigners on the Nova Scotia electorate many of the province's voters for one reason or another were not able to hear these men speak. But judging by circulation figures¹ there were few Nova Scotians in 1911 who did not have access to one or more of the province's many newspapers. And thus in this pre-radio and television period the press was in a position to be very influential indeed.

But the press was able to be extremely influential for another major reason besides the fact that there were no significant competing media. Practically all of the big-circulation newspapers in 1911 were unabashedly propaganda vehicles. Their role it seems was to select and present the "facts" in such a way that only one conclusion might be drawn - the conclusion desired by the editor and those backing him. But only a few Nova Scotians, surely, reading only a paper such as the Halifax Herald during 1911 up to election day could have had an opinion concerning reciprocity other than that it would be disastrous for Canada should it be implemented. And it would have been equally as unlikely that many individuals with a publication such as the Halifax Chronicle as their only newspaper would have had many doubts that implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement would mean a new "Golden Age" for Nova Scotia and that its rejection would be a dreadful calamity for the province. For those Nova Scotian voters receiving both pro-government and anti-government newspapers, deciding which way to vote might have been difficult indeed!

1. Infra., pp., 18-19.

Nova Scotia newspapers of this period, then, widely read and heavily slanted, played a highly influential role in the election of 1911.

With few exceptions these newspapers, in line with statements made by both party leaders, identified reciprocity as the only important issue of the campaign. "The sole issue in the General Election just called is Reciprocity", declared the Halifax Chronicle.¹ "The issue before Canadians", agreed the Lunenburg Progress Enterprise, "is purely and solely a tariff issue."² The Halifax Herald was not really disagreeing when it stated that "BRITISH CANADIANISM against AMERICAN CONTINENTALISM" was "the great issue",³ since it was reciprocity which was responsible for such a choice allegedly being necessary. Occasional attempts were made by the press of both parties in Nova Scotia to tie their opponents in with Henri Bourassa and the "disloyal" Quebec Nationalists.⁴ A few references to the Conservative naval policies were made by Liberal papers⁵ and there was mention in the Conservative press of poor government administration, and even corruption,⁶ but the election had been called specifically on the issue of reciprocity and in general the Nova Scotia press reflected this fact. But a notable exception to this general tendency would seem to have been the Sydney Record. With the Taft-Fielding agreement holding little promise for either coal or steel this determinedly Liberal newspaper attempted to assure its readers that shipbuilding

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 1, 1911.
2. Lunenburg Progress Enterprise, August 9, 1911.
3. Halifax Chronicle Herald, July 17, 1911.
4. Sydney Daily Record, September 6, 1911; Halifax Morning Herald, June 20, 1911.
5. Sydney Daily Record, August 4, 1911.
6. Halifax Herald, May 9, 1911.

was the primary issue as far as the Sydney area was concerned.¹

Because Nova Scotian voters did not "respond" to reciprocity it may be argued that the Conservative press had more success in condemning the Taft-Fielding agreement than the Liberal newspapers had in praising it. The anti-reciprocity campaign centered almost entirely around the thesis that implementation of the proposed arrangement would mean Canada's severance from the Empire and her annexation to the United States. Through the use of phrenetic editorials, hundreds of cartoons and various typographical pyrotechnics the effort was made to have both of these possibilities appear highly unattractive. Thus in 1911 scores of editorials appeared in the Conservative press decrying the alleged Liberal policy of callously ignoring the appeals, of Macdonald and other great Canadian statesmen of the past, to be ever vigilant in preserving the British connection and in avoiding annexation to the United States. Editorials, anonymous letters to the editor, and carefully selected and slanted news items were printed in the Conservative press prior to the election purporting to show how immoral was the American Republic in comparison to Canada and particularly Nova Scotia. So through means both subtle and unsubtle, from the initial announcement of the Taft-Fielding agreement until election day, September 21, the Conservative press incessantly assaulted the proposed trade arrangement.

An examination of 1911 newspapers reveals many differences from those of today. The most salient of these, perhaps, is that most of the major newspapers made little or no effort to be impartial. While some of the smaller newspapers displayed a rather skilled impartiality this would

1. Sydney Daily Record, September 9, 1911.

seem to have been due more to economic necessity than to conviction. Reporters and editorial writers of this time relied much more on humour to make a point but this humour often ran to crude personal abuse if the particular item dealt with an individual or a group of a political affiliation different from that of the newspaper. Maudlin sentimentality was also very common - particularly in editorials; a statesman's advice was considered of triple value, it seems, if he gave it just before he died. With their unsophisticated humour and effusive sentimentality Nova Scotia newspapers of 1911, though seldom dull, often tended to cast more darkness than light on the issues they ostensibly were illuminating.

Although the Victorian era was over in 1911 the moral attitudes popularly conceived to have prevailed during that period seem to have been very much alive, in Nova Scotia at least, in that election year. Perhaps nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the columns of the Halifax Herald. Much of the fanatic raving against reciprocity which appeared in the editorial columns of this newspaper had a strong moral slant to it. Today the Herald's moral concepts, with regard to political affairs at least, appear naive in the extreme. The "enemy" was the Liberal Party and, federally and provincially, it and its adherents were totally evil. Entirely virtuous, however, in the past as well as the present, was the Conservative Party and all of its supporters. So in the editorial column space of the Halifax Herald the Liberal party was uncompromisingly reviled five days a week. The Herald was published on Saturdays, also, but on the day before the Sabbath, page six was all sweetness and light with all of the normal editorial space devoted to non-political articles of a moralizing nature. Some indication of the grim seriousness with which

the Herald regarded the 1911 contest can be gleaned from the fact that in the weeks immediately prior to the election the Conservative organ brought itself to suspend its traditional "Saturday Sunday School", using the space instead for anti-reciprocity editorials.

It took the Halifax Herald but a very short time to conclude that the reciprocity question was very much a moral issue and that somehow it would be very unchristian to give support to such an arrangement - especially as it was being sponsored by Liberals. In large block type the attention of readers of the February 7th edition of the Herald was called to a sermon preached by the Reverend Canon Scott, "the well-known Canadian poet". "If this measure is passed", the Quebec poet and clergyman declared, "I belong to a nation, which in the very beginning of its life, HAS SOLD ITS STEWARDSHIP FOR GOLD."¹

And there seems little doubt that many readers of the Herald tended to share the apparent attitude of the Herald editors that Canada, in attempting to negotiate a reciprocity agreement with the United States, was risking her soul for money. One of them, using the pseudonym, Pro Patria, felt that "the old Scotch saying: He needs a long-handled spoon who will sup kail with the devil" was appropriate advice for Messrs. Fielding and Patterson. "I can only hope that I am wrong," Pro Patria concluded, "but it does seem to me that Canada is risking needlessly everything that is worthwhile in the life of a nation for a mess of pottage."²

Even more concerned than Pro Patria regarding reciprocity was one,

1. Halifax Herald, February 7, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 6, 1911.

A. Chipman, whose letter appeared in the February 9, 1911, edition of the Herald. The Taft-Fielding agreement, in Chipman's opinion, had three counts against it. "The proposal, if carried into effect, would weaken our ties to Great Britain, the agreement might at any time be abrogated, and the moral effect would be bad." "The moral count is the most important one", Chipman insisted. He was willing to concede that there were some "most excellent people in our neighboring republic" but made it quite clear while stating his objection to Americans and their country that such individuals, in his judgment, were in rather short supply.

The prevalent tone of morals in political, business and social life has become alarmingly low. The extensive open disregard for the Sabbath, the prevalent religious scepticism and infidelity, etc., etc., occasion very anxious apprehensions of christian and political men of vision as to the national future of the U. S. republic, and certainly call for most cautious consideration before starting away from political union with the British Empire and adopting the stars and stripes.¹

Chipman's letter expressing the feeling that Canada would inevitably fall victim to some sort of moral contamination should it sign a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States was sufficiently provocative to elicit a long response from Liberal M. L. A. and owner and editor of the Clark's Harbour Coast Guard, M. H. Nickerson. Nickerson was sarcastically critical of the first two objections to reciprocity outlined by Chipman but reserved his greatest scorn for Chipman's contention that of all the dangers inherent in the reciprocity agreement the moral one presented the greatest threat to Canadians:

The third count is peculiar. It is based on the supposition that we cannot buy and sell with any people without learning their ways.

1. Ibid., February 9, 1911.

We keep a trade commissioner in Japan, and we have strenuously tried to enlarge our traffic with that people, and think of the risk we run of catching the yellow streak. For the rest, Mr. Chipman is not so liberal towards our neighbours as Shylock was to the uncircumcised. His fiscal policy was above reproach - "I will walk with you, talk with you, buy with you and sell with you and so following; but I will not eat with you, sleep with you, or pray with you." Mr. Chipman will be safe if he sticks to that.¹

Since the Nickerson letter was written by a Liberal, and ridiculed the notion that reciprocity represented a threat to Canadian morality, it is of interest that the Herald published the letter at all. However in February, 1911, the Herald was not yet waging full-scale war against reciprocity. So while being careful not to say anything complimentary about the Taft-Fielding agreement, editorially, it was nevertheless willing to publish occasionally the remarks of individuals, such as Nickerson, who favoured the agreement. By the summer of 1911, however, the Conservative organ allowed no letters to appear on its pages that would suggest that reciprocity was in any way desirable.

A second interesting feature with regard to H. M. Nickerson's letter is that although lengthy it never really questioned Chipman's claim that the United States of America was, in comparison to Canada, a very wicked nation. So actually Nickerson, although an M. L. A., owner of a newspaper and presumably a well-educated man, accepted the existence of the disease; he denied only that it was contagious. There is considerable evidence that this view of the United States as a twentieth century Sodom and Gomorrah was widely held in Nova Scotia at the time when reciprocal trade with the republic to the south was being discussed. In November, ---

1. Ibid., February 15, 1911.

1910, Canon Powell, President of King's College, in an address to the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers Association warned of the dangers of Canadian girls going to the United States and there drifting into "evil ways".¹ The same opinion of the United States was reflected in the closing remarks of a letter published in the Herald in April, 1911, and which condemned certain Dalhousie University students for allegedly reciting blasphemous poetry. "For the future welfare of the colleges and young men", the correspondent concluded, "steps should be taken to prevent this kind of conduct which seems to prevail amongst college students throughout the land, and which as the Montreal Witness said is of the American sort."²

One of the most vehement indictments of American government and society appeared in an editorial in the Dartmouth Patriot, July 1, 1911. The writer, after castigating certain American publications for having the audacity to "sneer at monarchical institutions" went on to show vividly why in his opinion Americans had no right to criticize anything Canadian:

The government of the United States . . . was born of a group of smugglers and outlaws, it has remained an untrustworthy government ever since. It brought about the most awful rebellion of recent times which drenched the nation with blood. It declared war, most unjustly, upon Spain and seized her possessions forthwith. It has practically stolen large areas within her borders. It is the home and the hotbed of the most abominable trusts the world has ever seen. Its administration of justice is the laughing stock of all civilized lands, and its national code of morals would disgust the savages of the west coast of Africa from where they stole their slaves for a century. That is the country which is pouring its poisonous literature into Canada in ever increasing volume.³

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, December 1, 1910.
2. Halifax Herald, April 3, 1911. Italics mine.
3. Dartmouth Weekly Patriot, July 1, 1911.

In June, Halifax Herald readers received a more concrete indication of the moral wickedness of America when their newspaper printed a full two-column letter from a Mr. Whidden Graham of New York City. Graham appeared doubly qualified to testify regarding the low moral standards of the United States compared to those prevailing in Nova Scotia since he was an American official and an ex-Nova Scotian as well. After confiding to Herald readers that the real reason for the reciprocity proposals was an American desire to annex Canada, Whidden explained why such a development would be most undesirable. "Before leaving Nova Scotia I was inclined to favour annexation", he admitted, "but my long residence in this country has given knowledge of the corrupt political methods which prevail both in state and National legislatures, and has caused me to change my views." "So that I am now convinced", Whidden concluded, "that Canadians are far better off under their own government than they would be as part of the U. S."¹

So it would appear that some Nova Scotians, if not the majority, felt that the United States was morally inferior to Canada. The belief that the alleged American corruption and immorality was contagious and might be acquired by the closer commercial relations embodied in a reciprocal trade arrangement also seems to have been prevalent. Thus while the relative prosperity Nova Scotia was enjoying at the time reciprocity was proposed was primarily responsible for the province's lack of response to the Taft-Fielding arrangement the belief - widely-held, apparently - that the United States was somewhat lacking in moral uprightness may have made

1. Halifax Morning Herald, June 13, 1911.

easier the decision of many of the province's voters to reject at the polls the American offer.

If there is any doubt that moral concepts prevailing in Nova Scotia in 1911 tended to be Victorian there should be none that maudlin sentimentality was as much in vogue in 1911 as at almost any time during the previous century. While each of the two major papers provided examples the Herald, as would be expected, produced a far greater abundance of such material. It was around the great departed statesman John A. Macdonald that much of its effusive sentimentality centered. For a time the chief Conservative organ was content simply to repeat a few of Macdonald's anti-reciprocity arguments. As election day drew nearer, however, the newspaper began talking of his last appeal. But when campaign frenzy reached a peak and made even this approach seem insufficient it was John A. Macdonald's "dying appeal" that Herald readers were told about time and time again!

In the August 16, 1911, edition of the Halifax Herald almost all of the sixth page was devoted to editorials dealing with John A. Macdonald's great, final struggle. The first of these was "SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S LATEST WORD TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE, IS THE RIGHT WORD TO BE FOLLOWED". After reviewing the history of the 1891 election the Herald spelled out the moral to Nova Scotians soon to vote in yet another election concerned with reciprocity. "Hence, Sir John's latest appeal - and, as it proved, his dying yet triumphant appeal - to the people of Canada", the Herald concluded, "was to fight the Laurier Reciprocity scheme to the very utmost, to stand by the Canadian National Policy of Protection to Canadian indus-

try, and to hold fast Canada's connection with the British Motherland and Empire.¹

"His dying but yet triumphant appeal." Was not the implication obvious? Would not Herald readers be reminded of Him who had died for them and whose death, too, had been triumphant? So if party loyalty was not sufficient cause to support the Conservatives in 1911 was it not still, almost one's Christian duty to vote against the reciprocity offer of the seemingly godless United States of America?

Following this editorial came two more attacking reciprocity and then the Herald got back to Macdonald again, printing three editorials on the Conservative Party's greatest figure! "SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S LAST APPEAL TO CANADIAN PEOPLE AGAINST LAURIER'S VEILED TREASON" was the first of these; "U. S. PRESS COMMENT ON SIR JOHN'S ADDRESS AND THE SUBJECT OF ANNEXATION" was the next. But the real pathos! and sentimentality came in the final editorial, "SIR JOHN'S LAST GREAT FIGHT SAVED CANADA TO THE EMPIRE AND BROUGHT THE PATRIOT'S DEATH".² "His clear vision," intoned the Herald in this editorial, "perceived the gaunt spectre of political union looming in the distance and he fought the battle - as he too truly said - with his utmost effort, with his latest breath." The remainder of the editorial was typical of the effusive sentimentality so beloved, apparently, by the Herald in 1911:

An old man past seventy-six he travelled over the country, consulting friends, addressing meetings and doing all he possibly could to prevent our people from being "lured from their alle-

1. Ibid., August 16, 1911.

2. Ibid.

giance by sordid means and mercenary proffers", and rested not until polling day came.

When nothing more could be done, he returned to his home in Ottawa completely worn out by his efforts. Here he received the returns from the different constituencies, and his heart was lifted up with joy and thankfulness when he found that the "unclouded confidence" he felt in the people of Canada had not been misplaced, and that they had declared, in no uncertain language, that they would not have unrestricted reciprocity.

But Sir John came home only to die. He had taxed his strength beyond its capacity, and would not take the rest necessary to recuperate (says his biographer, Colonel MacPherson).

One fit of exhaustion followed another, until finally the terrible stroke of paralysis came and he sank back unconscious.

For eight days and nights the struggle went on, the vital forces gradually lowering, until, on the evening of the 6th of June, he calmly and peacefully passed away.

The hand ever raised in defence of Canada was cold and still; the voice ever eloquent in a great cause was silent forever.

Altho all that was mortal of Sir John Macdonald was committed to the grave, the memory of that great and dearly beloved statesman is enshrined in the hearts of the people he served so long and so faithfully, and his name will be revered by generations yet unborn. His monument is the broad British land he loved and for which he died.¹

In its September 2, 1911, edition the Herald reported, verbatim, much of the John A. Macdonald material from its August 16 issue and, revealing both the reverence with which Macdonald was apparently regarded and the power of his name even in Nova Scotia, featured the words of the great Tory leader in the election day edition itself. This time the Herald chose to quote from Macdonald's "last election address to the Canadian people":

It [the Laurier Scheme] would, in my opinion, inevitably result in the annexation of this Dominion to the United States.

As for myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born - a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort,

1. Ibid.

1. Ibid., September 21, 1911.

with my latest breath, will I oppose this "VEILED TREASON" which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers, to lure our people from their allegiance.¹

Just in case Herald subscribers reading the above quotation had somehow not sensed which side God was on and thus were not entirely certain as to how they should vote that day, the curt concluding sentence coming immediately after and expressed in the language of the Bible, provided clarification: "and Sir John, being dead, yet speaketh."

It is of interest that perhaps the topic of John A. Macdonald and reciprocity was discussed as many times in the Halifax Chronicle as in the Halifax Herald. During 1911, alone, and prior to the September 21 election, the Chronicle carried at least a dozen editorials dealing with this subject. Naturally this newspaper placed quite a different interpretation on Macdonald's attitude towards reciprocity and seemed quite unaware of any dying appeals the Tory leader had made that Canadians should ever be wary of such a trade policy.

Still the Chronicle was not above indulging in occasional maudlin sentimentality itself and in at least one instance its writing became almost as bathetic as the Herald's description of John A. Macdonald pleading, as his life ebbed away, for Canadian resistance to reciprocity. Instinctively realizing, no doubt, that conversions could not be expected from any account of a dying Liberal's last moments the Chronicle, in an editorial in its August 25, 1911, edition, chose to feature the final exit of Sir John Thompson. "Sir John Thompson", began the Chronicle, "was a statesman whose memory all Canadians and especially Nova Scotians, gladly unite in honouring." "No one", the Chronicle continued, "ever doubted

1. Ibid., September 21, 1911.

Sir John Thompson's loyalty and patriotism, any more than his great ability as a public man." Now the Chronicle was ready to demonstrate that it, too, could indulge in maudlin sentiment. Sir John Thompson "died under the same roof", sobbed the Chronicle, "with, and almost in the presence of, our late beloved Queen Victoria, the mother, and in a very real sense, the founder of the modern British Empire, who had just conferred the highest honors upon him."¹

And just what was the point, late in August, 1911, of the Chronicle dwelling so on the last hours of one of Canada's least celebrated prime ministers? The point was that Thompson, according to the Chronicle, had been a strong advocate of reciprocity and now in 1911, Robert Borden, callously ignoring the fact that Sir John Thompson had expired "almost in the presence of our late beloved Queen Victoria", "was being the bitter and uncompromising opponent of Sir John Thompson's and Sir John Macdonald's and Sir Charles Tupper's life-long policy, and of the policy of the party which he is paid a large annual salary, by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government, to lead."²

It should not be assumed that 1911 readers would find such editorializing distasteful any more than it should be doubted that many Nova Scotians may have objected to reciprocity with the United States because of the reputed immorality of that country. For in 1911 many, if not the majority of Nova Scotians, it would seem, were pious and godly individuals. Certainly that Nova Scotians possessing such attributes were in abundance

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 25, 1911.

2. Ibid.

1. Ibid., August 3, 1911.

In Colchester County is indicated by the speech made by S. D. McLellan in August, 1911, when accepting nomination as the Liberal candidate for the constituency. Judging by his remarks, McLellan appeared to have reason to feel that the voters of his constituency would be more interested in the level of personal holiness he had managed to attain than in his opinions of reciprocity. In any event he produced a substantial list of his own virtues:

I am a native of the county and have lived all my life here. My past is an open book. I have been a total abstainer all my life. I joined "Iron Age Division, Sons of Temperance" at Great Village when I was fourteen years of age. When I came to Truro thirty-eight years ago I identified myself with those who stood for temperance and righteousness and have not since changed my allegiance. I am in favour of total prohibition of the liquor traffic.¹

If a Nova Scotian candidate could feel that such an approach was conducive to obtaining a seat in the House of Commons it would seem that Conservative strategy in making reciprocity a kind of moral issue was very sound indeed.

During the federal election of 1911 the employment of humour, in order to bring into ridicule the position taken by the opposing side was quite common until a few weeks before the election when bitterness between the Liberals and Conservatives in the province became so great that levity seemed no longer appropriate. With regard to the major newspaper in Nova Scotia supporting each party it was the Chronicle which used humour most frequently. The Halifax Chronicle's more light-hearted approach was no doubt due partly to the apparent feeling of its editors - until quite late in the campaign - that there was no serious danger that Laurier

1. Ibid., August 9, 1911.

would lose. Also humour for the most part was unsuitable for the Halifax Herald because of the nature of its campaign against reciprocity. For the Herald, to the great distress of the Liberals, did not employ primarily economic arguments in its attack against reciprocity. Instead reciprocity was scored because, in the stated opinion of the Herald's editors, it would mean eventual severance of the highly valued connection with the British Empire and, worse still, the inevitable annexation of Canada to the United States. The use of humour in maintaining that should reciprocity come about such grim eventualities would be virtual certainties obviously had no place and would in fact have been self-defeating for the Halifax Herald.

The Chronicle showed its lighter side in a brief item in its March 10 edition taking note of the fact that professor Stephen Leacock was making speeches and writing articles against reciprocity. It "must be remembered", the Chronicle pointed out laconically, "that Professor Leacock is a humorist."¹ On another occasion the same newspaper dismissed with equal brevity the "local opposition organ's" charge that implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement would mean the merging of Canada with the United States. "The only party in Canada which ever advocated continentalism", observed the Chronicle in a remark which must have raised many Conservative hackles, "were the Tories, who issued the famous annexation manifesto after they burned the Parliament Buildings and pelted the Governor General with decayed eggs."² Newspaper humour in 1911, at least in

1. Ibid., March 10, 1911.

2. Ibid., July 21, 1911. ibid., July 7, 1911.

Nova Scotia, appears to have been of a decidedly unsophisticated variety. Apparently unimpressed with claims, prevalent in the Conservative press in the spring of 1911, that all was well with the Borden party the Chronicle observed that "Yes, the Ottawa Opposition is 'united' all right", but went on to point out that so too "are the proverbial two cats slung over a clothes line with their tails tied together."¹

In the same category would be the "specials" to the "Chronic-ill" that the Herald was wont to come forth with all too frequently. The following appeared two weeks before the election:

"SUICIDE BY RECIPROCIITY"

AND

THUS "GET RICH - QUICK"

(Special to Chronic-ill)

PINKINTOWN, September 1. (delayed in transmission) - Over 92,000,-000 people by actual count listened to the Hon. Sandy McLean here tonight tell why he left his party on the reciprocity question. After the band had played the "Star Spangled Banner", the gifted orator spoke as follows:-

"Friends (cheers), Romans (cheers), countrymen (cheers) reciprocity (cheers) will make you all millionaires (cheers). I have a wire here (cheers) from J. Pierpoint Morgan (wild cheers) (sic) another (cheers) from Jim Hill (cheers), another from Champ Clark (cheers), still another (cheers) from our old friend Randolph Hearst (prolonged ovation). They all say they have hired special trains to bring all the money (cheers) in the United States (cheers) to Canada (cheers) to be be distributed (cheers) HERE (cheers)."²

If such reporting had appeal for any great number of Nova Scotians then the Liberals might have experienced no greater success in the election

1. Ibid., April 3, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 7, 1911.

of 1911 even if they had tried harder to explain the economic benefits which might be expected to accrue from reciprocity.

In the middle of the 1911 campaign Arthur Hawkes served as the target for the Chronicle's humour after he had spoken in Stellarton on "The Place of the British Born in This Coming Election". Hawkes was Secretary to the Canadian National League, a propaganda agency headed by Z. A. Lash and launched in the spring of 1911 to fight reciprocity. Clifford Sifton served as an advisor to the League and it was on his advice, apparently, that Arthur Hawkes launched his "Appeal to the British Born".¹ Estimating that British immigrants numbered about 250,000, half of whom had entered Canada since the 1908 election, Hawkes conceived the idea that his appeal, directed specifically to these "Englishmen", might turn enough votes to swing the election. Although his efforts were concentrated largely on Ontario Hawkes did make a few speeches in the Maritimes and on September 10 he delivered an address in Stellarton.²

The Chronicle's treatment of this event is illustrative of much of the coverage given political meetings by the press representing the opposing party, in 1911. The procedure seemed to involve making practically no effort to report fairly what the speaker had to say. Instead observations of a personal nature were usually made regarding the speaker of the evening. His appearance would be made fun of; the observation would be made, without any attempt at subtlety, that the speaker seemed totally lacking in basic intelligence. And sentences would be extracted from his speech, out of context, in order to totally misrepresent his message.

1. J. W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto, 1931), p. 371.

2. Ibid.

Such elements were particularly obvious in the Chronicle's report of the Stellarton meeting, for Arthur Hawkes had come to Canada from England, and, as is still true to an extent today, Englishmen in 1911 had maledictions directed against them frequently by Nova Scotians whose origins in many cases were the same as the individual ridiculed. Nevertheless, even Englishmen in the province but a few months and with an inclination, as well, to support the Borden party, may have been amused by the Chronicle's report of Arthur Hawkes' Pictou County appearance:

Pictou County is getting its political oratory like the Irishman's idea of delectable bacon - a streak of lean and a streak of fat. First came "the lean and hungry Cassius", George E. Foster, who was billed to speak on coal at Westville ... Then came the Falstaffian Arthur Hawkes, who would easily make four copies of George E. Foster physically, but whose mentality is not anything to get excited over, if his performance at Stellarton is a fair example ... Not long ago Mr. Hawkes - who is one of those Englishmen who believe that the times in Canada are out of joint and they were born to set them right - got the idea that he was not attracting enough attention in Canada and decided he might make a splash if he came out against reciprocity.

His meeting at Stellarton was advertised as being for the purpose of addressing Englishmen on "The Place of the British Born in This Coming Election". It was a good thing his lecture had a title otherwise no one would have had any idea just what he was talking about.

At his meeting here on Friday night the "Englishmen" whom he was supposed to address consisted almost exclusively of "English" "Tories" from Lairg, Westville and Trenton, who were born within about three thousand miles of the sound of Bow Bells.

Dr. Miller was the Chairman. He said that the people of Pictou were as loyal as any other part of the Empire. This will be a relief to George the Fifth who is understood to have been on a low diet recently from worrying over the supposition that all the farmers around Alma and Green Hill had muskets hidden under the bed, ready to break out in rebellion against the Empire ...

Having got under way again the Apostle of Sectionalism began with "It must have been a great thing to have been born in Canada", when there was another entrance of Englishmen, this time MacPhersons and MacDonalds, who came up from Trenton ... Soon after he rang for full steam ahead and was soon deep in the midst of his

subject ... In the realm of pure reason Arthur Hawkes appears to have no equal but the late Simple Simon.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hawkes' address, Dr. Miller said he hoped there would be displayed the same spirit here as in the days of Queen Elizabeth when a Catholic had led the fleet against the Spanish Armada. The Orange Order is out with an appeal to its members to vote against Reciprocity, but whether they will find a Catholic Tory admiral to lead them or not is unknown. It seems doubtful.¹

Whatever the ethics of this sort of attack it probably had more effect in 1911 than a carefully reasoned but serious criticism of Arthur Hawkes' speech would have had. However while the "Appeal to the British Born" is an interesting example of Conservative tactics and while the Chronicle's handling of it is illustrative of the immaturity of the press during this period it is doubtful that Arthur Hawkes had much influence on the eventual outcome of the 1911 campaign.

Perhaps more effective in influencing the voters were the Halifax Herald's chief displays of humour in 1911 - anti-reciprocity cartoons appearing originally in the Toronto News. These cartoons began showing up in the Herald as early as December, 1910 - even before the results of the Taft-Fielding negotiations became known. Most of them were extremely good and some of the better ones appeared several times during the campaign. The favourite of these, apparently, featured President Taft cutting the link representing Canada in the "Imperial Chain" encircling the world.² The majority of the Toronto News cartoons, in fact, dealt with annexation.

These cartoons certainly gave no encouragement that the Canadian Prime Minister could be counted upon to preserve Canada from such a danger.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 12, 1911.
2. Halifax Herald, September 13, 1911.

The August 22nd selection, for example, was entitled "LET LAURIER FINISH HIS WHITE PLUMING" and displayed a frontal view of the Prime Minister, his white "plumes" protruding straight out sideways. An addition to the familiar features of the Prime Minister, however, was an "Uncle Sam" spade beard.¹ Another famous cartoon in the series bore the caption, "Looking Our Way". A tiger of forbidding appearance (Annexation) and her whelp (Reciprocity) stared at the reader, who could also observe in the vicinity of these animals the bones of Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas, Porto Rico and the Phillippines.² A tiger was also featured in the anti-reciprocity Toronto News cartoon which appeared in the August 29th Halifax Herald. In this cartoon a smiling little boy (Canada's 20th Century") was on his knees beside a wicked looking tiger (Reciprocity) with paw upraised in a striking position. "A BAD PET FOR OUR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD BOY" was the caption.³ Prominent among the reasons Sir Frederick Borden gave for his own defeat as well as that of "scores of others" was "the feeling of distrust of our Yankee friends".⁴ That the Toronto News cartoons appearing in the Herald aroused some of this distrust there can scarcely be any doubt.

The alleged attitude of the Mother Country towards the Taft-Fielding agreement was conveyed rather well in the Herald's June 2nd cartoon which was based on the Biblical story of David playing his harp before King Saul. However, in the cartoon version, Geroge V was the monarch and rather than

1. Halifax Herald, August 22, 1911.

2. Ibid., August 26, 1911.

3. Ibid., August 29, 1911.

4. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to Captain Allison H. Borden, October, 4, 1911.

being soothed by the song being sung by David (Sir Wilfrid Laurier, harp in hand and mouth ludicrously agape) the king was so infuriated that he was depicted reaching for his javelin. Even the visages of the ornamental lions on either side of the throne reflected the same fury. The cartoon's caption offered an explanation for the anger and horror of the British monarch: "The Sweet Singer of Canada Sings the Reciprocity Song Before King George"!¹

Scarcely a day went by without one of these Toronto News cartoons appearing in the Halifax Herald and in the days just prior to the election there would sometimes be two of them in a single edition of the newspaper. So saturated were Herald readers with these cartoons featuring for the most part their prime minister or members of his government in some sort of a humiliating and servile relationship with regard to "Uncle Sam" that it is by no means inconceivable that they played at least a small part in persuading many Nova Scotians that reciprocity should not be supported.

With the provincial election over the Halifax Herald found itself able to concentrate more fully on the issues of the federal election slated for September 21. Although there were quite a number of these issues, a perusal of the Herald for the period leaves the impression that this newspaper in effect recognized only two: loyalty and annexation. Support for reciprocity was tantamount to disloyalty to the Mother Country the Herald insisted uncompromisingly. And victory for the Liberals, September 21, would mean not possible annexation but inevitable annexation to the United States.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, June 2, 1911.

Almost daily from June to September, 1911, did the Herald carry editorials dealing with the question of loyalty to Great Britain. But especially were such editorials common at the time of George V's coronation, June 22, 1911. The lead editorial in the Coronation Day edition of the Halifax Herald saw the joy of the occasion as being considerably diminished by the gravity of the situation brought about by the reciprocity question. The editorial listed several reasons for its concern:

The Executive head of the Greatest Republic in the world has declared that Canada, the chief of the British Overseas Dominions, is "at the parting of the ways".

One of the most widely read of the public journals of that great Republic has spoken of the British Empire as imaginary.

The Prime Minister of Canada has refused, at the Imperial Conference, to allow Canada to co-operate with the British Motherland either in the matter of Empire Defense, or in the consideration of international measures that may involve war or peace, and has insisted upon measures upon the part of the Motherland which will enable Canada to be free from existing British treaties, and generally to become independent of the Motherland in international matters.

The Prime Minister of Canada is striving to carry through a "pact" with the President of the big Republic, the notorious purpose of which is to PREVENT the Commercial Organization of the British Empire, and to PROMOTE the absorption of Canada by the United States, thus breaking up the British Empire.¹

The same editorial went on to make some observations regarding the Boer War and in doing so revealed the Herald to have been more "British" apparently than the actual inhabitants of the Sceptred Isle:

The people of Britain, with some assistance from the loyal people of the various Overseas Dominions, some years ago carried on a great and successful war against the Boers of South Africa, who had threatened to drive the British and all English-speaking people "into the sea".

After the war, carried on at great expense, and ending in complete victory, the same British people turned round and put a Pro-Boer Government in office, with the result that all that has been

1. Ibid., June 22, 1911.

2. Ibid., June 28, 1911.

gained by the war was again placed in the power of the Boers, and already the so-called British South Africa is dominated by a Boer Government which has forbidden the teaching of British history in the public schools.

Such are some of the well-known facts that might be noted.

Do they indicate a very vigilant observance of the motto, "Britons hold your own"?

Are they mottoes for British satisfaction, or for British warning?¹

If there was a decline in support in Canada for the Empire the Halifax Herald left to no one's imagination where most of the responsibility lay: "Everyone knows about Sir Wilfrid Laurier's REFUSAL to take any part in the South African war, until after the rising indignation of the loyal spirit of the people of Canada drove him to 'let the children of Canada go'".²

But lack of enthusiasm for the Boer War was by no means the only short-coming of Canada's "Pharaoh". Laurier's alleged "refusal to accept the offer of the British Government to consult the Dominions on critical questions of foreign policy and defense" also upset the Herald, as did his apparent determination to press for the denunciation of favoured nation treaties.³ However, in the opinion of the Halifax Herald it was the Taft-Fielding agreement that revealed most emphatically the menace Sir Wilfrid Laurier represented to the Empire:

Sir Wilfrid is apparently quite ready to consult with and co-operate with Washington; but not with London.

He is ready to harness Canada up to the trusts and Congress of the United States, but he would not consent to consult with the Motherland lest somebody might thereafter expect that Canada would

1. Ibid. June 30, 1911.
2. Ibid., September 9, 1911.
3. Ibid., June 28, 1911.

perform her duty as part of the Empire.¹

"How the people of any British country can retain such a man at the head of affairs", the Herald went on, "must be a mystery to most of the loyal people of Britain." "And it would be no wonder", stated the Herald, "if it should make our Republican neighbours think that the majority of Canadians want to get out of the Empire." The Herald saw only one solution for such disloyalty on the part of the Prime Minister. "Canada must destroy Laurier politically", the Herald insisted, "or Laurier will destroy Canada."² So the man who had "hanged British Preferential Trade to the Yard-arm with the noose of Mr. Fielding's foreign treaties and pacts,"³ "the man whose record had been "such as must condemn him to the lowest depths in the judgment of all loyal British people", was, if the Herald had its wish, to be destroyed politically.⁴

Incredibly the Herald, by the first week in August, was seemingly expressing its regrets in print that an arch-villain such as Laurier - this "enemy of Britain" whose "Empire-destroying, doctrine" had "swept round the world, inspiring every enemy of Britain and of the Empire with new hope and better purpose",⁵ could not be hanged!

Laurier's separatist talk is worse than civil war. What more could Sir Wilfrid possibly do for the disintegration and destruction of the British Empire?

1. Ibid., June 30, 1911.

2. Ibid., June 30, 1911.

3. Ibid., June 22, 1911.

4. Ibid., June 30, 1911.

5. Ibid., August 7, 1911.

He has actually done more by his talk for the furtherance of that criminal purpose, than he could have accomplished by raising an army and levying war against any British country; for in the latter case he would have been defeated and slain, or subsequently hanged, thus furnishing a wholesome warning to others; but, instead of that, he has sown the seeds of national division and destruction, which, unless promptly or effectually trodden down and destroyed by the loyal people of Canada will surely yield a crop that will ruin the British Empire.¹

With hanging the Prime Minister not a permissible solution the Herald examined other possible steps which might be taken to ameliorate the grave situation in Canada. One materialization it saw as being "much needed in the interest of the whole Empire" was a general election in Britain to put in power a government more conscious of the alarming developments taking place in Canada:

There never was a time when a general election in Britain was so much needed in the interest of the whole Empire, or when the fate of the Empire would depend so much upon the result, as at the present juncture of affairs.

President Taft, of the United States, has announced to the world that "Canada is at the parting of the ways", in other words that the British Empire is on the eve of disintegration

The question of the moment is not whether Canada, at her next general election, will be able to save her British self from taking the wrong course "at the parting of the ways", and so save the British Empire from threatened disintegration; but the question is what is the Motherland going to do to help her daughter nation to save the situation.²

A short time later the Herald seemed to have come to the conclusion that the reciprocity menace would have to be dealt with by Canadians themselves:

... the people of Canada must not be caught napping. THE BRITISH NATIONAL EXISTENCE OF CANADA WILL BE AT STAKE IN THIS NEXT

1. Ibid. July 13, 1911.

2. Ibid., July 4, 1911. July 21, 1911.

ELECTION. The people must be fully informed of the facts; they must be aroused to the national danger ... it is a great and vital NATIONAL QUESTION and as such the people MUST and WILL deal with it. The question involved is THE NATIONAL EXISTENCE OF CANADA AS PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. THE GOVERNMENT'S SCHEME IS A DIRECT, AND PRACTICALLY IRRETRIEVABLE STEP, TOWARDS CLOSER UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES. Is Canada to remain in the Empire, or to move towards The Republic? That is the question. The great issue is: BRITISH CANADIANISM against AMERICAN CONTINENTALISM.¹

But was it not ridiculous, was it not outrageous to suggest that merely by increasing her trade with the United States Canada would be taking a step which could only lead to annexation? Certainly not in the opinion of the Halifax Herald! For had not the same leader so strongly promoting reciprocity in 1911 not told the people of Boston, in 1891 that it was "A GREAT, A FATAL MISTAKE TO MAKE ALLEGIANCE, BRITISH ALLEGIANCE THE BASIS OF TRADE"? And did he not, at this same time, declare his preference for the Yankee dollar over the English shilling? Furthermore, did Laurier not also make to the same audience the following damning statement? "I am a subject of the British Crown, but whenever I have to choose between the interests of England and of Canada, it is manifest to me that the INTERESTS OF MY COUNTRY ARE IDENTICAL WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."²

If the man who made such statements was not stopped the Herald could see only one possible outcome for Canada:

When the people of Canada see Sir Wilfrid and his colleagues zealously co-operating with such avowed annexationists as President Taft and Champ Clark, in such an ANNEXATION PROMOTING scheme as this Reciprocity Pact; and when they see Sir Wilfrid at the same time going to London and using all his powers to oppose and defeat

1. Ibid., July 15, 1911.
2. Ibid., July 26, 1911; July 21, 1911.

every proposal for co-operation with the Motherland and for the consolidation of the British Empire, to what other conclusion can the unprejudiced people possibly come to but that Sir Wilfrid is bent on leading Canada OUT OF THE EMPIRE and INTO THE REPUBLIC?¹

And with the sorry record of the United States with regard to her own relations with Great Britain what hope was there for Canada's position in the Empire to be preserved, should she develop close trade relations with such an historically "disloyal" country? For apparently some early twentieth century Nova Scotians, at least, saw "disloyalty" as a sort of inherent trait of Americans - a burden like Original Sin under which they all lived.

At a Coronation Day service at St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church, the supposed shortcomings of Americans concerning loyalty were described by the Principal of Pine Hill College, Clarence MacKinnon, who also explained, apparently to his own satisfaction, how such alleged disloyalty sharply contrasted with the splendid record of the Empire Loyalists. The Halifax Herald reported, approvingly, the contents of MacKinnon's address:

Principal MacKinnon delivered a thoughtful address in which he dwelt on the benefit of a spirit of loyalty in any community. He had no fears for the integrity of the British Empire. In an interesting way he discussed the loyal sentiment which prevails throughout the British Empire today compared with that in the New England States at the time of the American revolution. The American colonists at that time had no real grievances, but there was undeniably a spirit of disloyalty in their blood. They had inherited it from their Puritan and Cromwellian ancestors.

They had left England as a protest, and their attitude was never just right toward the British crown. On the other hand, United Empire Loyalists who came to this country gave a trend and a loyal bent, which has always been lacking in those who declared for American independence. The American colonists were at heart disloyal long before they declared their independence. Canadians on the other hand have loyalty in their blood and loyalty in their

1. Ibid., July 21, 1911.

hearts. Principal MacKinnon dwelt in closing on the great responsibility that rests upon the royal ruler of the British Empire. "God save the King", was his ardent prayer in closing¹

Would a people so tainted by disloyalty themselves have any respect for the loyalty of others towards the same Mother Country Americans had so long ago rejected? None whatsoever seemed to be the message of the Conservative press in Nova Scotia in 1911 and many a quote were the Tory organs able to produce from obscure American newspapers and from speeches of United States politicians which seemingly supported the contention. "Eventually the whole of North America will be one nation",² the New York Journal had proclaimed. And according to the Chicago Democrat "the mere commercial aspect of reciprocity" was but a minor consideration. "Higher than this is the driving closer together politically of the two countries which will be the triumph of reciprocity."³ The same newspaper felt that "the sooner Canada becomes a part of the United States, the better off its people will be". "The natural progress", stated the Democrat, "points plainly to that destiny, one continent, one country, one flag."⁴

Several times weekly, during the spring and summer of 1911, these quotations and others similar in content from American journals appeared in the Nova Scotia Conservative press. Even more popular, however, was the extremely ill-advised annexation utterance made in Congress, February 4, 1911, by James B. ("Champ") Clark, Democratic Speaker designate of the House of Representatives, in explaining why he favoured the Taft-Fielding

1. Ibid., June 23, 1911.

2. Sydney Daily Post, September 20, 1911.

3. Ibid., August 29, 1911.

4. Halifax Evening Mail, September 11, 1911.

agreement. "I am for it", Clark said, "because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions, clear to the North Pole."¹ This comment of Clark's enjoyed about equal prominence in the Conservative press in Nova Scotia with the notorious "Parting of the Ways" remark made by President Taft. Near the end of the 1911 campaign in fact, in various Conservative newspapers, the two utterances sometimes appeared singly or together on the front page, enclosed in a bordered section that the maximum effect might be achieved.

So there could be no doubt, in the opinion of the Conservative press, that "the whispered word 'Annexation'" was being "relied upon to do the trick" and that, even more dreadful, the Laurier government was obviously fully in favour of "all this sly invasion upon the national interests of Canada". This being the situation the Halifax Herald felt obliged to conclude that "without any ill-feeling, we must call Americans our NATIONAL enemies".²

Thus it was around the annexation bogey and the loyalty-to-the-Empire plea that the Conservatives press in Nova Scotia centered its strategy in attempting to defeat the Liberals in 1911. In vain did their opposite numbers shout that Reciprocity was the only issue and that Nova Scotians inevitably standing to gain from such a trade arrangement would be extremely foolish not to support it. The Conservative press countered that such reasoning was "UNDOUBTEDLY FALSE":

... but even IF it were true it should not be listened to, because the national independence of Canada which would be seriously

1. Sydney Daily Post, August 30, 1911.
2. Halifax Herald, July 20, 1911.

menaced by this "entangling alliance" far outweighs any economic or trade consideration. NO CANADIAN WHO IS WORTHY OF THE NAME WOULD THINK FOR ONE MOMENT OF DOLLARS AND CENTS IN COMPARISON [sic] AND CONFLICT WITH THE GREAT NATIONAL FUTURE OF CANADA AS A LEADING PART OF A COMMERCIALY ORGANIZED AND CONSOLIDATED EMPIRE.¹

No, reciprocity was not the issue in 1911, the Conservative newspapers were saying. Rather Canada's survival as an independent nation and Canada's position in "the greatest Empire the world has seen" were what was at stake. Had the Laurier government been offering an economic policy badly and obviously needed, raving incessantly on such intangible but emotional issues as loyalty and annexation would have been of minimal benefit for the Conservatives. But with Nova Scotia enjoying unusual prosperity in 1911 the frantic and furious press attacks on the Liberals and their works may have played some role in the failure of Nova Scotians to respond enthusiastically to a trade policy they had, in less happy times so ardently desired.

sensing it was fighting a losing battle in stressing the alleged national and international benefits which could be expected from reciprocity the Halifax Chronicle, late in July, switched tactics almost completely and began emphasizing to its readers that reciprocity, whatever effect it would have on the rest of Canada, would be good for Nova Scotia and that Nova Scotians should therefore display "enlightened patriotism" and support it. The Nova Scotia Liberal press concluded its campaign on this note while the Tory press screamed more frantically than ever from editorial pages embellished with Union Jacks and Red Ensigns, of the possibility of Canada's disappearance as an independent state

1. Ibid., August 5, 1911. the Laurier party.

CHAPTER VI

Almost as noticeable a feature of the 1911 press in Nova Scotia as its bias was the amount of material from out-of-province newspapers which was carried daily. Many of the "imported" items were not readily identifiable as such since credit was apparently not always given to the originating sources. The success of the Nova Scotia Conservative press in largely overwhelming their Liberal counterparts with "annexation" and "loyalty" propoganda would seem to have owed much to the great quantities of outside material made so readily available to Tory organs.

One apparent effect of this prolonged deluge of emotion-laden anti-reciprocity material was one of the most significant developments related to the federal election of 1911. Seemingly sensing it was fighting a losing battle in stressing the alleged national and international benefits which could be expected from reciprocity the Halifax Chronicle, late in July, switched tactics almost completely and began emphasizing to its readers that reciprocity, whatever effect it would have on the rest of Canada, would be good for Nova Scotia and that Nova Scotians should therefore display "enlightened patriotism" and support it. The Nova Scotia Liberal press concluded its campaign on this note while the Tory press screamed more frantically than ever, from editorial pages embellished with Union Jacks and Red Ensigns, of the inevitability of Canada's disappearance as an independent state should victory go to the Laurier party.

Harping on the disloyalty of the Liberals and on the grave danger of annexation, unceasingly, for about nine months was no mean achievement for the Conservative newspapers of Nova Scotia. That they were able to carry out such a task, however, without too often repeating editorials word-for-word was apparently due in very large measure to the fact that a great deal of the material used was not created by the staff of the newspapers printing it and often did not originate in Nova Scotia itself. This is particularly evident with regard to the Halifax Herald which printed many more anti-reciprocity items than did any other newspaper in Nova Scotia and consequently used far more outside material.

Still it is very difficult and probably impossible to know the actual extent to which the Herald and smaller newspapers borrowed from other journals or accepted material written in other provinces to fill their editorial pages. The task of identifying "locally-produced" material appearing on the editorial page is simplest when editorials were borrowed in toto from other newspapers and this was so indicated. Thus in the Halifax Herald for August 15, 1911, - a not untypical edition - five editorials appeared on page six, the regular editorial page. The first of these editorials was obviously of local origin since it criticized the Morning Chronicle. So was the second because it dealt with the difficulties the Liberals were allegedly having in obtaining "Laurier candidates" for Halifax. The third editorial, however originated with the Toronto Mail; the fourth first

1. Ibid., August 15, 1911.

2. Ibid., July 8, 1911.

appeared in the Montreal Star; and the fifth editorial, as with the third, was a warmed over Toronto Mail editorial. Elsewhere in the same edition of the Herald was a two column indictment of the Liberal government, credited to the Toronto Standard. The usual anti-reciprocity, Toronto News cartoon, of course, was also in evidence.¹

In other instances determining the origin of material is much more difficult. A good example would be a very well-written and well-documented editorial appearing in the July 18, 1911 edition of the Herald, which attempted to show that the prosperity of the decade ending in 1866 had practically nothing to do with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The writer was apparently as aware as S.A. Saunders would later be of the beneficial effect the Crimean and American Civil Wars had on the Canadian economy. What is perhaps most interesting about the editorial, however, is that it made absolutely no mention of the effect the Treaty of 1854 had on any of the Maritime Provinces. Although many statistics were supplied they referred only to the carrying trade on the Saint Lawrence, or to the ports of Montreal and Quebec or to the "Canadian" canals. Would an editorial originating in Nova Scotia adopt such an approach? It seems unlikely. But this lengthy piece was represented as a Halifax Herald "original". No quotation credited to a Quebec newspaper was to be found within the editorial; the name of no other newspaper appeared in parenthesis at its conclusion.² So while it is obvious that much of the material appearing in the Nova Scotia newspapers of 1911 was certainly imported the actual amount falling within

1. Ibid., August 15, 1911.

2. Ibid., July 18, 1911.

this category must remain, it would seem, a matter of speculation.

Occasionally the source of some of this outside anti-reciprocity material was discovered by Liberal newspapers, and in righteous anger they screamed the details. One of the first such revelations appeared in the March 1, 1911 edition of the Lunenburg weekly, the Progress-Enterprise:

Many of our people appear extremely patriotic when discussing reciprocity but it may not be generally known they are paid patriots, and therefore clamor against any trade arrangements at so much per word or so much per line in the columns of certain newspapers. At the present time a great effort is being made to stampede the bulk of the people into openly opposing reciprocity, and to accomplish such purpose the Tory Canadian Century Magazine is publishing a series of articles. These articles are afterwards put in the hands of an advertising agency which sends them out to the newspapers with an offer to pay a good price for their insertion.

We have received several of these articles, but our views on reciprocity are not for sale at any price, therefore we decline any offers made.

Does it not look as if the manufacturers were putting up the cash to pay for these articles? 1.

The same Canadian Century articles even came under attack in the Nova Scotia Legislature - especially from Moses Nickerson, Liberal M.L.A. for Shelburne and editor of the Clark's Harbour Coast Guard:

I myself, as a newspaper man, was favored with one of these circular invitations which came from one of the most prominent advertising agencies in Canada, and it said in all confidence,

"We want to bargain for so much space in which you will for the rate stated "(quite tempting)" run these articles on reciprocity, under our instructions and if they do not exactly agree with your own ideas on that subject, you will have the opportunity of criticizing them in your editorial columns."

I replied right off the bat that such articles would not be run in the Coast Guard under the direction of that agency or any agency under the skies for any price; that I considered it to be wrong. I consider

1. Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise, March 1, 1911.

this attempt to seduce us to be a well concocted scheme, and as for the reciprocity for the pleasure of demolishing it, that is work you might set kids to do, setting up a snow man for the pleasure of knocking him down. 1

Apparently the rate paid for publishing the Coast Guard articles was a very favourable one. Another M.L.A., H.H. Wickwire, observed that in the province the proprietors of newspapers had been asked "to print articles already prepared in opposition to reciprocity, and emanating I understand from a certain place in Montreal, for which they have been offered 50 per cent more than the ordinary advertising rates." In support of this statement M.H. Nickerson interjected: "I can bear testimony to the truth of that. I refused their money." 2

One week before the election the Montreal Star apparently increased its efforts to circulate its anti-reciprocity gospel. Angrily the Halifax Chronicle exposed the details:

... this final flood of anti-reciprocity arguments to order will be presented, in the case of each paper, as being the pure and un-defiled opinion of the editors voicing their conscientious beliefs as to the evils of free trade with the United States.

The fact is now prematurely made public that four pages of anti-reciprocity supplement to go with the regular issue of the Tory papers are all manufactured in Montreal and are paid for out of party funds. This may militate somewhat against the desired effect on the readers.

It may further be noted that this last splurge is a fitting climax to the tens of thousands of paid for anti-reciprocity arguments which have been appearing for months past in the opposition press. The scheme in detail is disclosed in the following letter sent from the Montreal Star by B.A. McNab, Editor, to the editors of Tory and Independent papers: - 3

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1. Nova Scotia House of Assembly Debates, pp. 289-293
 2. Ibid.
 3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 14, 1911.

McNab's letter emphasized the importance of the supplementary material "being in the hands of the people" before Sunday the 17th. After giving assurance that all expenses would be taken care of the letter provided a summary of what the four-page supplement would contain:

"The contents will be first page, a patriotic article void of offense entitled "Under which flag." Second page the evidence going to show that the farmer is being fooled and the industrial workers are menaced in their wages and employment. Third page, evidence to show that reciprocity means annexation, giving extracts from American papers and American sheets. Fourth page, Canada's great destiny, if worked out by Canadians."

McNab's letter concluded with the form to be used in wiring for copies of the anti-reciprocity supplement.¹

After condemning McNab's letter a second time in an editorial in its September 19 edition, the Chronicle went on to indicate that this was by no means the only example of such tactics on the part of the Conservatives:

Now advertising agencies are sending out matrices of full page reading matter, which they are instructed to have inserted as advertising and for two of which they have offered to pay the Morning Chronicle at the rate of four hundred dollars for a single insertion. The Morning Chronicle declined the offer. It does not propose to lend itself to the furtherance of any such unrighteous propaganda. It stands for the people in this contest, and it is not willing to sell its advertising columns to bolster up the cause of the big interests and the Big Cities.²

If the Nova Scotia newspapers supporting the Liberals were using outside material under similar circumstances and to the same extent as were the Conservative papers the evidence of this

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., September 19, 1911.

does not seem to be available. The Halifax Herald, for instance, made no attempt either to question the McNab letter nor to attack the Chronicle's editorializing regarding it. None of the major Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia appear to have uncovered any arrangement whereby Liberal newspapers, for a price, would publish large quantities of pro-government material. This may only mean, of course, that the Liberal newspapers were more successful in keeping secret the sources of any copy they did not themselves originate.

And in fairness to the Conservative press it should be pointed out that these newspapers apparently felt no stigma to be attached to their publishing anti-reciprocity opinions which they did not originate. Since reciprocity, in their apparent opinion, would almost certainly yank Canada out of the Empire and annex her to the United States it should be fought by all means. If "free ammunition" became available from outside the province it should be accepted without question, the Conservative press apparently felt.

The Halifax Herald, in fact, after publishing details regarding the origins and aims of the Canadian National League in its July 15, 1911 edition, admitted quite openly that some of its future editorializing would be indebted to this organization. "The facts and statistics collected and published by the League", the Halifax Herald admitted candidly, "will be made the basis of articles from time to time, that our readers may be the better enable (sic) to give an intelligent, reasoned and proper answer to this all-important question."¹ Whether the incredible quantities of anti-reciprocity literature which

1. Halifax Herald, July 15, 1911.

appeared in Nova Scotia newspapers in 1911 originated primarily in Nova Scotia or not, the impact of such material in a province with a literacy rate of almost ninety per cent¹ and at a time when the newspaper was the most effective medium of communication, must have been considerable.

While the vast proportion of the campaign literature which appeared in the Conservative papers of Nova Scotia in 1911 seems to have dealt with the loyalty and annexation themes or with variations on these a number of other matters came in for considerable attention as well. Notable among these was the question of the "Ninety Million Market." The Liberal press, in its policy of concentrating on the economic benefits which could be expected to accrue from reciprocity had much to say about the ten-fold increase in the size of the market open to Canadian primary producers once reciprocity was implemented. Conservative papers purported to be much amused at the failure of the Liberal press to note that rather than the entire United States population being available as a market for Canadian farm produce, for example, only those Americans living close to the border and who were not involved in agriculture themselves, would be even theoretically available as buyers for Canadian agricultural products. "The alleged market," scoffed the Sydney Daily Post, "is one of the most delusive fallacies of the reciprocitarian creed."²

The Conservative newspapers also questioned severely what they considered to be the extravagant Liberal claims regarding the

1. Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II (Ottawa, 1913), p. xiii.

2. Sydney Daily Post, August 23, 1911.

profitability for Canadians of the United States market. Gleefully they called attention to the apparent inconsistency of the claim that reciprocity would mean the producer would get higher prices for his crops while at the same time the consumer would pay less for his foodstuffs.¹

The Conservative newspapers, particularly the Halifax Herald were probably most effective in questioning the alleged benefits reciprocity would bring to Canadian farmers when they dealt with the topic of abandoned farms in the United States. A.K. MacLean, one of the Liberal candidates for Halifax, was unfortunate enough to have once given statistics, in an obscure speech, regarding the number of vacant farms in the United States. To what must have been his extreme discomfort an editorial in the May 31 Halifax Herald produced for its readers, A.K. MacLean's grim figures. Until election day the "A.K. MacLean and Abandoned Farms" editorial, or a variation of it, appeared regularly.

The September 9 version reminded readers that about 99 days had elapsed since the Herald first asked A.K. MacLean the disturbing question regarding the 70,000 vacant farms in the United States. "Now the question we put," recalled the Herald, triumphantly, "was to this effect: "If all those United States farmers, with the market of ninety millions all around them, grew so POOR that they had to ABANDON their farms, how can Canadian farmers expect to get RICH merely by getting access to that ninety million market?"² Not surprisingly, the Herald

1. Halifax Herald, March 9, 1911.

2. Ibid., September 9, 1911.

never did get a satisfactory answer to its question, and it was only the day before the election that it made its final appearance in the columns of Nova Scotia's leading Conservative newspaper.¹

The Conservative press, not being satisfied simply to cast some doubt in the minds of farmers and other primary producers that reciprocity would be as beneficial to them as the Liberals were claiming, went on to assert flatly that the Taft-Fielding agreement, if implemented, would be positively harmful to Canadian interests. "If it were the question of the farmers of one country capturing the markets and driving out of business the farmers of the other," the Sydney Daily Post noted a Chicago newspaper as having stated, "those of Canada would be routed in the unequal contest."² The St. Paul Pioneer Press was quoted observing with satisfaction that "we now sell Canada nearly three times as much as Canada sells us. Any arrangement that increases trade facilities ought to increase our advantages proportionally."³ President Taft was, as usual, helpful to the Conservative cause in having apparently made the observation with reference to Canadians that "in the vast bulk of our agricultural products they can furnish no competition whatsoever, while this agreement admits all our products free into Canada."⁴

1. Ibid., September 20, 1911.

2. Sydney Daily Post, July 3, 1911.

3. Ibid., August 1, 1911.

4. Ibid., July 11, 1911.

The Herald no doubt succeeded in inducing misgivings regarding reciprocity in the minds of some Nova Scotia farmers with its interviews with "Liberal" farmers "in the districts east of Dartmouth" who were, according to the Conservative paper, "up in arms in opposition to reciprocity." The interviews actually published, the Herald claimed, were representative of the views held by "scores of Liberals in Cole Harbor, Cow Bay, Woodlawn and other eastern districts who have never polled other than a Liberal vote, who are bitterly hostile to reciprocity and who will do everything they can to defeat it."¹ Any Nova Scotia farmer who had assumed reciprocity could only be of benefit to them might have had strong second thoughts about the Taft-Fielding agreement after reading the Herald interviews with life-long Liberals who were deserting their party because of reciprocity.

Another aspect of the Taft-Fielding agreement which came up for a considerable amount of discussion in the Conservative press in Nova Scotia was the alleged damage it would inflict on Maritime ports, particularly Halifax. As early as February 3, 1911, a correspondent was pointing out to Herald readers "that the reciprocity agreement, if carried into effect, will work injury to the trade of Halifax."² The letter went on to express the opinion that "foremost is the blow it will strike at the trans-Atlantic trade of this port. Reciprocity, admittedly and of necessity, will change the direction of trade from east and west to north and south. The shipment of grain, fruit,

1. Halifax Herald, August 24, 1911.

2. Ibid., February 3, 1911.

lumber etc. now passing through this port en route to Europe will be directed from this channel and will be moved from their western points of departure to the south."¹ In August the Halifax Mail published observations from the Wall Street Journal scarcely of a nature to bring comfort to Haligonians. "The Canadian roads are not likely to sacrifice themselves to preserve a port so indifferent as Halifax," suggested the Journal, "if they can secure better access to tidewater elsewhere." The scheme would "give New York greater control of the wheat market than it has had before."² Governor Foss of Massachusetts provided the Nova Scotia Conservative press with observations equally as gloomy from a Halifax point of view. "Our present railroads will handle their facilities and extend their lines to handle the increased business," the Governor was quoted as predicting, "and the great transcontinental lines of Canada will come to the port of Boston which is the natural port of eastern Canada as well as New England."³ The grim conclusion which the Halifax Herald happily came to was that under reciprocity "St. John and Halifax will have the railway connections but not the trade."⁴

As has been indicated elsewhere a prominent part of the press assault against reciprocity involved the alleged damage the trade arrangement would inflict on the coal, lumbering and fishing industries. With regard to the first of these disastrous

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1. Ibid.
 2. Halifax Evening Mail, August 26, 1911.
 3. Halifax Herald, March 8, 1911.
 4. Ibid., February 10, 1911.

consequences were predicted should the Taft-Fielding agreement be implemented. The Sydney Daily Post had even managed to obtain a quote from Walter Crowe, director of the Liberal campaign of Cape Breton South and chief owner of the Sydney Record, predicting that "a reduction in the coal duties would ruin Cape Breton."¹ Lumbermen, the Conservative press insisted, should be no more optimistic than miners. Numerous articles and interviews appeared in the Herald and allied newspapers from time to time purporting to show that American buyers intended to cut the prices offered Nova Scotia lumbermen by the amount of any tariff reduction implemented under a reciprocity arrangement. But of the three, the fishing industry received the greatest attention - probably because it had been initially assumed, even by the Conservative papers, that fishermen stood to gain more from reciprocity than any other group. But shortly before the election, Conservatives were reading in their newspapers almost daily that "fishermen [stood] to lose heavily should reciprocity come."²

Thus, as Professor Beck so correctly implies³ a kind of irrationality pervaded the columns of the Halifax Herald in the months prior to the election of 1911. This was largely true of the other Conservative newspapers as well. Although primarily an economic question, surely, reciprocity was rarely considered as such. All spring and all summer these newspapers screamed that should natural products be allowed to flow freely between Canada and the United States the beloved Imperial ties

1. Sydney Daily Post, September 18, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 12, 1911.

3. J.M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, Canada's Federal Elections.

would inevitably be severed; annexation to the United States would inevitably result. Only occasionally did the Conservative press examine the economic implications of reciprocity for Canada as a whole. Practically never did these newspapers seriously investigate how Nova Scotia, a province with perhaps three-fifths of its citizens depending on the primary industries for a livelihood¹ would be economically affected should the Taft-Fielding agreement be implemented. The hundreds of editorials and articles instead ranted and railed on the peripheries of the essential issue, using over and over again emotional words and expressions such as "Annexation", "Disloyalty", and "Veiled Treason".

The way the Conservative press dealt with the reciprocity question is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly it would seem that the strategy followed by these newspapers was successful strategy because in spite of the alleged attractions of reciprocity for Nova Scotians the Liberals lost heavily in the province in 1911. But of greater significance perhaps is that the approach of the Conservative newspapers seems to have precipitated a drastic change in tactics on the part of the Liberal press in the summer of 1911.

In 1911 during most of the period prior to the election the Liberal press, as has been seen, adopted a national approach to the issue of reciprocity. Particularly was this so of the Halifax Morning Chronicle. It was a national approach that W.S. Fielding, the Canadian most responsible for putting

1. Nova Scotia, Debates, 1911, p. 298.

2. Bridgetown Weekly Reporter, August 30, 1911.

3. ibid., August 2, 1911.

reciprocity into effect, necessarily had to adopt and the Halifax Chronicle, it was said, probably spoke the mind of Fielding.¹

The Halifax Morning Chronicle achieved plenty of press support even from some of the smaller Liberal newspapers in its insistence that annexation and loyalty were not issues of concern for Canadians in 1911. The Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise stated the Liberal position regarding reciprocity very succinctly:

The issue before Canadians is purely and solely a tariff issue. Canada is mistress of her own fate. If she wishes to remain with the British Empire, none can hinder her... Under reciprocity conditions Canada, which still has great tracts of fertile unused land, will send more foodstuffs to the United States than that country will send to Canada.²

The Bridgetown Weekly Monitor spoke of the importance of Canada as "a link in the fraternity of the English-speaking world",³ and had no more patience with the loyalty and annexation cries than had the Halifax Chronicle or the Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise. "I would think little of my loyalty to the British Crown and the British Empire if it depended on tariff schedules", declared the editor of the Monitor emphatically, and added: "Canada is as loyal as any Dominion; it is an insult to suggest that Canadians are selling their loyalty for trade advantages."⁴ The Shelburne Gazette, although supposedly an

1. The Round Table; A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire, II (December, 1911), p. 132. See also Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 518.

2. Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise, August 9, 1911.

3. Bridgetown Weekly Monitor, August 30, 1911.

4. Ibid., August 2, 1911.

independent and non-partizan newspaper, also gave short shrift to the more extreme Conservative charges. Especially was the south shore paper angered at charges of disloyalty being directed against Fielding personally for promoting reciprocity: "Disloyalty? Reader, it is not the man who is disloyal, but rather he who opposes it because in so opposing it he is doing his best to injure his country."¹ And the Shelburne weekly was not hesitant in praising reciprocity itself. The implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement, the Gazette obviously felt, would inaugurate a new "Golden Age" in Nova Scotia characterized by unprecedented prosperity. "...we think when we come to our own province that there can be no two opinions upon the question, its passage surely means a new era of prosperity such as we have never before dreamed of."²

Another area outside Halifax-Dartmouth where strong endorsement for reciprocity was received was Cape Breton. This was the case despite the eight cents per ton reduction in the coal duty which would occur should the reciprocity agreement be adopted by Canada and the United States. To the Sydney Record there seemed to be little doubt that reciprocity would favour the mining industry in Cape Breton. The future for the gypsum industry appeared particularly bright since the duty to be abolished represented thirty per cent of the dollar value of raw gypsum. "Free trade in gypsum will be a gain for

1. Quoted in Yarmouth Telegram, September 8, 1911.

2. Ibid. Progress-Enterprise, August 9, 1911.

3. Sydney Daily Record, August 5, 1911.

Cape Breton" it was argued. "At McKinnon's Harbor and elsewhere in this island, there are large gypsum quarries which have been exporting to the United States."¹ The Progress Enterprise also predicted the gypsum industry would prosper under reciprocity and foresaw, too, a "huge new market" for Nova Scotia lumber and potatoes. But while admitting the importance of the Canadian home market the Progress-Enterprise stated emphatically the need for new markets if economic stagnation were to be avoided: "We cannot stay at home, swap jack-knives with one another, and thereby grow rich and multiply. We must have outside markets for our own products."²

With the effect the reciprocity arrangement would have on the coal industry not certain the Liberal press in Cape Breton reserved its greatest optimism for its predictions of what the future held for those communities earning a livelihood chiefly from the sea. The Record, like the Halifax Chronicle, was able to find individuals who were able to recall the prosperity which followed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and who obviously regarded that period as Nova Scotia's Golden Age. The old reciprocity days of 1854-1866 "were the best times that people about here ever saw", an old sea-captain told the Record's correspondent. As far as he was concerned, "a vote against reciprocity would be a vote against the welfare of Louisburg."³

1. Sydney Daily Record, January 27, 1911.

2. Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise, August 9, 1911.

3. Sydney Daily Record, August 3, 1911.

But in spite of the number of newspapers outside the Halifax-Dartmouth area which endorsed reciprocity by far the greatest enthusiasm for the Taft-Fielding agreement was displayed in the large daily the Halifax Morning Chronicle - just as the greatest antagonism towards it was reflected in the even larger circulation daily newspaper, the Halifax Herald. One reason for this, as has been noted, was that most of the papers serving the outlying areas had circulations so small that it was not prudent for such a paper to take a very strong stand in support of or in opposition to either of the two major parties. Most of the newspapers published in Nova Scotia were weeklies and seldom had circulations of more than 2,000 subscribers.¹ Alienating any sizeable percentage of these readers by too openly supporting the platform of one of the political parties would quite possibly have brought about the financial collapse of the newspaper.

A case in point would be the Digby Weekly Courier, the only newspaper published in Digby. The Courier had a circulation of around 1,700² and classified itself as being an "independent" newspaper. Although fishing was a major industry in Digby, the Courier practically avoided any suggestion at all that reciprocity might be of assistance to the fishermen. Steering clear as much as possible from the delicate matter of the Taft-Fielding agreement the Courier chose to give strong endorsement instead to Digby's potential as a tourist resort. Tourism, the

1. W.A. Thomas (ed.) The Canadian Almanac and Miscellaneous Directory for the Year 1911, (Toronto, 1910) p. 285.

2. Ibid.

Courier insisted, was Digby's real source of wealth.

But in spite of an unwillingness to give a strong endorsement to reciprocity any bias the Courier may have had was probably in favour of the Liberal Party. Thus while largely avoiding an open declaration of approval for reciprocity indirect support was given the Taft-Fielding agreement when in an editorial entitled "Reciprocity in Canada" the Courier expressed confidence that under the reciprocity arrangement American tourists would flood into Digby "in unprecedented numbers."¹

The Courier displayed similar caution in its handling of the Laurier-Fielding visit to Digby. While enthusiastically reporting their tour of the area and while mentioning that Fielding had spoken on reciprocity at some length the Digby paper, nevertheless, carefully avoided making any editorial comment either for or against the trade policy Fielding was promoting so strongly.² The Courier's skillful impartiality continued throughout the campaign and until after the results were known. About a week before the election the Courier carried a picture of each Digby candidate and allotted an equal amount of space to its impartial coverage of each of the two men.³ Jameson's re-election was reported in the September 22 edition without comment.⁴ That the Conservative incumbent

1. Digby Weekly Courier, August 25, 1911.

2. Ibid. September 1, 1911.

3. Ibid., September 15, 1911.

4. Ibid., September 22, 1911.

doubled his majority over that of 1908 strongly suggests that the Liberals suffered most from the impartial approach taken by Digby's only newspaper.

Not to be overlooked, however, is the possibility that some of the smaller newspapers gave scant attention to reciprocity because reciprocity in their coverage areas did not particularly interest the voters or was downright unpopular. The election results for Digby give no indication that reciprocity had any broad appeal for that area. And the Bridgetown Monitor, while ridiculing Tory claims that reciprocity represented disloyalty to the Mother Country and would bring about Canada's annexation to the United States¹, nevertheless avoided predicting any increased prosperity resulting from reciprocity for the fruit growers of the Annapolis county area it served.

Similarly in northern Nova Scotia the New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, while unabashedly pro-Liberal, candidly admitted that reciprocity would probably be of scant benefit to Pictou County: "To a farmer who was in the other day and with whom we were exchanging opinions about reciprocity we remarked that probably it would not make any difference here"². In an earlier edition the editor of the Eastern Chronicle indicated that the prevailing prosperity prompted him to hold this view. "It is possible", he admitted, "that reciprocity may not make much difference in this county as there are good markets here for the farmer, the fisherman and the lumberman."³

1. Bridgetown Weekly Monitor, August 2, 1911.

2. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, August 18, 1911.

3. Ibid., June 6, 1911.

Apparently no fear of losing subscribers was responsible for such statements on the part of the Eastern Chronicle as a number of the comments it directed towards Conservatives during the summer of 1911 were quite vitriolic.

For various reasons, therefore, few of the smaller Nova Scotia newspapers wholeheartedly endorsed the Taft-Fielding agreement and thus the task of spreading the gospel of reciprocity fell largely to the Halifax Chronicle. Rather than serving one or two distinct interests as did so many of the newspapers in the province the Chronicle was a fairly cosmopolitan publication giving broad coverage to many topics of both national and international concern. Circulating throughout the province as it did the Chronicle was obligated to present arguments in favour of reciprocity which would appeal to the whole of Nova Scotia; farmers, lumbermen, fishermen, miners and others all had to be convinced that implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement would be to their benefit.

Remarkably enough the Chronicle for a considerable time refrained even from considering very often how Nova Scotia alone could hope to benefit from reciprocity. During much of the first half of 1911 the chief Liberal organ in Nova Scotia examined the implications of reciprocity for Canada as a whole or went further still and looked at the Taft-Fielding agreement in a world-wide context. Optimistically the Chronicle saw Canada becoming the breadbasket of North America with Canadian food complementing United States industry and creating an

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 23, 1911.

2. Ibid., March 5, 1911.

American dependence on Canada.¹ Thus would the United States, in the opinion of the Chronicle, be brought into close contact with the Empire, a development which could be expected to strengthen the whole English-speaking world. To the Chronicle the Taft-Fielding agreement could be expected to play a major role in fostering such international friendship. The newspaper quoted, approvingly, Laurier's statement that reciprocity would "cement a common bond of commercial amity and good will between the Anglo-Saxon people of this continent and ... establish a world-wide Anglo-Saxon Entente Cordial."² Thus would reciprocity help to bring about both an accommodation of the United States with the Empire and the advent of a major Canadian role in international diplomacy. Canada trading extensively with both the United States and Britain would provide a stirring example to the world, the Chronicle felt, of how peaceful international co-operation could be brought about. Buoyantly optimistic, the Chronicle seemed to have little doubt that Laurier was right in suggesting that the twentieth century belonged to Canada. Also expected was a population of 20,000,000 for Canada by the end of the second decade of "her century."

A country forging ahead so rapidly, the Chronicle felt, should have no fear of the Taft-Fielding agreement bringing about annexation. Instead, the newspaper believed, reciprocity would serve to make the United States dependent

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, January 28, 1911.

2. Ibid., March 8, 1911.

on the Empire, an Empire of which Canada would be a very powerful segment.¹ Perhaps what is most surprising about this admirable if somewhat visionary, outlook displayed by the Chronicle is that it persisted for such a relatively long period in spite of the outrageous manner in which the Conservative press dealt with the reciprocity question. Because of the nature of the proposed trade arrangement Nova Scotia probably stood to gain more from reciprocity than any other province. Nevertheless the Chronicle, to a large extent avoided taking the parochial view of the question which surely would have been most beneficial to the Liberal cause in Nova Scotia and during much of the first half of 1911 the newspaper's discussion of the reciprocity issue continued on a lofty plane.

Seemingly it would have been very much more to the advantage of the Nova Scotia Liberals for their chief organ to have continued to deal with the reciprocity question in the manner T.M. Fraser considered it late in 1910. Although in 1911 the enthusiasm for reciprocity apparently dwindled more and more as the year progressed there were still plenty of individuals, who might be interviewed, who were sufficiently captivated by actual memories of the prosperity which followed the Treaty of 1854 or by tales passed on regarding the glories of that period, to anticipate another "Golden Age" should reciprocity again be implemented. But only occasionally between January and June, 1911, did the Chronicle carry articles demonstrating the concrete advantages of reciprocity to each of Nova Scotia's

1. Ibid., January 28, 1911; March 8, 1911; March 3, 1911.

various interest groups.

That such articles did not appear was probably due in part, no doubt, to the fact that the Liberals found themselves so busy trying to refute each of the many and varied attacks which the Conservatives launched against reciprocity that they seem to have found little time to prepare and present telling arguments of their own. Conservative claims emphatically and frequently presented, that reciprocity would destroy Canada's transportation systems, sever the Imperial connexion and precipitate the Dominion's annexation to the United States placed the Liberals almost constantly on the defensive. Patiently the Liberals attempted to deal with these claims and the many others, as well, which the Conservative press - somewhat the more fertile in argument, than their rivals - continually brought to the fore. It was ridiculous, Liberal newspapers insisted, for the Conservatives to maintain that Canada would lose her nationality, as the Canadian national spirit had matured sufficiently to withstand any American pressure.¹ As for the Imperial connection the Liberal press denied any conflict of interest with reciprocity at all.² And the sinister statements of Americans which the Conservatives were so fond of quoting were actually, the Liberal newspapers maintained, deliberate attempts by the American trusts to sabotage the reciprocity agreement in Canada since they had failed to stop it in the United States.³ There was a similar explanation for the

1. Ibid., July 10, 1911.

2. Ibid., August 3, 1911.

3. Ibid., August 16, 1911.

opposition of so many prominent business men to reciprocity. These were the "big interests" selfishly guarding the exorbitant profits which they had made under protection at the expense of the "masses".¹

So Liberal newspapers, hard pressed to answer the Conservative appeals to emotion, found themselves almost constantly on the defensive. All of the more extreme Conservative claims were refuted by the Liberal press - often quite tellingly - but it made no difference. They kept on appearing day after day, week after week, in Tory newspapers, as the year 1911 progressed. In vain did the Liberal newspapers protest that reciprocity was an economic issue and that only valid economic implications of the Taft-Fielding agreement warranted discussion.

However execrable the tactics of the Conservative press there was mounting evidence during the spring and summer of 1911 that they were bearing fruit. G.H. Murray's Liberal government, wildly enthusiastic when the Taft-Fielding agreement was first announced, retreated very noticeably from their initial position regarding the proposed trade arrangement. The premier made a point of declaring that reciprocity was not an issue in the provincial campaign and that generally it would only be discussed by campaigning Liberals when the question was "used for local effect" by the Opposition.² And the Opposition detected enough anti-reciprocity sentiment in the

1. Ibid., March 7, 1911.

2. J.C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911, (Toronto, 1912) p. 516.

3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 10, 1911.

province, apparently, to persuade it to attack the government boldly in many parts of Nova Scotia because of its support for the proposed trade agreement.¹ On a visit to his native province in June, Robert Borden shrewdly observed the same declining enthusiasm for reciprocity.² There were even prominent Liberals who noted the development. In August A.K. MacLean who left the provincial government to run against Borden in Halifax noted regretfully, in a speech following his nomination, the opposition which had arisen in Nova Scotia against reciprocity since "the agreement was first made known."³

To those responsible for the Halifax Chronicle's editorial policy it must have become obvious by the end of June 1911, that whatever the reasons, enthusiasm for the Taft-Fielding agreement had declined considerably since January, and that in spite of the supposed allure of reciprocity in the province there was still the possibility that the Liberals might gain no more seats and that they might even lose some of the ones they then controlled. National developments offered no encouragement that the situation might improve. Attacks on reciprocity continued unabated from the time the Prime Minister left to attend Coronation ceremonies in London until his return on the eleventh of July. After Parliament re-assembled on July 18, the Opposition began immediately to obstruct proceedings and its salvos against the Taft-Fielding

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, June 16, 1911.

2. R.L. Borden Papers, R.L. Borden to Sir Charles Tupper June 12, 1911.

3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 10, 1911.

agreement provided the Conservative press with even more ammunition with which to attack reciprocity. Precipitately, the government, on July 29, decided upon an immediate dissolution with an election to follow on September 21.

After observing an obvious decline in reciprocity's popularity, after seeing attacks against the Taft-Fielding agreement increasing rather than decreasing in intensity, the Halifax Chronicle was now witnessing the passage of the initiative from the government to the opposition. At this point it may have seemed to the Chronicle staff long past time for a get-tough approach to the Conservative assault against reciprocity. Whatever the factors responsible a very definite shift in tactics on the part of the Halifax Chronicle took place around the end of July. From then on right up to election day the Chronicle's editorials would be most remarkable for their amazing bitterness against the "Big Interests" - primarily of "Upper-Canada" - who through their warnings of annexation and their charges of treason were so treacherously attempting to deprive Nova Scotia of her "Golden Age."

An editorial appearing in the July 26 edition reflected the Chronicle's new mood rather well. "Of all the exasperating cries raised by the Big Interests and their hired voices and organs," stated the Chronicle, "so far as the Maritime Provinces are concerned, the worst by far is the accusation of disloyalty and annexationism made against those in these provinces who are delighted at the prospect of at least gaining access to their natural markets."¹ As the editorial continued

1. Ibid., July 26, 1911.

it became obvious that the writer was now rejecting his earlier tendency to view reciprocity from a national or even an international perspective, in favour of a narrow Nova Scotia outlook. Also reflected in the editorial was much of the old bitterness prevalent in Nova Scotia around the time of Confederation and during the later period when Fielding threatened secession. Even the language used bore reminders of those less happy times of the previous century, memories of which, it now seemed, had not been totally obliterated by the relative prosperity of 1911:

No part of the British Empire has sacrificed more in the cause of loyalty than the people of Nova Scotia. This Province was dragged into Confederation without even the pretense of consultation with its people, and against their united and repeated protests Nova Scotia was forced into Confederation on terms so obviously unfair that they had later to be amended in some measure to prevent open revolt.

After Confederation Nova Scotia saw its taxes trebled within a few years. It saw its public interests neglected. It saw the West built up at its expense. It had to contribute its full share to every undertaking for the benefit of the great cities of Quebec or Ontario by the free construction of railways, canals and public works. It saw itself hopelessly outmatched in trade by the West, by means of the facilities which it was taxed to provide.¹

In addition to the treatment meted out to Nova Scotia in 1867 and at other times during the second half of the nineteenth century the editor was bitter regarding more modern grievances. The Intercolonial Railway apparently was a cause of much aggravation. Nova Scotia was distressed too at the loss of

1. Ibid.

much of her wholesale trade to central Canada. That they had to buy from Ontario and Quebec but allegedly could not sell to these provinces was one of the greatest complaints Nova Scotians had. But pervading the July 26 editorial and many of the others which came after it up to September 21 was a bitterness towards "Upper-Canada" which at times amounted almost to hatred:

The Intercolonial Railway was all that the Maritime Provinces got out of Confederation. That railway has been the means of enabling the upper Provinces to steal away our trade and undersell our people in their own markets. The Nova Scotia section of that railway not only pays its way, but yields a very considerable annual revenue to the Dominion which is sunk and more than sunk in maintaining the Quebec section of the road for the benefit of the West. Yet we are insulted year after year by Ontario representatives who, when there is a deficit in the revenue of the Intercolonial, declare from their places in Parliament that it is incurred for our sole benefit and never grow weary of describing this Province as a pauper member of the Dominion.

In spite of all this, ... this Province has not only remained loyal to the Dominion but has become perhaps, the most steadfast of all the Canadian provinces.

To be told now that our people are unpatriotic and annexationist in disposition, because they rejoice at the opportunity which is being offered to gain access once more to their natural markets, and recover their former prosperity, is surely the last straw, coming as these insults do, from the hired voices and hired organs of the Big Interests in the Big Cities, which have been built up at our expense and to our loss.

The wholesale trade of Halifax has nearly all gone to Montreal and Toronto. The wealth which should have been retained in this Province has gone to build up those cities. Yet now the Big Interests in those cities are hiring newspapers and cheap politicians to tell us that we are disloyal to think of recovering what we lost to them, that we shall prove ourselves annexationists if we consent to send to Boston and New York the products of our lands and forests and mines and

sea, which we cannot sell in Montreal and Toronto except at a loss, that it is treasonable on our part to be willing to grasp the opportunity of providing ourselves with markets in which we can sell as well as buy.¹

The editorial's bitterness reached a climax in the final two paragraphs as the writer employed sarcasm mixed with cynicism in venting his anger against "Upper-Canadians' " alleged exploitation of the Maritime Provinces:

We can do unlimited buying in Quebec and Ontario. There need be no doubt on that point: We have been doing it ever since Confederation. But when it comes to selling, - that is a very different matter: ... What does it matter to the Big Interests and the Big Cities whether we can dispose of our products or not, so long as we can be forced to buy from them at their protected-combine prices? Their one concern is, lest, finding a ready and convenient market for our products in the American markets at our doors, we should buy there also, instead of paying tribute to Montreal and Toronto.

This is the whole secret of the combine-made, interest-finances, hireling-conducted campaign that is now being waged against a measure of reciprocity which both parties in Canada, and in Nova Scotia in particular have long sought and have always desired - a measure which they still desire and will yet have in spite of the deadly grip in which the Big Interests and Big Cities hold them and would stifle their patriotic demands if they could.²

The Chronicle's strategy of withdrawing into regionalism was employed only three days later in an editorial entitled suitably enough: STAND UP FOR NOVA SCOTIA: To the Chronicle the 1911 census returns it had just gotten access to carried a powerful warning to Maritimers to forget about political divisions and to unite together to crush the forces of "Upper-Canadian colonialism" which were endeavouring to prevent Maritime salvation through reciprocity:

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

Census returns are coming in just in time to impress on the people of the Maritime Provinces, in the most forcible of ways, the necessity for united and strong action with reference to the pending reciprocity question. Surely in view of the story which this census is about to repeat, it is high time to lay aside all partisanism and for Liberal and Conservative to act together for the salvation of these Provinces, out of which high protectionism,, Canadian and American, has been sucking the life blood, and which have been steadily withering for over thirty¹ years, or during the lifetime of a generation...

The writer after harping on the evils of Macdonald's National Policy at some length went on to cite the many areas of Nova Scotia which, the latest census indicated, had suffered overall population decreases caused, the Chronicle had no doubt, by the National Policy itself. To the Chronicle "the lessons of this painful and disheartening tale" were "perfectly simple and obvious":

The first lesson is that our population has declined since 1884. The people of the Maritime Provinces have been compelled to buy the products of the Big Cities and the Big Interests of Quebec and Ontario at fancy prices, while being deprived of a market for their own products. In consequence, many who could get away from these provinces have gone.

The second lesson is that if these provinces wish to grow in population and wealth, they must first provide a means of expansion...

The third lesson is that, not having found markets for our products in Canada or the United Kingdom we must look for them elsewhere. And where else can we look than to the great American centres at² our doors, now ready to open to us under reciprocity?

The Chronicle made it obvious that it considered the "third lesson" the most important of the three as it went on to contrast the Ontario-Quebec market most unfavourably with that offered by the United States. In the Chronicle's opinion Americans

1. Ibid., July 29, 1911.

2. Ibid.

were "willing and eager to buy from (Nova Scotians)" goods which Ontario and Quebec would not even condescend to examine.¹ No doubt the Chronicle exaggerated both the excellence of the American market and the worthlessness to Nova Scotia of the central-Canadian one. Actually a perusal of the Halifax Chronicle for the summer of 1911 would seem to indicate that Nova Scotians, at this time, were far more anti-Ontario and Quebec than anti-American. The two final paragraphs of the July 29 editorial, in particular, lend credence to such an evaluation:

What do the people of the Maritime Provinces think? Are they going to follow the hirelings of the Ontario and Quebec Big Cities and Big Interests, like stupid lambs to the slaughter? Or are they going to emulate the example of the wide-awake, independent farmers of the West and stand up for their own interests and those of their native land?

We do not ask the question in doubt. We are confident of the intelligence and independence of the people of these provinces. Blind partizanism may be all very well at times. But at present the call is for enlightened patriotism; and the people of Nova Scotia, at least, irrespective of old political distinctions, will respond to it loyally. Stand up for Nova Scotia!²

How incredible was the change in the Chronicle's approach to the question of reciprocity! Support reciprocity not because of national or international benefits but because it was good for Nova Scotia. The call went out to Liberals and Conservatives to set aside partizan strife and to display enlightened patriotism. But the enlightened patriotism was not to the Empire, nor even to the nation, but rather, was to

1. Ibid., August 1, 1911.

2. Ibid.

be extended to the province! Nova Scotians of both parties were asked in the time of crisis to respond loyally but the 'loyalty' demanded, like the "patriotism", was to be bestowed on Nova Scotia.

"Nova Scotia nationalism" pervaded the first two editorials of the August 1, Halifax Chronicle. In one entitled "Nova Scotia's Duty" the voters were urged to support Fielding against the "interests" for the prosperity of Nova Scotia and the common man. The second editorial was entitled simply "The Issue" and the Chronicle had no doubts as to just what it was:

The sole issue in the General Election just called is Reciprocity... This, then, is almost exclusively a farmer's, a fisherman's, a lumberman's question. Do the men engaged in those callings want free access to the great markets of the United States for their products, or do they not? Do they desire freedom to sell in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and the other great centres of population in the United States, what they cannot dispose of profitably at home, or do they want to remain, as in the past, at the mercy of Canadian buyers, who fix their own prices, free from outside competition?

This is the simple issue - Do the people of the Maritime Provinces want two markets instead of one for their products?¹

By proclaiming the issue facing the Nova Scotia electorate to be almost exclusively a farmer's, a fisherman's, a lumberman's, question the province's chief Liberal organ was finally emphasizing what it surely should have been stressing ever since January 26 if it expected to obtain wholehearted support from pragmatic Nova Scotians. An indication that the Chronicle was at last becoming aware of this fact was that again, on

1. Ibid., August 1, 1911.

August 9, a similar approach was taken as nationalism and internationalism once more yielded to regionalism in the editorial columns of the Liberal organ:

Reciprocity...promises to do more for the Maritime Provinces than for any other section of the Dominion. We do appeal, therefore, and we appeal with all the confidence of earnest patriotism, to the electors of these Provinces to stand - regardless of party - for the interests, the great immediate and permanent interests of these Provinces.

A vote against reciprocity will be a vote against the direct material interests of the Maritime Provinces, and of every man, woman and child living in them. These Provinces must have reciprocity or face as best they can the alternative of continuously dwindling population and permanently arrested development. This may be our last chance in the lifetime of the present generation. It is for the young man of today to see that it is not lost, however cunningly, screaming self-seeking political demagogues may try to mislead them.¹

Again the Chronicle was calling for patriotism but again it was not patriotism to an empire or to a nation but to a region. And once more the newspaper insisted the issue was above party and that Maritimers should unite to fight for their own interests even, the implication was, if reciprocity was not beneficial to some interests outside the region.

Similar encouragement to regional sentiment was given by the front page of the August 28 Chronicle. Centered at the top of the page was the headline: "FIELDING FOR NOVA SCOTIA." It was flanked on the left by this message in large type: "One of the Toronto Millionaires Who Are Fighting Reciprocity is Mr. W.I. White. What Mr. White Says is Therefore of Interest If Not Importance. In a speech at Massey Hall He Said:

1. Ibid., August 9, 1911.

'Mr. Fielding Was a Nova Scotian and Nova Scotia Would Be Benefited By the Agreement.'" The front page of the Chronicle was brought into balance by a second message featuring Mr. White, to the right of the Fielding For Nova Scotia heading: "Mr. White Was One of the Three Principal Orators at Mr. Borden's Great Meeting in Toronto The Other Night. He is Denouncing Reciprocity. Although He Admits Nova Scotia Would Be Benefited, And He Does Not Forget to Raise the Sectional Cry That 'Mr. Fielding is a Nova Scotian.'"¹

In the August 30 edition of the Halifax Chronicle the approach was still the same but the Liberal organ was now being slightly apologetic concerning its plea that Nova Scotians of each party should look out for their own interests and support reciprocity, even should the Taft-Fielding agreement be undesirable for the rest of Canada:

Wisdom for oneself alone is not a particularly admirable thing, but in the case of a large community the rule is different. Therefore, let Canada decide the question whether to accept or reject reciprocity by considering its effect upon herself. In the same way, let the voters of Nova Scotia consider the probable result as to their own province. The electors of Quebec, Ontario and the West may be trusted to look after their own interests.²

The same message was carried yet again, in the Halifax Chronicle for September 16. But rather than being contained, as usual, in an editorial the new appeal - that Nova Scotians should think only of their own interests when voting on September 21 -

1. Ibid., August 28, 1911.

2. Ibid., August 30, 1911.

was found this time in a speech delivered in Halifax by one Michael Dwyer and reported approvingly and in great detail by the Chronicle.

In his address Dwyer told of a conversation which he had had with a certain businessman who was opposed to reciprocity:

He gave me many reasons against it, all of which I did not consider very strong; and, at the conclusion of our conversation which lasted about twenty minutes he said, "I admit, Mr. Dwyer, that if there is one Province in the Dominion that will benefit by reciprocity that Province is Nova Scotia." I considered this statement a minute. Then I looked at him and said "What else do you want to make you vote for it?"¹

Cheers, according to the Chronicle, greeted Dwyer's anecdote. There were more cheers apparently when he went on to express the reasons why he took such pride in being a Nova Scotian:

I am proud of being a Canadian but I am prouder still of being a Nova Scotian. I think that when any man in any part of the world states that he belongs to a race of people that have few equals and are not surpassed in any part of the world. Now we have a rich Province, the richest Province in the Dominion. We have an industrious, intelligent, enterprising people. It does not matter where we settle. If we settle in the West we make good; if we send our sons to the United States they make their mark. We give College professors to every Province of the Dominion, and if we send our sons as Cabinet Ministers to Ottawa they are the best (cheers).²

After thus fostering latent "Nova Scotia nationalism" by this somewhat hyperbolic description of Nova Scotia and its inhabitants Dwyer went on to ask what was wrong. "Why," he wanted to know, "are we standing still?" But of course Dwyer himself knew the answer. Nova Scotia, he had no doubt, was not

1. Ibid., September 16, 1911.

2. Ibid.

progressing because of the "Protective Tariff." And the solution to practically all of her problems was simply to implement reciprocity with the United States.¹

The Chronicle's last great sectional appeal came on September 18, just three days before the election. "VOTE FOR NOVA SCOTIA" was once again the title and a flood of "nationalistic" emotion seems to have gripped the writer as he thought of his lovely but "beleaguered" "land" now in furious struggle against the forces of the "Big Interests" determined to deny Nova Scotia the prosperity which she had so long sought. "Is there a Nova Scotian any where, at home or abroad, who does not love Nova Scotia?" the Chronicle wanted to know. "And what wonder? It is the American land of poetry, of romance of history. It is the most beautiful spot, and the one most favored by nature on all this wide continent." The point was that thousands upon thousands of Nova Scotians were being denied the joys of living in their paradise because a reciprocal trade arrangement was not in operation between Canada and the United States. Thus Nova Scotia had "not even been able to keep its own people at home, much as they love it, and gladly as they would stay."²

The editorial went on to give a summary of the major grievances expressed in all the previous appeals of a sectional nature, made since late July. Although Nova Scotia had paid her full share, towards the purchase of the old

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., September 18, 1911.

Northwest and towards the building of "free canals for Ontario and Quebec," there was no gratitude for this in "Upper-Canada." Instead Nova Scotia was "taunted periodically by Western Tories, with being a 'pauper Province', because the Intercolonial cannot be run at a profit through the wastes of Quebec."¹ And there were other Nova Scotia grievances as well:

Our wholesale trade has been sucked away from us by the favored Big Cities and Big Interests of the West. Our industrial interests have been crushed out - by Ontario and Quebec combines. Even our banking institutions have been taken from us. Our farmers have been crippled by Ontario combines, and Ontario competition. Where other Provinces have been growing in population we have been losing; consequently we have been rapidly falling off in representation and in voting strength at Ottawa..²

But now salvation was at hand. "Reciprocity is freely offered for our acceptance." Reciprocity would surely end "the dreadful withering process" to which Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces had been subjected. Now, in the opinion of the Chronicle, only "imbecile partisanism" could "prevent any Nova Scotian from helping to seize such a chance for his native land."³

So practically on the eve of the election the Chronicle was informing its readers that Nova Scotia, not Canada, was their "native land" and that this superlative paradise was "withering away" because of the absence of reciprocity. Only the call for "patriotism" from adherents of both parties remained to be given in order to complete the final sectional appeal and this

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

was attended to in the editorial's last paragraph:

We know well the strength of the party ties. Therefore we do not ask any elector to break publicly with his party. We merely expect every patriotic Nova Scotian, whatever his party connection, when he goes to the polls, to ask himself before marking his ballot what Nova Scotia, the land of his birth, the flower of the Canadian provinces, requires of him, and to vote accordingly. Any Conservative can vote for reciprocity, the old policy of Sir John Macdonald and his successors, and remain as good a Conservative as ever. Thousands of them are going to do this very thing on Thursday.¹

The pages of the major Nova Scotia newspapers - especially some of those published in the capital city of the province - took on an atmosphere of frantic urgency as the date for the 1911 federal election drew near. Particularly was this so of the Halifax Herald and its evening counterpart, the Mail. Editorials harping on annexation and loyalty were featured on the front page as well as on page six. More flags than ever began appearing to symbolize the alleged threat to nation and Empire. Anti-reciprocity, Toronto News cartoons began showing up even more frequently than before - often on page one - and sometimes they were supplemented, as well, by locally-produced creations. The Liberal press belatedly began spouting economic arguments in favour of reciprocity for Nova Scotians but such statistically-based appeals could have little success against the opposing press with its poetry, anthems and flags.

One of the highlights of the Halifax Herald's anti-reciprocity campaign occupied an entire page of the edition for September 11. Readers of this presentation were solemnly told by a heading formed in inch-high letters that "IT IS HER OWN SOUL THAT CANADA RISKS TODAY."² Once again the Herald was indebted

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Herald, September 11, 1911.

to the Montreal Star for some anti-reciprocity material of a rather original nature. Some time previously the Star had asked Rudyard Kipling for his opinion of reciprocity and his reply, appearing in the September 7 Montreal Star¹ was reprinted by the Herald four days later. The entire column space below the grim heading was devoted to Kipling's picture, some of his poetry and, most important of all, the contents of his letter to the Montreal Star. Canadians could expect more than reciprocity in natural products Kipling announced: "She might, for example, be compelled later on to admit reciprocity in the murder rate of the United States. I can see nothing for Canada in reciprocity," Kipling told Canadians, "except a little ready money, which she does not need, and a very long repentance."²

The Chronicle thought that Kipling's remark about reciprocity in the American murder rate alone was enough to label his arguments ridiculous but the chief Liberal organ was careful to say little more in the way of criticism regarding the leading poet of that Empire Nova Scotians of 1911 held so dear.³ A Canadian election issue significant enough to enlist the involvement of Rudyard Kipling also aroused the interest of some advertisers. The day after the Herald paraded its "Kipling page" the Chronicle carried one of the very few absolutely non-partizan statements, relating to reciprocity, to appear in the Nova Scotia press in 1911: "WHAT ABOUT reciprocity? Will it benefit Canada, the United States, or both?"

1. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, p. 182.

2. Halifax Herald, September 11, 1911.

3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 14, 1911.

Opinions differ, but there's one thing they all agree on, and that is that FOUR CROWN SCOTCH is good for all."¹

Nova Scotians reading their last "week end Herald" before the election were made very conscious of the alleged annexation danger and the threat to Empire solidarity. At the top of the front page the VOICE OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD (from a February 7, 1891 address) asked Canadians if they really wanted to have their tariff fixed at Washington "with a prospect of ultimately becoming a portion of the American union?"² As if to lend credence to John A. Macdonald's warning, page three contained an item suggesting strongly that the election was being financed by American trusts. Some of these United States trusts undoubtedly were involved with railways and for Herald subscribers who had difficulty thinking abstractly, there was a huge double-page map of Canada and the Northern United States, showing clearly how Canadian railways would supposedly be put out of business by their American competitors should the Liberals be victorious, September 21. The text accompanying the map detailed what were said to be broken promises of Liberals where railways were concerned.³

An editorial on the sixth page of the September 16 Halifax Herald happily informed farmers of "the fact that the United States annually exports almost as great a quantity of foodstuffs as Canada grows altogether." And perhaps to reinforce this message a little more solidly the Herald, on the same page

1. Ibid. September 12, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 16, 1911.

3. Ibid.

told its readers that 107 days had elapsed since A.K. Maclean first failed to answer the Tory organ's question regarding the 70,000 abandoned American farms!¹

The Herald staff also managed to find room in this same September 16 edition for contributions from both Kipling and William Shakespeare. The Kipling effort selected was a lengthy poem entitled, symbolically enough, "The English Flag." The Herald apparently found the writings of Shakespeare to be a veritable storehouse of anti-reciprocity material. Printing the word "Reciprocity" vertically in large block letters the Herald then sought suitable extracts from Shakespeare, the first letter of which also appeared in its selected word. No less than nine of the bard's plays were consulted - with no little success, as the extracts for "P", "O", and "T" indicate:

"P revent it - resist it - let it not be so."

"O dious is the name."

"T here is not only disgrace and dishonor in that monster, but an infinite loss."²

With Shakespeare as well as Kipling seemingly against reciprocity Herald readers may have had few doubts as to how they should vote, September 21!

The September 18 Herald warned its readers to beware of "Roorbacks" and "split-voting."³ The Halifax Chronicle defined roorback as "a well-known political device in the United States for stampeding public opinion when sprung on the eve of election."⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., September 18, 1911.

4. Ellis, Reciprocity, 1911, p. 182.

The first of these to come within the ken of the Herald was "the delusion that Mr. BOURASSA is running an election in Halifax or some other part of Nova Scotia."¹ The warning regarding split-voting was addressed to residents of Halifax and was deemed necessary due to the fact that "the Laurier organs" were "mendaciously circulating the yarn that Mr. Crosby is likely to fall so far behind his colleague as to be defeated."² Despite the Herald's plea, enough split-voting would apparently occur to oust Borden's somewhat lack-lustre colleague in favour of A.K. Maclean.

Contributing to the atmosphere of frenzy pervading the pages of the Herald at this time was an advertisement the newspaper carried of a speech to be made in Dartmouth by the "Blind Orator."

TROOPER MULLOY THE CANADIAN HERO WHO LOST SIGHT OF
BOTH EYES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR
WILL SPEAK ON THE QUESTION OF LIFE OR DEATH
FOR CANADA³

Enclosed with this advertisement was a flag containing the words: "Canada for Canadians." The incredibly bad taste of so much of the press at this time was illustrated by the response of the Lunenburg Progress Enterprise to Mulloy's efforts in its area: "The blind trooper Mulloy is, we hear, to speak from the same platform with Mr. R.L. Borden in this county. It is

1. Halifax Herald, September 18, 1911.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

a case of the blind leading the blind."¹

That liquor was close to being a political issue in 1911 is indicated by the great number of occasions in which both Liberal and Conservative newspapers published exposés concerning public drinking incidents involving supporters of the opposing party. Thus in its September 18 edition, despite the value of space so close to the election date, the Herald featured a double-column, top-to-bottom account of "THE 'GUZZLING SOAKER' JAMBOREE" held recently in Halifax "in the interests of the Liberal candidates." According to the Herald the "jamboree" was a "GHASTLY AFFAIR" and one of which "ALL DECENT LIBERALS were THOROUGHLY ASHAMED." To add to the horror of the occurrence Dr. Blackadder, one of the candidates in whose honour the affair was held was, if the Herald is to be believed, "an ENTHUSIASTIC ADVOCATE OF PROHIBITION."

But it was in the concluding paragraph of its account of the "Guzzling Soaker Jamboree" held by the Liberals that the Herald revealed the full horror of the whole "ghastly affair." "In accordance with the natural fitness of things," reported the Herald, "the booze distributed was of Yankee manufacture: and the peddlers were so ashamed that they removed the labels from the bottles." But to the great misfortune of the Liberals it seemed that the American manufacturer's initials had been discovered at the bottoms of the bottles, and one of these bottles, the Tory organ announced triumphantly, could be seen at the offices of the Herald and Mail!²

1. Lunenburg Progress-Enterprise, September 6, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 18, 1911.

But even readers of the Herald, of September 18, were not left with the conviction that all Liberals were so deeply in the clutches of Uncle Sam that they even drank "Yankee booze." Because almost all of pages twelve and thirteen were devoted to a report on THE GREAT ARMY OF LIBERALS AGAINST RECIPROCITY. "Like a Rushing Flood of Water Through a Mill Race," declared the Herald, Liberals were flooding to Borden's banner. To emphasize the admirable "loyalty" of these Liberals each name and "testimony" was flanked by a red ensign.¹

Such employment of the national banner on the part of the Herald was by no means infrequent and the Halifax Chronicle professed to be most shocked at the Conservative press using the flag so indiscriminately. "Perhaps the most discreditable thing in connection with the campaign which is now closing," declared the Liberal organ, "has been the way in which the Oppositionists have degraded the flag. They have endeavored in all sorts of ways to drag the honored flag of the Empire into the mire of partizan strife."²

The Conservatives did make rather questionable use of the Union Jack and the Red Ensign throughout the campaign. For example, on the front page of the Halifax Herald for August 30 the following flags were employed to attract attention to Robert Borden's election promises to his Halifax constituents; the Union Jack and the Red Ensign intersected each other in the upper, left-hand corner. In the opposite corner was a third

1. Ibid.

2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 20, 1911.

flag containing a Union Jack and the words "Canada for Canadians." Elsewhere on the same page was a very large "Red Ensign" embellished with Robert Borden's portrait!¹

In September 1911, prior to the election, the Honor Roll - names of "a Few of The Thousands of Patriotic Liberals Who Place the Vital Interests of Their Country Before The Petty Interest of Party" - was almost a regular feature in the Herald and practically always a huge Union Jack accompanied the list of Liberals recognized.² The September 13 Halifax Mail carried pictures of the Union Jack which measured across the full width of the page³ and a 4" x 3" Union Jack lent emphasis to a front page Herald item entitled "The Voice of Empire" and which featured statements collected from around the Empire expressing the hope that Canadians would reject reciprocity.⁴ But the greatest number of flags to appear at one time in any Nova Scotia newspaper was on the back page of the Halifax Herald just the day before the election. At the top of the page a large heading, "UNDER WHICH FLAG?" was flanked on the left by the Union Jack and on the right by the Stars and Stripes. One huge editorial of appropriate content was below these two flags and bordering the entire page were some 200 Union Jacks!⁵ Thus did the Conservative press of Nova Scotia make use of flags in fostering its cause.

1. Halifax Herald, August 30, 1911.

2. Ibid., September 8, 1911; September 11, 1911; September 20, 1911.

3. Halifax Evening Mail, September 13, 1911

4. Halifax Herald, September 14, 1911.

5. Ibid., September 20, 1911.

Over the months prior to the election the Halifax Herald and the Halifax Chronicle often gave the impression that each was unaware of the existence of any other newspaper in Nova Scotia but these two chief organs. And scarcely a day went by during the summer of 1911 when one of these papers did not accuse the other of perpetrating some sort of base falsehood. Although both newspapers practiced deceit each expressed great outrage on those occasions when it was able to expose the misrepresentation of the other. But while the Halifax Chronicle was wont to protest frequently and vigorously over what it felt to be the "local Opposition Organ's" serious deficiency in ethics the Chronicle was probably the first of the two papers to perpetuate a gross deception in connection with the 1911 reciprocity question.

The Chronicle engineered this chicanery in February, a few days after the announcement of the Taft-Fielding agreement. At this time the Herald reprinted a solemn Montreal Star front page original insisting that the country was doomed if the Prime Minister did not change his mind about reciprocity.¹ The Montreal Star item copied by the Herald was entitled "The Man Who Can Save Canada" and practically invited the treatment duly given it by the Chronicle. In an editorial headed "A Remarkable Conversion" the Chronicle expressed satisfaction that the Herald was beginning to show "unexpected signs of repentance and reform" by "giving editorial prominence to a fine tribute to the Liberal chieftain, in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier

1. Halifax Herald, February 8, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, August 5, 1911.

was acclaimed as 'the one man who can save Canada.'" "Certainly," declared the Chronicle in concluding its misrepresentation of the Herald's secondhand plea to the Prime Minister, "the Laurier Government may now regard its vindication as complete."¹

The Herald, of course, was furious at this deception on the part of the Liberal organ but its rage knew no bounds when the Chronicle decided in August to once again misrepresent the Montreal Star "tribute" to Laurier. "A LYING LAURIER ORGAN MAKES A LYING MISUSE OF A LAURIER PICTURE" was the heading the Herald gave its furious blast at the Chronicle for the newspaper's repeated misuse of the Star material:

"...the Star published a picture of Sir Wilfred Laurier, and attached to it the words, "The Man Who Can Save Canada."...

NOW SOME SIX MONTHS AFTERWARD the Halifax Chronicle digs out the old picture, places below it the words, "The Man Who Can Save Canada," and over it these words: "The Montreal Star's Appreciation of the Supreme Place of Sir Wilfrid Laurier"; "From the Montreal Star, Conservative"; and thus tries to make the Chronicle readers believe that the Montreal Star is presenting Laurier as the "man who can save Canada" IN THE PENDING ELECTIONS.

Could anything be more DISHONEST, more DESPICABLE?²

That an affirmative answer to this question was in order was probably demonstrated by the Herald as well as the Sydney Daily Post and the Halifax Mail. All three of these newspapers perpetrated what was certainly the most spectacular deception carried out by the Nova Scotia press during the campaign.

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, February 9, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, August 5, 1911.

The Halifax Evening Mail gave front-page, large-type treatment to the item in question - a message from His Majesty the King:¹ "The British Empire requires at the present time hard service from everyone. It requires the hardest services from those to whom most has been given." But contrary to the impression acquired the King had not come out publicly against reciprocity. A furious Halifax Chronicle exposed the deception of the Conservative press:

It has remained for the local Opposition organ to drag his majesty the King into the conflict in Canada. On the front page of its evening edition last night it printed, in large type, an extract from a message issued by his Majesty to the people of his Empire long ago. This is headed "The King's Message," and signed "King George V." The publication of this message at this time is obviously to hoodwink unthinking people into believing that King George the Fifth has issued a message with respect to the election in Canada. No greater insult could be done to the intelligence of the people. It is nothing short of a dastardly trick.²

A "dastardly trick" it no doubt was but it was also fitting revenge, probably, for some of the Chronicle's more sizable deceptions perpetrated earlier in the year. And after getting Kipling, and seemingly Shakespeare, to speak out against the threats of annexation and disloyalty to be able to suggest to "ultra-loyal" Nova Scotians - too late for totally successful refutation - that the King had also joined the growing ranks of Borden's followers, was certainly a tactical if tarnished triumph for the Conservative press.

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1. Halifax Evening Mail, September 19, 1911; Sydney Daily Post, September 20, 1911; Halifax Herald, September 20, 1911.
 2. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 20, 1911.

Impossible though it might seem, warning screams of the larger Conservative newspapers over annexation became even more frenzied in the last week of the campaign in Nova Scotia. The Herald even marshalled part of the national anthem to crest the top of its September 19 front page; sprawled from margin to margin were the words, "Oh Canada ! Oh Canada ! We Stand on Guard for Thee !" ¹ What Canadians were to guard against was very clearly outlined in the Herald's "FINAL WORD TO THE ELECTORS OF NOVA SCOTIA!" Many voters probably read these "final words" a few minutes before going to the polls as the editorial appeared in the September 21 Herald. The entire contents of this key editorial were related directly or indirectly to the alleged annexation threat and were delivered almost in the manner of a children's fairy tale ("But Uncle Sam said, 'If you want the products of my good land, the way is open, come in. If not, I will starve you, until you will be glad to come in.'") ² After thus dealing with how "Uncle Sam" tried for forty years after Confederation to destroy Canada the Herald editorial began analyzing the contemporary situation. William Howard Taft now replaced Uncle Sam as the chief villain in the Herald's "tale" and while the President lacked a spade beard, in the Tory organ's description of his devilish wiles, he was all but granted horns and a tail.

Now another attempt at confederation is under consideration. Great Britain, Canada, Newfoundland, India, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand are about to form a grand confederation from England around the world to England again. President Taft, an embodiment

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1. Halifax Herald, September 19, 1911.
 2. Ibid., September 21, 1911.

of the cunning, the foresight, the sagacity, the audacious courage and consummate skill of the historic Yankee says to himself, "This must not be. I will deftly lay my hand on this second confederation, and will not fall into the mistake of the Swards, the Harrisons, the Blaines, the MacKingleys, the Dingleys, and the Aldriches. I will not attempt to drive Canada. But, like Sam Slick, I will try 'soft sodder.'"

Here is some of it: "It is a shame that these two great nations should have been kept apart for the last half century. Let us be friendly. We are all one brother. Let us have reciprocity, a boon asked by Canada for twenty years and foolishly declined. ...

"We failed in killing the first confederation, Let us not repeat our folly in our attempt to take the life of the second and the grander confederation - that of Britain and all her overseas dominions. Let us lay our octopus feelers on Canada, draw her in carefully and surely, and Great Britain can federate with the rest of her overseas possessions, and have our blessings."

The concluding paragraph of the Herald's final editorial plea told Nova Scotians how to prevent the destruction of the "Second Confederation", how to avoid the hellish consumption represented by reciprocity: "Vote reciprocity back into the pit whence it came!" screamed the Herald, in Biblical language. "Be Canadians! be men!! be Britons!!! Be the greatest Dominion of the great family of Dominions allied to the old mother country, and not disappear in the United States."¹

And so ended the final appeal of the leading Conservative organ in Nova Scotia. Irrational to the end the Herald chose not to come to grips in this editorial with any economic benefits or otherwise which implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement might bring to the province, Over and over again it

1. Ibid.

emphasized just two things: that a Laurier victory that day would mean that Canada would be severed from the Empire and absorbed into the United States.

To a surprising degree the Liberal press was conscious of this strategy being employed by Conservative newspapers against the proposed trade arrangement:

With scarcely an exception, the entire case against reciprocity is made up of cries of loyalty and Empire, of dislocation of trade, of ruin to our railways and seaports, and of manifold ills that would come upon us by being involved in closer commercial relations with the states. Congress would make our laws, the Trusts would invade our territory, Canada in short, would no longer be mistress in her own house. That, we think, is a fair summary of the case presented day after day. There is scarcely an attempt to deal with the question in its economic or business aspect. Practically, entire reliance is placed on sentimental grounds.¹

But acutely aware though it was of Opposition tactics the Liberal press at this time seems to have been largely mesmerized by the Tory onslaught - by the success of the Conservatives in taking the initiative in the battle and selecting the terms under which it would be fought. The Halifax Chronicle tried valiantly to achieve victory with its belated appeal to Nova Scotians to act in the interests of their province alone. But such a plea inevitably seemed somewhat negative, selfish and parochial at a time when opponents were loudly announcing their determination to save both a nation and an Empire. Another weakness in the Chronicle's approach was that Canadian nationalism was rapidly becoming an ever-more-powerful force. A majority in the country actually believed that the twentieth century would

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 15, 1911.

be Canada's century. In such a heady atmosphere, in the relatively prosperous Nova Scotia of 1911, the Chronicle's call for "enlightened patriotism" for Nova Scotia alone could have but limited appeal.

The final results of the election of 1911 indicated the great success of Conservative strategy. Although many Conservatives privately and a few openly had admitted reciprocity would at least be of benefit to Nova Scotia the electorate of the province did not respond to the offer of freer trade with the United States. Although they had held twelve seats in the province going into the election the Liberals emerged with only nine. They lost five seats which they had held in the previous election while gaining only two from the Conservatives. And two of the seats they lost were held by Cabinet ministers - one of these ministers being the Canadian author of the reciprocity arrangement, W.S. Fielding himself. "LAURIER GOVERNMENT WAS DEFEATED BY THE MONEY KINGS"¹ declared the Chronicle, September 22; "LAURIER HAS FINISHED HIS WORK" smirked the Herald.²

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 22, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, September 22, 1911.

CHAPTER VII

A correspondent writing to Sir Frederick Borden after the 1911 election commented on a phenomenon of that contest which has puzzled observers ever since: "It is remarkable", he noted, "that in this Province the counties that stood to gain little from Reciprocity - Pictou, Antigonish and the four in Cape Breton Island - returned supporters for the Government, while Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Queens-Shelburne and Lunenburg, those to whose advantage the agreement clearly was, gave majorities against it."¹ The candidates, issues and economies of Guysborough and three of the constituencies referred to by Power - Cape Breton South, Shelburne-Queens and Kings - shall be examined in the hope that some illumination might be cast on the problem of why the electors of these four constituencies voted as they did. Since conditions in a number of these constituencies were typical of those prevailing in neighbouring ridings, this treatment is in a sense a broader study than would at first appear.

The riding of Cape Breton South is of considerable interest because it went against the national trend, switching from Conservative to Liberal. The results in Shelburne-Queens were a surprise right across Canada because the province which perhaps stood to gain most from reciprocity had rejected the chief Canadian negotiator of the agreement. With various fruit-growing agencies publicly expressing their joy at the prospect of reciprocity few anticipated, apparently, that the county producing the largest quantity of fruit in Nova Scotia would oust a cabinet minister whom it had been re-electing regularly since 1887.

1. F. W. Borden Papers, L. G. Power to F. W. Borden, September, 1911.

The results of the 1911 election in Guysborough appear of interest because that constituency greatly increased its support for its Liberal candidate at a time when such other "fishing ridings" as Shelburne-Queens and Lunenburg were emphatically replacing their Liberal candidates with Conservatives.

CAPE BRETON SOUTH

Although probably few if any top-ranking Conservatives believed that their party would emerge from the election of 1911 with a greater number of Nova Scotia seats than after the 1908 election they did expect to do well in Cape Breton. Writing to a friend in the United States, Hector McInnes cautiously named only seven constituencies which he felt would very probably go to the Conservatives but two of these were in Cape Breton.¹ There seemed to be solid grounds for such optimism on the part of the Conservatives. Although the election was called on the reciprocity issue very little enthusiasm for the Taft-Fielding agreement could be detected in Cape Breton. When W. F. Carroll was given the Liberal nomination for Cape Breton South the Sydney Daily Post wrote sarcastically of the great future which existed for "an apostle of free trade" in "this great protectionist community". In the same editorial the Post succinctly revealed why the Liberals were worried about the South Cape Breton constituency:

The people of this county are being invited by the Laurier govern-

1. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to Allan Dick, September 19, 1911.

ment to say by their votes on the 21st of next month whether they approve or disapprove of the Washington pact whereby the duty on coal is to be reduced eight cents a ton and American steel rods admitted into the Canadian market duty free.¹

In Cape Breton marketing apples, lumber and even fish was of scant concern in comparison to the importance of having a substantial market for the Island's coal, and steel rods. The Minister of Finance had indeed agreed that the coal duty could be lowered and no duty was contemplated to prevent the entry into Canada of cheaper steel rods for the United States. To the Halifax Herald it was obvious that neither Canadian interests, nor British interests "had any charm for Mr. Fielding", and that he was certainly "THE FRIEND OF EVERY COUNTRY BUT HIS OWN."²

Much to the annoyance of the Record, the Post chose to refer to the eight cent reduction in the coal duty in terms of per cent. "Reciprocity", stated the Sydney Daily Post, "reduces the duty FIFTEEN PER CENT. Can Cape Bretoners afford to support reciprocity at this price? Will Mr. Carroll or those who nominated him dare to support the projected reduction of the coal duty?"³

Gleefully the Post pointed out that a Mr. Crowe, solicitor for the Dominion Iron and Steel Company and the man who had nominated W. F. Carroll, was on record as having said "the reduction of Canadian duties on coal would be disastrous to the Nova Scotia coal trade." As for the president of the steel company, J. H. Plummer, he had apparently stated that "free American

1. Sydney Daily Post, August 9, 1911.

2. Halifax Herald, April 19, 1911.

3. Sydney Daily Post, August 9, 1911.

rods would mean the destruction of the steel rod industry in Canada."¹

Making the Post's statements concerning the anti-reciprocity remarks of prominent officials seem even more damaging to the Liberals was the fact that their chief organ in Cape Breton was taunted by the Post for an alleged failure to give support to the "Washington Pact". "Reciprocity is in such disrepute in this county that a thick and thin supporter of Laurierism like the Record dare not advocate the measure in its editorial columns. The Record dare not touch it with a ten foot pole; but the electors will handle it without gloves on the 21st of September."² The Post was largely correct in its charges. The topic of reciprocity occupied far less space in the columns of the Récord than in those of the Halifax Chronicle. When it was discussed it was usually with regard to its possible implications for other parts of the country. Never was it endorsed in the Record as being desirable for the Sydney area!

But the position of the Liberals in Cape Breton was far from being as depressing as outlined by the Island's Conservative press. In 1911 the period of expansion which began in Canada about 1896 was close to its peak and it was in Cape Breton more than any other part of the Maritimes that the increase in prosperity had been greatest. This was due of course to the fact that "the most noticeable developments during this period took place in the coal and the iron and steel industries."³

Coal production in Nova Scotia which in 1880 was 1,177,000 short tons

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., September 17, 1911.
3. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (A Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations), Ottawa, 1939, p. 24.

had by 1911 reached a level considerably exceeding 6,000,000 short tons. This remarkable fivefold increase in production was due mainly to three factors: increases, since 1880, in railway mileage in the Maritimes and in Quebec of approximately 100 per cent; the establishment of the Cape Breton iron and steel industry; and the rapid development of industries in Quebec which were dependent on coal.¹

With the coal-mining industry so flourishing, the proposed reduction in the coal duty would affect the industry slightly if at all. This, at any rate, was the assurance Liberal politicians and Liberal newspapers gave coal miners during the months prior to the election of 1911. In a speech in the Legislature in March, H. H. Wickwire pointed out that the much-quoted remarks of industry officials predicting disaster should reciprocity be implemented were from a document addressed to the Minister of Finance before the reciprocity negotiations got under way and were thus intended to make the strongest case possible for the retention of the full duty on coal. Wickwire saw no cause for concern that sales of American coal in the Saint Lawrence market had increased during the past decade because sales of Nova Scotia coal had likewise increased. The Liberal member for Lunenburg also claimed that according to "the best information I have been able to obtain", American sales in the Quebec market had increased only because Nova Scotia mines were unable to supply the demand. "I am further informed", Wickwire went on, "that during last year Nova Scotia coal went further west than ever before, and that it is the firm belief of those in a position to know that it will continue to push its way further west and if the Georgian Bay canal is constructed there will

1. Ibid.

be no limit to the western market which can be obtained for Nova Scotia coal."¹

Probably a more influential defender of the reduced coal duties was G. H. Murray since in addition to being the premier of the province he was a Cape Bretoner. Premier Murray made a number of speeches in defense of the Taft-Fielding agreement both in the Legislature and throughout Nova Scotia. He emphasized the great unpopularity of the coal duty in the "cold country" of Ontario where it was considered "an intolerable tax upon the people of that province". This being the case Nova Scotians, in Murray's opinion, could consider themselves quite fortunate that the duty was reduced by only eight cents. The premier had no doubts that those on both sides of the House would be obliged to agree that W. S. Fielding was "a true friend to the province of Nova Scotia and that if any other leader of public opinion had been at Washington he would not have had the same measure of consideration for the coal industry of this province that the minister of finance had".²

Cape Bretoners dependent on the coal industry for a livelihood may have taken considerable comfort in the assurances given by the Liberal press regarding the reduction in the coal duty. The industry in general, and miners' wages in particular, had not suffered when the tariff of sixty cents a short ton on bituminous coal was reduced to fifty-three cents in 1897, it was noted. Since no suffering had resulted from this there was no reason to believe, insisted the Record, that the situation would be any

1. Nova Scotia, House of Assembly Debates, 1911, pp. 289-295.

2. Ibid., pp. 298-299.

3. Sydney Daily Record, September 11, 1911.

different in 1911 when the industry was even more prosperous. The chief Liberal organ in Cape Breton also pointed out that neither had miners' wages been adversely affected by the various costly lawsuits and strikes which had been prevalent in the industry in recent years.¹

Nor were the dire predictions made by prominent coal and steel industry officials prior to January 26, 1911, regarding the effects of any reduction in the coal duty as useful to the Conservatives as they no doubt had hoped. The Halifax Herald, of all newspapers, had noted in its January 28 edition that "a prominent official of Nova Scotia said he did not consider the eight cent reduction would affect conditions in any way. He did not believe that the reduction was sufficient to permit the American coal companies to compete with Canadians."² A few weeks before the election the Sydney Record offered to donate \$200 to charity if the Post could "get a statement over the signature of Mr. Plummer or Mr. Butler, not as to their views on reciprocity last fall before the trade agreement was entered into, but that they are NOT NOW satisfied with 45 cents duty on round and run of mine coal and the reduction of 30 cents on washed slack entering the United States as well as the permanent position which coal will occupy under the agreement."³

During the weeks prior to the election Conservative politicians and Conservative campaign managers wrote letters pleading that prominent coal company officials criticize reciprocity publicly "on the grounds that it would be disastrous to their interests if passed." It was further deman-

1. Sydney Daily Record, September 7, 1911.
2. Halifax Herald, January 28, 1911.
3. Sydney Daily Record, September 11, 1911.

ded that management officials should "ask their employees when casting their votes, to hold up their employers hands, as a protest against any injurious interference with that industry and the miners' livelihood."¹ All such pleas were in vain. Coal company officials whatever their private feelings about the reduction in the duty remained properly aloof from any participation in the election campaign and the Post failed to deprive the Record of its \$200.²

Thus if prosperity was the major reason why fishermen and fruit-growers failed to respond to reciprocity it was also, it seems, the primary factor accounting for the fact that the proposed reduction in the coal duty did not persuade many miners generally of Liberal persuasion to vote Conservative. With almost 90 per cent of the province's coal being sold in the everexpanding local and St. Lawrence markets and with the duty to drop only to 85 per cent of its previous level the future of the coal industry to the majority of Cape Bretoners in 1911 probably seemed quite secure.

The woeful predictions carried by the Conservative press regarding the implications of "free American steel rods"³ probably won few Cape Breton converts for the Borden party either. As the Sydney Record pointed out in August, steel rods were already on the free list. The government had extended aid to the steel rod industry by a bounty rather than by a duty but the bounty had expired. Thus the question in the summer of 1911, the Record felt, was whether or not the bounty on steel rods would be renewed.

1. e.g., McInnes Papers, E. N. Rhodes to Hector McInnes, August 26, 1911; N. Curry to McInnes, August 25, 1911; R. B. Murray to McInnes, August 24, 1911 and September 12, 1911.
2. Ibid., Hector McInnes to C. E. Tanner, September 16, 1911.
3. Sydney Daily Post, August 17, 1911.

That it would be the Record had no doubt and stated by way of evidence that even the Conservative Montreal Star was of the opinion that the bounty would be continued.¹

But much less so than the Halifax Chronicle was the Sydney Record, during the months prior to the election, involved in a defensive campaign against the Conservative assault on reciprocity. This was primarily because, as far as the Liberal strategists of Cape Breton South were concerned, shipbuilding rather than reciprocity was the issue in that part of Nova Scotia. And especially was shipbuilding the issue in Sydney: "Why if shipbuilding is not an issue, the chief issue, and the ONLY ISSUE in Sydney then each and every elector of the city might as well go about ordering his coffin at once. The living, working, sentient world is no place for him."²

The Record was not really contradicting itself when it said elsewhere that "the navy is ... the question above all others in which the people of South Cape Breton are concerned." This was because the Borden party, was "thoroughly committed against the proposal of a Canadian built and Canadian owned navy". And if such a navy were not created there would be no great shipbuilding industry, but it was upon a shipbuilding industry that the Sydney area's future growth depended:³

A steel shipbuilding plant here will provide new opportunities for all classes of people in Cape Breton County. It means at least the doubling of the present population of this city. It means at least the operation of a plate mill and other new mills, ... and the consequent employment of large additional staff of skilled mechanics. It means ... new homes and the consequent in-

1. Sydney Daily Record, August 10, 1911.
2. Ibid., August 10, 1911.
3. Ibid., July 31, 1911.

creased activity for carpenters, masons, ... This means higher wages, ... additional business for tradesmen, and extended nearby local markets for farmers.¹

But as the mayor of Sydney inadvertently revealed while launching a scathing attack on the Herald, Halifax and not Sydney was probably the most logical Nova Scotia area in which to establish a shipbuilding industry:

"One thing that has damaged Sydney almost beyond conception", said His Worship, "was the Halifax Herald's statement regarding the ice conditions here last winter. If the people of Sydney only realized the full extent of the damage done Sydney by that paper, I do not believe there is a man, woman or child that would buy a copy of that paper." One of the representatives of the British-Canadian Shipbuilding Company had the statement used against him in England. It had been industriously circulated where it would do most damage by enemies of this port.

Another disadvantage is that Sydney is not as well known to the British admiralty as the other Maritime ports.²

But with Sydney apparently relegated to the position of being only the Number two Nova Scotia port the Liberal strategists of Cape Breton South seemed to have concluded only that they would have to try that much harder to convince the electorate of the area that a victory for Carroll in combination with the government's return would mean a shipbuilding industry for the chief Cape Breton city. In his nomination speech W. F. Carroll announced that shipbuilding was to be the issue in South Cape Breton.³ A short time later this assertion became more emphatic when Carroll made the following pledge to his constituents:

I now give a positive pledge, that if elected and the Government is returned to power on the 21st of September next (of which I have

1. Ibid., September 6, 1911.
2. Sydney Daily Post, July 31, 1911.
3. Ibid., August 16, 1911.

no doubt), and shipbuilding is not started at the port of Sydney within six months from Election day I will resign my seat ..."¹

This, declared Carroll, was the evidence of his sincerity and was his answer to those Conservatives who maintained "the shipbuilding situation was an election kite and a gag."²

Almost daily during the remainder of the campaign the front page of the Sydney Record urged the electorate of South Cape Breton to "Vote for Carroll and Shipbuilding at Sydney". And seldom did an edition appear which did not carry a large picture of W. F. Carroll above these words. Frequently Carroll's picture was accompanied by a verbal appeal in large type stressing shipbuilding and running from margin to margin across the top of the page. To make it seem even more plausible that a shipbuilding industry in Cape Breton was a virtual certainty should Carroll be elected the Record published an impressively detailed plan of the shipbuilding works Sydney would get if the contract were awarded to the British Canadian Shipbuilding Company.³

So frequently and so emphatically were the voters of Cape Breton South assured that a shipbuilding industry would be theirs if they elected Carroll that a good number of them may have believed the promise to be valid. Whatever the factor or factors responsible, Carroll, to the surprise of many, defeated, by a majority of 105, J..W. Maddin, the Conservative incumbent.

Conservatives were reluctant to admit that they had lost the Cape Bre-

1. Ibid., August 16, 1911.

2. Ibid.

3. Sydney Daily Record, September 9, 1911 and September 19, 1911.

ton South seat because of Liberal success in centering their appeal around a shipbuilding industry for Sydney. And they searched for other explanations of the upset. One of these Conservatives was G. S. Harrington, a Glace Bay lawyer who had been asked by Borden to strengthen the party's organization in South Cape Breton and to "purify the electoral lists".¹ Harrington according to his own testimony attempted to carry out the Opposition leader's instructions but a poor choice in the selection of the chief campaign manager, Harrington maintained, was primarily responsible for the loss of the seat:

I have no hesitation in attributing the unfortunate result here in the recent polls very largely to the fact that W. R. Tobin was the most prominent manager of the campaign. Even were he a respectable person, which is not so, the fact that he was beaten in the last mayoralty contest by Henry McDonald, a weak man, by the tremendous majority of 678 should have made the party here see that it was unwise to let him come out of the remote background. The miners, who are largely opportunists, argue that a party led by him is a forlorn hope. I suspect though that with him some of the party here are like the man who caught hold of the bear's tail; he was afraid to let go. Since the general result he has been distributing government berths in future most lavishly - reserving for himself either the Deputy Ministership of the Marine or Clerk of the House of Commons, While these things must appear to you as absurd I assure you that they have their effect. Apart from all this his prominence has disgusted many of the old time Conservatives into retirement or open hostility. These things I have verified by careful enquiry. At the last mayoralty contest Mr. Maddin franked to the electors of this Town a personal appeal to support Tobin so that people came to look upon them as over-intimate. And the results of the election shewed [sic] that either Maddin's appeal was without weight, or that it narrowly averted a phenomenon: - i.e. defeat by a larger majority.²

The general tone of Harrington's letter indicates, probably, that a strong personal dislike of Tobin may possibly have caused him to exaggerate any responsibility Tobin may have had for the loss of Cape Breton South. A

1. R. L. Borden Papers, G. S. Harrington to R. L. Borden, September 27, 1911.
2. Ibid.

man who should have been in a position to know but who made no mention of Tobin when attempting to explain the loss of the seat was the president of the Cape Breton South Liberal-Conservative organization, Finlay MacDonald:

Of course, different people ascribe our defeat to different causes, but I am satisfied that there are two causes that account for it. The first and principal one is the intimidation by Coal Company officials. This, I understand, was carried on to an unprecedented extent. The bosses stood at the polls all day and men were threatened with the loss of jobs if they voted for Maddin ... if all the reports were true it would more than be sufficient alone to account for our defeat.¹

Undoubtedly MacDonald exaggerated the role played by Dominion Coal Company officials in ousting Maddin from his seat. Although initially apprehensive regarding the proposed reduction in the coal duty, top company officials took considerable pains to appear publicly neutral in the contest. While the president of the Dominion Coal Company, J. H. Plummer, refused Conservative entreaties to repeat grim predictions which he had made regarding reciprocity late in 1910,² he was disappointing Liberal interests as well. When the coal company president discovered that his name was being used by the Sydney Record, by W. F. Carroll and by E. N. Macdonald, he took immediate steps to put a stop to it.³ Similar impartiality was displayed by the General Manager when a company notice of the forthcoming election, bearing his authorization, requested of employees only that they vote as their consciences should dictate.⁴ With the presi-

1. McInnes Papers, Finlay MacDonald to Hector McInnes, September 22, 1911.

2. McInnes Papers, R. B. Murray to Hector McInnes, September 12, 1911.

3. Ibid., Hector McInnes to C. E. Tanner, September 16, 1911.

4. Ibid., R. B. Murray to Hector McInnes, September 12, 1911.

dent and the general manager of the Dominion Coal Company so determinedly neutral publicly, the amount of assistance pro-Liberal "bosses" could render to their party through intimidation of miners was probably not substantial.

MacDonald saw religion as being the second factor causing his candidate's defeat.¹ Since each of the major Sydney newspapers made reference during the campaign to the existence of a religious issue in Cape Breton South there was probably some substance to the Liberal-Conservative Association President's claim. The Liberal candidate of South Cape Breton was a Roman Catholic. Apparently feeling it necessary to defend, for some of its readers, the selection of a Catholic the Record in its August 14 edition provided some background information which if nothing else indicated that a candidate's religion was to some voters about as important a factor to be considered as the party which he represented:

We have heard that in certain quarters there has been criticism of the wisdom of Mr. Carroll's selection on the score of his religious belief ... We are not unaware of the canvass made against our standard bearer in 1908 under precisely similar conditions, and it will not be repeated this time without due exposure.

So long as the old county of Cape Breton now divided into two ridings with the north attached to Victoria, was entitled to return two members to Ottawa there was always an understanding, none the less binding in that at no time was it set down in writing, that the two candidates on both sides should be of the two religious faiths. Since the division of the county the north riding and Victoria has repeatedly shown its preference for a liberal and a Protestant. At this election there is not the slightest doubt that it will sustain D. D. MacKenzie handsomely.

While there is now no understanding expressed or implied that the liberals of the south riding should select a candidate of Mr. Carroll's religious faith, yet they have, as we believe they should on this occasion, recognized [sic] the justice of the claims put forward by his co-religionists. In so doing they have conformed

1. Ibid., Finlay MacDonald to Hector McInnes, September 22, 1911.

to the analogous practice which prevailed in the county of Cape Breton before its division.¹

An indication that MacDonald did not bring up the religious factor simply to serve as a camouflage for any shortcomings his association might have had with regard to its handling of Maddin's campaign was the fact that even before the election another observer of the political scene in Cape Breton South, J. C. Douglas, had written to Hector McInnes expressing the opinion that if defeat came, religion would be in part the cause. "As to religion", he maintained, "we always fear this danger, where the county is approximately half protestant and half Catholic, but I prefer not to write fully about this, altho' really dangerous."²

According to MacDonald certain unscrupulous elements in the Liberal camp on the eve of the election exploited the religious tensions which apparently pervaded the electorate of Cape Breton South. "The second cause", wrote MacDonald to McInnes, "was the religious cry used among our Catholic friends, to induce them to vote for Carroll. Copies of the old Orange Sentinel circular, that did service in 1908, were reprinted, and other additions were made to it. This was kept until Election Day, and then used in a most effective way."³

Commenting in his reply a few days later on the factors suggested by MacDonald as having brought about Maddin's defeat McInnes expressed the opinion that the "Religious Cry" was probably the more significant of the

1. Sydney Daily Record, August 14, 1911.
2. McInnes Papers, J. C. Douglas to Hector McInnes, September 6, 1911.
3. Ibid., Finlay MacDonald to Hector McInnes, September 22, 1911.

1. The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1911 (Ottawa, 1912), p. 133.

2. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 318-319.

two factors.¹ But that the religious question was primarily responsible for the Conservatives losing a seat they had considered fairly safe seems doubtful. Both the newspapers and the private correspondence of this time indicate that in elections in Cape Breton religion had traditionally been an important factor. The declaration that suddenly in 1911 it became overwhelmingly significant at the expense of the Conservatives, seems hardly tenable.

Since religion was commonly a factor in Cape Breton elections and as it seems unlikely that the election of 1911 was the first in which the coal operators attempted to influence the voting the shipbuilding issue perhaps had more to do with Carroll's success than the two factors suggested by Finlay MacDonald. That was the case unless the sizable shift in the vote can be attributed to a sort of charisma which Carroll himself may have possessed. But it would scarcely be correct to label W. F. Carroll, contesting his first federal election in September, 1911, a strong vote-getter. As recently as June of the same year he was defeated by the large majority of 560² in the provincial election despite the fact that the party which he represented was returned to power with twenty-seven out of the thirty-eight seats in the legislature.³ And while his success September 21, 1911 was no doubt an "upset victory" his majority over Maddin, nevertheless, was only 104.

Grudgingly MacDonald admitted near the close of his September 22 letter to McInnes that "of course, the shipbuilding bribe cut some figure in Syd-

1. Ibid., Hector McInnes to Finlay MacDonald, September 25, 1911.

2. The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1912 (Ottawa, 1912), p. 133.

3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 518-519.

ney, but nothing like what the Grits expected."¹ In essence this statement was true; the Liberals were probably quite disappointed that they did not do better in Sydney. However almost thirty per cent of the Cape Breton South electorate lived in Sydney and the Liberals did increase their share of the vote in the city over that of 1908 by 1.2 per cent.² But the establishment in Cape Breton of "the biggest shipbuilding industry in America" would benefit more than the people of Sydney proper. And if even a relatively small number of the polls outside Sydney gave a similar increase over the 1908 vote to the Liberals it would have been sufficient for victory to go to Carroll.

Admittedly shipbuilding was offered as a major issue by Cape Breton Liberals in previous elections but never as convincingly as in 1911. In that year the question of a Canadian navy was being given much attention and it was obvious that should the Liberals be victorious a shipbuilding industry on the east coast of Canada was likely. Halifax was perhaps the most obvious site for such an industry but with that city being represented by Conservatives there was still a good chance Sydney, with its fine harbour and its steel mill, might not be overlooked.

Carroll's unusually binding pledge made the Liberal case in Cape Breton South just that much more convincing. And while most people as in the past no doubt voted according to their traditional political affiliation³

1. McInnes Papers, Finlay MacDonald to Hector McInnes, September 22, 1911.
2. Calculations made from statistics contained in Canadian Sessional Papers; 1911, No. 10, p. 289; and 1912, No. 11, p. 301.
3. McInnes ruefully noted the prevalence of this tendency in Halifax: "A great many people here are opposed to reciprocity and they will talk very bitterly on the streets about it, but they are finding it hard to

enough of them may have been persuaded by "the shipbuilding bribe" to give Carroll a majority. It is probably significant that in the only two of Nova Scotia's seventeen constituencies in which the Liberals ousted a Conservative incumbent in 1911 - Halifax and Cape Breton South - shipbuilding had been made the major issue by the Liberals.

SHELBURNE-QUEENS

Almost certainly the greatest upset in the election of 1911 was the defeat of W. S. Fielding in Shelburne-Queens. The election had been called on the issue of reciprocity. Fielding had been the prime Canadian negotiator of the trade arrangement. If reciprocity would benefit any province, it was commonly stated, it would benefit Fielding's own province of Nova Scotia. And it could also have been said that if reciprocity would have benefited any constituency it would have benefited the fishing and lumbering constituency of Shelburne-Queens.

Being in poor health during most of 1911 and weighed down with the burden of his important cabinet portfolio, Fielding made few speeches in the campaign. Speeches which he did make tended to be lacking in effectiveness due to the hoarseness of his voice, brought on, apparently, by his bad

vote against their old party. As an example, about ten men who were on McLean's nomination paper had openly declared themselves as being opposed to reciprocity, and stated that they were going to vote conservative, but when their friends got around them they signed the nomination paper and stood by their party. You will find this in a great many cases." McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to Allan Dick, September 19, 1911.

health.¹ But victory to Fielding in 1911 probably did not seem to depend upon his making numerous campaign appearances. After all he was a Nova Scotian, an ex-premier of the province and was now Finance Minister of Canada. The riding he represented had elected a Liberal in every election since its creation in 1892. In the election of 1908 when the majority of the other Nova Scotia cabinet minister had dropped drastically from his majority of 1904, Fielding's had remained exactly the same. But now, in 1911, he could offer reciprocity to the fishermen and lumbermen in his constituency.

So secure did W. S. Fielding seem in Shelburne-Queens that perhaps even the Conservatives seriously doubted their ability to unseat him. Some evidence of the fact that they had no illusions about just how difficult such a task would be is reflected in a letter written by a Conservative party organizer in Shelburne-Queens to Hector McInnes appealing to him to use his influence in obtaining financial support for the assault against Fielding:

I want to tell you that the way I look at the fishermen that a large number will favour this trade question, and I assure you as this is the great fishing county of the Dominion that a most special effort should be made to capture this county. I assure you that this cannot be done without funds and as you have a great influence I want you to intercede on our behalf for all the available funds that can be sent our way. We have a strong enemy and must have the same weapons to fight them with as they are well stocked and supplied with. Do not fail to do your best on our behalf.¹

If the negotiator of the reciprocity agreement was to be toppled in Shelburne-Queens even more important than securing financial backing was

1. Laurier Papers, W. S. Fielding to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, October 27, 1911; also, Halifax Echo, August 26, 1911.
2. McInnes Papers, W. C. Smith to Hector McInnes, September 6, 1911.

obtaining a candidate of impressive reputation to oppose him. The Conservatives were eminently successful in getting such a man - F. B. McCurdy, banker and director of the Nova Scotia Car Works, the Eastern Trust Company and the Halifax Electric Tramway. McCurdy seemed additionally desirable as a candidate for Shelburne-Queens in that he was young - only thirty-six - and that he was very much interested in the development of the paper and pulp industry on the Mersey River in Queens County.¹

Some years later a MacLeans's Magazine journalist, J. G. Flemming speculated on the reasons prompting McCurdy to assault Fielding in his "seemingly impregnable liberal stronghold". "How he came to take his stand as a candidate for election is probably known only to himself. Some would have it that he was persuaded to make the attempt by his partner, MacLeod, who was high up in the counsels of the conservative party. Others imagine that he offered himself at the solicitation of Mr. Borden himself."² Perhaps the last of these possibilities was the key one as the Opposition leader did take the time to write a flattering letter to McCurdy very strongly urging his candidature:

When parties are at all equally divided in this country, that party which succeeds in putting its strongest men into the field as candidates invariably wins. At this juncture not only the cause of party but of country in the highest sense appeals to all thoughtful men. Information comes to me that you could make a strong and indeed a successful fight against the Minister of Finance in Queens & Shelburne. You have large interests in the constituency as I understand and the personal support and organizing ability of Mr. McLeod would be of invaluable assistance. I trust that you will give the suggestion favourable consideration and I am confident that your candidature would be a very great inspiration to our party throughout the Province as we have felt very much the lack of

1. The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1912 (Ottawa, 1912), pp. 167-168.
2. Reprinted in the Truro Weekly News, January 15, 1914.

successful businessmen in our ranks.¹

McCurdy could hardly help but have been impressed by such an appeal from Robert Borden himself and the Conservative chief's "call" may very probably have been the ultimate factor in persuading the Nova Scotia businessman to enter the campaign. Borden's letter is of further interest in that it indicates his awareness of a rather important truth regarding the election of 1911 in Nova Scotia - that by the summer reciprocity as an issue was largely a neutral factor and candidates were consequently a far more important element in 1911 than in many previous elections.

McCurdy "contested the riding with the same thoroughness and indomitable persistency, which he threw into every struggle he had ever entered upon."² A Fielding victory, he told his constituents, would deprive them of their safe and growing market in Canada. The market which they would gain abroad would be far inferior to the one which they would be giving away at home. A victory for the government would bring about the abolition of the fishing bounties as well as the unemployment of those shore people occupied in the drying and curing of fish. American interests instead of Nova Scotia farmers and merchants would take over the supplying of the Nova Scotia fishing fleet, should Fielding and his party be re-elected.³

In a signed appeal in the Conservative press a few days before the election, McCurdy attempted to persuade the voters of Shelburne-Queens that his platform offered far more positive features than the risky and uncer-

1. McInnes Papers, R. L. Borden to F. B. McCurdy, August 11, 1911.
2. Truro Weekly News, January 15, 1914.
3. Halifax Herald, August 24, 1911.

tain policy of the Liberal government. "If you want to retain Canada for Canadians", declared McCurdy, "if you want free medical aid for boat fishermen, if you desire better roads, if you think it is to the advantage of Shelburne and Queens to develop fishing and manufacturing, and to extend our other industries, I ask you to vote against reciprocity and for Your obedient servant, F. B. McCurdy."¹

The Minister of Finance was probably unaware that his young opponent, "in one of the best financed campaigns in all of Canada",² was making such inroads in his long-established stronghold in Shelburne-Queens. Fielding had set about negotiating the reciprocity agreement with tremendous enthusiasm "and with the confident belief that he had arranged an agreement which would be of great benefit to the whole country, and especially to his beloved Nova Scotia".³ He found the attacks against reciprocity both amazing and incomprehensible.⁴ And that fishermen would question the value of and the need for reciprocity probably never occurred seriously to Fielding. "It would be amazing", he wrote in August, "if any intelligent voice should be raised against reciprocity from the fisherman's point of view."⁵ "Hundreds of young men", Fielding continued, "leave our shores every year to go to the United States to fish in American vessels. Why? There is only one answer: The fish taken by the American vessel is ad-

1. Ibid., September 19, 1911.

2. J. M. Beck, Pendulum of Power; Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough, 1968), p. 129.

3. Ibid.

4. W. S. Fielding, The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Arrangement (Halifax, 1911), p. 11.

5. Ibid., p. 12.

mitted free into the American market, while fish taken at the same time in a Canadian vessel would be subject to the American duty." Fielding went on to express his happiness that so many of these young men still retained "their allegiance to our Sovereign" and that they returned to their homes in Canada. He looked ahead enthusiastically to the implementation of reciprocity so that these young fishermen could fish "in our own vessels under the British flag and yet enjoy all the advantages which have hitherto drawn our population away."¹

But despite Fielding's optimism, the fishermen of Nova Scotia did not respond to reciprocity and the question of why they did not is one of the most fascinating ones relating to the 1911 election. The evidence would seem to indicate that Nova Scotia fishermen did not respond to the opportunity for reciprocity largely for two reasons. First the offer came at a time when the fishing industry was enjoying extraordinary prosperity and, second, in 1911 it appeared that central and western Canada would, in the near future, pay high prices for practically any amount of Nova Scotia fish. These two factors were of course economic in nature and they did not in themselves fully account for the defeat of the cabinet minister most responsible for the Canadian share in the reciprocity agreement nor, for the equally poor showing of Fielding's colleagues in other regions of Nova Scotia where the fishing industry was paramount. It is, however, probable that if the reciprocity offer had been made available at an earlier and less prosperous period in the history of Nova Scotia's fishing industry it would of itself have been sufficient to overcome Liberal weaknesses in candidates, organization and past record.

1. Ibid., p. 12. "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty", Atlantic Review, XIV, No. 3, October 1914, p. 367.

If there is some indication that Nova Scotia could have expected to benefit from the adoption of reciprocity in natural products with the United States it is probable, surely, that the fishermen of that province stood to gain more than any other group if the agreement had been passed. In 1911 Nova Scotia headed the list of fish-producing provinces, the value of its \$10,119,243 catch amounting to almost one third of the amount earned by the industry in the whole of Canada.¹ Unfortunately figures giving the total value of Nova Scotia's fish exports to the United States do not seem to be available. However, keeping in mind Nova Scotia's top-ranking position in the industry the statistics for Canada as a whole are at least indicative of the importance of the American market to Nova Scotia.

In 1911 Canada exported about \$5,000,000 worth of fish to the United States² despite a duty of one cent a pound on halibut and mackerel and three quarters of a cent a pound on pollock, haddock and cod. It is reasonable to assume that if reciprocity had been implemented in 1911 the Nova Scotia fishing industry would, in future, have profited, at the very least, by the amount of the duty previously paid to the American government. But it can also be contended that reciprocity would have meant that Nova Scotia would have been able to ship a significantly greater volume of fish to the United States. Since fishing exports from Canada to the United States fell off noticeably for a few years following the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854³ it is tempting to quote the pertinent

1. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1912, No. 22, pp. xxi-xxiii.
2. Canada Year Book, 1911, Second Series (Ottawa, 1912), p. 389.
3. S. A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty", Dalhousie Review, XIV, No. 3, October 1934, p. 367.

figures as evidence of how a Liberal victory in the election of 1911 would have benefited the Nova Scotian fishing industry. But because circumstances in both Canada and the United States changed markedly since 1866 and because it has been shown that a number of factors quite unrelated to the treaty of 1854 played a prominent part in the prosperity enjoyed by Nova Scotia and the other maritime provinces between 1854 and 1866,¹ evidence that reciprocity in 1911 would have benefited Nova Scotia fishermen must be sought elsewhere.

Although the treaty of 1854 was the last reciprocity treaty signed between Canada and the United States, the United States government did decide to admit fresh and frozen fish free of duty in 1913. However since Canadian fishing vessels were not permitted to carry their catches direct from the fishing grounds to American ports or to clear from American ports to the high seas, the removal of the duty was a concession to Canadian fishermen more apparent than real.² But in 1918 these shipping restrictions were removed as a war-time measure and the statistics relating to Canadian fishery exports to the United States at this time are most revealing.

The value of Canadian fishery exports to the United States in 1918, the year the American fishery restrictions were removed, was about sixty per cent greater than for the previous year - this despite the fact that the pertinent figures for 1915 and 1916, the first two full years of the war, varied by less than four and one half per cent.

1. Ibid., pp. 355-356.

2. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (A Study prepared for the Royal Commission of Dominion-Provincial Relations), Ottawa, 1939, p. 30.

In 1919 exports of Canadian fish products remained at a high level, the value being \$18,525,817. The corresponding figure for 1920 was almost the same, increasing by less than one half of one per cent. However in 1921, the year the United States decided to cancel the shipping privileges granted to Canadian fishermen, fishery exports from Canada to the United States declined to a value of only \$15,779,473 and in 1922, when the American tariff on fresh and frozen fish was reimposed the appropriate figure was but \$12,737,432. Not until 1940 did the value of Canadian fishery exports shipped to the United States again attain the level reached in 1918 when the United States removed its burdensome shipping restrictions against Canadian fish exporters.¹ Reciprocity, then would almost certainly have benefited Nova Scotia fishermen if it had been adopted in 1911. Thus the question naturally arises, why did so many fishermen of Lunenburg, Shelburne, Queens, Digby and other counties of Nova Scotia not vote for the party which promised to admit their fish to the United States duty free?

The argument might be advanced that even an offer as enticing as reciprocity would not be enough to persuade conservative Nova Scotia fishermen to renounce old party allegiances. In answer to such an observation it can be pointed out that a goodly number of Conservatives - many of them fishermen - must have abandoned their particular party in the election of 1904 when all Nova Scotia seats went to the Liberals.

But perhaps many Nova Scotia fishermen felt called upon to make an economic sacrifice to prevent the annexation of their country to the United

1. Canada Year Books, 1911-1941.

States that the Halifax Herald and other Conservative organs maintained was a most probable eventuality should reciprocity be adopted. Little credence, surely, can be given to this hypothesis either. Nova Scotia fishermen, largely because of the nature of their work, probably felt less "Canadian" than the landsmen of the province. In support of this it can be pointed out that an estimated seventy-five per cent of the men in Gloucester ships in 1911 were from the Maritimes.¹ Speedy cash settlements and the opportunity to sell their fish on the American market duty free seem to have meant more to them than working in Canadian bottoms under the Canadian flag.

One authority on the fishing industry in western Nova Scotia, the M.L.A. for Yarmouth and former editor of the Yarmouth Coast Guard, Moses H. Nickerson, contended that much of the American hostility to Nova Scotian fishermen really came from ex-Nova Scotians who at the time of the abrogation of the Treaty of Washington were manning American vessels. Strict enforcement of the treaty of 1818 by Canadian cruisers after 1887, Nickerson told a Halifax Chronicle reporter, forced most of the active western captains and crews to withdraw to Gloucester:

This was when the Yarmouth fleet began to decline ... and Canadians who had gone to Gloucester were active in favour of an American tariff on Canadian fish in revenge for the treatment received at home. Forming a large part of the intelligent fishermen of Gloucester politicians began to court their favour. - They really defeated Whitney. All the legislation antagonistic to Canadian fishermen enacted since that time has been chiefly owing to the feeling in Gloucester and parts of Maine, the vessels of which are largely manned by our men.²

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, November 21, 1910.

2. Ibid., November 19, 1910.

Strong affection for the Crown, then, or for that matter for the Dominion did not seem to be part of the make-up of the average fisherman in south-western Nova Scotia. Neither could strong devotion be expected from the Lunenburg fisherman, the county having been settled by a people of different nationality than Shelburne, Yarmouth and Digby. Largely for this reason Lunenburg was not so profoundly influenced by New England as these three counties and, in fact, developed along independent lines.¹

So it is unlikely that many fishermen failed to vote for reciprocity because they feared annexation or because they felt such action would be disloyal to the Mother Country. Many of the electorate in Halifax, Pictou and Colchester counties, no doubt, were strongly moved by such sentiments but the same can not be said, with any confidence, for most of the fishermen along Nova Scotia's south shore.

Why did reciprocity, then, receive such an unenthusiastic reception from Nova Scotia fishermen? Paradoxical as it might appear prosperity seems to provide a great deal of the answer. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911, Nova Scotia led the list of fish producing provinces, boasting a market value for its fish of \$10,119,243, an increase of some two million dollars over the previous year. Describing this minor bonanza the Deputy Minister of Fisheries resorted a number of times to the adjective, "phenomenal".² Not till 1917, well on in the First World War, did fishery production in Nova Scotia again surpass the ten million dollar mark and the extraordinarily large financial returns to the fishermen of Nova Scotia

1. R. F. Grant, The Canadian Atlantic Fishery (Toronto, 1934), pp. 9-12.

2. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1912, No. 22, p. 23.

must have played no little part in lending credit to the Conservative pleas - WHY NOT LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE?"

A second factor, the central and western Canadian market, must be considered in attempting to account for the unenthusiastic response accorded to reciprocity by a large number of Nova Scotia fishermen. Only three years prior to the election under consideration, the markets of Quebec and Ontario for fresh fish were almost entirely supplied by the New England States. In 1908, however, the Canadian Department of Fisheries, in an effort to encourage the sale of Maritime Provinces fish in central and western Canada, undertook to pay one third of the express charge on less than carload lots from Atlantic centres to Quebec and Ontario and other points west of the Maritime Provinces. Although figures indicating the exact quantities of fish annually shipped west from the Maritime provinces are not available the amounts paid by the government as its share of the freight rates have been recorded and the fact that these figures indicate that shipments of fish by express increased by no less than 300% in the first eight years the policy was in operation attests to the promising nature of the venture.¹

So 1911 was a record production year for the Nova Scotia fishing industry and with the new markets in central and western Canada obviously expanding rapidly the outlook for the industry was bright. Owing largely to a series of special articles appearing in the Halifax Chronicle late in 1910 it can be shown that the prevailing large catches, high prices and promising home markets had the combined effect of diminishing enthusiasm

1. Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces (Ottawa, 1928), p. 32.

for reciprocity in certain areas of western Nova Scotia.

In November 1910 when the reciprocity agreement was little more than a rumour an apparently thoughtful and perceptive Halifax Chronicle reporter, T. M. Fraser, toured the South Shore counties of Nova Scotia making inquiries regarding the attitude towards reciprocity of various individuals connected with the fishing industry. In spite of the partisan nature of the early twentieth century press Fraser's articles appear remarkably free from political bias. In most instances he allowed those interviewed to speak for themselves and quite often Conservatives and opponents of reciprocity (when the latter could be found) were quoted at length. As further justification for the attention paid to the Fraser articles it may be noted that not knowing the terms of the agreement or even if there was to be an agreement those interviewed could speak with considerable frankness without betraying their respective parties. A similar comment could be made regarding Fraser himself who, after all, was employed by the chief Liberal organ in Nova Scotia. After January 1911 men on both sides of politics would conceal their personal feelings and utter the "party line" when confronted by persistent newspaper reporters. The journalists would then write highly coloured articles for their newspapers, quoting outrageously out of context when necessary, to impress upon their readers the hopelessness of the government or opposition party as the case might be. But in November 1910 such behavior on the part of politicians, the press and zealous party men was not yet demanded and therefore it can be maintained - albeit cautiously - that the special articles for the Chronicle by T. M. Fraser accurately portray the attitude of those interviewed, to the prospect of reciprocity in natural products with the United States.

There are some grounds for maintaining that if a federal election had been held on the issue of reciprocity as late as the autumn of 1910 Nova Scotia fishermen, despite their relative prosperity and despite the promising possibility of increased central and western Canadian trade would have voted for reciprocal free trade. For as Fraser wrote in November 1910, following his trip to South Shore areas of western Nova Scotia:

The most vivid recollection the people of that section of the province have is of the days when under reciprocity every harbour along the coast had its fleet of fishing vessels, and there was no sailing out of Gloucester for the men of the South Shore. When, not only the fishermen, but the shipbuilders and the outfitters were busy and prosperous and found all the employment they desired under their own flag. Rightly or wrongly, they inseparably couple those days with Free Trade with the States, and believe absolutely that they would come under a renewal of reciprocal trade relations ... The success they have had this year serves to remind the old men of those days when the industry was most prosperous; and they were contemporaneous with reciprocity. It is a magical word among the fishermen. The younger ones who never lived under it themselves, have heard enough about it to make it look to them like the Golden Age, a return of which they would like to see and experience ... ¹

In Lockeport Fraser interviewed "Mr. Willian McMillan, a well-known merchant, fish dealer and shipowner". "We must not let the United States imagine that we are very eager for free fish", suggested this South Shore entrepreneur. "It does not mean as much to us as it did a few years ago, and they are very anxious for it." McMillan's attitude was typical of the small "c" conservatism that Fraser seems to have so frequently encountered in the various fishing communities which he visited. There was prosperity for the moment; markets in points west of the Maritimes looked promising. Why hasten to meddle with the economy by experimenting with reci-

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, November 15, 1910.

2. Ibid., November 18, 1911.

procuity?

Journeying on to Shelburne, Fraser managed to obtain an interview with Liberal M.L.A., Robert Irwin. Irwin earned his living as a general merchant and while in favour of reciprocity qualified his approval:

I might add that this question of reciprocity is not so important as it was years ago. Our fish are beginning to find their way to our own market and with good storage and transportation facilities Nova Scotia will soon be able to supply the greater part of the fish needed in western Canada, now largely supplied from New England markets, many of them caught by our own fishermen in American bottoms.¹

Fraser encountered a similar attitude of caution when he interviewed ex-M. L. A., George A. Cox:

I hope this matter will be gone at with caution. I would not be in favour of reciprocity on any terms, as some people seem to be. We are not dependent on them as to a large extent we once were,... I do not consider the benefit to our fresh fish market will be so great hereafter as it is now. I think in a short time we can capture the fresh fish market from them. At Jordan in recent years the herring have struck in December and we have found a better market in Montreal and Toronto than in the States. Boston is a quick and convenient market and attracts our fish. With a little better railway facilities to the upper provinces all our fish would go there.²

What is probably most significant about the views expressed by Irwin and Cox is that they came from the mouths of two Liberals. The comments uttered by Cox and Irwin would be heard many times and in many places every county he visited went through the observation of... But then it would be Conservatives who would be cautioning of the dangers of reciprocity. In November, 1911, reciprocity was more an academic question than a burning political issue. Thus, with complete and candid honesty two veteran Lib-

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

erals could tell a reporter from the major Liberal journal in the province that reciprocity, although perhaps desirable, was not really necessary and would not be an unqualified boon for Nova Scotia. In Yarmouth, the only constituency in western Nova Scotia to return a Liberal candidate in September, Fraser, not surprisingly, found the greatest enthusiasm for reciprocity:

I conversed with many of the leading citizens of the place, and found a stronger sentiment towards the free trade than in any other place along the shore. Here they would go for it on almost any terms, so strong is their faith in the benefits that would accrue from it. Yarmouth has always been in very close touch with the United States and the trade in that direction is still very large.¹

During the first nine months of 1911 the Morning Chronicle would on frequent occasions assure its readers of how unqualified was the enthusiasm of Nova Scotia fishermen for reciprocity. The journal would never refer to the Fraser articles and while no doubt hoping its readers had forgotten their content probably regretted the non-partisan approach its reporter had adopted when preparing them. Digby in 1911 would elect a Conservative candidate by a large majority and the Chronicle would express surprise, probably genuine, at reciprocity's rejection. But Fraser found the same lukewarm attitude toward reciprocity there as he had found in every county he visited except Yarmouth. The observation of a Mr. Anderson of the Maritime Fish Company was typical:

When I came here twenty-five years ago the fish dealers were calling for reciprocity but I never agreed with them. We have a fine market right here in the Dominion for our fish and it is only a matter of a short time when we will consume in the Dominion all we can produce. This fall we will ship nearly 1,000 drums of hake all over Canada, when not long ago there was no market for it ex-

1. Ibid., November 21, 1910.

cept in the Spanish West Indies. For the past few weeks we have been getting all the fish we can handle.¹

In the above quotation are to be found the main economic considerations which tended to work against reciprocity - high production and a promising home market. In a little more than a decade and a half a Royal Commission would be set up to investigate the depressed condition of Maritime fisheries but the industry, in 1911, regarded the future with confident optimism. Production was increasing; the Dominion market was expanding and prices were high. Reciprocity would be acceptable, perhaps, but this time on Canadian terms.

As suggested earlier, Nova Scotia fishermen would probably have voted for reciprocity if the election of 1911 had been held a year earlier. But with only moderate zeal for reciprocity in Digby, Shelburne, Lunenburg, and other Nova Scotia counties the powerful propaganda of the well-organized Conservative Party acted with telling effect. Not being particularly anxious for reciprocity initially, the majority of Nova Scotian fishermen soon began to waver under the onslaught of the Conservative charge in the summer months of 1911. Perhaps there was a chance that the bounties would be cancelled? Would "free fish" perhaps mean lower prices? What would be the effect of reciprocity on the fish-processing plants of the province? On August 29, 1911, The Bridgewater Bulletin had these words for the workers of the industry which had just had the most successful year on record and which looked forward to even greater gains in the years to come:

RECIPROCITY IS AT BEST A JUMP IN THE DARK.

WHY TAKE SUCH A DESPERATE RISK?

1. Ibid., November 22, 1910.

Perhaps few of Nova Scotia's fishermen read this large headline but, judging from the results of the September election, many agreed with its sentiments.

GUYSBOROUGH

In Lunenburg a Liberal majority of 452 in 1904 fell to 299 in 1908 and in 1911 the seat went to the Conservatives, the majority being 284. 393 was Fielding's majority when he first contested the Shelburne-Queens seat in 1900 but this majority declined to 342 in 1904, remained the same in 1908 and, as with Lunenburg, the constituency went Conservative in 1911. It may be argued that the Liberals lost their Lunenburg and Shelburne-Queens seats because the fishermen and lumbermen of these areas did not respond to reciprocity as expected. But is such a contention not undermined by the results of the federal election of 1911 in the constituency of Guysborough? Fishing was probably Guysborough County's most important industry and annual shipments of lumber from this county totalled five million board feet.¹ Why then did Guysborough, a constituency in an economic sense very much like Lunenburg and Shelburne-Queens - and without a special relationship with the United States like that of Yarmouth - not go Conservative along with those other constituencies of the province economically similar to it?

Did the Liberals take Guysborough because the fishermen of that constituency, unlike their fellows in constituencies such as Shelburne-Queens,

1. Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1911), Appendix No. 22, p. 31.

voted enthusiastically for reciprocity? Apparently not. Although J. H. Sinclair, the Liberal member for Guysborough, had more success than had Fielding when he made his appeal to the voters in 1911 it is interesting to note that it apparently was not the fishermen of the constituency who saved his seat since the Liberal vote in a majority of what might be classified as coastal polling districts was down from that of 1908. However no less than 75% of the inland polling districts registered an increase in the support given to the Liberal candidate. These increases, moreover, were substantial ones - ranging from a low of seven per cent to a high of almost seventeen per cent.¹

There would seem to be some difficulty in explaining why three-fourths of the more inland centres of Guysborough county would increase their support for the Liberal party when a majority of the coastal polling districts, which even the Conservative press for a time admitted would benefit from reciprocity, not only failed to respond to the Liberal Party but actually reduced their support for it. Most of the people living in the inland communities would derive their livelihood from farming and lumbering or both but in those areas of Nova Scotia where these two industries were especially predominant Conservative not Liberal candidates were elected and it thus seems unlikely that the increase in support given to the Liberal candidate in Guysborough in 1911 was due to any particular attractiveness of clauses of the Taft-Fielding agreement related to forest products and agriculture.

It is also difficult to argue that Guysborough voters went against the

1. See Appendix "B".

national tide and elected a Liberal in 1911 because they found J. H. Sinclair (like Yarmouth voters found B. B. Law) a particularly appealing candidate. After only one term in office (1904-1908) Sinclair's majority decreased by 62.6%¹ and had the apparent dissatisfaction with him continued at the same rate he would have suffered defeat in 1911. But the decline in support for Sinclair did not continue. In fact he retained his seat in 1911 with a per cent increase in his majority greater than the per cent decrease in support he suffered in the 1908 election over that of 1904.

As Guysborough had little secondary industry in 1911 and as it would seem that the reciprocity offer contained in the Liberal party platform was not regarded as being very enticing by Nova Scotia's farmers, fishermen and lumbermen, some other factor or factors must have accounted for the Liberal party retaining the Guysborough seat by a sizable majority and such a factor may have been the so-called Guysborough railway. The announcement that Guysborough county was to finally get a railway was made May 8, 1911, in the House of Commons.² The promise was for

... the construction of a railway from a point on the Inter-colonial Railway at or near New Glasgow in the county of Pictou (or from Sunny Brae in the said county, in event of the branch line of railway to that place being acquired, as it may be under this appropriation), to the town of Guysboro, and from the said line of railway at Cross Roads Country Harbour to the deep water of the said harbour, \$1,000,000.³

In the opinion of Premier Murray the announcement regarding the construction of the Guysborough railway, and other railways in Cape Breton, was of

1. See Appendix "A".

2. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911 (Toronto, 1912), p. 517.

3. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1911, XLV, No. 5a, p. 6.

very great significance to the province of Nova Scotia:

It is the most important decision given in recent years in so far as the development of Nova Scotia transportation is concerned. The general decision to assist non-railway portions of the Province will at present mean the construction of about 170 miles of railway, costing, I assume, in the neighbourhood of \$4,000,000. But this large expenditure is not the most important part. I regard the policy of connecting certain portions of our Province with the Intercolonial Railway, thus giving connection with the general railway system, having a uniform freight and passenger rate to all parts of the country, as meaning much more than any result which could be accomplished by a purely corporation-built road.¹

The Premier's enthusiastic response was understandable. At a time when the automobile was still little more than a rich man's toy, when even some of the province's best highways were impassable at certain times of the year, railways were of immense importance. By 1911 all Nova Scotia counties except Guysborough and to a lesser extent Victoria were provided with railway facilities almost on an equality. Best served were Shelburne and Annapolis counties with one mile of railway for every 10 3/4 square miles but even the least endowed except for Victoria and Guysborough counties - Queens County - had a mile of railway for every 20 square miles of area. When it is observed that in Guysborough county only one mile of railway existed for every 236 square miles of the county's area (seven miles of railway in the entire county) the significance of the May 8 announcement to the people of Guysborough county becomes immediately apparent.²

James A. Fraser, the personable editor of the Eastern Chronicle, in commenting on the announcement the railway was to be built, revealed the

1. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 517.
2. Railway mileage figures from J. C. Tory, Addresses Delivered By Honourable James Cranswick Tory, LL.D. (Ottawa, 1932), p. 63.

relation that was probably universal in the areas of Guysborough and Pictou counties to be served by the new line:

When the railway is completed. Pictou county people will have in a peculiar sense direct connection with the very heart of Guysborough and the people of Guysborough will be as much at home in Pictou as in their own county. Thereafter a man in Guysborough who desires to see the world can buy a railway ticket near home by virtue of which he can go east or west, north or south to the ends of the earth and back, if he will. In fact we feel so good over this that if we write any more we will be off into such rhapsody that our friends will imagine we have had a visit from angels and it isn't angels that a newspaper editor sees oftenest - it's generally the other fellows.¹

In the weeks following the announcement regarding the Guysborough railway the Eastern Chronicle refused to allow its enthusiasm to be at all dampened by claims appearing in the pages of its arch-rival, the Guysborough Times, that the May 8 announcement was but an election dodge. "The money is voted and nothing but an earthquake can stop it", insisted the Eastern Chronicle. The Chronicle expressed the opinion to its readers that as it appeared the Times was the only paper in the Maritime provinces that doubted that the railway was to be built, it was therefore not necessary to take seriously the word of the Guysborough newspaper. And for those of highly pessimistic bent who still doubted, the Eastern Chronicle delivered its interpretation of the Halifax Herald's attitude to the announcement that Guysborough county was to get a railway:

The Halifax Herald which speaks for the Tory party in this province does not doubt it, but tries to lessen the effect of the announcement declaring in one breath that this was the Conservative policy, and in the next that it should have been built long ago.²

1. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, May 9, 1911.
2. Eastern Chronicle, May 23, 1911.

After heaping further abuse on "the members of the knockers union" who were said to control the Guysborough Times, Fraser summarized the reasons why he felt "there need be no doubt about the building of the Guysborough railway":

It is a part of the Intercolonial. The money is at hand. There is no need of looking for a company to finance it. The money is in the treasury, thanks to the excellent administration of the Laurier Government and it will surely be built as the National Transcontinental or the Hudson Bay railways. To doubt it is merely an evidence of either imbecility or dishonesty.¹

As the Guysborough railway would undoubtedly have benefited Guysborough most it is unfortunate that no newspaper from that county for 1911 appears to be extant. However, the Eastern Chronicle, although published in New Glasgow, had a considerable circulation in Guysborough and even had a special section containing news of the county and entitled "The Guysborough Chronicle". Apparently the Guysborough Times was the chief Conservative organ for the county but the approach it took to various questions can only be guessed at by attempting to interpret the highly slanted observations made by the Eastern Chronicle regarding the writings of the Guysborough paper. With respect to the Guysborough railway, the Times, apparently, was not against the project, as such, as the Guysborough newspaper was twitted by the Eastern Chronicle in its edition of June 6, 1911, for insisting that the best way to get a railway for Guysborough county was for Nova Scotia to elect a Conservative provincial government "to force the hand of the Liberal government at Ottawa".²

1. Ibid., May 23, 1911.

2. Ibid., June 6, 1911.

Despite the great excitement generated by the announcement of May 8, an examination of the Halifax papers, merely, might lead to the conclusion that the proposed railway construction was of little moment in the campaign of 1911. This seems peculiar as both the Halifax Herald and the Halifax Chronicle usually made a vigorous effort to deal with major news developments in all sections of the province; but possibly a Liberal member of the provincial legislature, in a long speech on the cancellation of the Guysborough railway, in the provincial legislature in April, 1913, provided at least part of the explanation for the scanty coverage given the Guysborough railway by the Halifax press. The speaker, J. C. Tory, the M.L.A. from Guysborough, expressed the opinion that "one of the things that has for years been operating against the securing of railway facilities in Guysborough has been the antagonistic attitude of the business interests of the city of Halifax".¹ "For years and years", railed Tory, "these interests have been so afraid of Country Harbour as an open port, that they have used every legitimate means to stop the building of this road."²

If the Liberal press in Halifax was reluctant to attach itself too closely to the federal government's plans for railway construction in Nova Scotia this was certainly not the case, at least, with the chief Liberal organ in northeastern Nova Scotia, the Eastern Chronicle. This newspaper constantly kept the matter before its readers and seldom missed an opportunity to speculate on the discomfort that the May 8 announcement must

1. J. C. Tory, Addresses, p. 92. August 8, 1911.

2. Ibid., p. 92. 1911.

3. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, August 15, 1911.

have been causing the Opposition:

It will be rather disappointing than otherwise for the Conservatives of Pictou and Guysborough counties to find that tenders are asked for the construction of the Guysborough railway; but the people generally will be much pleased.¹

The New Glasgow paper made a considerable effort to have the proposed railway construction work to the advantage of the Liberal party in local politics and thus from the time the initial announcement was made regarding railways for eastern Nova Scotia until after the provincial election in June the Eastern Chronicle printed, verbatim from the Sessional Papers, the full text of the announced construction plans for the railways. Such strategy apparently did not go unnoticed by the Guysborough Times, which was twitted by the New Glasgow newspaper for uttering "a plaintive wail because the Eastern Chronicle publishes a few of the appropriations for Public Works in this county".²

"Let Macdonald Finish His Work" was the title of the lead editorial in the Eastern Chronicle's edition for August 15; the newspaper soon made clear that the work which was in danger of remaining unfinished and perhaps not even getting properly under way was the Guysborough railway. That this was the case, the Chronicle pointed out, was due to the "rule or ruin policy of the Conservative members" one of whom was, of course, A. C. Bell.³ Would the Guysborough railway, then, not get under way in the summer of 1911 because of the alleged obstructionist tactics of the Conservatives? With the Opposition behaving the way it was this could certainly be expected,

1. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, August 8, 1911.

2. Ibid., June 6, 1911.

3. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, August 15, 1911.

implied the Eastern Chronicle, but the news regarding the proposed railway - the New Glasgow newspaper informed its readers - was good:

This week tenders are being called for the construction of the new railway from Halifax to Musquodoboit and for portions of the road between New Glasgow and Guysbora [sic] and Country Harbour and construction work will begin this autumn and the work will go on to completion. In this issue will be found the advertisement for tenders for the part from Sunny Brae to Guysborough. We are informed that both were ordered the same time, the delay being with the printers.¹

The lesson for the voters, in the August 15 editorial, was obvious. In spite of incredible obstruction by the Conservative Party, the federal government's plans for the construction of the new railways were well advanced and only the defeat of the government in September could prevent eastern Nova Scotia from getting the long-sought railroads. Surely, was the barely concealed message, the electorate would not deny "Ned" Macdonald and his fellow Liberal party members the opportunity to "finish their work," to connect eastern Nova Scotia by rail to the rest of Canada.

During the remainder of the summer the Eastern Chronicle continued to give prominence to the new railways promised for Nova Scotia - especially the Guysborough railway. Sometimes this involved mention of tenders being called to construct various sections of the railway; but at other times, as in the edition of August 18, references to the promised railways from speeches made by local politicians, were printed. Thus at the Liberal nominating convention held in Pictou, August 18, 1911, E. M. Macdonald, apparently, had much to say about his efforts to bring more railways to Nova Scotia and arrived at the conclusion that although "it might sound

1. Ibid., August 15, 1911.

like egotism" the Convention should reach a decision to "Let Macdonald finish his work".¹

So all voters of Pictou and Guysborough counties who relied on the Eastern Chronicle alone for their news would go to the polls, September 21, well-convinced that the Liberal Party would waste little time constructing the so-called Guysborough railway. And having assured its readers many, many times that there was absolutely no possibility that the Guysborough railway would not be built the fury of the Eastern Chronicle knew no bounds when it finally became obvious that the project had been cancelled. But as far as the New Glasgow newspaper was concerned there was little doubt as to where most of the blame lay:

The Guysboro railway would now be half built if it were not for such Tory bosses as G. A. Rowlings, S. R. Giffin, John C. Wells, and G. T. McNutt. The disaster of September 21st, 1911, placed their party temporarily in power ... After their victory they participated in a certain Belshazzar's feast in Halifax, were presented at an interview with Mr. Borden and Mr. Cochrane, the Minister of Railways, when this question as to the fate of the Grand trunk line was settled. Not only did they fail to stand for the rights of the county, but they consented that the Minister should throw the whole scheme overboard with the hope of reviving it again as a Tory election kite. The minister gladly acquiesced with the result that everybody knows ... Does anyone imagine that if Mr. Rowlings was not a consenting party to this outrage he would have been as silent as a clam for a whole year in his paper, the Guysborough Times?²

.....

Like the Prince Edward Island causeway, which half a century ago politicians were also promising, the Guysborough railway remains unbuilt.

Both projects may eventually be completed but probably only after they have

1. Ibid., August 18, 1911.

2. Ibid., August 27, 1913.

served to elect quite a few more Liberal and Conservative candidates to Parliament. Matters relating to transportation, it often seems, have always been uppermost in the minds of Maritimers and in 1911, controversial as was the issue of reciprocity, it was quickly given second consideration, apparently, in favour of the Guysborough railway in those sections of Guysborough county which could hope to benefit most from a rail connection with the outside world.

KINGS

Probably a more surprising turnabout to political observers than the Liberal victory in Cape Breton South was the ousting of the Liberal incumbent in the riding of Kings, Sir Frederick Borden. Only once - in the election of 1882 - had Borden been defeated since first being elected as the Member of Parliament for Kings in 1874.¹ Borden had served his constituency well and while his winning majorities had usually been substantial ones he obtained his largest just seven years prior to his great upset when, in 1904, he defeated his Conservative opponent by 1,167 votes. Borden was the Minister of Militia and Defense in 1911, an office which he had held since 1896. One indication that Sir Frederick apparently had few if any fears that either he or his party would suffer defeat in 1911 was that just over three weeks before the election he was writing to a friend that the Reciprocity agreement would probably be in effect early

1. H. J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912), p. 120.

enough in November of that year for Kings county apple growers to sell their Gravensteins south of the border without paying duty!¹

Actually it was the apple growers who, Borden probably expected, would re-elect him. His constituency although containing only 811 square miles was an extremely rich farming and orchard region. Kings county forms the heart of the Annapolis Valley, and in 1911 exported a larger quantity of apples than any other county in the province.² The apple industry had developed rapidly in Nova Scotia. Exporting an annual average of only 30,320 barrels in the period from 1880 to 1885 Nova Scotian apple-growers by 1911 were shipping well over 500,000 barrels from the province annually. Kings and Annapolis counties alone accounted for about three-quarters of all the apples and other fruit grown in Nova Scotia.³

Representing as he did one of the principal orchard districts in Canada, Borden's chances of being elected by the voters of Kings depended a great deal on how reciprocity was viewed by fruitgrowers. There were a number of early indications that Sir Frederick had no cause for concern regarding their attitude to orchard products passing freely between Canada and the United States. At a public meeting held under the auspices of the Fruit Growers Association November 29, 1910, long before the Taft-Fielding agreement was announced, it was "Resolved, that we the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers

1. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to Sir Robert Weatherbee, August 29, 1911.
2. Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1911), Appendix No. 22, p. 48.
3. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations), Ottawa, 1939, p. 65.

assembled in annual session, heartily commend the Dominion Government and the Government of Nova Scotia in their efforts to remove restrictions on trade between the two countries: we would favour any equitable reciprocity in tariff on fruits."¹ The Kings County Board of Trade, composed of men of both political parties, passed a similar resolution March 8, 1911: Resolved that in the opinion of this board the best interests of Nova Scotia will be served through the adoption of said arrangement [reciprocity] and a further extension of the imperial preference by the parliament of Canada."² A. E. McMahon, an ex-warden of the county of Kings, moved the resolution. T. H. Morse the warden of Kings county and extensively involved in the fruit-growing industry was also enthusiastic regarding reciprocity: "I am of the opinion it will not only be a great benefit to this county, but the province must and will receive its full share from the increased prosperity which will accrue from the benefits received from same."³ S. C. Parker, who was the Conservative candidate for Kings in the June 1911 provincial election had likewise given strong verbal support to reciprocity.⁴

Nor had opinion necessarily changed when the Halifax Herald reported in large headlines on the front page of its March 16 edition that "THE KENTVILLE BOARD OF TRADE TAKES QUITE THE OPPOSITE VIEW OF RECIPROCIITY FROM KINGS COUNTY BOARD OF TRADE TERMS THE AGREEMENT AS INJURIOUS". The fraud was exposed in both the Legislature and in the Halifax Chronicle:

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, December 1, 1910.
2. Nova Scotia House of Assembly Debates, 1911, pp. 285-286.
3. Ibid., pp. 288-289.
4. Supra, p. 76.

The Tory organ makes the imbecile claim that the resolution favouring reciprocity passed by the Kings County Board of Trade has been "discounted and offset by the very comprehensive and emphatic resolution of condemnation since passed by the Board of Trade of Kentville". The facts are that the Kings County Board of Trade, representative of the great fruit-growing and farming interests, at a largely attended meeting held in the open after due advertising, passed by almost unanimous vote, only two out of nearly 100 members present voting against it. The resolution passed by the Kentville Board of Trade was the offspring of a little group of Tories. It could not bear the light of day. It was passed in the dark after the lights were turned off at one o'clock in the morning, when there were only eight persons present. This is the one solitary expression of opinion against reciprocity that has emanated from Nova Scotia, and if the organ and its friends can derive any comfort from it they are welcome to it. As opposed to the long list of leading Conservatives in Halifax and elsewhere throughout the Province who have gone on record as enthusiastic supporters of the reciprocity agreement, the Kentville exhibit makes a sorry showing.¹

So it appeared that reciprocity was so popular in the Annapolis Valley that the Conservatives could only produce headlines indicating that fruit-growers were against it, by resorting to trickery.

Behind the rhetoric extolling reciprocity, however, it was obvious - although perhaps not until after the election - that reciprocal trade in orchard products with the United States held few attractions for most Kings County growers. First of all the American market was not really needed. In England, explained Ralph S. Eaton - who very much favoured reciprocity and who became president of the Kentville Board of Trade in 1911 - "all the harder sorts of Nova Scotia fruits find a ready sale at profitable prices".² Eaton in a letter to a Halifax newspaper in praise of reciprocity inadvertently revealed just how unnecessary was the American market to Nova Scotia in 1911:

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, April 13, 1911.
2. Nova Scotia House of Assembly Debates, 1911, p. 289.

With our present excellent market in England, if a choice were offered just now between a substantial British preference in apples or free access to the American market, our fruit men might hold up both hands for the British preference, but we will accept both advantages, for Nova Scotia is unique in that she not only has the best position on the continent for the apple business with Great Britain, but is the only province whose fruit men are welcoming this reciprocity agreement, unless it is those fruit men of Ontario, who grow apples exclusively.¹

For a time there was some enthusiasm at the prospect of being able to market Gravenstein apples in the United States because although a high quality fruit it was unable to withstand "the long ocean voyage, on slow freight boats to England".² But then huge headlines started appearing in the Conservative press such as the one in the September 1, 1911, edition of the Halifax Herald: "ANOTHER 10,000 BBLs. OF NOVA SCOTIA APPLES FOR THE CANADIAN WEST. B. LAING, A BIG FRUIT DEALER IN WINNIPEG, BUYS FIFTY CAR LOADS OF APPLES IN THE ANNAPOLIS VALLEY - HE SAYS THERE IS A GREAT MARKET FOR OUR FRUIT IN THE CANADIAN WEST IF THE TARIFF REMAINS". The headlines were true. In 1911 "for the first time to any extent, the Nova Scotia apple ... appeared in ... western markets, about sixty thousand barrels having been shipped to Winnipeg and the west".³

The "Old War Chief", Frederick Borden, was not impressed. "The Conservatives had discovered a great apple market for Kings County in Winnipeg", he observed sarcastically. Sir Frederick did not believe, he told his supporters, "in punishing the people of Winnipeg in paying the prices the expense of sending from here would incur. Let Winnipeg get its apples

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. D. B. Hanna (editor), Season 1911, Export Trade of the Port of Montreal (Montreal, 1912), p. 122.

from the Middle States, their natural place with which to trade, and we could furnish the fruit trade they had otherwise supplied in the Atlantic cities of the United States where we could place our products much cheaper by water, than places nearer in the United States could send them by rail."¹ Actually Borden's analysis of the western market's potential was largely correct. "British Columbia apples", it has been observed, "soon replaced the eastern product in the market of the Prairie Provinces; and ... shipments of apples from Nova Scotia to Ontario and to the Prairie Provinces became less frequent, apart from exceptional circumstances."² Nevertheless, Borden's remark regarding the Winnipeg market was as politically unwise as A. K. MacLean's comments concerning "Abandoned Farms" in the United States. Frequently throughout the remainder of the campaign, the Conservative press gleefully repeated Borden's remark, and that it caused him the loss of at least a few votes is not improbable.

So by the summer of 1911, for fruit-growers as well as for those involved in some other areas of Nova Scotia's economy, reciprocity had lost some of its attractiveness. One of the Valley's largest newspapers, the Middleton Outlook, although nominally independent, was outspoken in its criticism of the Taft-Fielding agreement, and specifically from the point of view of Nova Scotia fruit-growers.³ Even a Nova Scotian who remembered the "Golden Age" following the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and who signed his letter to the Halifax Herald "An Old Man in the Annapolis Valley" felt that the United States offer while possessing attractions, should be

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 21, 1911.
2. S. A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, p. 28.
3. See Halifax Morning Chronicle, March 10, 1911.

spurned:

We old fellows remember the Lord Elgin treaty of 1854, and how glad we all were to have it. We recall our sadness and disappointment when this treaty was terminated in 1866 ...

We, however, take a BROADER VIEW of this great subject and finding ourselves obliged to say that for the last thirty years our apple market has been in Great Britain and her colonies and especially as we now learn that we can send our Gravensteins by the tens of thousands of bbls. to the prairies and pacific provinces, we all, grits and tories alike, are strongly indisposed to break up our market for the sake of trying experiments.¹

Borden was late in beginning his campaign and it would seem that by the time he did get underway that any attractiveness that reciprocity had earlier had for Nova Scotia fruit-growers had largely been dissipated. The excellence of the British market, the lure of the new western Canadian market, and also, no doubt, the fear that with reciprocity working both ways there was some danger from American competition, were factors in this process.

After being involved in politics for thirty-eight years Frederick Borden was long undecided whether or not to contest the 1911 election. The dissolution of the House in July presented a problem for Sir Frederick. He expected to become Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain once Lord Strathcona resigned but just when Laurier would receive the resignation Borden did not know. Realizing the embarrassment which would be his should Lord Strathcona resign while he was campaigning down in Kings County Borden decided to remain in Ottawa for as long as possible.² By the time Frederick Borden felt he could leave Ottawa - when it became obvious that Lord Strathcona would not resign until after the election - his young

1. Halifax Herald, August 30, 1911.

2. Carmen Miller, "The Public Life of Sir Frederick Borden" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1964), pp. 238-239.

opponent in Kings had probably made considerable gains at the "Old War Chief's" expense.

Arthur deWitt Foster, an undergraduate at Acadia College, and a second cousin of G. E. Foster, was the Conservative nominee in Kings. Only twenty-seven years old Foster was, at least according to the Halifax Herald, an "eloquent, forceful and well-informed" speaker, "able to hold his own with any of the liberal campaigners from the government candidate down".¹ At the age of sixty-four to be obliged to compete against a mere "stripling ... who had nothing but conceit and ignorance to commend him"² seems to have nettled Borden considerably. As was common in 1911 many of the campaign speeches were delivered at joint meetings at which candidates from both parties all appeared on the stage together at the same time. At the joint meeting held in Wolfville, August 28, Borden shouted "with flushed face" at Foster for allegedly uttering a "falsehood" in stating that he had spoken much longer than his allotted forty-five minutes.³ At the close of the meeting Borden, in the somewhat suspect words of the Herald, "disgusted his audience by saying that his opponent in Kings County was a young man who had a diarrhoea of words and constipation of ideas". Such were the niceties of political campaigning in early twentieth century Nova Scotia!

Borden had stumped Kings County in support of reciprocity a number of times before and there was nothing particularly original about his approach in 1911. Nova Scotia had never prospered as during the years of reciprocity

1. Halifax Herald, August 30, 1911.

2. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to E. S. Crawley, October 5, 1911.

3. Halifax Herald, August 29, 1911.

between 1854 and 1866. Bankers were investing their "free money" in the United States and were profiting mightily. C. P. R. stock had advanced 40 points since reciprocity had become a "live issue". No province would benefit more than Nova Scotia and no county would benefit more than Kings, from reciprocity. The Tories were against reciprocity simply because they were not able to offer it themselves and the duplicity of their campaign was shown by the literature which they were distributing to the farmers of Kings.County.¹

Foster urged upon his audiences the importance of Canadians retaining their raw materials within the country to be manufactured at home. Refraining from the use of long dissertations and abstract arguments to prove his case Foster used a more vivid approach: "Keep an eye on Uncle Sam with his striped pants", was his advice to the electorate of Kings. Sir Frederick believed that reciprocity would "carry the country hands down", even though the cities and the manufacturers were against it for selfish reasons. "The classes and self-interested are against Reciprocity", declared Borden, but "the masses if they have any sense will favour it. I have a good deal of faith in the common people where their material interests are at stake." Replying to a critic Borden expressed pride in having "the great privilege of coming before the people, as a standard-bearer, for a policy which, if carried, will without doubt bring greater benefits to this country than any which has been proposed, or carried into effect since the

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 21, 1911.

2. Carmen Miller, "Sir Frederick Borden", p. 242.

3. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to F. G. Curry, March 15, 1911.

Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, came into force".¹

Judging by a report from one of his organizers, if the distributing of large quantities of campaign literature had been all that was required for victory in Kings Borden would have done well:

I did not get the last literature viz. the Schell Pamphlet and the "Fruit-Growers Opportunity" till Thursday night and got our men together Saturday and mailed out over 500 combinations of from 2 to 3 pamphlets. We also mailed to every body in Polling Districts 15, 16, 16½, 17 and 18 the "Bargain Itself" and "Reciprocity and the Farmer" so that in these Districts the voters are well informed if they have read.²

But in spite of such efforts on the part of his workers and in spite of his own campaigning Borden went down to defeat in Kings by 151 votes.

Initially Borden assumed little responsibility, himself, for the rejection of reciprocity in Kings:

So far as I can make out, the reason was three-fold: - 1st, the people are very prosperous down there with an enormous crop now being gathered; 2nd, the resentment on account of treatment meted out to us years ago by the United States, when we were in dire distress for want of Reciprocity, and 3rd, the feeling that if the United States now desires Reciprocity, it was for their own selfish ends, which ends could have been served by them by the reduction of their duties on such of our products as they might desire for their own consumption.³

That Kings was very prosperous in 1911 probably had far more to do with F. W. Borden's defeat than any prevailing resentment against the United States for past wrongs real or imagined. Kings, like other parts of Nova Scotia, had appreciated the benefits of the United States market between 1854 and 1866, in spite of the fact that relations between the Republic

1. Ibid., F. W. Borden to R. E. Harris, August 22, 1911.
2. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to E. B. Oakes, September 18, 1911.
3. Ibid., F. W. Borden to A. S. MaGee, September 25, 1911.

and British North America had been far from good in the decades prior to the implementation of reciprocity. Borden was perhaps closest to the mark when in another letter he mentioned first among the causes of his defeat the prosperity of his constituents with their "trees laden with fruit".¹ Over 700,000 barrels of apples were produced in Nova Scotia in 1911.² But more significant than this impressive quantity of apples was the fact that according to an estimate made by Sir Edmund Walker, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the 1911 Nova Scotia apple crop would yield over three times as much money as in 1910.³ With such unprecedented prosperity prevailing, the American market seemed to offer little if anything Kings County fruit growers did not already possess. And implementation of reciprocity would bring risks, not all of them known. Under such circumstances patriotism was cheap and determining to "let well enough alone" was an easy decision to make.

But even though Annapolis Valley fruit growers did not particularly want reciprocity, Borden, as he himself eventually realized, should not have lost his seat. By October, 1911, Sir Frederick's letters were giving much less prominence to "outside factors" which previously he had been blaming almost entirely for his upset and were discussing instead the organizational weaknesses of his election campaign upon which his opponents had capitalized:

The cause of the defeat in King's County was doubtless much the same as that of the general defeat all along the line, although I

1. Ibid., F. W. Borden to Senator William Roche, October 2, 1911.
2. W. V. Longley, Some Economic Aspects of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1932), p. 7.
3. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911 (Toronto, 1912), "Special Supplement", p. 5.

think if we had thoroughly appreciated the strength of the Opposition we ought to have carried King's by a small majority. The fact is that there was no organization worthy the name except in Ward 1, which was only begun after Laurier's visit and the Halifax meeting. I did not charge myself with the general organization but asked a few of our Canning friends to take the matter up seriously in Ward 1, which they did with splendid results. The same thing could have been done in all the other wards with results of a similar character, perhaps not so good in all cases. The organization of Ward 1 enabled us to ascertain from day to day what the other people were doing. In fact, it supplied scouts which are essential to successful fighting whether on the battlefield or in politics. The election was lost more especially in Wards 3, 6 and 7, which practically reversed the usual results. We expected some changes in Kentville town, which is a part of Ward 6, but nothing like what happened. Evidently while we were discoursing sweet music to the Liberal and Tory heelers, the Tory business men were persuading successfully the voters. I was told some days before the election that there was "no organization in Ward 6", by a man who had been in communication with Ern. Dodge, and I reported it to Harry. Of course there is no use crying over spilt milk and I am free to admit that there was a popular wave of sentimental loyalty and an apprehension of the dire consequences if Reciprocity should be carried which would have reduced the majority materially in King's County. But nevertheless I feel confident that we ought to have won by a majority equal to that by which we were defeated.¹

This, surely, was a more accurate appraisal of his defeat.

In 1904 his majority had been 1,167; in 1908 it had dropped to 491. Clearly defeat for Borden in 1911 was predictable if he did not either offer something unusually attractive to his constituents or greatly improve the efficiency of his campaign organization. Reciprocity, by the time the election campaign got under way at least, was far from being unusually attractive to the constituents of Kings. Largely unconscious of this, Borden failed to take compensating action by ensuring that his campaign organization was operating at peak efficiency and was thus vanquished.

1. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to G. L. Foster, October 2, 1911.

CONCLUSION

While the Liberals retained Pictou, elected one member in Halifax and captured all of the seats east of these two constituencies in 1911, the fact that west of Pictou and Halifax only Yarmouth elected a Liberal undoubtedly came as a great shock or surprise to most members of the Laurier party. Very probably the outcome astounded many Conservatives as well. "As a matter of fact", Frederick Borden wrote to a friend, "the Tories were almost as much surprised at the result as we were; while the most sanguine of them hoped for a narrow victory not one of them for a moment anticipated a complete reversal of the situation."¹ Although Sir Frederick was probably as astonished as any candidate at the outcome of the 1911 election his reference to the alleged surprise of the Conservatives may have been only a slight exaggeration. In fact, less than one week before the election a forecast made by "a well informed Conservative", who was "in the 'inner circle'", along with predicting a government majority of twenty-nine seats also forecast that the Conservatives in Nova Scotia would elect only six of their eighteen candidates!²

Prosperity would seem to have been the factor of overwhelming importance in explaining why the Liberals lost strength in Nova Scotia in the election of 1911 despite their offer of reciprocity. That such forces as the "annexation cry" and the "loyalty cry" at work during 1911 were also influential was apparently due largely to the fact that the relative prosperity prevailing in Nova Scotia at the time the election was held made it

1. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to Captain Allison H. Borden, October 4, 1911.
2. McInnes Papers, Allan Dick to Hector McInnes, September 16, 1911.

inexpensive to respond positively to such highly emotional appeals and to reject the prize once sought so ardently. In spite of the fact that a great deal of national and imperial sentiment existed in the province in 1911 Nova Scotia at this time was perhaps less closely wedded to the Dominion than any other province and that reciprocity could have been so firmly rejected had economic conditions been less auspicious seems most unlikely.

The prosperity being enjoyed by Nova Scotians in 1911 pervaded practically every segment of the economy. Financial returns to apple growers were said to be triple those of the previous year.¹ And to the great misfortune of the Liberal candidates in fruit-growing regions there were strong - albeit erroneous - indications in 1911 that a great market in the Canadian west was just beginning to open up for those varieties of Nova Scotia apples which could not be marketed in Great Britain.² A similar situation prevailed with regard to the fishing industry. The market value of Nova Scotia fish for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911, was over \$10,000,000 and was about twenty-five percent higher than the value of the fish harvested during the previous year; not until the year 1917 would the value of the Nova Scotia catch be again in excess of this 1911 figure.³ A further basis for optimism among fishermen was the seemingly great potential of the Canadian market, which was starting to become apparent around 1911. Improvements in storage and transportation facilities as well as the granting of transportation subventions in 1908 were

1. Supra, p. 264.

2. Supra, p. 258.

3. Supra, p. 237.

largely responsible for the increased sales of Nova Scotia fish to markets in central and western Canada. Many Nova Scotia fishermen were also involved in farming and lumbering and 1911 was also a good year for the agricultural and forest industries. A scarcity of potatoes and certain root vegetables in Ontario and parts of the United States "brought large returns" to the many Nova Scotia farmers involved in the growing of those products.² The lumber industry in Nova Scotia reached its peak apparently in the years just prior to World War I³ and thus 1911 was a year of prosperity for those in the province involved in the lumber and related industries. The other great economic endeavour in Nova Scotia which implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement would have affected was the coal industry and it too was flourishing. So in Nova Scotia, in 1911, prosperity permeated practically the entire economy of the province and the future to most appeared brighter still.

The importance of the relative prosperity Nova Scotians were enjoying in 1911, with regard to the election, was that it would seem to have neutralized what was thought to be reciprocity's strong appeal in Nova Scotia. Apparently the Liberals simply failed to realize that reciprocity offered little immediate benefit to Nova Scotians in 1911. Fruit-growers selling all the "hard" apples they could produce, to Great Britain at a good

1. S. A. Saunders, Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939), pp. 6, 30.
2. J. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911 (Toronto, 1912), p. 506.
3. S. A. Saunders, Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (Ottawa, 1939), pp. 29, 84.

price,¹ saw no reason to jump at the offer of reciprocity. They were even less convinced that they wanted it when it seemed that western Canada was now ready to buy the Gravensteins which could not withstand the trip to Britain. Nor were fishermen beset by any serious marketing problems which might have caused them to regard the implementation of the Taft-Fielding agreement with any great anticipation. With neither fruit-growers nor fishermen able to realize just how ephemeral were the splendid markets with which they were blessed in 1911, they voted against a "leap in the dark" and in favour of "letting well enough alone". There was perhaps even less reason in 1911 for farmers than for fruit-growers and fishermen to welcome reciprocity. The strongly Liberal New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle reported more than once that the farmers in its coverage area were largely indifferent to reciprocity.² Other farmers, less neutral, were "dead against it" because "the Americans will swamp us. They are two months ahead of us in season. They have a climate that is diversified. They can bring in their produce in the early spring and beat us ... The producer will be sacrificed for an abundance to the consumer that is only temporary and apparent."³

So in spite of the apparent truism that if the Taft-Fielding agreement would have been of benefit to any Canadian province that province would have been Nova Scotia it would nevertheless appear that at the time the reciprocity offer was made none of the major economic groups which had pleaded for freer trade so frequently in the past was experiencing any

1. Supra, p.257

2. New Glasgow Eastern Chronicle, June 6, 1911, and August 18, 1911.

3. Halifax Herald, August 24, 1911.

serious marketing problems in 1911. There were thus no economic pressures, generally speaking, strong enough either to prompt any significant number of Nova Scotian Conservatives to desert their party to support reciprocity or to prevent some Liberals, contented with the prosperity they were enjoying, to vote against it. And a few Liberals who entered the contest with the expectation that the traditional popularity of reciprocity in Nova Scotia would by itself secure them their seats perhaps discovered too late that reciprocity had been largely emasculated as a potent political asset and that as Borden observed,¹ the issue would be decided largely on the merits of the candidates themselves.

One important consequence of relative prosperity in Nova Scotia in 1911 was that Nova Scotians were probably enabled to feel more "Canadian". They now had what since Confederation had largely been, in their eyes at least, a status obtainable only by "Upper Canadians". Nova Scotians were no longer poor cousins of Central Canada. And being more prosperous and being more "Canadian" they were also more receptive perhaps to warnings regarding those perils which were said to threaten this Canada of which, they now believed, they were very much a part.

The Halifax Chronicle used the proper strategy when shortly before the election it began calling on its readers to display "enlightened patriotism" by "standing up for Nova Scotia", but this approach, it would seem, met with little success. That it did not succeed, apparently, may have been due to the likelihood that a far smaller percentage of Nova Scotians than in earlier periods could see their province as a kind of colonial appendage of an imperialistic "Upper-Canada" struggling for a modicum of

1. Supra, p. 229.

justice. Thus very probably Conservative arguments against reciprocity that proved effective outside Nova Scotia worked very well within that province too.

By no means all of these arguments which many Nova Scotians held in common with other Canadians were of an emotional and irrational nature and many of those who voiced them really believed in what they were saying. Many of those Canadians who rejected reciprocity really believed that it would destroy the equilibrium of their national development and would shatter their national ideal. Reciprocity, they felt, might very well sever the commercial connection between the west and the east by creating new bonds between the prairie provinces and the republic to the south. The effect of reciprocity, it was felt, might be to stifle and ultimately to demoralize Canadian infant industries by making Canada a mere reservoir of raw materials for the United States. Canada being much the weaker of the two parties to the agreement Canadians feared the loss of their fiscal independence. Even those Canadians who saw nothing in particular to fear in the Taft-Fielding agreement itself denounced it on the ground that Americans were privately describing it as being but "the thin edge of the wedge". This being the situation more than a few Canadians seriously questioned the advisability of ratifying an agreement that threatened to undermine the structure which had been erected on the National Policy. Last - but in Nova Scotia certainly not least - was the threat reciprocity represented in the eyes of many Canadians to the closer consolidation of the Empire. Whatever the practicality of a closer consolidation of the Imperial Union along commercial lines the idea had a sentimental appeal strong enough in many quarters to cause reciprocity to be suspiciously

regarded as not being complementary to such a development. With no pressing need for reciprocity in Nova Scotia in 1911 all of these criticisms regarding the proposed trade arrangement may have had a far greater influence on the electorate than would have been the case in less prosperous times.¹

Sir Frederick Borden, while more inclined to credit the Liberal defeat to "good times and excellent crops",² was by no means oblivious of certain other factors which might also have contributed to the upset. As with the British in their African colonies a few decades later, the Liberals were ousted, Borden seemed to feel, partly as a consequence of their own teaching - or at least the teachings of their leader:

Nevertheless I am free to say that we were beaten by the unpopularity of our policy, or perhaps more correctly, by the wave of national sentiment which passed over the country largely the result of the lofty national ideals which the Leader of the Liberal party has held up before his countrymen and educated them in during the last fifteen years. It seems the irony of fate that his own teaching and example should have apparently caused his defeat.³

Borden expressed similar sentiments in a letter to F. A. Borden in Vancouver in which he outlined some of the factors that he thought were responsible for the outcome of the election. "The sentiment of loyalty", Borden wrote, "also, took a prominent part and it is pretty difficult to convince a people by logic under these circumstances. It seems to be the irony of fate that the man who, above all others had fostered freedom of

1. A. L. Bishop, "Why Canada Rejected Reciprocity". Yale Review, N. S., 1 (January, 1912), pp. 186-187.
2. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to F. T. Congdon, October 2, 1911.
3. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to J. Russell, October 2, 1911.

national spirit should be the first to suffer from the creation of such a sentiment, but such is the fact, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the man."¹ With Nova Scotia in 1911 enjoying a prosperity akin to that being experienced in other parts of Canada there was no reason why this time some of its inhabitants should not have been enraptured by the same nationalistic appeal which apparently moved voters elsewhere in the nation.

Nova Scotia's relative prosperity in 1911 permitted another factor, distrust of the United States, to rise to great prominence during the campaign. This factor, never too far in the background in Canadian development rose to prominence once more in 1911, partly as a result of an aroused Canadian nationalism. As has been observed the newspapers of the period in letters to the editor, editorials and reports of public speeches contained much material reflecting a strong bias against and suspicion of the United States; often the point was made none too subtly that the republic was morally inferior to Canada and to the Empire of which she was a member. In most of his letters analyzing the election results Sir Frederick Borden mentioned Canadian suspicion of the United States as having been a cause of his party's defeat. "Distrust and resentment and suspicion of the Yankees had a great deal to do with the result, coupled with the general prosperity of the country."²

While perhaps not too many Nova Scotians were taken in by the phrenetic headlines, editorials, news items and cartoons implying the almost immediate annexation of Canada to the United States should the Liberals win the election all of those devices, nevertheless, appearing almost daily

1. E. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to F. A. Borden, October 2, 1911.
2. E. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to J. Russell, October 2, 1911.

throughout the campaign, at least had the effect of constantly reminding readers of the alleged untrustworthiness of their southern neighbour. Furthermore, the vast number of positive statements and inferences respecting annexation which were made by well-known American statesmen and by others holding high office in the republic, lent a certain verisimilitude even to some of the more extreme material dealing with alleged American designs on Canada, which appeared in the Halifax Herald and other Conservative organs. Many inflammatory items in the Conservative press also had the effect of reminding Nova Scotians and other Canadians of a number of unpleasant experiences with the United States in the past, which prosperity, perhaps, had shoved somewhat into the background. F. W. Borden, for one, felt that this had been a factor of importance in the election of 1911:

There is a feeling of resentment toward the Yankees for the way in which they treated us for twenty years or more after 1866 when we were almost at their mercy, and a still stronger feeling of suspicion and distrust of the motives which have brought them to such a sudden change of policy in the matter of trade relations with us.²

There is little doubt that some strong anti-United States feeling lay dormant in Nova Scotia as in other parts of Canada; in 1911 it had only to be aroused. The emotional anti-American propaganda of the Conservative press unhampered apparently by any need to treat the United States delicately for commercial reasons - may have done much to make the rejection of the ardent American overture regarding reciprocity seem an appealing while at the same time an economically undemanding choice for many Nova Scotians.

1. A. L. Bishop, "Why Canada Rejected Reciprocity", p. 179.
2. F. W. Borden Papers, F. W. Borden to Senator William Roche, October 2, 1911.

Entering the 1911 election campaign the Laurier party badly needed an issue actually possessing the sort of appeal reciprocity was believed by so many Liberals to have. The opposition was in excellent fighting trim, with a strong and popular leader. The prestige of the Liberal Party, however, had been on the decline. With some justification one loyal Liberal newspaper remarked after the election that Laurier had entered the contest "with a corrupted and enfeebled army".¹ But in Nova Scotia at least, by September 21, the Liberals, in actuality, possessed no great issue. So considerable was the prosperity of the province, apparently, that reciprocity's rewards seemed too uncertain and its risks too numerous to elicit any significant response from the electorate. Thus it would seem that the party of Laurier went into the campaign in Nova Scotia, whether it realized it or not, dependent on the individual worth of its candidates or on the appeal of promises other than reciprocity, to win victory.

On the island of Cape Breton the quality of the Liberal candidates was satisfactory; shipbuilding had been built up to be a major issue and in addition the political composition of the constituencies, with the possible exception of Cape Breton South, seemed to favour the Laurier party. The voters of Inverness, occupying the northwestern third of Cape Breton Island, behaved predictably in the election of 1911. Because of their location and their economy, reciprocity had little to offer. On the other hand the small reduction in the coal duty was not sufficient to persuade any great number of them that they should vote Conservative. Even though the majority for their candidate, A. W. Chisholm, declined by over 500

1. A. L. Bishop, "Why Canada Rejected Reciprocity", p. 179.

from that of 1908, his 1911 majority was the second highest in Nova Scotia and one of the highest in Canada.

Judging by a Halifax Chronicle report regarding "ILL NATURED TALK OF INVERNESS TORIES" the fact that Chisholm was a Roman Catholic may have been of more assistance to him than his party affiliation. The incident described by the Chronicle ostensibly occurred after the train from Inverness town arrived in Port Hood:

A number of Conservative passengers drove from the station to the hotel, waving yellow and orange flags and shouting insults to people on the road. The waving of these flags was followed by four pipers who several times during the day played on the bagpipes "The Boyne Water", the battle cry of the Orangemen. This could only be taken as a direct insult to the Catholic people of this community and many who voted for the Conservative candidate on September 21st resented the insult.¹

Religion was also cited to have been an issue in Cape Breton South but that it was as important a factor as shipbuilding or even campaign organization seems unlikely.

In Cape Breton North and Victoria Liberal D. D. MacKenzie in 1911 greatly increased his majority over that of 1908. His own ability as a vote-getter was in part responsible, it would seem. Although he had stood for the riding of Cape Breton North and Victoria since its creation in 1903 and had run in ten municipal elections MacKenzie was never defeated in any election. D. D. MacKenzie in 1911 however was too shrewd a politician to offer only himself. "MacKenzie and Public Money" was apparently a popular slogan with Cape Breton North and Victoria Liberals. And the Sydney Post may have inadvertently revealed the reason for much of MacKenzie's success in an August 17 editorial in which, with all the righteous

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 28, 1911.

anger it could muster, the Tory organ castigated the Sydney Record for its mercenary appeal to the voters of the northern riding:

It tells the voters of the north riding that D. D. MacKenzie has procured the expenditure of large sums of public money in his constituency and generously intimates that if they will accord him a decent measure of support this time the riches of the Dominion treasury will flow like water through the needy places of the north. Railways, breakwaters and public wharves are among the good things in store ... "MacKenzie and public money" in the North, "Carroll and Shipbuilding" in the South, are the inspiring political principles that the Record holds up to the people of Cape Breton.

Perhaps the population of Richmond constituency anticipated that some of the bountiful largesse with which D. D. MacKenzie would allegedly be flooding Cape Breton North and Victoria might flow into their riding. Or the promise of a shipbuilding industry in Sydney might have appealed to some electors of Richmond as being of possible benefit for their constituency also. In any event Richmond returned a Liberal as it had done in the three previous elections. G. W. Kyte's majority over J. A. Gilles in 1911 was 285.

Probably the promise of some breakwaters and public wharves assisted William Chisholm also, as he defeated J. J. Cameron by a sizable majority, in the constituency of Antigonish. The Conservatives declared that with a better candidate they could have captured Antigonish,¹ but as the only Conservative ever to hold the seat since Confederation was Sir John Thompson, one of the country's prime ministers, this was probably wishful thinking. Thus Antigonish while not in a position to benefit much from reciprocity returned a Liberal again and by a large majority.

In Guysborough the majority of the Liberal candidate, J. H. Sinclair,

1. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to J. C. Douglas, September 7, 1911.

was about seventy percent higher than his previous majority, in the election of 1908. The proposed Guysborough railway likely had something to do with the voting pattern in Guysborough.¹

To a large extent the reason that Pictou elected a Liberal in 1911 was the same reason that prompted the voters of that riding to vote Liberal majorities in the two previous federal elections; E. M. MacDonald was the government candidate. He was a personal friend of the Prime Minister and Laurier selected MacDonald to accompany him on his western tour in 1910. The strongly Conservative Toronto News once said of MacDonald that he was "a really able and genuinely likeable man".² As the Opposition candidate in Pictou apparently had little of MacDonald's charm or appeal, in the eyes of the voters, the Borden party, it would seem, did not have much hope of a victory in Pictou. One prominent Nova Scotia Conservative maintained MacDonald's majority would have been about 500 instead of 284 if the only mining journal in the province, the Maritime Mining Record, had not been persuaded to come out solidly against reciprocity.³

The constituency of Halifax returned two members to Ottawa in 1911. Robert Borden and A. B. Crosby were Conservative candidates and A. K. MacLean and Edward Blackadder fought for the Liberals. One shrewd Conservative observer felt that his party was far ahead of the Liberals until the latter switched strategy shortly before election day.

1. Supra, pp. 244-254.
2. J. H. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912), pp. 678-679.
3. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to "Mr. Blount", November 8, 1911.

The Liberals fought the issue absolutely wrong at first. Halifax is a non-producing country and the cry was "Laurier and Larger Markets". They followed the lines of the Ontario cry that this was a farmer's campaign. The last four or five days they have swung round and are endeavouring now to make the battle cry in Halifax "Laurier and Cheaper Food". This has encouraged their followers and there is a better sentiment prevailing in the Liberal camp. If the election had been voted on a week ago the result would have been that this constituency would have been carried by 1,000 though I believe that it will still go Conservative, but it is always doubtful.¹

If the outcome in Halifax appeared doubtful to Hector McInnes, A. K. MacLean had much to do with the closeness of the race. When the federal election was called A. K. MacLean resigned his seat as M.P.P. for Lunenburg in order, said the Bridgewater Bulletin, that he might go to Halifax to try to defeat Borden.² So greatly was the Liberal position actually strengthened in Halifax that "up until a late hour on Election Day it was thought that R. L. Borden was defeated in Halifax."³

The Liberals won one of the Halifax seats back from the Conservatives probably for the same reason that they seem to have recaptured South Cape Breton; shipbuilding was successfully put forward as an alternative issue to reciprocity. With Halifax standing a much better chance than Sydney of getting any east coast shipbuilding industry the prospect of such a development attracted, it would seem, a higher percentage of votes for MacLean and Blackadder in Halifax than for Carroll in South Cape Breton. Possibly a further cause of the Conservatives losing a seat in Halifax was that A. B. Crosby seems to have been a somewhat colourless candidate

1. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to A. Dick, September 19, 1911.
2. Bridgewater Weekly Bulletin, August 29, 1911.
3. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 264.

for the Borden party. The Halifax Chronicle spoke jeeringly of Crosby almost daily while the Herald said either nothing or as little as possible about the Halifax business man. Borden's majority over MacLean was 94; MacLean's over Blackadder was 67.

Colchester county voted Liberal in 1904 for the first time since 1874 in a general election, but John Stanfield got the seat back for the Conservatives in 1908 and was re-elected in 1911 by the large majority of 644. J. D. McLellan would seem to have been an even weaker Liberal candidate than usual for Colchester and reciprocity having little attraction for a county devoted largely to mixed and dairy farming the voters, generally speaking, no doubt saw little justification in dropping their traditional allegiance to the Conservative party. The Conservatives were probably quite surprised to win Hants county for the first time since 1891 as they seem to have regarded H. B. Tremain as being a weak candidate for their party.¹ J. B. Black, the losing candidate, in 1911 had defeated the Conservative candidate Hanright by 76 votes in 1904 and by almost twice this majority in 1908.

Cumberland was the only one of the "coal counties" to elect a Conservative candidate. But the outcome in Cumberland would seem to have been in spite of rather than because of the miners' votes. The winning candidate had harsh words for some of the local officials of the Dominion Coal Company who despite the neutralist policy of their president and their general manager, apparently canvassed extensively for H. J. Logan. It would seem that their activities met with some success since Rhodes' majority of 1908 "fell off by 250" in Springhill, and Joggins, where Mitchell's Mines were located,

1. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to J. C. Douglas, September 7, 1911.

gave Logan a majority of 150.¹ Rhodes was ultimately successful in Cumberland however - due largely, it would seem, to extensive support marshalled for him by Amherst business interests.² A second factor of assistance to Rhodes was the poor health of his Liberal opponent. "I regret", said Logan following his nomination, "I have not the health, strength or hearing I once enjoyed, and my friends must not expect that I can make the personal canvass or conduct the campaign as strenuously as in former years."³

The Liberals lost Lunenburg, apparently, for the same reason they lost Shelburne-Queens: the fishermen did not respond to reciprocity as expected. But a second factor, it would seem, causing the loss of Lunenburg was the loss of A. K. MacLean - at least that was the suggestion of the Bridgewater Bulletin:

The good old conservative town of Lunenburg is rapidly swinging into line again. For the past few years the halo one time worn by A. K. MacLean seems to attract many young men as a flame does the moth, and with about the same result. The haloic effulgence has disappeared and with it the hypnotic influence on the innocent youths of Lunenburg who are returning to the conservative fold wiser and full of glee to get home again where they are appreciated.⁴

A failure of W. S. Fielding and F. W. Borden to realize that reciprocity would not re-elect them in Shelburne-Queens and in Kings, respectively, was the basic reason why these two cabinet ministers were both ousted in 1911. In Annapolis, with reciprocity apparently as lacking in popularity as in Kings, a Conservative candidate almost as much of an "unknown" as A. DeW. Foster, was elected. Digby elected Clarence Jameson with almost exactly

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1. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to A. J. Brown, September 25, 1911.
 2. McInnes Papers, Hector McInnes to Findlay MacDonald, September 25, 1911.
 3. Halifax Morning Chronicle, August 11, 1911.
 4. Bridgewater Weekly Bulletin, August 29, 1911.

twice the majority it had given him in 1908. Digby, as has been seen, was indifferent to reciprocity and thus probably elected Jameson on his merits as a representative. His speech in the House of Commons on reciprocity was widely quoted and was probably the most effective attack made on the Taft-Fielding agreement by any Maritimes member.

Although Yarmouth would seem to have been one constituency in Nova Scotia where the vote signified an overwhelming desire for reciprocity this may not have been the case. For one thing Yarmouth was about as safe a riding for the Liberals as any in the Maritime provinces. Only once since Confederation - in the election of 1882 - had Yarmouth elected a Conservative member to Ottawa. Also the Liberal candidate in 1911 seems to have been unusually popular with his constituents. Although the election of 1908 reduced Liberal strength in Nova Scotia from eighteen seats to twelve, B. B. Law, in that election, increased his own personal majority in Yarmouth from the 359 votes he secured in 1904 to a majority of 839 votes. Since Law's 1908 majority of 839 was considerably more than double his majority for 1904 it would surely not be unreasonable to suggest that his 1911 majority of 1,184 represented but one more tribute to his own increasing popularity with the Yarmouth electorate. The Halifax Chronicle seized upon Law's majority - the largest, it said, "in Eastern Canada" - as being evidence that at least the Yarmouth fishermen were decisively and emphatically in favour of reciprocity. However the province's chief Liberal organ soon felt obliged to concede that "the result in Yarmouth was in large measure a personal triumph for Mr Law ..."¹

The Yarmouth Telegram, in its report on the Liberal nominating convention

1. Halifax Morning Chronicle, September 29, 1911.

in Yarmouth, August 10, 1911, gave further evidence of Law's appeal to the people of Yarmouth, After his name had been brought forward it was moved "amid cheers" that nominations cease, "which was carried with much enthusiasm". A committee was then chosen to advise Law of the meeting's decision. But Law refused to accept the nomination, implying that his business had suffered during the nine years in which he had represented the county. The Telegram described the reaction of the meeting to B. B. Law's announcement:

He was heartily cheered upon taking his seat, although the matter of his declining was regretted upon all sides. He was called away from the hall, where it was again resolved, amid the wildest demonstrations, to add Mayor Kelley and H. B. Cann to the former committee and again wait upon Mr. Law and urge him to accept the nomination as the entire county appeared to want no other candidate.

This second appeal to Law was successful. In thanking the convention, the Liberal nominee "commenced by asking his hearers what a man could do but accept such a hard-pressed compliment upon him as the committee had done in asking him for the second time to accept the nomination". "Mr. Law was frequently interrupted with applause and upon resuming his seat three hearty cheers and a tiger were given him." The Telegram concluded its account of the Liberal nominating convention by mentioning that E. H. Armstrong, M.P.P. for Yarmouth, in a speech given while the committee was exhorting Law to accept nomination, had "stated that from all parts of the county during his campaign there appeared to be but one cry and that was for Mr. Law".¹ So very popular, then, was Bowman B. Law in Yarmouth that even of that constituency it can not be said with any certainty that the Liberal majority obtained in the constituency September 21 attested to a tremendous desire for reciprocity by the people of the south shore riding.

1. Yarmouth Telegram, August 11, 1911.

The relative prosperity which prevailed in Nova Scotia as the second decade of the twentieth century got underway, a prosperity for which the Liberals probably deserved some of the credit, almost certainly cost the Laurier party some seats in the province in the election of 1911. For well over a century the word "reciprocity" appeared to have an almost magical appeal for Nova Scotians; initially the response to Fielding's proud announcement in the House of Commons, January 26, 1911, seemed to indicate that nothing had changed so far as Nova Scotians' appreciation of reciprocity was concerned. The Halifax Chronicle was jubilant, the Halifax Herald was unable to condemn reciprocity and there was dejection in the Conservative camp. However enthusiasm for reciprocity, even in Nova Scotia, seemed to subside considerably. Although in March the local Liberals went out of their way to praise the agreement heartily in the Legislature, by June they were apparently reluctant to associate themselves very closely with the trade arrangement when fighting for re-election. And the Conservatives, after remaining on the defensive for a short time staged a vigorous assault against reciprocity - in the press, in speeches and in vast quantities of anti-reciprocity literature. A few months after the January 26 announcement the Conservatives were emphatically declaring that not even fishermen would benefit should the Taft-Fielding agreement be implemented.

Those Nova Scotian Liberal candidates who felt that the Taft-Fielding arrangement would greatly improve their party's sagging fortunes in the province in 1911 were apparently deluded by the myth of reciprocity's perpetual popularity in Nova Scotia. They failed to realize, it would seem, the extent to which prosperity had enabled their province to identify with the rest of Canada and to accept the national ideals held by other Canadians.

On a number of occasions in the past reciprocity had been seen as a panacea for Nova Scotia's economic ills. But in 1911 no such panacea was needed because the province was economically healthy. Since the reciprocity offer was made at a time when none of the major interest groups in the province was strenuously clamouring for it, the initial enthusiasm which the offer generated very quickly subsided. The prospect of reciprocity in 1911 conjured up few if any dreams that the trade arrangement would launch Nova Scotians into a "Golden Age" because to a large extent they had already achieved their commercial paradise. Thus from Inverness to Yarmouth the Liberals who struggled to retain their seats were obliged to rely on a favourable political composition in their constituencies, on local issues or on their own popularity, to get themselves elected. Although reciprocity was probably never a significant liability it seems difficult at the same time to establish that it was ever an asset, even in the constituency of Yarmouth.

The Liberal Party in 1911 won only the number of seats which it could have expected to achieve had it dared to face the electorate bearing no scintillating offer with which to obscure the faults and weaknesses acquired during fifteen years in power. But it was in such a position, in effect, that the well organized and efficient Conservative propagandist machine - tremendously assisted by the prevailing prosperity - had placed the Liberals weeks and perhaps months before the ballots were cast on September 21.

APPENDIX A

Winning majorities in federal constituencies of Nova Scotia in the elections of 1904, 1908, and 1911.

	<u>1904</u>	<u>1908</u>	<u>1911</u>
Annapolis	L-219	L-211	C-15
Antigonish	L-809	L-20	L-481
Cape Breton North Victoria	L-64	L-17	L-615
Cape Breton South	L-305	C-225	L-104
Colchester	L-191	C-115	C-644
Cumberland	L-706	C-490	C-338
Digby	L-744	C-131	C-260
Guysborough	L-558	L-205	L-343
Halifax	L-600, L-447	C-751- C-480	C-94, L-67
Hants	L-76	L-133	C-86
Inverness	L-310	L-1,544	L-1,008
Kings	L-1,167	L-491	C-151
Lunenburg	L-452	L-201	C-408
Pictou	L-432	L-299	L-284
Richmond	L-402	L-240	L-285.
Shelburne-Queens	L-385	L-342	C-149
Yarmouth	L-359	L-839	L-1,184

Above information compiled from Sessional Paper No. 18, 1904 and from Sessional Paper No. 18, 1911.

APPENDIX B

Changes (expressed in per cent) in the support given the Liberal candidate, J. H. Sinclair, in the federal election of 1911 from the support given the same candidate in the federal election of 1908, in the polling districts of the constituency of Guysborough.

"COASTAL" POLLING DISTRICTS

1. Guysborough	-2.6
2. Manchester	-2.6
3. Melford	-4.9
4. Crow Harbour	2.4
5. Canso North	-4.2
6. Canso South	-9.8
7. Sonora	6.5
8. Marie Josephh.....	2.8
9. Whitehead	16.5
10. Indian Harbour	-4.6
11. Isaac's Harbour	-3.6
12. New Harbour	6.6
13. Tracadie	15.8
14. Larry's River	1.4
15. Liscomb	14.9
16. Mulgrave	-3.5
17. Hazel Hill	-11.2
18. Goldboro	-10.3
19. Guysborough North	-1.3
20. Prot Felix	14.2
21. Charlo's Cove	8.0
22. Beckerton	-2.3

"INLAND" POLLING DISTRICTS

1. Intervale	12.6
2. Country Harbour	7.0
3. Sherbrooke	9.6
4. Glenelg	8.7
5. Caledonia	8.3
6. Salmon River	16.6
7. Goshen	-3.2
8. Lakedale	-7.9

Above information compiled from Sessional Paper No. 18,1909 and from Sessional Paper No. 18, 1912.

APPENDIX C - RESULTS OF THE 1911 ELECTION IN NOVA SCOTIA

Constituency	Conservative Candidate	Liberal Candidate	Independent Candidate	Candidate Elected	Politics
Annapolis	A. L. Davidson	S. W. Pickup	_____	A. L. Davidson	Conservative
Antigonish	J. J. Cameron	W. Chisholm	_____	W. Chisholm	Liberal
Cape Breton N. and Victoria	J. McCormack	D. D. MacKenzie	_____	D. D. McKenzie	Liberal
Cape Breton S.	J. W. Maddin	W. F. Carroll	A. McKinnon	W. F. Carroll	Liberal
Colchester	J. Stanfield	S. D. McLellan	_____	J. Stanfield	Conservative
Cumberland	E. N. Rhodes	H. J. Logan	_____	E. N. Rhodes	Conservative
Digby	C. Jameson	A. E. Wall	_____	C. Jameson	Conservative
Guysborough	G. A. Rawlings	J. H. Sinclair	_____	J. H. Sinclair	Liberal
Halifax	A. B. Crosby R. L. Borden	A. K. MacLean E. Blackadder	_____	A. K. MacLean R. L. Borden	Liberal Conservative
Hants	H. B. Tremain	J. B. Black	_____	H. B. Tremain	Conservative
Inverness	T. Gallant	A. W. Chisholm	F. A. MacEchen	A. W. Chisholm	Liberal
Kings	A. DeW. Foster	F. W. Borden	_____	A. DeW. Foster	Conservative
Lunenburg	D. Stewart	J. D. Sperry	_____	D. Stewart	Conservative
Pictou	A. C. Bell	E. M. MacDonald	_____	E. M. MacDonald	Liberal
Richmond	J. A. Gillies	G. W. Kyte	_____	G. W. Kyte	Liberal
Shelburne-Queens	F. B. McCurdy	W. S. Fielding	_____	F. B. McCurdy	Conservative
Yarmouth	K. E. Crosby	B. B. Law	_____	B. B. Law	Liberal

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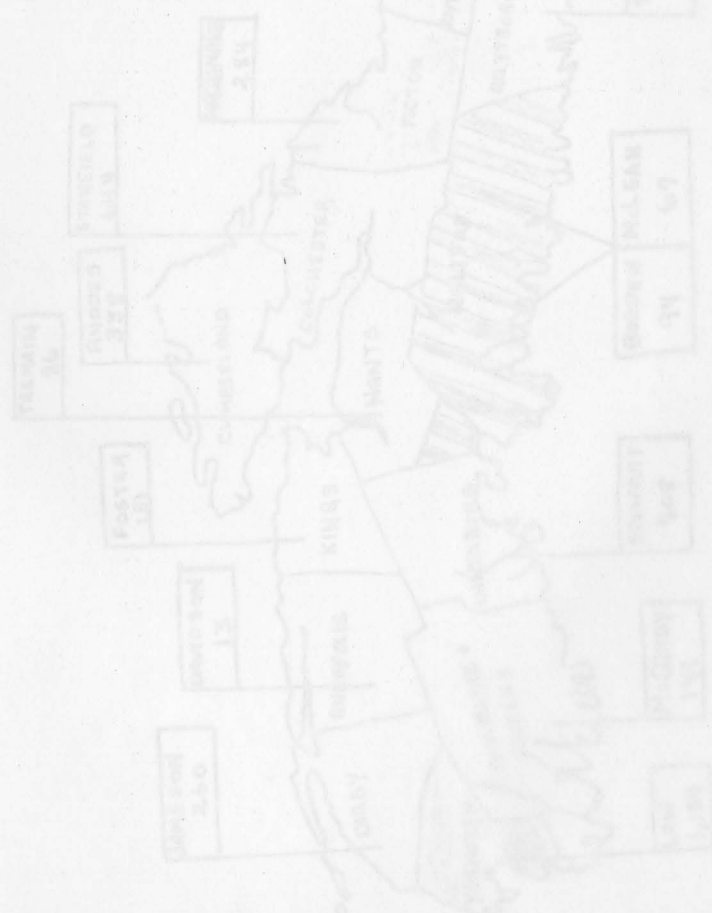
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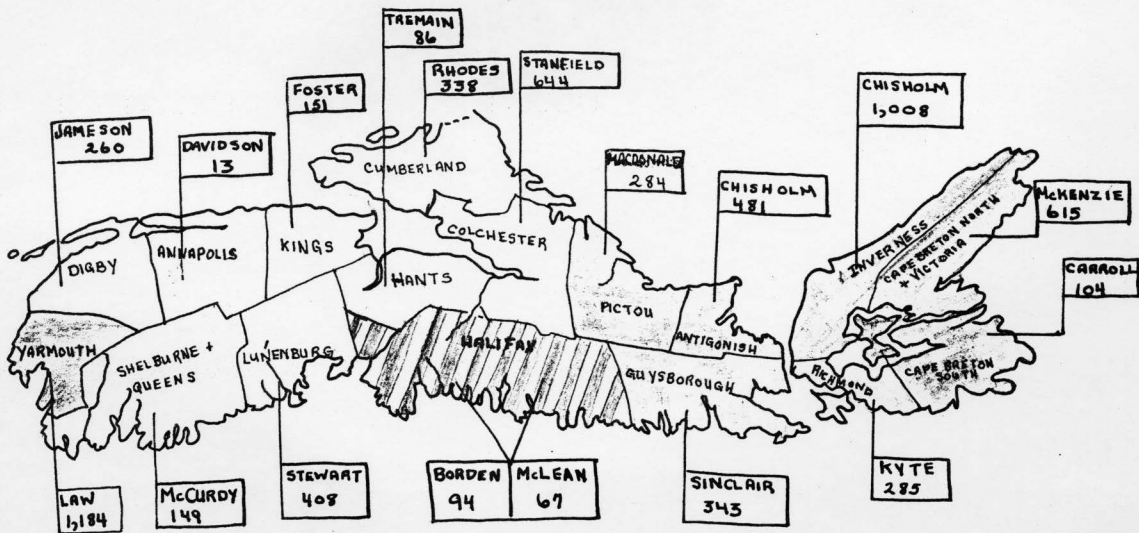
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Nova Scotia constituency, 1967
winning majorities, Twelfth General Election



Nova Scotia constituencies, candidates, and winning majorities, Twelfth General Election