

The Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia—1855-60

UNDER the above title, my dear and distinguished friend the late Sir Nicholas H. Meagher—Judge Meagher—published in 1927 a little book. He sent me a copy of it with the following inscription: “To my esteemed friend His Honour Judge Patterson who has won for himself an honourable record in his judicial career”. It is not too much to say I was shocked by its contents, as must everyone have been who has made any study of that period of our history. I would have reviewed the book then, and I fear in much the same tone as it employed, but that inscription stayed me. Instead, I wrote my friend calling attention to some of its many mistakes of fact, and suggesting that some at least of his conclusions were not correct. In reply he kindly wrote that “he had not preserved his notes and his ‘85’ memory was uncertain; but that on his return from a trip on which he was about to start, he would ‘dig in’ again and answer me”. I never afterwards heard from him. I owe Judge Meagher much and here again, as I did to himself in his life-time, I cheerfully acknowledge the indebtedness. To parody the language of Job, I wish it were an adversary who had written this book. In what follows, I shall tell the story of what the Judge has termed the “Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia”. I shall not do it as well as I should like but at least, it will be true in substance and in fact.

In one of his purple patches, Macaulay, writing of Frederick the Great, says: “In order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red Indians scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.”

He is referring to the Seven Years War. Were he writing of the Crimean War, he would have said something like this: "Because Alexander the Emperor of Russia, on the pretext of assisting the Christians in Turkey, wanted to annex some of Turkey's territory, the militia in Nova Scotia had to be called out to suppress a riot: Protestants and Catholics in Nova Scotia were in bitter strife, and a strongly entrenched Government was overturned." How true the saying of the Iron Duke: "You never can have a little war."

When the Crimean War broke out, Britain was utterly unprepared; her army was small and untrained; recruits were called for but response was slow. It occurred to some wiseacre in the War Office to look to other countries for these badly needed recruits and the Foreign Enlistment Act was passed, providing for the enlistment of soldiers in other countries. It was confidently anticipated that the United States, where unemployment was rife, and where there were many Poles and Hungarians hostile to Russia, would prove a fruitful recruiting ground; but the United States, at the very outset of the War, proclaimed a policy of strict neutrality and no open or direct recruiting could be done within its boundaries. It was, however, felt that it was not infringing any Statute or any principle of international law to circulate posters in that country, setting forth the fact that a recruiting station had been opened in Halifax; and that any men who desired to enlist and might go there for that purpose, on arrival, would receive pay according to army regulations, and be paid the full amount of their travelling expenses. A proclamation to that effect was issued by the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia. Howe¹, who had earlier, at the request of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir J. Gaspar Le Marchant, gone to the United States to look

(1) Howe was not at this time a member of the Government. It shows how he overshadowed all others in the Province, that it was he who was chosen by the Governor for the difficult and delicate work that was to be performed in the United States.

over the situation and secure recruits, if possible, embodied this proclamation in an address which was widely circulated. Howe, himself, kept within the law—at least the Grand Jury in New York found no bill against him when prosecuted; but some of his agents did not; one of whom made a confession implicating not only himself but the British Consuls at Boston and New York and even the British Minister, Mr., afterwards Sir John, Crampton.¹ In spite of all the difficulties, Howe was meeting with some success—some 900 had been secured; and the finishing stroke to his efforts came not from the United States but from Halifax. Many of the Irish Catholics of that City were so hostile to Britain because of Irish grievances that they were in sympathy with the Russians, and meetings were held in secret, at which the conduct of Great Britain and her allies was denounced. One, William Condon² who held a small office under the Government, was President of the Charitable Irish Society and active in the underground campaign being carried on. Among the recruits, Howe's agents had secured³ were two groups of Irish Catholics, some 120 in all. These men were sent to Halifax. They were entered on the manifest of the vessel that brought them as "navvies to work on the Government railway"; the ship-brokers who made the charter wrote the Provincial Secretary that "they had at the request of Hon. Joseph Howe engaged the Brig 'George Washington' to carry a load of labourers for your railway"; but that may have been, probably was, what we would to-day term "camouflage" to get around the United States Navigation and

(1) Sir John Crampton (1805-1886) does not appear to have been a conspicuous success as Minister though he was rewarded with a knighthood and sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Hanover in 1857, transferred in same capacity to St. Petersburg in 1858, and to Madrid later on. In 1860 he married a daughter of Balfe, the Irish composer. Three years later on the ground of his misconduct his wife obtained a divorce. Queen Victoria was not amused.

(2) Many years later, I came to know Mr. Condon. By that time, he had greatly mellowed and it was difficult to recognize in him the disloyal firebrand of his early days. He felt strongly, and in this I sympathized with him, that his great services to the Tory party had not received proper recognition.

(3) Howe personally never saw nor had any direct communication with a single one of the recruits. Whatever his agents may have done, Howe, himself, made no false representations.

Neutrality Laws, of which the passengers would know nothing. Upon their arrival in Halifax they were "got at" by Condon and refused to carry out their alleged contract to enlist, declaring that they had been hired to work on the Nova Scotian railways and not to fight for England. The Lieut. Governor had actually to engage them on that basis¹. Not content with this act of sabotage, Condon on April 7th, 1855, sent a telegram to the *Citizen*, an Irish newspaper published in New York: "Sixty Irishmen entrapped in Boston as railway labourers sent here for the foreign legions. Publish and circulate this, William Condon, President C.I.S." The telegram produced great excitement among the Irish people of New York where Howe then was. An angry mob surrounded the Hotel where he was living and, like another St. Paul, he made his escape by being lowered to the ground, though not in a basket, through the window of his own room². He returned to Halifax on May 4th in no very pleasant humour towards the Irish there.

There was a general election in 1855 and Howe was defeated in Cumberland County by Charles Tupper then making his entrance into politics, and was not in the House during the session of 1856. The Government, however, was handsomely sustained, winning, including three Independents, 40 out of the 53 seats. In August, 1856, the Provincial Secretary, Hon. L. M. Wilkins was appointed to the Supreme Court Bench, and a petition signed by leading members of both sides was presented to Howe asking him to accept the vacant seat. He did so and was elected by acclamation. Meantime, that is between the election of 1855 and Wilkins'

(1) Roy's "Joseph Howe", p. 194 upon authority of Governor LeMarchant's letter to Lord John Russell, dated April 4th, 1855, in the *Joseph Howe Papers*, Vol. 21. Brebner "Joseph Howe and the Crimean War Enlistment Controversy" in *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XI, note to p. 313.

(2) Brebner *op. cit* note to p. 315 writes that he can find no corroboration of this story of Howe's escape, and imagines it to be hearsay of an exaggeration of something Howe, said, or allowed to be said without contradiction, at a later date. Saunders *Three Premiers of Nova Scotia*, p. 286 gives the story as true and he is supported by a very strong tradition.

appointment, there had happened that which was to bedevil politics in Nova Scotia for years.

It was the day of railway building in Nova Scotia. Howe's policy for a Government built and owned railway had been adopted, and a Government commission with Howe as Chairman, was actively engaged in constructing the main line, Halifax to Truro, with branch from Windsor Junction west towards Windsor and the Annapolis Valley. A large force of men grouped in camps or "shanties" was employed. On May 26th, 1856—Corpus Christi Day—some deplorably ignorant and contemptible Protestant workmen in the shanty of one Gourlay took occasion to sneer at and make fun of that most solemn and cherished article of their Catholic brethren's faith—"the doctrine of the Real Presence". If, at the moment the Catholics, nearly all, if not all, of them Irish, had turned upon the wretched profaners of their faith, and beaten some of them even badly, it is not likely that any Jury though wholly Protestant, would have convicted them. But that is not what happened. During that night the Catholics gathered to the number of 100 from points on the line as far away as 20 miles, and next day, as the result of a concerted plan, made an attack on Gourlay's shanty and its inmates. Gourlay admittedly had nothing to do with the happenings of the day before, but he was a Protestant and that was enough; his shanty was turned into a shambles¹; he was seriously injured and a daughter living with him died of shock and exposure. The Protestants defended themselves as best they could; none was killed but all were beaten and bruised and many until death, bore about on their bodies the marks of the assault². Some of them were taken to Halifax and others cared for in country

(1) See charge of Judge Bliss at trial of the rioters reported in *Morning Chronicle* of December 11th, 1856. His exact words as the Reporter gives them, were that these men "had savagely assaulted a peaceable house and left it more like a slaughter house".

(2) Saunders *op. cit.*, p. 287. It is very noticeable that Sir Nicholas is glad to quote from Saunders when the latter has anything to say against Howe, but takes care not to quote what Saunders has to say about the Gourlay Shanty Riots.

houses. Ordinary means having failed to subdue the rioters and protect the helpless, two Magistrates called out the Militia who to the number of 100, responded to the call. These divided into three companies hoping in that way to capture some, at least, of the rioters who at word of their coming, had dispersed and scattered themselves through the woods¹.

It was Howe's duty, as Chairman of the Railway, to hold an investigation into the riot. Though he set to work at once, he found influences already active, striving to make light of the unfortunate occurrence and prevent the offenders being brought to justice. Angry and sore, he returned to Halifax on the morning of June 5th, and in the early afternoon of that day, attended a meeting of the citizens of Halifax called to consider the presenting of an address to Mr. Crampton, who had been summarily dismissed from his post as Ambassador of Great Britain to the United States, solely on account of his connection with the foreign enlistment matter in which he had been associated with Howe. The meeting was entirely non-political; leading men of both parties were present and took part. Condon was there but at first, said nothing, though no doubt his very presence irritated Howe. A resolution was duly moved and seconded that a complimentary address be presented to Mr. Crampton expressing the cordial sympathy of Nova Scotians. At this point, a note of opposition was sounded—it came from one Cunningham—whose name does not suggest he was Irish. Howe lost both his temper and his head. Cunningham had hardly resumed his seat when Howe was on his feet. Without any justifica-

(1) When he was an old, old man, I became acquainted with Roderick McKay, the chief witness for the prosecution upon the trial of the rioters. He had no part whatever in the insult offered the Catholics on Corpus Christi Day, and though not well the day following, being indeed in bed when the rioters arrived, he defended himself and the others in the shanty as well as he could. He was a very powerful man, but he did not escape without serious wounds, the effects of which he felt until his death. He was, when I knew him, an intelligent devout Christian gentleman. He tried to forgive his assailants at the Gourlay shanty, who he never doubted, had gathered there to do murder; but he could not forgive, and made no pretence of forgiving, those, who for political ends, and "to kill Howe," made the case of the rioters their own, assisted the guilty men to evade the law and escape punishment.

tion, he linked together as parts of one plot the disloyal attitude of many of the Irish Catholics in the city with the riots at the Gourlay Shanty, and the efforts being made to stifle the prosecution of the rioters and prevent them being brought to justice. Had he stopped there, dreadful as had been his blunder, something might have been said in his defence. But he went further and arraigned the Catholic Church as if it were in some sense responsible for those things of which he complained, and called upon Protestants to organize to prevent the spread of its influence. A more indiscreet speech, a more ungenerous, could hardly be imagined. For years—in fact from the very beginning of his public career the Catholics, and particularly the Irish Catholics, had been his staunchest supporters. What demon of ingratitude now possessed him! Judge Longley makes the best excuse possible; ¹“He was fresh from the scene of Irish Catholic rioting and terrorism on the railway. He still remembered the outbursts of hostility to Great Britain by a portion of the Irish population in Halifax, and he had not ceased to smart under what he conceived to be the disloyal and hostile treatment he had received from the hands of Mr. Condon while endeavouring to advance the interests of the Empire in a foreign country. His just indignation was thoroughly aroused, and with the courage always characteristic of his every movement, he threw discretion to the winds, and arose in this meeting and delivered a speech in which, in clean-cut terms, he denounced the insidious disloyalty of a portion of the Irish population, and gave it to be distinctly understood that at whatever cost of sacrifice, he intended that the loyal British people of Nova Scotia should join issue squarely with those who were the undisguised enemies of the Empire. He went further and stated that the Protestant sentiment of the country should be tested as to whether a band of Irish ruffians should undertake to terrorize Protestant citizens in the discharge of their

(1) “Joseph Howe” in *Makers of Canada Series*, p. 161.

duties on the public works of this country." That Howe made his attack for political reasons in the expectation of gaining support, cannot seriously be argued except by one who entirely overlooks the facts, or is willing to distort them. Howe may not have been a politician; neither was he a fool.

No report of his speech was given in the *Chronicle*—the organ of the Government—next day. That paper may have thought that as not being a part of the programme, it did not call for mention; or more probably, it realized that Howe had blundered and the less publicity given to that blunder, the better. But the Opposition can hardly be blamed if they seized upon the happening and made great use of it. Their leader, the great and good Johnston, who had grown old in the service of his country, would probably not have cared to gain power on such an issue, but his leadership had ceased to be more than nominal. A young Doctor—Tupper by name—had been elected for Cumberland County defeating the great Howe; and though only one session of the House had been held, he had found opportunity to display that marvellous capacity for public service and leadership which eventually carried him to the Premiership of Canada. He saw the opportunity of driving a wedge between Howe and his former friends, and most diligently did he use his great powers to drive the wedge deeper. He¹ was Editor of the *Colonist*, the Tory paper of the day, and morning after morning, his editorial allowed no healing of the breach. His party, disheartened by their humiliating defeat in 1855, took heart again. Funds were subscribed for the defence of the Gourlay Shanty rioters. Johnston, better lawyer than party leader and to whom such work must have been utterly distasteful, was retained for their defence. All sorts of difficulties were thrown in the way of the Crown getting evidence; doubtful *alibis* were set up;

(1) Saunders *Life of Sir Charles Tupper*, Vol. I, p. 83 says he was the political editor of the *Colonist* and wrote or revised all its editorials.

one witness suddenly discovered he could speak no language but Erse for which no interpreter could be found; another was so dangerously ill because of the beating he had received, that he could not come to Court; with the result that the Juries made up of Protestant and Catholics failed to convict in any one of the cases brought to trial; there was one acquittal; in the others, the Juries disagreed, the Protestants voting for conviction; the Catholics for acquittal—the vote standing 6 to 6 except in one case where a Protestant voted for acquittal¹.

The second day after the Crampton meeting, i.e., on June 7th, the *Chronicle* had a story of it. The *Chronicle* wrote that after a spirited debate in which Howe and others took part, the resolution passed. It would have been more than willing that the matter should drop, but Howe was not of the stuff that suffers opposition quietly. On June 10th, he had a letter on the meeting in the *Chronicle* in which there was no mention of religion. A week later, he had another with a one-sided and exaggerated account of the riot and former disturbances on the railway. Then there was a lull on his part until after the trials, or until Dec. 27th, when a most offensive letter appeared in which he asserted, in terms revolting to Catholics, the right of Protestants to publicly express themselves in whatever language they chose regarding the mysteries of faith as held by their Catholic brethren. Other letters of much the same character but not quite so offensive followed on January 6th, 12th and 26th. Let it not for a moment be supposed that Howe had it all his own way in the controversy—that to his letters

(1) The trials took place at Windsor before Mr. Justice Wilkins making his first appearance as Judge. All the Court records of the trials there have disappeared, perhaps were destroyed in the great Windsor fire of 1897. But it seems the trials were abortive; the Jury, in spite of the Judge's charge for conviction, failing to agree; there was a disturbance in the Court, and an attempt made to injure a witness for the prosecution to prevent his giving evidence. The cases were then traversed to Halifax, and were heard by Judge Bliss on Dec. 8th, 9th and 12th. The Court records there have also disappeared but the *Morning Chronicle* of Dec. 9th, 11th and 13th has a fairly full account. From the file of the *Morning Chronicle* in the Legislative Library, those of Dec. 14th and 15th are missing. The results of the trials would be in that of the 14th; we know what they were; the Jury disagreed.

there was no reply. We have seen that the *Colonist* never ceased in its efforts to drive deeper a wedge between Howe and his erstwhile supporters. In Halifax, at that time, the Catholics had two organs—the *Halifax Catholic* and the *Cross* both of which offered vigorous opposition to Howe's attacks. To the former, Condon, who had distinct literary gifts if the letters over his signature were written by him, was a frequent contributor, and the burden of the controversy fell on him which did not make for fairness or dignity. The *Cross* was published monthly under the direction of the Priests of St. Mary's Rectory, one of whom had brought from his Irish home a strong antipathy towards England. Not a single copy of the *Catholic* or the *Cross* can now be found, and the extent or depth of the provocation Howe suffered can never be properly gauged¹.

The scene now shifts to the House of Assembly. When it met on Feb. 5th, 1857, Johnston, without waiting for the customary bill *pro forma*, moved a vote of no confidence. In opening the attack upon the Government, he made no reference to the racial and religious phase of the discussion that had been going on in the press, but based his demand for the defeat of the Government upon its incapacity and mismanagement of public affairs. His followers, and particularly one of them, were not so squeamish; and before the debate ended, nothing was talked of but Howe's quarrel with the Irish Catholics which, not unreasonably, they made the Government's. There was jockeying for position. Tupper did not want to speak until after Howe, but as Howe for four days kept silence, he was obliged to. His speech was short but lacked nothing in vigor or directness. Howe's attacks on the Catholics was his one and only theme. Some members of the House must have heard him with

(1) The extraordinary disappearance of every single copy of *The Catholic* and *The Cross* and of all the Court records of the trial of the Gourlay Shanty Rioters has led to the sinister suggestion that they have been purposely destroyed. It is quite possible that the records of the trials at Windsor were lost by fire as I already pointed out; but what about these that should be in the Prothonotary's office, Halifax, or now in the Public Archives?

amazement. In the session of 1856, Tupper had approached several members wanting them to break away from the Government and support a party pledged to proscribe Catholics from public life and office. Alexander C. MacDonald¹, one of the members from Pictou, an able and honourable man, was one of these and so stated in the House. In his case, Tupper denied having done so;² but did not deny honest Thomas F. Morrison's statement to the same effect³. Nor was there any denial that that honest old sea dog Captain George McKenzie, then representing Pictou County, was approached by Tupper and solicited to join him in breaking up the Young Government⁴, and there was no conceivable ground on which he could approach the Captain other than the religious one. After a fortnight's most acrimonious discussion, on Feb. 18th, the vote on Johnston's motion was taken; 28 voted for it and 22 against.

Every⁵ Catholic in the House had been elected as a supporter of the Government: every one of them now forsook his political allegiance and voted no confidence in it. Two Protestants, Henry and Wade, who represented the Catholic constituencies of Antigonish and Digby respectively joined them. The Government at once resigned, and a Government led by Johnston but of which Tupper was the mainstay and directing force,

(1) Alexander C. MacDonald, M.L.A., Pictou Co., 1855-59 and for Western Division of that County 1859-63. Speaker 1861-63. He was the oldest and dearest friend of my father the Reverend George Patterson D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., the historian of Pictou County.

(2) Debates, House of Assembly 1857, p. 63.

(3) Debates, House of Assembly 1860, p. 147. Morrison was M.L.A. for Northern District of Colchester 1859-63. Afterwards in Legislative Council, nicknamed "Roaring Billows". Though a vigorous partizan, his sterling honesty was never questioned.

(4) Debates of House of Assembly, 1857, p. 117.

(5) The names of these members and the constituencies they represented follow: Thomas H. Fuller, Richmond; John Tobin, Halifax; Peter Smyth, Inverness; Henry Martell, Arichat; Francis Bourneuf, Digby; Marturin Robicheau, Clare; Hon. John McKinnon, Antigonish; James McKeagney, Sydney. Of these Fuller, Tobin, Smyth, Martell, and McKinnon were men of high character and good ability—excellent representatives in short. Of the two French Canadians I have no knowledge. McKeagney was an able man but something of a stormy petrel. He was a lawyer, but for a time was Inspector of Mines. In the Confederation election he was elected for the County of Cape Breton to the House of Commons as an Anti-Confederate; defeated in 1872; and later in that year appointed Senior Puisne Judge of the Queen's Bench, Manitoba.

took office. Howe's reaction to this defeat was to announce the formation of the Protestant Alliance which he did in a letter to the "People of Nova Scotia" published in the *Chronicle* of March 2nd. Another letter followed on March 5th, followed again on March 7th by a declaration of the 22 members who had supported the Young Government. So far as is now known, the Protestant Alliance never had any charter or constitution; had no officers or members, "no body to be kicked nor soul to be damned" as used to be said of corporations¹. The letter of March 5th concludes: "A committee has been formed here (Halifax) who are disposed to labour in this cause. A correspondence will be opened with Protestants in all Counties and in the adjoining Provinces. The committee will be at once announced and the co-operation of Protestant clergymen and other influential persons, will I apprehend be cheerfully rendered". Neither Judge Meagher nor myself has been able to discover the names of this committee and we doubt that it ever existed. Whether it did or not; whether there was a central driving force controlling operations, the battle on the hateful issue of Catholic prescription was joined and for a time, raged furiously; but it was impossible it should continue at such heat as was engendered by the discussion in the House and the subsequent letters of Howe; and by 1859, the loosely constructed Alliance had pretty well fallen apart and its influence became almost, if not altogether, negligible. The Baptists had not forgotten Howe's attack on their beloved College and Johnson's defence of it; they were in the language of to-day, "demilitarized"; and their organ the "*Christian Messenger*" which had had its own difficulties with Howe, was not even neutral, it was distinctly on the side of the new Government. The Episcopalians following the example of their Bishop, took no active part. "The Counties", writes Saunders, "settled by immigrants

(1) It seems it "put forth a document" (See Howe's speech in House of Assembly in Session of 1858 quoted in Saunders *Three Premiers of Nova Scotia* at p. 291) but I have not been able to find a copy of it.

from the New England Colonies never having been in conflict with Roman Catholicism felt but little antagonistic to it. This was the state of public sentiment in the Counties west of Halifax including Annapolis and Cumberland represented by Mr. Johnston and Dr. Tupper. Not so that part of the Province peopled by Presbyterians who had brought with them their old world prejudices generated in Highland and Lowland scenes of terror and bloodshed¹. If there was any County in the Province where the Alliance might be expected to find its strongest support, it was Pictou which more than any other, had been "peopled by Presbyterians", yet Pictou did not give its full support to the Liberals but elected one Conservative just as it had done in 1855². In no constituency where Catholics were in the majority or held a controlling position, did the Liberals have a chance. Halifax, for example, which in 1855 had given all its seats—4—to Liberals, in 1859 returned in its Western Division which included the City, three Conservatives by acclamation. In Inverness in 1855, Hon. William Young, the Premier and Attorney General, and Peter Smyth were elected as Liberals. Mr. Smyth was a Catholic and with the other Catholics in the House of Assembly, had left the Liberal party and allied himself with the Conservatives. In 1859, Smyth, Hugh MacDonald and Hiram Blanchard, all Conservatives were elected. Antigonish elected as Conservatives in 1859 the same men, Henry and McKinnon, as it had elected as Liberals in 1855.

Judge Meagher repeats, with an iteration that Shakespeare would pronounce "damnable", that Howe deliberately quarrelled with the Catholics for political reasons. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Politics was injected into the sordid quarrel by the actions of the Conservatives. That the Protestant

(1) Saunders *Three Premiers of Nova Scotia*, p. 288.

(2) Pictou County in 1855 elected two Liberals and one Conservative. By 1859, its representation had been increased to four, when it elected three Liberals and one Conservative.

Alliance was called into such existence as it ever had for political reasons is true. When the Catholic members crossed the floor of the House, not upon any question of Government policy but because of Howe's unpardonable attacks upon their church, it was the obvious, natural thing to attempt to unite the Protestants in a party of punishment. That much was said and done by that Alliance, for which there was no justification nor excuse, there can be no doubt; but if it were intended, as it was by its creators, to be an effective political agency, their intentions were not realized. As a vote getting instrument, it proved to be in the language of the street, a "wash-out". I have studied most carefully the list of members returned in the 1859 election. There is not one who could say I, or of whom it could be said with any degree of assurance, he, "was elected by the Protestant Alliance". On the other hand, there were at least ten elected as supporters of the Johnston Government, who had there arisen no occasion for that Protestant Alliance, would have been with Howe supporting the Young Government. Election results are proverbially uncertain—they cannot correctly be foretold nor afterwards, satisfactorily explained; but an analysis of the returns for 1855 and 1859 strongly, if not conclusively, indicates that if Howe had not broken with his Catholic friends, the Young Government would at the polls in 1859 have repeated its triumph of 1855.

But figures do not tell the whole story and there is something to be said against the conclusion at which I have arrived. The Johnston Government in its almost three years in office, 1857-60, had done excellent work and achieved great things for the Province. Upon their record they could have appealed with confidence; but the attention of the electorate was distracted from that record and turned upon a hateful issue that should never have been raised. In keeping this issue prominently before the people to the exclusion of any other,

the Protestant Alliance undoubtedly had an influence, the extent of which cannot be accurately estimated.

According to Tupper¹ a "vast" majority of the electors supported the Johnston Government in 1859; yet the Sheriffs returned 28 of the Opposition candidates to 25 for the Government. Four of the Liberals were ineligible to sit because they held offices under the Government, but there was no means of preventing their voting in the election of Speaker or in the no confidence motion following. The Opposition nominee for Speaker, Stewart Campbell, was elected by a majority of three over John C. Wade, one of the Liberals who had crossed the floor and allied himself with the Conservatives because of Howe's break with the Catholics. The no confidence motion was carried by a majority of two and the Johnston Government resigned. Young formed a new Government with himself as Premier, but without office of emolument to obviate the necessity of a by election. Howe was Provincial Secretary. Very shortly afterwards, Young attained the ambition of his life and became Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Howe succeeded him as Premier. Two by elections in Cumberland and Victoria Counties went against him and wiped out his majority; but two from the other side joined him and he was able to carry on for the full parliamentary term. In 1862, he made an effort to heal the breach with the Catholics by offering a seat in Legislative Council to Hon. John McKinnon and a cabinet position to Hugh MacDonald² one of the members of Inverness County. The latter declined in writing³; the former did not accept the offer. With a precarious majority, it was impossible for the Government to do much constructive work; few, if any, periods in our history have been so barren of useful

(1) See Letter to the Duke of Newcastle quoted in Saunders *Life of Sir Charles Tupper*, Vol. 1, p. 68.

(2) Afterwards one of the "People's Delegates" with Howe and Annand to London to try and prevent the passing of the B.N.A. Act; M.P., Antigonish County, 1867-73 when appointed by Howe's influence Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, the first Catholic to hold such position.

(3) See *Acadian Recorder* of Feb. 28, 1863, where letters of Howe to McKinnon and MacDonald and the latter's reply both appear.

legislation as that between 1859 and 1863. I can recall nothing done worth being remembered except the establishing of Dalhousie College on its present footing, and in that, Howe had the powerful assistance and support of Tupper. Some memories no doubt were active in 1863 when Howe appealed to the people, but there was no open revival of the unholy issues that had disgraced the campaign of the previous election. The Howe Government was defeated and the Johnston—Tupper Government reigned in its stead. The religious warfare was over; would that it had never been begun!

It is hard to be patient with Judge Meagher over some of his glaring misstatements. For example, at page 55 of his book he writes: "The earliest sketch of Howe after his death was written by his Pastor, Reverend George M. Grant¹ who knew him intimately, admired him greatly and had full personal knowledge of his course during the times in question." What are the facts? "During the times in question" Howe was a regular attendant at Chalmers Church under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Hunter. Later on, he was connected with Fort Massey Church, and the minister of that Church, Rev. J. K. Smith, conducted his funeral service both at Government House and at the grave. "During the times in question" Grant was in Scotland studying at Glasgow University; he had gone in 1853 and did not return until 1861. He was a Pictou County Tory which means a Tory of the sternest and most unbending type. In his early days he would hear much of that "rascal Howe," and of his great power with the people which he unscrupulously used in furthering radical, therefore evil, measures. It is not likely Grant and Howe ever met until 1862 when Grant began the movement, of which he was the heart and soul, that next year brought Dalhousie College to life. During the struggle over Confederation, they were in opposite camps and there was no close

(1) Afterwards the brilliant and distinguished Principal of Queen's College, Kingston.

association between them; and after Howe accepted better terms and entered the Government of Sir John A. MacDonald, he was seldom in Halifax and Grant would see little of him. There never was any intimacy between the two men, yet, it is true, as Judge Meagher says that "Grant admired Howe greatly". His son and biographer writes that¹ "while not blind to Howe's faults, he always considered him our greatest Canadian statesman; the noblest of our native born, a greater statesman than MacDonald, a greater orator than Laurier".

As a last word, and referring to the legislation reviving Dalhousie which, but for Grant's influence with Tupper, would not likely have passed—would probably not have been introduced—it may be of some interest to mention that when that body of Presbyterians, who had established a College at Truro which they were giving up to make Dalhousie possible, suggested that the new Dalhousie be an exclusively Protestant institution, Howe indignantly repelled the suggestion, and established Dalhousie open to all, no matter to what mode of faith or form of worship they might be attached. The true Howe was speaking there.

(1) Grant and Hamilton's *George Monro Grant*, p. 92.