

T. C. Haliburton: Complexities and Contradictionsⁱ

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The past two decades have not been kind to the reputation of Thomas Chandler Haliburton. In 1984 he was riding high as the subject of a major conference at the University of Ottawa. Leading scholars explored such topics as his toryism, his place in the tradition of North American satire, his historical writings and the genesis of the *Clockmaker* series, described by Bruce Nesbitt as “English-Canadian literature’s first small masterpiece.”ⁱⁱ The upbeat tone of the event is summed up in Frank M. Tierney’s introduction to the conference publication *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*:

...the reappraisal of Haliburton in this symposium readjusted our focus to give a clearer view of Haliburton the man and artist, pointing to new elements of his life and creativity, and suggesting new areas for wider and deeper exploration and appreciation of his contribution to Canadian literature.ⁱⁱⁱ

In his paper on Haliburton and his publishers Joseph Howe and Richard Bentley, George L. Parker concluded:

The conventional view of Haliburton used to assign him a minor place in our literary inheritance because politics placed him on the losing side, and because many of his writings - so contemporary in subject and allusion - are now out of date and inaccessible to all but the scholar. Most damaging of all to his reputation may be his lack of imitators in a comic tradition or dialect tradition within Canada. In recent years, Robert McDougall... and others have attempted to rehabilitate Haliburton into our literary and cultural tradition, just as we are doing here today...^{iv}

Ten years later, in 1995, Parker published his definitive edition of *The Clockmaker, Series One, Two and Three*.^v Parker’s monument of Canadian literary scholarship appeared at the very moment that the climate of opinion about Haliburton changed in a way completely unforeseen a few years earlier by the participants in the University of Ottawa symposium. In 1993 George Elliott Clarke, now of the University of Toronto, brought into the open the virulent prejudice against blacks permeating Haliburton’s writings.^{vi} This unsettling topic had been barely mentioned by earlier critics, such as V.L.O. Chittick,^{vii} and does not seem to have been raised at the 1984 Haliburton symposium.

The sea-change that followed Clarke’s 1993 piece in the Halifax *Chronicle Herald* was

evident in the tone and direction of another conference devoted to Haliburton, the Thomas Raddall Symposium held at Wolfville and Windsor in 1996. Clarke presented the keynote paper, provocatively entitled “Must We Burn Haliburton?”^{viii} Other papers explored similar themes. Greg Marquis examined attitudes towards blacks among Haliburton’s contemporaries, pointing out that “...the racism of the Sam Slick tales was so customary for the day that it was virtually invisible to contemporaries.”^{ix} Ruth Panofsky, in “Breaking the Silence: *The Clockmaker on Women*,” dissected the attitudes towards women expressed by Sam Slick. Those familiar with *The Clockmaker* know that it is easy to find misogynous comments, as, for example, “Any man ...that understands horses, has a pretty considerable fair knowledge of women too, for they are just alike in temper, and require the very identical same treatment.”^x Panofsky argues conclusively that *The Clockmaker* presents women as inferior, either flirts or shrews, who have to be kept in their place; according to Sam Slick, “A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree/ The more you lick ‘em the better they be.”^{xi}

Like the 1984 University of Ottawa symposium, the Raddall symposium resulted in a publication, *The Haliburton Bi-Centenary Chaplet* edited by Richard A. Davies, in which these papers can be found, along with a number of less controversial pieces, including one by me on Haliburton and King’s College.^{xii} The unusual title of the book pays homage to an earlier commemorative volume, *A Centenary Chaplet*, produced by the Haliburton, the University of King’s College literary society, in 1897.^{xiii} Richard Davies’ introduction to *The Bi-Centenary Chaplet* strikes a different note from that of Frank Tierney in 1985. According to Professor Davies:

After the Bi-Centenary Conference...It is going to take a well balanced and knowledgeable context for [Haliburton] to be rehabilitated for study by young Canadians... If there are courses in North American universities that purport to study the cultural artifacts of the colonial past then Thomas Chandler Haliburton should make the list. We can and do learn more about the cultural past from a study of a writer who stands...on the margins, or as we are coming to realize, at the extremes.^{xiv}

“On the margins,” “at the extremes” - these words take us a long way from Tierney’s panegyric to Haliburton’s “life and creativity,” and the “need for a wider and deeper exploration and

appreciation of his contribution to Canadian literature.”^{xv}

Since 1996 Haliburton’s reputation has been in free-fall. In 2005 Richard Davies published a revisionist biography, *Inventing Sam Slick*, which explores in detail the perspectives on Haliburton that have emerged since the early 1990s, as well as providing much new information, particularly on his life in England after his departure from Nova Scotia in 1856. After many years of immersing himself in his subject, Davies is clearly ambivalent about Haliburton’s writings, pointing out that “university professors now find him unteachable.”^{xvi} Sales of the New Canadian Library edition of series one of *the Clockmaker*, once robust, have plummeted.^{xvii}

The decline in his reputation has touched Haliburton’s *alma mater*, the University of King’s College. From the time of the construction of King’s buildings on the Dalhousie campus in 1930, the Haliburton Room was the main lecture hall, located on the second floor of the administration building, with a brass plaque commemorating Haliburton affixed to an impressive mantelpiece; above the mantel hung King’s copy of the well-known 1839 Gauci lithographic portrait, which Dr. Marion Fry, president from 1987-93, arranged to have elegantly re-framed..^{xviii} The walls were decorated with reproductions of C.W. Jeffreys’ scenes from *The Clockmaker*.

That expansive Haliburton Room is no more, having been converted into a number of smaller spaces including a board of governors’ room and offices for president, vice-president and the bursar. The plaque has disappeared into the College archives, as has the Gauci lithograph; C.W. Jeffreys’ illustrations seem to have vanished altogether. The new Haliburton Room is a small and inconspicuous classroom. The Haliburton literary still society exists, and there has been no suggestion that its name be changed to, say, the Charles G.D. Roberts Society, which would create its own problems in view of Roberts’ notoriety as a womanizer during his career at King’s and throughout the rest of his long life.^{xix}

It is a good thing that Haliburton’s racism and misogyny have finally been acknowledged for they help us to see him and his times more clearly and honestly. As Greg Marquis pointed out in his 1996 paper at the Raddall Symposium, Haliburton’s attitudes were commonplaces which generated no adverse reaction among his readers.^{xx} Today we find Haliburton’s caricatures of

blacks in his sketches repellent. The reasons for his vitriolic anti-black prejudices are obscure. Possibly he inherited them from his slave-owning grandfather, William Haliburton, who died when he was in his late teens. Although this is pure speculation, it may also have been inspired by the difficulties of the so-called “Refugee Negroes,” who arrived between 1813-16 and who, in the words of Robin W. Winks, “unwittingly fanned the sparks of a more conscious, more organized white racism than Nova Scotia had known, just as the last vestiges of slavery were passing.”^{xxi} What is indisputable is that in his portrayal of blacks Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s cruelty and lack of compassion distinguishes him from more perceptive contemporary writers.^{xxii} Charles Dickens, for example, powerfully depicted the condition of blacks in his *American Notes*, published in 1842.^{xxiii} However, Dickens and the naturalist Henry David Thoreau, author of *Walden*, who argued in his great lecture “Slavery in Massachusetts” (1854) that freedom was an inherent right transcending any law,^{xxiv} stood outside the mainstream, as is evident from the opinions expressed by Abraham Lincoln, like Haliburton a provincial lawyer, in one of his famous debates with Stephen Douglas when running for the United States Senate in 1858:

I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races - that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.^{xxv}

Lincoln argued that although slavery was an evil, it was countenanced by the American constitution.^{xxvi} He and Douglas disagreed on whether the “peculiar institution” should be allowed to spread to the new western states as they were admitted to the union.

Haliburton would seem at least on the surface to have held much the same opinion expressed by Lincoln. In *An Historical and Statistical Account of the History of Nova Scotia* (1825), he points out that although slavery was at the time of writing still legal in the province, it has fallen into disuse, asserting: “The effect produced by this latent abandonment of slavery is, however, beneficial to the country.”^{xxvii} According to one of the characters in *Nature and Human*

Nature (1855), “Slavery in the abstract is a thing that nobody approves of, or attempts to justify. We all consider it an evil - but unhappily it was entailed on us by our forefathers, and has now grown to be one of such magnitude that it is difficult to know how to deal with it...”^{xxviii} It seems likely, however, that Haliburton believed that blacks were better off enslaved than free, as indicated by these words he puts in the mouth of the squire in *Nature and Human Nature*: “I am glad you have seen this specimen of a southern negro. He is a fair sample of a servant in the house of our great planters. Cheerful, graceful and contented, they are better off and happier than any portion of the same race.”^{xxix} Haliburton did not believe, as Lincoln came to believe, that blacks were capable of freedom, which perhaps explains why he went out of his way to make free blacks the victims of vicious jibes aimed at demonstrating their supposed stupidity, ugliness, filth and offensive smell.^{xxx}

Haliburton felt differently about aboriginal peoples, whom he regarded as naturally free, unlike blacks, invariably depicted as natural slaves. In *Nature and Human Nature* (1855) Haliburton paints an idealized portrait of a half-caste girl, before going to extol aboriginals as noble savages:

Her motions were all quiet, natural and graceful, and there was an air about her, that nothing but the native ease of a child of the forest, or the high-bred elegance of fashionable life, can ever impart... We hear of nature’s noblemen, but that means rather manly, generous, brave fellows than polished men. There are, however, splendid specimens of men, and good-looking women, among the aborigines. Extremes meet: and it is certain that the ease and grace of civilised life, do not surpass those of untutored nature.^{xxxi}

These attitudes on race cannot be separated from Haliburton’s intellectual framework, which was constructed in his youth, and changed remarkably little, if at all, throughout his life. He was a fervent believer in what Judith Fingard has called the Anglican design in Loyalist Nova Scotia,^{xxxii} formulated by refugees from the American Revolution like Bishop Charles Inglis, the founder of the University of King’s College, where Haliburton studied and for which he held a life-long reverence.^{xxxiii} Loyalists like Inglis were determined to prevent their new homeland from the levelling tendencies that had resulted in rebellion, republicanism and democracy.

Haliburton never lost his faith in this Loyalist vision of an educated elite, sustained by an established Church of England, which would exercise power with a limit amount of popular interference. A hierarchical Nova Scotia could best survive within the British Empire, for imperial rule would ensure administration through the medium of unelected legislative and executive councils. The evils of democracy would thus be mitigated by the rule of the wise. Haliburton was appalled by Lord Durham's proposals for the implementation of responsible government, launching an intemperate attack in his strangely titled book *The Bubbles of Canada* (1839).^{xxxiv} In it he argues that the French Canadians are "wholly unfit for the exercise of the important duties of self-government," and indeed it is a sign of British decadence that their grievances have not simply been met by suppression. Worse still, in Haliburton's view, was the danger that the British approach of dealing with sedition and rebellion through consultation might spread beyond the boundaries of Canada: "What could be more injudicious to send to the contented and happy colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and ask for deputies to listen to crude and undigested schemes for their future government..."^{xxxv}

Haliburton's comment about "the contented and happy colonies" is an example of his tendency to wishful thinking and willingness to see only what he wanted to see. He wrote *The Bubbles of Canada* in 1839, at an historical moment when agitation for responsible government was well underway not only in Canada, but in Nova Scotia. To describe the province as "contented and happy" was wildly inaccurate and misleading. During his campaign for election to the House of Assembly in 1836, Haliburton's erstwhile friend Joseph Howe asserted that "The government is like an ancient Egyptian mummy, wrapped up in narrow and antique prejudices -dead and inanimate, but likely to last forever."^{xxxvi} The following year, 1837, the House of Assembly, led by the newly elected Howe, passed an address to the Crown calling for responsible government.^{xxxvii}

These activities of Howe and the reformers contradicted Haliburton's fundamental beliefs. In the face of changing circumstances, he clung to his opinions tenaciously, which blinded him to reality. He was never a disinterested observer, despite the shrewd insights upon contemporary Nova Scotia to be found in *The Clockmaker*. His political thought would seem to have been shaped by the 17th century English political theorist Thomas Filmer. Filmer's

Patriarcha was a bible of the unreconstructed Tories who rejected John Locke's argument about natural rights in *Two Treatises on Government*, which had influenced the founders of the American republic.^{xxxviii} The following passage from Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* (1851) could have been written by Filmer himself:

There is no democracy in nature. The lofty mountain rises boldly from the lowly valley, and the tall cedar ...towers above the humbler trees of the forest...the nucleus of every society is a family. The father is despotic. When families increase, they become a tribe...As these tribes become more numerous, the most powerful chieftain...takes the attributes of royalty and the title of sovereign...This is the oldest and most natural form of government...^{xxxix}

According to Haliburton, due to struggles between monarchs and nobility, the people are called in to support one side or the other. The unfortunate consequence is a relentless slide to democracy: In his words:

Democracy, therefore, is the last resort, because it is the least natural form of government, and has been generally found in old countries to terminate at the point from which it started, military despotism. The main attraction it has for mankind is the constant incense it offers to their vanity. It calls them "free and enlightened citizens," and "sovereign people." It denies the divine right of kings but assures the multitude that *vox populi* is *vox dei*.^{xl}

In 1851, when Haliburton published these views, they were archaic curiosities in both England and North America. Nova Scotia, after all, received responsible government in 1848. Haliburton himself realized that his political theory raised awkward questions. If democracy is the "least natural form of government," how had democracy in America managed to survive and thrive for nearly eighty years? His response is hardly satisfactory, and leads him into further confusions of which he seems to be have been unaware. Haliburton suggests in *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* that the settlers of Massachusetts lived on terms of equality because they were primarily farmers; this equality was reinforced by their system of education and the institutions they established. England, on the other hand would be ruined by democracy because of its huge, uneducated urban proletariat, ripe for revolution and disorder:

America was prepared for her republic from her earliest childhood; trained, educated and practiced [sic] in democracy, and knew of nothing else by report. How widely spread, how deeply laid, how well constituted, must those institutions have been, to have enabled

her to receive the countless thousands of the lowest refuse of European ignorance and degradation, without injury or danger... If this stream of immigration had been limited to one channel it would have burst its bounds, and submerged a whole State. It was widely diffused over the entire country, and was instantly absorbed like a summer's shower. England, on the contrary, is filled to the brim, and has opened every sluice of emigration, to relieve herself of her redundant population.^{xli}

Sam Slick makes the same point more succinctly: "I approbate domestic factories, but nothin [sic] further for us. It don't suit us or our institutions. A republic is only calculated for an enlightened and vartuous [sic] people, and folks chiefly in the farmin [sic] line. That is an innocent and a happy vocation. Agriculture was ordained by Him as made us, for our chief occupation."^{xlii}

Apart from the obvious point that this argument contradicts Haliburton's insistence that "democracy is the least natural form of government" and places his defence of hierarchy not on nature but on the social necessity of keeping the masses in order, it does not seem to have occurred to him that if farming, cheap land and education made democracy possible in the United States, why should this not be the case for Nova Scotia, where similar social and economic conditions applied? Similarly, he was oblivious to the absurdity of making Sam Slick, the archetypal Yankee democrat, argue, upon visiting England, that a system of landlord and tenant on the English pattern should be adopted by Nova Scotians.^{xliii} A further irony is that Haliburton's own brief legislative career was primarily distinguished by his efforts to obtain public support for schools, particularly Pictou Academy, in other words to furthering the very education which by his own account is a linchpin of the democracy he despised.^{xliv}

If Haliburton's political thought is confused, the same can be said for his analysis of social and economic life. His exaltation of the moral virtue of agriculture co-existed in uneasy marriage with his belief in industrial progress. This marriage is perhaps symbolized by the quarry, with its own tramway to a private wharf on the Avon, that he developed at his Clifton estate.^{xlv} In view of the size of the pond that now fills the quarry site at the bottom of the hill on which Clifton stands, it must have been fairly noisy and dusty in Haliburton's house and grounds when the quarry was in operation, quite unlike the bucolic environment suggested by Bartlett's print of Clifton published in *Canadian Scenery Illustrated* (1842).^{xlvi}

This quarry was only one of Haliburton's many business activities and he enthusiastically promoted railways, steamships and industrialization generally. In the sketch entitled "Taking Off the Factory Ladies," Sam Slick tells the squire: "There are few countries in the world...got such fine water powers as these provinces; but the folks don't make use of 'em, tho' the materials for factories are spread about in abundance everywhere."^{xlvi} Sam goes on to extol the good looks and prosperity of the "galls" working in the factories of Lowell, Massachusetts, as well as factory conditions there: "Beautiful factory this, it whips English all holler; our free and enlightened citizens have exhibited so much skill, and our intelligent and enterprisin' [sic] ladies...so much science and taste, that I reckon we might stump the univarsal [sic] world to ditto Lowell."^{xlvi}

Sam Slick was of course a capitalist par excellence, but so of course was Haliburton. Richard Davies, on the basis of Haliburton's English bank records, still preserved by the firm of Coutts and Company, has shown that he made a good deal of money through investments in coal, insurance, timber and banking, apart from his activities as first chairman of the Canada Land and Emigration Company, which attempted to settle immigrants in the vast tract of eastern Ontario that bears his name today.^{xlix}

How does one hold together the various elements of Haliburton's protean nature? Central to his thought was his belief in hierarchy and corresponding fear of equality. In *The Attaché, or Sam Slick in England*, the squire says of England: "I love its constitution, because it combines the stability of a monarchy with the most valuable peculiarities of a republic, and without violating nature by attempting to make men equal, wisely follow its dictates, by securing freedom for all."^l Freedom to Haliburton throughout his life meant accepting the authority of one's betters, just as it had meant to the loyalist elite when he was a student at King's. As his *alter ego* Judge Sandford puts it in Haliburton's elegy to early nineteenth century Nova Scotia, *The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony* (1849), "we were but too happy before we became too free."^{li}

Haliburton retained a life-long conviction that the fabric of a hierarchical society would be more closely knit together than a democracy. In the words of the Rev. Mr. Hopewell, Sam's ninety-five year old mentor in Slickville, Conn.:

We [ie. Americans] may boast of our independence, but that independence produces isolation. There is an individuality about every man and every family in America, that gives a right of inquiry, and imposes no duty of relief on any one. Sickness and sorrow, and trouble, are not divulged; joy, success, and happiness are no imparted. If we are independent in our thoughts and actions, so we are left to sustain the burden of our own ills.^{lii}

Haliburton expresses his vision of the sort of community that constituted an alternative to the alienation that was a product of American democracy in *The Attaché*. In a chapter entitled “Cottages,” Slick, the squire and Mr Hopewell encounter a world where people care for each others’ welfare, with tenants living in honeysuckle cottages under the benevolent eye of squire and parson.^{liii} The Chartists, with their democratic demands, are lampooned as the enemies of this idyllic world. The Rev. Mr. Hopewell is surely speaking here as the mouthpiece of Haliburton:

Sam, this country is so beautiful, so highly cultivated, so adorned by nature and art, and contains so much comfort and happiness, that it resembles almost the garden of Eden. But, Sam, the Serpent is here, the Serpent is here beyond a doubt. It changes its shape, and alters its name, and takes a new colour, but still it is the Serpent, and ought to be crushed. Sometimes it calls itself liberal, then radical, then chartist, then agitator, then repealer, then political dissenter, then anti-corn leaguer, and so on. Sometimes it stings the clergy, and coils around them, and almost strangles them, for it knows the Church is its greatest enemy, and it is furious against it.^{liv}

Rather as he imagined a fantasy England, so Haliburton imagined a fantasy Nova Scotia, in his unwillingness to grasp the desire of Nova Scotians for self- government even though the conditions he himself stipulated as necessary for democracy were integral to the life of the province. Haliburton never transcended his conviction that Nova Scotia would do well to allow the British, with the help of a local elite, preferably educated at King’s, keep power in their hands. Talented individuals such as himself, should, he believed, be able to find an outlet for their larger ambitions through promotion to positions of importance in more important outposts of Empire, or even in Britain. He and his son Arthur were among the few to realize this dream. Haliburton became a British M.P. from 1859 to 1865 for Launceston, one of the few pocket boroughs that survived the redistribution of seats that followed the passing of the Reform Act of

1832. Launceston was controlled by the Duke of Northumberland. The Duke's great town mansion on the Thames, Syon House, was close to Haliburton's residence in Isleworth and he facilitated the election of his neighbour to the seat.^{lv} For his part, Arthur Haliburton rose to become a senior official in the army commissariat and was raised to the peerage as Baron Haliburton of Windsor in Nova Scotia in 1899.^{lvi}

Most Nova Scotians were neither Anglican, nor had elevated political connections; accordingly, they wanted a greater hand in shaping their destinies than envisaged by Haliburton, rather than leaving them to an elite that looked to a land most had never seen nor would ever see, however much Britain remained an object of veneration. Haliburton, despite his gifts as a satirist and polemicist, was blind to this aspiration. Relying on attitudes and ideas he had accepted unquestionably since his youth, it is not surprising that he found himself unpopular and out of touch in Nova Scotia, making his emigration to Britain inevitable. There he remarried, to a gentlewoman from a landed family, and leased a fine house on the Thames at Isleworth, where he basked in his celebrity as the creator of Sam Slick. In 1858 Oxford awarded him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, an honour he never received from his beloved King's College.^{lvii} Haliburton had left Nova Scotia behind, but, upon reflection, perhaps Nova Scotia had left him behind as well.

i. This paper is a revised version of one presented to the West Hants Historical Society on the 20 February, 2010.

ii. Bruce Nesbitt, "The First *Clockmakers*," in ed. and intro. Frank M. Tierney, *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985), 97. Hereafter *Haliburton Symposium*.

iii. *Ibid.*, 6.

iv. *Ibid.*, 92.

v. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Clockmaker, Series One, Two and Three* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995). Hereafter *Clockmaker*.

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- vi. George Elliott Clarke, “In Defence of Giving Haliburton Hell,” *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 15 October, 1993
- vii. V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924).
- viii. George Elliott Clarke, “Must We Burn Haliburton,” in ed. Richard A. Davies *The Haliburton Bi-Centenary Chaplet* (Wolfville: Gaspereau Press, 1997), 1-40. Hereafter *Chaplet*.
- ix. Greg Marquis, “Haliburton, Maritime Intellectuals and ‘The Problem of Freedom,’” in *Chaplet*, 196. Hereafter Marquis.
- x. Ruth Panofsky, “Breaking the Silence: *The Clockmaker* on Women,” in *Chaplet*, 43.
- xi. *Ibid.*, 47. This verse is quoted in *Clockmaker, Series One*, “Taming A Shrew,” 152. In the sketch, Slick, impersonating a hen-pecked husband, horsewhips the man’s wife, temporarily subduing her: “When I had her properly brought too, for havin [sic] nothin [sic] on but a thin under garment every crack of the whip told like a notch on a baker’s tally, says I, take that as a taste of what you’ll catch, when you act that way...Now go and dress yourself, and get supper for me and a stranger I have brought home with me, and be quick, for I vow I’ll be master in my own house.” The husband proves incapable of Sam’s methods and his wife soon resumes her shrewish behaviour. Sam draws the conclusion: “You may depend, Squire, that the only way to tame a shrew, is by the cowskin.”
- xii. Henry Roper, “Haliburton and King’s College,” in *Chaplet*, 85-100. Hereafter Roper.
- xiii. *Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet*, A. B. de Mille, foreword (Toronto: Briggs for the Haliburton, 1897).
- xiv. Richard A. Davies, “Introduction,” in *Chaplet*, xv.
- xv. Frank M. Tierney, “Introduction,” in *Haliburton Symposium*, 6.
- xvi. Richard A. Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick: A Biography of Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6. Hereafter Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*.
- xvii. *Ibid.*
- xviii. The Gauci lithograph, which was from a painting by E.H. Eddis, has been reproduced many times, most recently in Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*.
- xix. Roberts served as a professor at King’s from 1885-95. For his career there, see Henry Roper, “Camp Avon at King’s College: Henrietta Russell’s Visit to Nova Scotia in 1893,”

Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 4 (2001), 1-24.

xx. Marquis, in *Chaplet*, 195-235.

xxi. Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 114

xxii. Richard Davies suggests that Haliburton's attitudes towards blacks may have stemmed from his grandfather, William Haliburton (1739-1817), a colourful character who was a soldier and entrepreneur as well as a failed writer and inventor. William Haliburton had been a slaveholder who brought slaves with him when he came to Nova Scotia from Massachusetts in 1761. However, his views on blacks, and their possible influence on his grandson, are conjectural. See Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 10-11.

xxiii. See Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (1842) (Oxford: University Press, 1928), passim.

xxiv. Henry David Thoreau, "Slavery in Massachusetts," in *Walden and Other Writings* (New York: Modern Library 2000), 697-714. Although slavery was illegal in Massachusetts, the authorities enforced the federal Fugitive Slave Law (1850), which required slaves who fled to non-slave states to be returned to their owners.

xxv. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008; rpt. New York: Knopf, 1952), 188-89.

xxvi. Although slavery is not mentioned explicitly in the American Constitution, its existence is acknowledged in Article I, Section 2, which was modified by the 14th Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the United States.

xxvii. Quoted in T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 10 (1899), 113. Slavery in Nova Scotia, as in other parts of the British Empire, was brought to an end in 1833 when it was abolished by the British parliament.

xxviii. *Nature and Human Nature*, 2 Vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855), Vol. 1, 319.

xxix. *Ibid.*, 318.

xxx. T.C. Haliburton, *Nature and Human Nature*, 2 Vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855), Vol. 1, 113

xxxi. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 108.

xxxii. Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Nova Scotia* (London: S.P.C.K., 1972).

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- xxxiii. See Henry Roper, "Haliburton and King's College," in *Chaplet*, 85-100.
- xxxiv. T.C. Haliburton, *The Bubbles of Canada* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839).
- xxxv. Ibid. 320.
- xxxvi. Quoted in W. S. MacNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces, 1712-1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 200.
- xxxvii. Ibid., 201.
- xxxviii. Locke disagreed with Filmer by arguing that property and other rights exist prior to political society and are not dependent upon any social contract. See *Two Treatises on Government*, second treatise, xi, #134.
- xxxix. T. C. Haliburton, *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, 2 Vols. (London: Colburn, 1851), Vol.1, 346.
- xl. Ibid., 347
- xli. Ibid., 362.
- xlii. *Clockmaker, First Series*, 155, "The Minister's Horn Mug."
- xliii. *Clockmaker, Second Series*, 245, "Nick Bradshaw."
- xliv. Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 32-36.
- xlv. Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 59.
- xlvi. See Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, where it is one of the illustrations in the volume.
- xlvii. *Clockmaker, Second Series*, 377.
- xlviii. Ibid., 381-2.
- xlix. See Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 203-11 and passim. See also Richard A. Davies, "Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Steamships," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 12 (2009), 106-18.
1. T.C. Haliburton, *The Attaché, or Sam Slick in England*, 2 Vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1843, Vol. 1, 116-17.

li. T.C. Haliburton, *The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony* (1849), ed. And intro. M.G. Parks (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1978), 55. Parks' introduction to this edition gives a perceptive account of the elegiac dimension of *The Old Judge*.

lii. T. C. Haliburton, *The Attaché, or Sam Slick in England*, 2 Vols.(London: Richard Bentley, 1843), Vol. 1, 177. It is this aspect of Haliburton's thought that leads George Elliott Clarke to see Haliburton as a progenitor of tradition of "Red Toryism" in Canada. See George Elliott Clarke, "Must We Burn Haliburton," in *Chaplet*, 5 and passim.

liii.Ibid., 176-80.

liv. Ibid., 181.

lv. Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 181.

lvi. Richard A. Davies, *Inventing Sam Slick*, 231. See also Roper, 91-2.

lvii. Henry Roper, "Haliburton and King's College," in *Chaplet*, 91.