

*Gordon MacKay Haliburton*

## **The Planter Roots of Thomas Chandler Haliburton**

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the first Canadian writer to enjoy international acclaim, was, like all of us, moulded by a combination of genetic inheritance and by the environment around him in his early formative years. What were these influences in his case? Scholars and writers have examined them and have given answers to illuminate the reality they perceive, a reality conforming to their particular interests or arguments. Some detect as the chief element in forming his "Tory" personality, the Loyalist legacy of suffering and sacrifice imbibed at his mother's breast (Chittick 16). Others argue that his more rebellious Scottish Border ancestry made an important contribution to his literary "genius" (Logan 5).

It is surprising that no one has developed an argument founded on the premise that he was fundamentally what he was most likely to have been as a result of his ancestry and environment, a transplanted New Englander among a whole community of transplanted New Englanders, a Bluenose among Bluenoses! True it is that he could trace his ancestry to the Scottish Border Country: one-eighth of it, for through his father, born in Nova Scotia, and his grandfather, born in Boston, he had a great-grandfather who migrated to Boston from Scotland as a teenager and died before his sons were old enough to even retain a memory of him. True too, that Haliburton's maternal grandparents were Loyalists; but these grandparents were dead long before he was born and his mother, in turn, had only two months to cherish her babe before she, too, was gone. The suggestion that she indoctrinated her son with Loyalist prejudices is obviously untenable.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the name he bore, the name of his

mother's sister's husband, Thomas Chandler, there is no evidence at all that his Loyalist relatives contributed anything to the shaping of his mind and emotions.

The greater truth is that the chief influences on the infant Haliburton came from the paternal side, and specifically from the household of his paternal grandparents, William and Lucy Haliburton.<sup>2</sup> They were the source of fifty percent of his genetic heritage and it was in their home that the orphaned child appears to have had all his early experience of family life. William and Lucy were original Planter settlers, a newly-married couple forming part of the influx from New England into the new townships made for them in Nova Scotia once Wolfe had defeated Montcalm and these lands appeared safe for English settlers. As individuals William Haliburton and his cousin and wife Lucy (Lusannah) Otis had their own talents and aspirations, but they were part of a family connection which had moved to Nova Scotia with them or at about the same time, and all of them were by birth or adoption part of the New England Planter community which settled around the tidal waters of the Minas Basin or along the Atlantic Coast.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, then, was not at all, as many Canadians and even Nova Scotians appear to believe, a transplanted Englishman living amongst "Colonials" with whom he had no common background, as his narrator of the Sam Slick stories often appears to be. Rather, he was heavily dependent on his New England roots and the modified New England society in which he grew up.

Haliburton was born in Windsor in 1796. His father, W. H. O. Haliburton, was a lawyer who was influential enough to be elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1806 and to hold his seat for eighteen years. For the last five years of his life he was a judge. He died in 1829. He was able to offer his only child, and did, the best education available in Nova Scotia. That was enriched with a year in England during which young Haliburton met, wooed and wed the young orphan, Louisa Neville, who became the mother of his eleven children. Haliburton articulated in Windsor and then practised law in Annapolis Royal. He was elected to the House of Assembly in the general election of 1826, but he fought only one election, for after only three years as an MLA he was appointed to

succeed his deceased father on the bench. He thereupon returned to live in Windsor where he brought up his large family.

From an early age, it has been said, he intended to express himself in writing, and in this he was encouraged by his grandfather, who himself enjoyed putting pen to paper.<sup>3</sup> Haliburton's first published effort was a short statistical essay on Nova Scotia (published anonymously) which was rewritten and enlarged as the two-volume *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* published by Joseph Howe in 1829. This was followed by *The Clockmaker* in 1836 and other fictional works in later years. After the death of his wife in 1841 he felt an increasing pull to England, where his favorite daughters were living and where his books were much appreciated. He left Nova Scotia in 1856, married a wealthy widow, was elected to the British Parliament, and died in 1866 at the comparatively early age of 70.

What then of his pioneer ancestors? Who were these Haliburtons who appeared in Newport Township, Nova Scotia, in 1761? They were, as already noted, members of a migration from New England; one that brought into the colony the first sizable group of English-speaking settlers. They play the same role in the peopling of Nova Scotia that the United Empire Loyalists do in Ontario. Family groups and sometimes extended family groups formed the body of settlers. In the case of William and his bride, Lucy (they were married in April, 1761, at Scituate, Massachusetts) their family included William's mother Abigail Otis and her new husband Dr. Edward Ellis, William's brother George, a young bachelor, and his sister Priscilla, who may have been a young widow. George later married Anna Avery, daughter of a grantee in Horton, while Priscilla became the wife of Captain Jonathan Card, a Newport grantee.<sup>4</sup> A few years later Lucy's sister, Rachel, married Benjamin DeWolf, son of the Horton grantee Simeon DeWolf, one of three brothers who settled the area which later became, in honor of the family, Wolfville. The circle of relatives also included two of Dr. Ellis's daughters, Maria, married to Captain Edmund Watmough, who was apparently in charge of the local military post, Fort Edward, in 1760, and later took up a grant in the Planter township of Falmouth, and Sarah, married to Isaac Deschamps, who held important posts in the area. These two sons-in-law were undoubtedly helpful in getting Dr. Ellis and his stepsons well settled in the early years. A third Ellis daughter came on

the scene later, when she became the wife of Frank Deslesdernier of Windsor.

Fort Edward, built at Piziquid by Gorham's Rangers to overawe the Acadians in the series of settlements collectively called Minas, had played a key role during the period of their expulsion from Nova Scotia. It now assumed a new role as the centre of officialdom and social activity, as well as of military protection, for the incoming English-speaking settlers of the region.<sup>5</sup> These settlers took root in the Minas Basin area and around harbors on the Atlantic Coast as they already had in Halifax. They made up that nucleus of population which set its stamp on the province. They set a standard of culture (basically a New England one) for the area. Subsequent groups, such as the Ulster settlers in the Truro area (many of them, in fact, uprooted from New England too), the Yorkshiremen of Cumberland and the Scots in eastern Nova Scotia, or those on the spot before them, such as the "Foreign Protestants" (mainly German) of Lunenburg, were either assimilated into that culture completely or else resisted in varying degrees. In brief, the descendants of the Planters form the quintessential embodiment of the Nova Scotian.

Was there anything about the Haliburtons and their circle which made them less typical of the New England community than other family groupings in the townships? Was Thomas Chandler Haliburton in any sense someone transplanted from an alien stock into the New England or "Bluenose" community in Nova Scotia, as certain popular accounts of his origins lead us to believe? One writer, for instance, tells us that William and Lucy Haliburton "went not like so many improvident Puritans of their time, to take up lands left by the Acadians, but rather as established gentry, for they had acquired an extensive holding in this aristocratic suburb of Halifax" (Duncan 83). In fact they came as ordinary grantees with the Rhode Island contingent. They settled in Newport Township, originally settled by Acadians, and lived with the other settlers at the Newport Town Plot while they were all waiting for their lands to be surveyed.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton drew half of his genetic inheritance from his Haliburton grandparents, and probably all of his cultural inheritance. A search of their origins will disclose in what way, if any, these were atypical or in any sense alien to New England. In actual fact they had deep and wide roots in those colonies, particularly Massachusetts, and in that respect were more truly New England-bred than many of their fellow

Planters. While descended from several old families, with a number of relatives that was legion, they were both rooted in the large Otis Family. Their parents included an Otis brother and sister: William's mother, Abigail Otis, and Lucy's father, Ephraim Otis, were the children of Job Otis and his wife Mercy Little. Ephraim and Mercy were the parents of a large family, some of whom prospered and became famous, others of whom remained poor and obscure.

The origins of the Otis Family were deeply imbedded in Puritan Massachusetts. The first of the name, and the ancestor of a multitude of descendants, was John Otis. He arrived from England and settled in the infant Massachusetts Bay Colony not later than 1635, accompanied by his wife Margaret and their children. Their son John married in 1653 Mary Jacob, and they had the customary large family. Job Otis, the grandfather of William and Lucy, was one of their children. His wife, Mercy, the grandmother of the grantees, was of even more ancient lineage, in New England terms, by about fifteen years. Her great-grandfather was Richard Warren who stepped off the *Mayflower* and onto Plymouth Rock in 1620. His daughter Anne Warren married Thomas Little, and Anne and Thomas were the parents of Ephraim Little who in 1672 married Mary Sturtevant. Ephraim and Mary in turn became the parents of Mercy Little who married Job Otis and whose grandchildren were William and Lucy Haliburton of Nova Scotia.

One of the many cousins of William and Lucy was James Otis "the Patriot" (1727-1783), a lawyer, regarded by the British Government as one of their most dangerous opponents in the legal battles which took place between the Crown and the mercantile interests of New England between 1763 and 1776. *The Dictionary of American Biography* devotes nearly five pages to him. His passions were so often on the boil that in later years he seemed deranged; he met death in a fitting manner, slain by a bolt of lightning while watching a summer storm. Another cousin, in the next generation, much respected in Massachusetts, was Harrison Gray Otis (1765-1848), a contemporary of W. H. O. Haliburton, the eldest surviving son of William and Lucy. Of him we learn in *The Dictionary of American Biography* that he "inherited the winning personality, charming manners and full-blooded enjoyment of life that have characterized the Otis family for two hundred years, and which marked him off from the somewhat austere and inflexible type of New England political leadership."

Thomas Chandler Haliburton's manner of life seems to display a connection to the life-loving Otises. Some descriptions of his appearance confirm that probability. At the age of forty his "round, ruddy face, sparkling, black, deep-set eyes, and a wonderfully genial countenance,"<sup>6</sup> were noted by a contemporary. Critics of Haliburton's work might consider the possibilities of the Otis inheritance of a full-blooded enjoyment of life influencing his work as an alternative to the coarseness and crudity attributable to rough semi-civilized Scottish forbears (Logan 5). Perhaps this trait bubbling out in Nova Scotia was as much resented by Bluenoses of an "austere and inflexible type" as it was that in his forbears and distant cousins in New England. Certainly the reception of his well-known speech in the Legislative Assembly concerning twelve "antiquated spinsters" shows a lack of sense of humor, not to speak of liberality and sophistication, in the Council to which he was referring.

To return to the Otis clan in Massachusetts, the senior branch, at Barnstable, had the material and political resources to commit the area to the cause of the American Revolution, though they were not aiming at social equality. In fact they were riding the wave of the future that was to alter New England society, destroying its essential homogeneity and lack of class consciousness. As a historian of the Otis family has said: "The so-called tories were closer to being revolutionary levelers than the patriot party which represented the propertied and ruling elite" (Waters x).

Looking more closely at the nuclear family circle from which Lucy Haliburton came we can get a more precise picture of where her relatives stood with regard to independence from England. She was one of twelve surviving children, and remained on warm terms with some of her siblings, especially certain sisters, all her life. She was fortunate in having her sister Rachel DeWolf close beside her at Windsor until Rachel died in 1818. The Haliburtons and DeWolfs seem to have enjoyed each other's company and to have felt the bonds of kinship for several generations. Benjamin DeWolf, so much more successful in business matters than William Haliburton, is known to have given him financial help on occasion.

The other siblings were all in Massachusetts during the years of revolution and war, and were sent in different directions by their political or mercantile ideals. The eldest brother, Dr. Ephraim Otis, Jr., stayed on in the family home at Scituate and there carried on a medical practice in

which he was very successful. He was a member of the "Scituate Town Committee" and therefore against the Crown; a wealthy man, he lost most of his wealth "by loaning it to the Government during the Revolution, during which he was a strong and uncompromising Whig."<sup>7</sup> Mary "Polly" Otis married a farmer, William Lincoln, who was inclined to the Crown at the beginning of the rift between the colonies and the Mother Country, but once fighting actually broke out he found it wise to suppress his feelings and remained neutral. Ruth Otis married a relative, who, with his brothers, favored the King's cause; however their feelings of loyalty did not lead them so far as to have to leave their homes when the issue was decided, and they made their peace with the new order. Abigail Otis married a cousin, Job Otis, Jr., in 1776, at the time Boston was controlled by British troops; a week later he left home to join the Continental Army.

Two of Lucy's sisters, Lydia and "Nancy" (Ann) married brothers who were interested in business rather than politics, and did very well out of the war. The brothers were Abiel and Barney Smith, Boston merchants, sons of Job Smith of Taunton. Abiel became extremely wealthy, and he and Lydia best realize the idea of Otis aristocrats, for their lifestyle was the most aristocratic Boston could offer in the first decade of the next century. Their sense of *noblesse oblige* was made clear when they endowed the Smith Chair in Modern Languages at Harvard, the chair that provided Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with his living for eighteen years. They had their portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart, and supposedly they and Governor Hancock were the only owners of private carriages in Boston at the time of the beginning of the War of 1812. The foundation of Abiel Smith's fortune was his own hard work and shrewdness in business, but his wife played a large role in giving him an advantage at the very beginning of the American Revolution. He loved to tell the story and to give her full credit for saving their stock of specie from confiscation by British troops. He felt it played a large part in his subsequent success. Abiel Smith died in 1816, some years after his wife, but he left generous legacies to her sisters in Windsor and remembered some of their children also.

The New England background reveals a family identifiable with society as a whole in that region at that time. They have, as a family, been characterized as stressing continuity from generation to generation (Waters viii). One might generalize that the Otises were a wide-awake,

go-ahead kind of people, the kind Sam Slick admired, even if there were inevitably some exceptions.

Having seen where William Haliburton's relatives in New England stood during the American Revolution, an obvious question springs to mind: where did William himself stand? Like most people who minded their own business, nothing is on record to show his position, but his loyalty was probably unquestioned, since in 1783 he was briefly the recipient of a large grant of land on which he was to place settlers. His peers appear to have been similarly content with things as they were. It is worth noting that even overt feelings of neutrality were challenged when private property was at risk from so-called "Patriots" from out of Province (Starr, *Historical Facts* 4-6; *Tangled Roots* 2:1). As things stood in Nova Scotia in 1776 there was no point in taking an anti-British stance, as the few who did in Chignecto soon found out. The Haliburtons were probably loyal to the Crown in the same degree as their neighbors, watching only as interested observers events unfolding in the lower Thirteen Colonies. The fact that William's son, W. H. O. Haliburton, came to maturity in the bloody period of the French Revolution and the upheavals of the Napoleonic Wars seems quite enough to explain the importance he, and his son Thomas, attached to the British Constitution and traditional forces of order and government.

One characteristic of the Haliburton family which distinguished its members from most of their New England relatives and New Englanders in general, whether in Nova Scotia or in the old colonies, is that they were devoted adherents of a minority church, the Church of England, a church led by bishops and with a set form of worship. Of course, this was the Church that the Puritans had rebelled against. Most of the Planters were Congregationalists; that is what the Puritan brand of Low Church Anglicanism had developed into without bishops to enforce the discipline of a state religion. Indeed, as Hawthorne's writings make clear, there was resistance to tolerating the Church of England at all when the restored Stuart monarchs took steps to get a grip on New England. King's Chapel in Boston was the first Anglican church in Massachusetts and was founded as his official church by the Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros in 1689. That made it a particular object of suspicion to austere Puritans. Hawthorne in his story of "the Gray Champion" imagines this legendary figure confronting Andros and his entourage in the streets of Boston in April 1689. Describing members of the Governor's retinue he says:



But the figure which most attracted the public eye, and stirred up the deepest feeling, was the Episcopal clergyman of King's Chapel, riding haughtily among the magistrates in his priestly vestments, the fitting representative of prelacy and persecution, the union of church and state, and all those abominations which had driven the Puritans to the Wilderness."<sup>8</sup>

Thirty years after this scene supposedly took place the Scottish immigrant Andrew Haliburton was in Boston and an active member of the King's Chapel congregation. His sons Andrew, William and George were christened there. He himself was a vestryman and sometimes the church meetings took place in his house (Eaton).<sup>9</sup> In 1747, after his death, his widow subscribed a hundred pounds (old tenor) towards rebuilding the decrepit church. The new building was the first stone church in New England and remains a landmark in modern Boston.

After the migration to Nova Scotia many of the Planters seemed indifferent to organized religion, though some supported the few Congregational or Presbyterian ministers who found their way to the townships. After Henry Alline carried his fiery message amongst them, many became "New Lights" and eventually Baptists. However, there were always a few who were Anglican and practised their faith with the help of missionaries paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which had its headquarters in London. These certainly included the Haliburtons—in fact George was the S.P.G. schoolmaster for some years after his arrival—and they would have been among the 16 communicants in Windsor, along with the 9 at Newport, 11 at Falmouth and 18 at Cornwallis reported by the S.P.G. missionary, the Rev. Joseph Bennett, probably a New England man himself, in 1776 (Eaton 58).

Why this family loyalty, one may ask, to a denomination little regarded in New England and quite alien in feeling to the Presbyterianism of the established Church of Scotland during the eighteenth century, or indeed up to the present? One can only speculate that Andrew Haliburton, the Scottish immigrant to Boston, was brought up not as a Presbyterian but as a member of a family who had continued to cling to the episcopal form of the Church of Scotland as it had been under the Stuart kings before the Civil War and as it was restored by Charles II. This order of things was overthrown in 1690 when William III, brought to the throne by "the Glorious Revolution," restored Presbyterianism as a matter of

expediency in Scotland. Five hundred clergymen who refused to change their principles overnight were deprived of their livings and thrown into the streets. Amazingly, their parishioners, a large minority of the population, supported them in their adversity and refused to give them up. They did so for many years despite threats and coercion until the Government gave way and in 1712 they were granted toleration, notwithstanding the wishes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. A new denomination was created, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and with its toleration and the end of Government-enforced uniformity in that kingdom the door was opened for other dissenting denominations to appear.<sup>10</sup>

Andrew Haliburton spent his early years as an orphan, brought up by paternal grandparents, and if they adhered to the persecuted Episcopal Church he would have been familiar with the ideal of being a dissenter and a potential martyr to religious loyalties; so the minority position of the Anglican church would not have deterred him from joining it once he had discovered it was the nearest thing to his Scottish denomination. His Nova Scotian descendants remained attached to the Church of England, and showed no inclination to dissent from its spiritual teachings. William Haliburton, the grantee, gave every sign of being a sincere Anglican. During the last decade of his life the parish minister was the Rev. William Colsell King, Lucy's nephew by marriage and a personal friend of her husband. Since the parish church stood some distance from town in what is now called "the old burying ground," too far for the ailing old man to reach, he was thankful to have Mr. King bring Holy Communion to him in his own house in his last days.

The family tradition was continued in the succeeding generations: Thomas Chandler Haliburton gave a plot of land for a new church in a more convenient part of Windsor in 1845 (Davies 116), and later still a magnificent stained glass window was placed to the memory of their parents by his surviving children in the Parish Church. It remains the chief ornament of that edifice to the present day.<sup>11</sup> However it should be pointed out that the Haliburtons were not supportive of the efforts of the local Church establishment to win a special place of power in the Colony, especially when it hoped to exclude other denominations from justice and equality. This is clear particularly from their attitude to the monopoly of higher education enjoyed by King's College and the insistence of the Church that degrees be granted only to those students who fully

subscribed to Anglican tenets, a position which W. H. O. Haliburton as an MLA disapproved of. Later his son Thomas, in the same position, spoke in favor of official recognition for a rival institution, Pictou Academy.<sup>13</sup> Another instance in which the younger Haliburton followed his father's line and challenged the Church of England's presumptions in the Legislative Assembly took place in 1827 when he argued for the admission of Roman Catholics there. He was also ready to criticize his own parish priest when he considered him derelict in his duty (Davies 149-51).

Perhaps the attitude of religious tolerance in the Haliburtons derived from the attitudes imbibed at King's Chapel, which was the home of a liberal-minded congregation. It shared in the reaction against rigid Calvinism which swept Congregational churches in New England and turned them towards a more liberal stance theologically. Indeed the Anglicans of King's Chapel were in the process of becoming Unitarians over several decades; a good part of the congregation, including the Minister, went with British forces when they withdrew from Boston in 1776. The empty pews gradually filled up again and the congregation was exposed to a variety of ministers and the forms they preferred. In 1781 they chose a lay-reader who suited them, laid hands on him and ordained him themselves, and rewrote the Prayer Book to omit all mention of the Holy Trinity. Thus King's Chapel became the first Unitarian Church in New England (Foote 337ff). Abiel Smith, William Haliburton's brother-in-law, as well as William's son-in-law, Samuel Fales, were pew-holders and with their families regular in attendance there. The liberal religious ideas of these close relatives may well have been shared by the Nova Scotian branch who would certainly have known of them.

As is well understood, being an Anglican in Nova Scotia meant that, minority or not, one was very much part of a church supported by government and associated with the dignitaries of the state. Many of the Planters may have regarded it in the same light as their Puritan fathers had done. It may have been thought that in many cases men became Anglican in order to gain an advantage in the struggles of this material life. The Haliburtons, it appears, were loyal adherents of the Church of England because of family tradition and family loyalty, and they found in it enough freedom to satisfy their own spiritual needs without supporting its claims to spiritual monopoly over the state and all the people in it.

had survived the massacre and kinsmen of those who had not, and the sons and grandsons who came after them remembered their stories.

William Haliburton's stepfather, Dr. Edward Ellis, had served as Surgeon-General of the New England forces at the siege and conquest of Louisbourg; William himself had been a volunteer surgeon with Massachusetts forces on the colonial frontier. They had known the French as adversaries then and they knew them as defeated desperate Acadians when they came as settlers to Nova Scotia. Their kinsman by marriage, Isaac Deschamps, had been pressed into service by Colonel Winslow during the deportation proceedings; being of French-Swiss background he was indispensable and efficient as interpreter and as translator of documents. There is no record of how he felt about these unfortunate people being dispossessed of their lands, but having known them for some years he must have felt pity for them.

The expulsion and resettlement turned a new page in the history of the region; Acadia in the old sense existed no more, yet the new settlers knew they lived in the heart of Acadia and as it receded in time as a political reality it grew more powerful in the realm of myth. William Haliburton certainly never forgot that he dwelt in Acadia and must have used the term familiarly in the family circle, for he does so without explanation in one surviving family letter. Possibly he was thinking of it in a more restrictive sense than it would have had originally, as describing only the Annapolis Valley, but that is not certain. He might well have been thinking of the whole peninsula of Nova Scotia, which is surely what Anthony Holland was thinking of when he called the newspaper he founded in 1813 the *Acadian Recorder*. In any case the name Acadia remained in New England minds, and William's grandson, Thomas, who was so much in his company in his childhood, would have heard him use the name, as he heard his stories of the old wars between the English and the French for the fair land it referred to. His future writings were to show how much he assimilated the old man's interest.

The instance we have of William referring to Acadia comes in a letter he wrote to two of his daughters in 1790. Writing about the opening of the new grammar school, later called King's Collegiate, and the forthcoming King's College, he boasts; "academies and colleges shall distinguish this from all Acadian villages."<sup>14</sup> He was not to know that a few years later another Acadian village would open a second academy and college, and that the college, after a tentative beginning honoring the

Queen, would be emphatically designated Acadia. This name sometimes carries confusion to visitors from outside the region who come expecting to find a francophone institution and a repository of Acadian knowledge, and find instead an intellectual shrine of the Planter community. The ready acceptance of the name Acadia amongst the Baptist descendants of the Planters confirms its survival as being in a romantic sense quite devoid of any political meaning.

When Thomas Chandler Haliburton took up the practice of law in Annapolis Royal he came into contact with those Acadians who had found their way back to Nova Scotia and made new homes for themselves beside St. Mary's Bay and further along the coast. He developed a particular admiration for their pastor, the Abbé Segogne, an emigré from the horrors of revolutionary France. When he became a Member of the Legislative Assembly these Acadians were in his constituents. During his first session in the House he spoke on a motion to allow Roman Catholics to sit there, and in the course of his speech spoke movingly of the undeserved sufferings endured by the Acadians during and after the Expulsion. He has been accused by some of playing for votes,<sup>15</sup> but that is an unworthy suggestion. In any case he never again campaigned for a seat in Nova Scotia and so never had an opportunity to defend his legislative activities or to capitalize on them.

In his *History*, which he was completing at about this time, he showed the same sympathy for the Acadians, calling the deportation "cruel" and "unnecessary." Some of his sympathy was blended with his admiration for their pastor, and in his speech to the House of 26 February 1827 he spoke admiringly of

a whole people having the same customs, speaking the same language, and uniting in the same religion. It was a sight worthy the admiration of man and the approbation of God. Look at their worthy pastor, the abbe Segogne; see him at sunrise, with his little flock around him, returning thanks to the giver of all good things. . . ." (Murdock 576)

No doubt there was a strong personal rapport between himself and the French priest, as evidently there was an appreciation of Acadian values, but this friendship and this appreciation of another culture was rooted in the broad-minded and tolerant teachings of his grandfather, William Haliburton.

Another confirmation of the interest the Haliburton family took in the story of the Acadians is to be found in the fact that the story of Evangeline came from among them. Longfellow's well-known poem rehabilitated the Acadians in North American eyes and profoundly influenced that people's folk-memory of themselves. His inspiration came from the basic story told to him by members of George M. Haliburton's household in Boston. This uncle of Thomas came to live in Boston and the family was connected with St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in South Boston, where the Rector from 1835-38 was the Rev. Horace Lorenzo Conolly, who had connections with Nathaniel Hawthorne.<sup>16</sup> Mrs. Haliburton, according to the most widely repeated account, told the story of the ill-fated lovers, Evangeline and Gabriel, to her pastor, and he told it to Hawthorne, as she perhaps intended. Hawthorne was not inspired by it and declined to accept it as a literary theme, while admitting that it should be so used by someone.<sup>17</sup> He, or Conolly, or other members of the Haliburton household passed the idea over to Longfellow at Salem.<sup>18</sup> Whether the story was in fact brought by the Haliburtons from Nova Scotia is not certain but whatever the details and whatever the source of the story it is clear that a great icon of American historical myth owes its existence to the keen interest the Haliburton family took in the Acadians.

Longfellow needed sources for the poem. Since he had never been to Nova Scotia and evidently had no wish to go, it seems likely that he would have consulted Haliburton's *History*, then a recent publication, for both the sequence of historical events and for a description of the setting. He may also have elicited details from Nova Scotians in Boston, such as the Haliburtons. Some of his images are quite apt, although the scene he paints is sometimes quite false to the realities of the Minas Basin region.

I hope I have made it clear that the Haliburtons were true Planters in taking this interest in the Acadians. For them the Acadians were a historical subject of a romantic interest, since there was no danger of their descendants making valid claims on the dykelands and uplands that the Planters had made their own. Yet the fact that they had once lived on those lands hallowed them in a way, or hallowed the memory of them. Thus the names the Acadians had used were revived and instead of English names for all their hamlets and rivers the Planters called some of them, by the old names such as Grand Pré, Melanson, Canard, Habitant and New Minas. I suggest too that Thomas Chandler Haliburton's obvious sympathies for the exiled Acadians and those who returned were

aroused in the family circle of his earliest years, and that as in the Haliburton family so it was in many others of the Planter community. It seems possible that he, in publishing his sympathetic account of the Acadians, as they had been and as they were in his own day, was expressing the half-guilty feelings and romantic inclinations of many of them, and was, perhaps consciously, exorcizing the spectre of unconfessed guilt that had hung over the Planters for three score years and ten.

## NOTES

1. As in, for example, Fred Cogswell, "Haliburton," *Literary History of Canada; Canadian Literature in English*, ed. Carl F. Klinck, 2nd ed., vol. I (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977) 108: "He received from his mother the emotional prejudices connected with [Tory politics] and a violent dislike of the United States."
2. Lucy (Lusannah) has been erroneously referred to in many published works as "Susannah"; even Chittick, who must have consulted A. W. H. Eaton, managed to get it wrong. Perhaps the error came from confusing her with her daughter-in-law, Susannah (Susan), the second Mrs. W. H. O. Haliburton, or was simply a misreading of her initial letter. This mistake probably appears first in print in Dr. Henry Y. Hind's *Old Parish Burying Ground* (1889).
3. Georgianna Haliburton: ms. in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston. She wrote it in 1873.
4. A full account of the Ellis, Haliburton and Card families is given in Duncanson.
5. According to the Census taken in 1767 the population of Windsor consisted of 136 men and boys, 107 women and girls, for a total of 243 persons in all. A breakdown of these numbers by various categories shows that there were 100 Protestants, and 143 Roman Catholics: the predominance of the latter is explained by the fact that there were 110 Acadians. Other groups included 10 English, 60 Irish, 48 Americans, 15 Germans or other Europeans; it was a real frontier mixture. In Newport at the same time there were 279 people, almost all described as Americans (i.e. Planters), and in Falmouth 292 persons, of whom two thirds were Americans.
6. A description found in notes in the A. W. H. Eaton collection of papers in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The source is given as an article in the *New York Saturday Times, Literary Supplement*, n.d.
7. R. L. Weis, "Some of the Descendants of Ephraim and Rachel (Hersey) Otis of Scituate, Massachusetts." A cyclostyled manuscript produced at Harrisville, Rhode Island, July 1943. The information on the siblings of Lusannah (Lucy) Haliburton is basically derived from this work.

8. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Grey Champion," *Twice Told Tales*. This book originally appeared in 1833. However, since the first service in the newly built King's Chapel was held on 30 June 1689 Hawthorne is using some poetic license in identifying the minister with it, as he probably is doing also in describing him as riding on horseback attired in "priestly vestments."
9. See also Eaton's contribution to DeCoursey Fales, *The Fales Family of Bristol, Rhode Island* (1919).
10. Summarized in Haliburton.
11. This was on 27th July 1892. A Haliburton son-in-law, Rev. Edwin Gilpin, Dean of Nova Scotia, preached the dedication sermon which was published in full.
12. Prof. J. Murray Beck, writing on W. O. H. Haliburton, in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, notes that in 1823 he "voted for the admission, first, of Catholic Laurence Kavanagh and, later, of any Catholic without their taking the oaths against popery and transubstantiation." On Pictou Academy, he took the position that "we had not the means at present, of keeping up two Colleges in this country," but he was prepared to put the academy on the same footing as other academies, and he wanted "elimination of the requirement that degree students at King's College subscribe to Anglican tenets."
13. While Haliburton may not be consistent in limiting this term "Bluenoses" (to which he gave international currency) to New England people in Nova Scotia it was a term he commonly heard used in that context. According to the Nova Scotian historian Savary a certain eminent Loyalist, the Rev. Jacob Bailey, was using the term in his letters as early as 1785, for example, "The Bluenoses, to use a vulgar appellation . . ." (Savary 38). This corrected and supplemented the original history of 1897 planned and partially written by W. A. Calnek and completed by Savary. Normally Haliburton speaks of the "Scotch" of eastern Nova Scotia or the "Yorkshiremen" of Cumberland when mentioning these non-Planter communities.
14. Letter from William and Lucy Haliburton of Windsor, NS to their daughter Charlotte and her husband Alexander Lyon in Tobago (PANS: MG1; vol. 2950A; no. 35).
15. See for example the reference by Sir Adams G. Archibald, "The Expulsion of the Acadians," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for the year 1886-87*, V: 12. Chittick not only does not mention that T. C. Haliburton's father supported Catholic Emancipation in the House of Assembly but seems prepared to be equally cynical about the younger Haliburton's real interest in the Catholics of Nova Scotia (88).
16. Mark Nystedt, Parish Historian, St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Salem, Mass.: letter to me October 1990.
17. Hawthorne did write about the fate of the Acadians and about the refugees appearing as beggars in the streets of Boston, emphasizing the inhospitable reception given them there. The "Grandfather's" account concludes "But, methinks, if I were an American poet, I would choose Acadia for the subject of my song." After Longfellow had published *Evangeline* another paragraph was added acknowledging the fact. See *The Whole History of Grandfather's Chair and Biographical Stories* (Hawthorne xii).



18. The Haliburton contribution has been noted in several works, such as in A. W. H. Eaton. See also the introduction by A. W. H. Eaton to the Dominion Atlantic Railway edition of *Evangeline*.

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