

*W. K. Thomas*

## CANADIAN POLITICAL ORATORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: III

### *IV. The Order of Excellence: Joseph Howe*

OF ALL OUR VICTORIAN POLITICAL ORATORS selected for study, Joseph Howe was the best. Admittedly he could not match the grand style which George Brown occasionally achieved, and admittedly he was not the brilliant tactician that Macdonald was, but his tactics were usually more than competent, and in three other aspects of oratory he was superior to both of these men and all the others. His adaptability was astounding, his sense of structure showed polish and finish, and his rhythm at times was so powerful that, added to his other virtues, it made him the most persuasive orator of them all.

#### *Adaptability*

While it would be exaggerating to say that Sir John A. Macdonald adapted every audience and occasion to himself, it would be only a statement of fact to say that Joseph Howe adapted himself to every audience and every occasion. Entering a hostile constituency where the voters were not only Germans but also German Tories, within one paragraph he could win them over, if not to friendship, at least to a willingness to listen sympathetically. He began with a virtual challenge to his audience and followed up with a series of rhetorical questions, a device which, as noted earlier, forced his listeners to pay attention. At the same time, he appealed to the admirable qualities on which they prided themselves:

I have been told that it was useless to come here; that the Germans love not free discussion; that they could not understand me; that they were deeply prejudiced; and that they venerated Tories as some of the heathen nations reverence the ape. Can this be true? Have you the hands to toil and the frames to endure, yet not the

intellects to understand the true interests of our common country? Does the old German blood lose its generous and ennobling qualities when it circulates through a Nova Scotian's veins? Have you the industry, the frugality, the honesty of fatherland, yet lack its love of light, its patriotic ardour, its aspirations after knowledge, its devotions to rational liberty? Forbid it, Heaven! The German an enemy to free discussion! That would be strange indeed.

Having gradually moved towards answering his own questions, he then proceeded to answer them outright, and in doing so, having by now secured the attention of his audience, he moved from a provocative staccato to a reassuring rhythmic flow:

Who, when the world was shrouded in darkness—when knowledge was confined to the student's cell, and free discussion was a crime, first invented the printing press? A German. Where is that precious relic of human ingenuity and intelligence still preserved? In a German city, beneath the shadow of the noble hills of the vine-clad and abounding Rhine. The Germans Tories—the subservient tools of bad men in power! It may be so; and yet I read in history, that when Europe groaned beneath the feudal system—when each mail-clad baron built his castle on the rock and harassed the peasant and levied contributions on the merchant, it was to German energy and courage and intellect that Europe owed its freedom. Then it was that the free cities of Germany formed that noble league, combining all who lived by labour against those who lived by rapine and battering about their oppressors' ears the strongholds of Toryism, whose ruins survive but to decorate the scenes they no longer overawe.<sup>14</sup>

The vivacity of this passage is so marked that one can virtually see the accompanying gestures, but the more important thing to note is that it is good stuff for hustings oratory—florid demagoguery, if you will, but still good stuff for its purpose. Lunenburg before this had voted Tory consistently; at the election following Howe's tour it unseated three of the veteran Tories and returned in their place three of Howe's friends. (*Speeches*, 1, 582.)

When Howe wished, not to win his audience, but to destroy it—or, rather, part of it—he could be terse and pithy, antithetical and even epigrammatic. Here is a passage in which he fairly spat out his disdain for an opponent. He began by taking his opponent's question and applying it to the whole group of Reformers:

The learned member is very anxious about the interests of the minority at the next election, and asked what would become of them? Why, what becomes of us? We have never excited his sympathies, awakened his solicitude. Here we are, a body of independent gentlemen; bound together by public ties; resisting the blandishments of power; rejecting the sweets of office; taking our stand upon public principles; supporting good measures and opposing bad ones; and honourably discharging our duties to our Sovereign, to each other, and to our country. We have asked for nothing—got

nothing. Let those who charge us with ambition and selfishness copy our example and follow in our footsteps, if they are left in a minority. If they copy us, they will secure public confidence; if we copy them, we are certain to lose it.

Having moved towards his opponents, Howe then completed the shift by referring to an unspecified number of discredited Conservatives:

But, sir, should parties change sides, our difficulties will not arise from any selfishness or want of moderation in our ranks; they will not proceed from the manly and disinterested Conservatives, who will go into opposition. Our difficulty will be to deal with such "loose fish" as the learned member, who will support any Government; ask patronage and take it from any administration; and who swim into any pool which happens to be full. How can we resist the claims of Conservative gentlemen who go into distant counties with old newspapers in their hands, applauding our acts and swearing by our opinions? The Opposition may have committed errors and have had their faults; but a more manly, public-spirited, united, and disinterested body of men were ever exhibited by the legislative conflicts of any country.

It has been plain that Howe was attacking principally the single person who had raised the original objection. Now by means of a transition composed of questions he turned on him openly, and then concluded by blending the specific and the general:

What right has the learned member to upbraid such men? Has he evinced any repugnance to take office? Had the Governor to chase over the marshes of Hants and to tie his legs, before the silk gown could be forced over his shoulders? Or did the learned member, the moment he saw it fluttering in the breeze, leap into its folds, with an eagerness that only evinced how ready he was for an office more lucrative and honourable? I will tell the learned member how a minority should be protected; first by the justice of the party in power; and next, by the force of public opinion. A party may form the Government, but once formed it should discharge the Sovereign's obligations to the whole country. By justice, it will widen its base; injustice will narrow it; and if unjust, public opinion will arm the minority with strength to overturn it. Let the learned member take comfort then; he will not be without his remedies. (*Speeches*, I, 586-587.)

On another occasion Howe probably felt as much anger at injury as he did on the preceding. But this time he had to appear all sweetness and light to his audience at Middle Musquodoboit, and convince them that both the Reformers and the policies they supported were entirely reasonable. Consequently Howe had to use restraint, a restraint all the more remarkable when one keeps in mind the anger he let blaze at his opponent in the legislature. He began by quietly referring to a local grievance and discussing it in such detail that he won the respect of his audience

for having cared so much about them as to acquaint himself with their local concerns. At the same time he ensured immediate interest, for he was making his policy concrete and applying it to the individual members of his audience:

But, it may be asked, what are these liberal opinions? What are you all contending about? I will tell you. As respects this town, we are for a system of responsible government—such an administration of our municipal affairs as will give to the lower and middle classes that influence in society to which they are entitled, and place all the officers who collect and expend the people's money under the people's control. Every complaint that has been hitherto made has been answered by an obnoxious appointment or an increase of expense. The grand jury turned out the clerk of the licence because he did not keep his accounts correctly. What was the result? Most of you know that a new one was appointed and the fees of the office were doubled; but some of you may not know that the law was so altered as to make what was an annual office a freehold for life, giving the grand jury power to appoint a new officer only when the situation became vacant.

He then turned to broader concerns, but even here took care to tie them down to vivid factual detail (the mace and the woolsack) which would make them immediately intelligible to his audience. Half-way through, he admittedly used an hyperbole (the five hundred votes), but in the situation it was a justifiable hyperbole, and through it glinted the anger he was holding in carefully reasoned restraint. Towards the end of the paragraph he began to use the trite simile of the Egyptian mummy, but quickly turned it into something fresh and striking:

As respects the general concerns of the Province, we ask for those free institutions which, while they truly reflect the feelings of the people, shall best promote the happiness and prosperity of the country. The British laws are modified to suit the condition of the colonies and we see no reason why British institutions should not be, in like manner, adapted to our situation. We are not such fools as to believe that the glory and the value of the British Constitution are to be found in the mace which lies on the table of the Commons or the woolsack on which the Lord Chancellor sits; we know that its great corner-stone is responsibility to the people. In England, one vote of the people's representatives turns out a ministry and a new one comes in, which is compelled to shape its policy by the views and wishes of the majority. Here, we may record five hundred votes against our ministry and yet they sit unmoved, reproducing themselves from their own friends and connections . . . . In England the people can breathe the breath of life into their government whenever they please; in this country, the government is like an ancient Egyptian mummy, wrapped up in narrow and antique prejudices—dead and inanimate, but yet likely to last for ever. We are desirous of a change, not such as shall divide us from our brethren across the water, but which will ensure to us what they enjoy. (*Speeches*, I, 104.)

Perhaps the most attractive passage is one in which powerful energy and

reasoned restraint blend to produce vigour. The passage is taken from Howe's pamphlet on Confederation, which he addressed to the uncommitted British public and which is included in this study since its style is obviously that of his formal addresses. Of particular note is the power of phrasing to be seen in the parts that are italicized.

By organizing the whole empire, by standing upon long recognized rights, by firmness, tact and moderation, peace [with the United States] may be preserved, and friendly commercial arrangements may be revived and strengthened; but any attempt to prematurely construct a rival confederacy *too large for a colony and too weak for a nation*, will but increase our difficulties an hundred-fold. When once organized, even if every man in the Provinces was a consenting party, it must be obvious that the new nation could not stand alone, and it is equally certain that the people of England would expect to be relieved from the responsibility and burthen of its defence. Inevitably it must succumb to the growing power of the republic. A treaty offensive and defensive with the United States, involving ultimate participation in a war with England, would be the hard terms of its recognition as a separate but not independent state; and if this were refused, one of two things would happen, either the new nationality would be overrun and annexed, or, harassed by Fenian raids and menaced by superior numbers *till their revenues were wasted and their industry was paralyzed*, the Provinces would voluntarily consent to rub out the long frontier they could not defend, and seek admission to the republic on the best terms they could obtain. (*Speeches*, II, 488-489.)

Much of Howe's astounding adaptability can now be seen. In the passage just quoted, as a Briton from over the seas he could prod the British public in outraged provincial patriotism. As we shall soon see, he could as easily be chaste and logical in exposition and deferential in persuasion when addressing a meeting of American businessmen. On the hustings and in a convivial after-dinner atmosphere he could speak casually and impromptu, and in exhortation before an audience of young men he could be a burning patriot—though still clear-headed. In speeches outside politics he was equally adaptable. When called upon to give an oration on Shakespeare, his speech suited the occasion; and when addressing the Mechanics' Institute on the subject of eloquence, he again adapted his style and content accordingly, taking care in particular to allude to, and quote from, all the poets and works of literature which his audience would expect him to.

In fact, many of the excesses of style into which Howe occasionally fell probably resulted from his adjusting himself a little too well to the audience he was addressing. When speaking, say, to the Mechanics' Institute, he would adopt the late Romantic lushness of style which they would appreciate, and occasionally he

would go a little too far. When this happened, such a list of disparate (though not conflicting) metaphors as this would result:

Truth has often been struck out here by the collision of opinion—the imagination has spread its noblest plumage, when fluttered by the breath of generous emulation; and the untutored have sometimes risen to a height of genuine eloquence . . . . (*Speeches*, I, 568.)

In the lushness of this style he could also be as trite and commonplace as anyone else, as when speaking of Peter the Hermit he said:

He was the true fiery cross; and as he passed from city to city and country to country, the souls of men kindled, until Europe was in a flame. The peasant beat his ploughshare into a weapon; the baron ceased from rapine and violence, to assume the symbols of salvation; and monarchs left their kingdoms to the government of Heaven, while they crossed the seas, to purchase eternal life by the thrust of lance and stroke of sword. (*Speeches*, I, 578.)

But often Howe's excesses were carefully calculated, as in the passage with which this section began. With the need to win the sympathy of hostile Lunenburg voters, he was entirely justified in his trite grandiosity and even in his description of "a German city, beneath the shadow of the noble hills of the vine-clad and abounding Rhine."

### *Structure*

Part of Howe's structural skill has already been seen, for his ability to shift between hard-hitting short sentences and longer, flowing sentences contributed greatly to his adaptability. It goes almost without saying that in both his speech on Reciprocity and his pamphlet on Confederation he availed himself of the formal structure characterizing the classical forensic oration. He thus not only secured order, clarity, and strength, but also assured that every topic in its turn would receive complete exposition and at the same time would be kept in due relation to the whole argument. But it is in his transitions that Howe stands out from the other orators in structural skill. Apart from George Brown, in whom the art was still rudimentary, none of the other orators even approached a skilful use of transition, and for this reason I have not even mentioned the matter before.

Howe's speech on Reciprocity serves as a good example. He began the first paragraph thus:

I have never prayed for the gift of eloquence till now. Although I have passed

through a long public life, I never was called upon to discuss a question so important in the presence of a body of representative men so large.

After expanding ingratiatingly on the importance of his audience, he concluded the paragraph thus:

I may well feel awed in presence of such an audience as this; but the great question which brings us together is worthy of the audience and challenges their grave consideration.

Introducing the "question" here allowed him to begin the next paragraph thus:

What is the question? Sir, we are here to determine how best we can draw together in the bonds of peace, friendship and commercial prosperity the great branches of the British family.

The rest of this long paragraph he devoted to the things in general that the United States and the Empire held in common; and then at the beginning of the third paragraph he returned to the original question, this time in the particular and this time also narrowing it still further:

The most important question to be considered at this great meeting of the commercial men of North America involves the relations which are to subsist between the inhabitants of the British Empire and the citizens of the United States. Before we can deliver a rational judgment upon this question, it becomes us to consider what those relations are now.

Half-way through the paragraph, he arrived at the liberal reduction of British tariffs, and finished the paragraph with examples of it. The opening of the fourth paragraph referred back to the preceding:

In three departments of economic science Great Britain has made advances far outstripping in liberality the policy of this or any foreign country.

This opening served to introduce not only that particular paragraph but also the following three, which were ranked in logical sequence and did not require any syntactical linking. At the end of the seventh paragraph he summed up what had gone before, and then introduced the Reciprocity Treaty as an example of British liberality specifically applied:

I trust I have shown . . . that [the British Empire's] commercial code is characterized by principles of liberality so broad, as to invite exchanges with all the world, and that, altogether independent of the Reciprocity Treaty, she has granted privileges to this country for which no equivalents have been asked or given.

The following several paragraphs then dealt with the terms and advantages of the Reciprocity Treaty. A little later on, after speaking of its alleged disadvantages to the Lower Provinces, he began the next paragraph:

In this connection it is but right to show that, whether the treaty was fair or unfair, in the working of it the citizens of this country have had advantages not contemplated when it was signed.

After two paragraphs on these advantages, which were unexpected and in that sense illegitimate, he said:

Let us now look at the working of the treaty, and estimate, if we can, in a judicial spirit, its fair and legitimate fruits.

Thus it was that, in moving from one topic to another within a single major division, Howe maintained a constant, onward flow. When he turned from one major division to another, however, he made a sharp break:

Mr. Chairman, let me now turn your attention to some of the topics touched by other gentlemen in the course of this three days' debate. (*Speeches*, II, 438-444.)

This too was skilful, but while moving within a single division he wished to lead his hearers' minds on until they had comprehended all the aspects of that major division of thought, and had seen how they fitted together and were related to the whole; but, when about to turn to another division it was best to indicate that the previous division was disposed of, and thus make his hearers' minds ready for the next—and to do this a clear, sharp break was the most suitable and skilful method.

### *Tactics*

As mentioned earlier, Howe's tactics were usually more than competent. His primary tactic, of course, was adapting both content and style to his particular audience so that he could quickly win their sympathy and interest. Another tactic was the use he made of his encyclopaedic grasp of facts down to the minutest detail, and his power of presenting them in an interesting manner that brought out their significance. This we have already seen in his address to the voters of Middle Musquodoboit, and it can also be seen in his address to the jury when he was charged with libel early in his career, in his Reciprocity speech, and in his Confederation pamphlet. Unfortunately, Howe occasionally misused this ability of his, and would push a train of reasoning to an extreme, as in his Confederation pamphlet where he took (or professed to take) for granted what was only possible. It is probable, however, that he felt that he had to offset equally extravagant claims made on the opposite side. But no such charitable explanation can be made for the inconsis-



encies in his pamphlet that Sir Charles Tupper was quick to seize upon in his letter to Lord Carnarvon, inconsistencies that may be illustrated by his assertion in one place that the United States, because of its federal constitution, was in a state of dissolution, and in another that the same country was so strong that it must inevitably attack British North America if the Provinces dared to unite.

Among Howe's other oratorical tactics was the habit of often ending his speeches with a glance at a much larger topic, in such a way that the audience's horizon was suddenly expanded, and with much the same effect as the quiet ending of a classical tragedy—the audience was restored to its world of many concerns, and at the same time was forced to remember what they had seen and heard in terms of its relation to those many concerns. Like the other orators, Howe used his share of rhetorical questions, and, as was seen in the quotation from his Lunenburg speech, they were often skilfully and successfully used. Like Macdonald, he could use satire in a rather obvious but still amusing way. Speaking of the proposed confederation, he said:

The 'dimensions' of the "new nationality" will certainly be formidable enough, seeing that it is to comprise a territory of 4,000,000 square miles. The United States have not so much. All Europe, with its family of nations, is smaller by 92,000 square miles. When all the absorptions and reconstructions arising out of Prussia's great success are made, there will still remain at least sixteen sovereign states in Europe, on a territory smaller than that which these aspiring political speculators at Ottawa seek to control. The "dimensions" of the new nation will certainly be sufficiently imposing, very nearly realising Sam Slick's comprehensive phrase of "all out doors." When we survey it, with one human being standing on every square mile, its strength in proportion to its dimensions can be rightly estimated.

The Northern States, with 24,000,000 people, by great exertions and at enormous cost, were at last able to put into the field a million of soldiers. With 4,000,000 people, this "fresh power", by exertions of the same character, after expending money in the like proportion, may be able to equip and pay an army of 166,000, and should the troops be extended along the land frontier facing the United States, they will be only 37 yards apart, and may occasionally catch a glimpse of each other where the country is not thickly wooded. If massed on several points, they would certainly not be much more than a match for the 200,000 men who marched past the White House at Washington in May, 1865, and who numbered about one-fifth of the disciplined soldiers of the republic. (*Speeches*, II, 486.)

Perhaps the most skilful and telling tactic Howe ever used occurred in his speech on Reciprocity. After dealing with "a subject of some delicacy and importance," namely, the charge that Canada had sympathized with the Confederate States during the Civil War, Howe, in practically the only introduction of deeply

felt emotion into the speech, mentioned the fact that his own son had served with the Northern army. The audience of American businessmen broke into immediate and sustained applause, and his handling of the "subject of some delicacy and importance" was concluded triumphantly. (*Speeches*, II, 453.)

### *Rhythm*

Comments on the extracts that have been quoted from Howe have frequently included references to prose rhythm, which could be discerned and appreciated in varying degrees of fulness. It was especially marked in the Lunenburg passage, and in fact many of his more rhetorical paragraphs followed a similar rhythmical pattern—a staccato piling up; then, as the audience was won over to a particular idea, a gradual change to a persuasive flow, brought about largely by an increase in interpolated and delaying clauses; and finally an ending in grandiose triumph. A more subtle and a more attractive rhythm is to be found in the extract which I am about to quote.

The passage is necessarily long, for rhythm works in prolonged measures. Much of the diction, apart from a few striking phrases, may appear somewhat trite and hackneyed, but it should be remembered that in Howe's contemporary situation the phrases had immediate and vital meaning, and that, moreover, there was not nearly so much tarnish on the phrases as there is now, after more than a century of overexposure. And as a final caution, the reader is asked to read the passage aloud, and to observe the punctuation carefully, for it is a sure guide as to where to pause. Proceed slowly and quietly, for if you read with quiet restraint, you will feel, straining against the cheek, the slow-swelling rhythm and the gathering massive power.

Howe begins by grouping rhythmically the various pursuits in which distinction is to be won, and in doing so uses the device of arranging his objects in groups of three—a device which McGee often used. The difference between the two lies in the fact that Howe's content calls for this kind of grouping and also in his deliberate lengthening of the last phrase in almost every group—a lengthening which provides a graceful and flowing conclusion to the series. After his opening sentence, which is quite long and which introduces the theme in the form of a question, Howe gives an affirming answer in a startlingly short sentence, a sentence that is all the more effective because it is so short. But he does not stop there; instead he follows up with another short, effective clause, which, furthermore, brings the theme to bear on the audience and allows for a graceful transition to the rest of the paragraph.

The last clause, being composed of well-rounded sounds and carefully chosen liquids, is, in consequence, stately and full:

These splendid individual instances have often been pressed upon your attention; and I only allude to them here, that I may inquire, whether men in masses may not achieve for their common country a moral and intellectual reputation, and a measure of collective prosperity and influence, equally disproportioned to her apparent means; equally honourable to their joint exertions; and equally worthy of that untiring diligence and indefatigable hope, without which nothing valuable can ever be attained? I think they can. I would have you think so; and, sanctioned by your judgment, I wish the sentiment to go abroad over the Province, and to become strongly impressed upon the minds of my youthful countrymen, until it ripens into a cheerful and fixed determination to raise up their native land to a point of distinction in agriculture, commerce, and the arts, in literature and science, in knowledge and virtue, which shall win for her the admiration and esteem of other lands, and teach them to estimate Nova Scotia rather by her mental riches and resources, than by her age, population, or geographical extent. With nations as with individuals, though much depends on natural endowments, much also depends on first impressions and early culture; and with them, as with us, though in some cases accidents may make or mar, it rarely happens that their ruling passions and fixed determinations do not control their destiny.

In the second paragraph Howe continues his skilful grouping and, especially in the concluding clause, chooses words full of resonant "m's" and "n's" and liquid polysyllabicity, with the whole movement coming to rest on a strong monosyllable:

This is the infant hour, or, if you will, the childhood of our country; and it is, if not for you and me, at all events for the race among whom we live, and to whom our public declarations are addressed, to say what shall be her future progress; what resources shall be placed within her reach; what rules laid down for her guidance; what opinions and determinations indelibly impressed upon her mind.

In the third paragraph the rhetorical questions add insistence and cumulative power to the increasing swell; and in "no honourable report" the almost Shakespearian diction fits the rhythm superbly:

Shall we then neglect this high duty, which we owe alike to the hardy pioneers by whom the Province was conquered and explored, and who have done so much for us; and to those generations that must come after and to whose feet our knowledge and virtues should be as a lamp and over whose destiny, whether for good or evil, we have such extensive control? Shall we lie down in idleness and doubt, because we are but a handful of men, and because our country might be almost hidden in some of the Canadian lakes? Shall we forswear all mental competition because other countries are larger and more advanced? Shall we aspire to no national character, no combined influence, no honourable report? Shall we turn recreant to the blood and example of those glorious islands from which we derive our language and our name? Shall we

forget the obscurity of their origin, and the vicissitudes of their history, and the obstacles which *their* children and *our* fathers triumphed over and controlled? Or shall we, upon a continent peopled by their descendants, sell our birthright for the pottage of timidity and sloth? Shall we teach our children to seek excuses for idleness and irresolution in the narrow dimensions of their country and tacitly to yield to a Canadian or Virginian superiority in all things, because he chanced to inherit a more fertile soil and can reckon a million who bear his name?

Finally, in the fourth paragraph the open and long vowels of the closing phrases, reinforced by the "m" and "n" sounds, increase the sonorousness of the closing swell:

The doubt that we could not do otherwise, has often painfully oppressed my mind; but I have taught myself to hope, to reason, and resolve, and I am satisfied that we may, if we choose, tread a far higher path than that to which, it would at first view appear, our destiny must inevitably lead. Will you throw aside your own doubts, and labour for a consummation so devoutly to be wished? Will you, on this night, pledge with me your faith that there shall come a time when *Nova Scotian* will be a name of distinction and of pride; when it shall be a synonym for high mental and moral cultivation; when the sound of it in a Briton's ears shall be followed by the reflection that the good seed which he sowed had fallen upon genial soil; and when the American, while glancing his eye over the map of this mighty continent, shall recognize, in the little peninsula jutting out upon the bosom of the Atlantic, the home of a race superior to many and second to none of the countless tribes by whose gigantic territories they are embraced? (*Speeches*, I, 11-12.)

Upon examination the speeches of McGee and Blake have proved disappointing: both of them crammed so much excess material into their speeches that they are blurred and wandering, like an overbloated *ignis fatuus*. They still, however, provide amusement—both of them in their careless use of diction and metaphor, and McGee especially in the inappropriateness of his large rhetorical flourishes. Markedly different from these two, and orators of genuine merit, were the other men who have been examined. Macdonald, with his homely expression and brilliant tactics, impressed his personality on each of his audiences, and consequently at all times it is a joy to watch him at work. Dunkin, in his forceful, workmanlike clarity, was a refreshing exception in a period often given to a lushness of style. Brown possessed an ability to organize efficiently, added a remarkable energy to his clarity of expression, and occasionally achieved the grand style. And Joseph Howe went beyond even these orators.

Although surpassed by Brown in the grand style, he was at least equal to the

best of the others in organization, tactics, and phrase-making, and beyond these qualities possessed four characteristics of excellence. He was a master of factual detail and its skilful presentation; in his smooth and effective transitions he possessed the last touch in structural skill; his astounding adaptability allowed him to persuade even a greater range and variety of audiences than those won over by the others; and his powerful rhythm could reinforce and make still more effective all his other qualities of persuasion. As a result, in arousing attention no matter where he went, in enforcing his arguments, in stimulating the imagination of his hearers, and in exciting their feelings, Joseph Howe was supremely successful.

## NOTES

14. *The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, ed. J. A. Chisholm (Halifax: Chronicle, 1909), I, 583. I trust that I may be allowed to extend the term "Canadian retroactively, and so include the speeches Howe made before 1867.