Université de Montréal

Toryism Reconstructed: The Relationship Between T.C. Haliburton's *The Clockmaker* and Canadian Imperialists

par Patrick Aura

Département des langues et littératures du monde, Faculté des arts et des sciences

Mémoire présenté en vue de l'obtention du grade de maîtrise en Études anglaises

Décembre 2020

Résumé

Utilisant « The Clockmaker » de Thomas Chandler Haliburton, cette étude examine comment la littérature informe notre compréhension du passé et les idées du présent. Ceci est une analyse des façons que le conservatisme de certains « Impérialistes canadiens » du XIXe siècle (Stephen Leacock, G.M. Grant, Andrew Macphail), des idéologues imaginant un rôle plus important pour le Canada au sein de l'Empire britannique, était influencé par celui présenté dans «The Clockmaker». Ce travail propose que l'ouvrage, problématique aujourd'hui, est tout de même important à analyser pour sa popularité et son influence dans le passé, ainsi que pour avoir contribué à faire revivre – grâce à sa rhétorique satirique, ses caricatures, et un style politisé – un conservatisme mourant que les Impérialistes ont ensuite adoptés. Cela a permis aux Impérialistes de développer une vision du Canada conforme à leur époque tout en s'appuyant sur un élément conservateur avec un fondement établi.

« The Clockmaker » présente plusieurs idées similaires à celles des Impérialistes: une forte association britannique, de l'anti-américanisme, une plus grande influence du Dominion, etc. Conséquemment, il n'est guère surprenant que Grant lui-même ait noté l'influence de Haliburton sur la conception canadienne de l'impérialisme de lui et ses confrères. Étudiant les valeurs de Haliburton, leur expression dans « The Clockmaker », et comment les Impérialistes reflètent les idées et la rhétorique du roman, cette étude crée une continuité entre « The Clockmaker » et ces nationalistes qui ont cherchés une légitimité dans le passé en imaginant les traditions d'un jeune pays. L'étude examine la manière dont la littérature, au-delà d'être modélisée par son présent, devient l'histoire hautement-interprétable qui l'informe.

Mots-clés

Littérature canadienne (19ème siècle), impérialisme, mémoire culturelle, histoire, nation.

Abstract

Using Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, this work examines how literature informs understandings of the past and ideas of the present. This is an analysis of how the Toryism of certain late 19th-century Canadian Imperialists (Stephen Leacock, G.M. Grant, and Andrew Macphail) was influenced by *The Clockmaker*. These Imperialists were ideologues who imagined a greater role for Canada within the British Empire. The contention is that Haliburton's work, although highly problematic today, is nonetheless important to analyze for the popularity and influence it had at other historical moments, and specifically for the ways it helped revive – through satirical rhetoric, caricatures, and politically-charged writing – a dying form of Toryism that the Imperialists adopted into their thought in multiple ways. This allowed the Canadian Imperialists to develop a vision of Canada in-line with the times while relying on an element of Tory culture that had a sound historical background.

The Clockmaker expounds similar ideas to those of the Imperialists: strong British ties, anti-Americanism, an added socio-political weight to the Dominion, etc. It is hardly surprising, then, that Grant himself noted Haliburton's influence on him and his fellow thinkers' conceptual framing of imperialism in Canada. Studying Haliburton's values, their expression in *The Clockmaker*, and the way the Imperialists' works reflect the ideas and rhetorical tools of the novel, this study creates a continuity between *The Clockmaker* and those nationalists who sought legitimacy in the past when imagining the traditions of a fledgling country. This study examines how literature, beyond being modeled by its present, becomes the highly-interpretable history that informs said present.

Keywords

Canadian literature (19th century), imperialism, cultural memory, history, nationhood.

Table of Contents

To Patricia & André

Acknowledgements

I wish to first thank my supervisor, Lianne Moyes, whose guidance provided immeasurable insight and a much-needed critical eye. You were always there to answer questions, ask many more of them, and help me in all respects despite the overwhelming circumstances during which this thesis was written. Thank you for making it so enlightening to write a 90-page piece about a Tory.

Among the people I met at the Université de Montréal, I first want to mention those student association colleagues who quickly became dear friends. Thank you to the EGSS community for being CanLit allies, inspiring discussion partners, and advisors. Who knew that going to that first meeting would bring so many laughs and pleasure? Thank you also to Heike Härting for pushing me to explore new and exciting avenues in Canadian literature.

I strongly thank my family, my friends, and my dearest Camille for their continued support, love, and encouragement. To my parents, your unwavering help and reassurance was beyond compare. I am forever grateful for everything you have provided. To all my friends, those who inquired and those who did not, thank you for challenging me to write something that you might find some interest in. Finally, thank you Camille for your presence, your joy, and your unparalleled strength. Your smile and out-of-the-box ideas kept me going through every single step of this process.

You all helped turn what would have been a very solitary task into the best of experiences.

Introduction: Remembering a Dream of Imperial Canada

In thinking about a country and nation that often gravitates toward contradictory ideas of itself – even reveling in them at times – it becomes all the more important to think about how that same nation can try to come together and justify its singular existence. The reasons for this necessity can be a desire for better self-definition, whatever form that may take. It can also be, as this thesis will suggest, a way to create a cohesive timeline and continuity within a people's history to make the nation seem more structured than it actually is. In itself, such a statement about contradictory identities is not unusual; multiple views concerning how a culture should be expressed can be found in more than one community. Where Canada is often considered to be different in that respect is that these diverging ideas are described as the foundational aspect of the nation's cultural fabric and, by extension, of its "collective memory" (Erll 9).

After all, the 'Canadian mosaic' – while coined in the 1930s to refer to a single-yet-multicultural Canadian society – was retroactively applied to this country as far back as the eighteenth century so as to emphasize that version of Canada's identity[1]. Rather, it was a way to reconstruct and create a 'memory' of that past that fits the current mould. The issue with such a way of thinking about a nation and creating a continuity is that the people living through that initial period of the eighteenth century, for example, would not have necessarily seen themselves in that light. Where this study will differ is in examining a cultural continuity that was already perceived by those who were establishing it, but which has rarely been explored as an example of that said continuity. That 'continuity' is meant here as a series of events and ideas that fit within a specific framing of Canada and its place in the world. In this case, the most evident cultural aspects are literary, ideological, and political ones that fit the 'British Canadian' ideal. Attempts have been

[1] See John Murray Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* for a well-known example.

made at examining this connection, although they tend to focus on individual aspects rather than as a more encompassing unit.

Aptly expressing the difficulty of identifying a cohesive Canadian cultural mindset, Cynthia Sugars and Eleanor Ty write that "collective memory takes on an interesting, and more self-conscious, inflection in Canadian cultural studies in which the sense of a unified 'collectivity' – not to mention an identifiable 'culture' – has always been a problematic and unstable concept" (5). Such an issue is where attempts at identifying points of unity become relevant in Canada. Especially in the formative stages of the country as we know it today, as Sugars and Ty again point out, these attempts were necessary as a way to distinguish Canada as being unique. It is ultimately from this idea that emerges the central theme of this thesis – the construction of attitudes based on the perception and 'memory' of a homogenous ideal rooted in the past. This ideal and its relevance to this paper, while undeniably firmly entrenched in historical studies, is argued to be based in literature. It is important to recognize, as Astrid Erll suggests, that "[what] is nowadays called 'memory studies', or 'cultural memory studies', has […] emerged as a multidisciplinary field" (2). Focusing on a nineteenth-century Canadian context, an era steeped in conservative idealism that constantly looked to popular aspects of the past for inspiration, *Toryism Reconstructed* poses the question: where do ideas of national unity stem from in a Canadian imperial[2] setting?

From there, a myriad of other questions necessarily arises. Who decides what the national culture is? Why had they chosen to focus on and develop the aspects that they did? What does this decades-long development tell us about the formation of national identities and the remembrance

[2] This thesis will use 'imperialist' and its derivatives ('imperial', 'imperialism', etc.) in two ways. The lower-cased word references those with sensibilities and opinions that generally line up with an ideology of imperialism as it was known in Canada. In this case, this is mostly in reference to Haliburton. The upper-cased term ('Imperialists') references those associated with groups such as the Imperial Federation League or other organizations that made Canadian imperialism central to their mission (i.e. members of Canada First, Stephen Leacock, G.M. Grant, etc.) and who viewed themselves as a socio-political grouping rather than simply having a vaguely similar idea about Canada's place within Empire regardless of party association (as is the case with the lower case use).

of a past viewed as common? In examining how literature permeates the popular mindset and the imagined history of a people, this paper attempts to answer those questions in ways that inform how cultural identities and history are as much the result of a people's common experiences as they are a figment of the imagination, they are selected attitudes of the past that are reinterpreted for the contemporary moment. That is, in essence, what is meant throughout this thesis when references are made to literature informing history. Using *The Clockmaker*[3] – Thomas Chandler Haliburton's 1836 novelized collection of short comedic sketches – the intent is to examine its impact as a popular book on what will be referred to as the 'Canadian Imperialists' (described in greater detail in the third chapter) and their memory of Canada and its place within the British Empire.

Today, this book is rather offensive in its approach to race, sex, and class, discussed in more detail below. This is especially noteworthy when discussing the longevity of its imperialist discourse as will be done here. There is, however, an importance to analyzing such a text in spite of these problems. The most important for the purposes of this thesis is in the way it demonstrates the ability for such rhetoric to pass from one generation to the next under the guise of comedy. While Haliburton's writings have been increasingly pushed out of the Canadian literary 'canon', having notably been struck from Bennet and Brown's *An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* in 2019, the fact that other recent anthologies[4] still feature his work and that *The Clockmaker* was reprinted in 2007 is indicative of the staying power of such ideas in the established continuity of Canadian literature. It is a difficult text to read with contemporary sensibilities, but understanding the immediate effects it had on the nineteenth-century Canadian socio-political

[3] For the sake of clarity, I will be referring to the first and best-known collection alluded to, at times, as *The Clockmaker, First Series*. This study will not focus on the second or third series that were published in later years. All references to the book should be assumed as being of that first series as it will simply be referred to as *The Clockmaker*.
[4] *Canadian Literature in English: Texts and Contexts* (2008) being but one example.

discourse will help understand why it is still so easy to fall into the trappings of such rhetoric in contemporary Canada. While this thesis addresses the earlier impact of *The Clockmaker*, the hope is that it will be insightful enough for readers to question the role of such literature in shaping a modern society for many of the same reasons presented below.

Written by a politically-minded judge first and writer second, *The Clockmaker* originally began as multiple stories published in Joseph Howe's popular journal *The Novascotian*. Before long, they were collected as a novel in order to capitalize on the immense popularity they immediately had in their day (Panofsky 5). These tales, while not forming a cohesive story from one to the next, focus on the adventures and wanderings of an unnamed narrator from Nova Scotia and his dealings and interactions with the titular American clockmaker from Connecticut: Sam Slick. Through the duo's wanderings and discussions, Haliburton allows himself to comment on the state of the British Empire, Nova Scotia, the United States, the future of the British colonies, and how all of them related to one another.

This relates to what is probably the greatest advantage of the sketch format and writing style that Haliburton used, in that it gives him the ability to voice his opinion on so many varied and disparate subjects in a way that seems natural if bombastic. The two main characters of Sam Slick and the Squire are exaggerated parodies and the sketches reflect the wandering aspect that is the book's impetus – with the two characters constantly changing places and therefore subjects of discussion. Slick is easily the most fluctuating character of the book as "a type of the Yankee pedlar, braggart and con-man. Naïve and cunning at the same time, he has the exaggerated self-confidence and childlike chauvinism that the British attributed to the Americans" (Marshall 135). The lack of consistency in character and setting that recalls the changing nature of Canada at the time is balanced out by the consistency in format and genre. The sketch-like satire is uneven but

shows through such variations the different perspectives of nations (Slick as the eclectic, loud-mouthed, and ever-changing Americans; the Squire as the uptight British) and allows Haliburton to ridicule socio-political situations that the Nova Scotians took so seriously at the time he was writing *The Clockmaker*. In that sense, Haliburton reflects Linda Hutcheon's observation that satire represents an inversion in itself, as a genre that ridicules the brashness of something new while promoting an older 'tried-and-true' way as a "corrective" (67). It subverts the new while identifying with any perceived tradition it might promote. This use of the satirical genre as a tool for a political agenda will be among the most important of these above traits in the coming chapters. The precise ways that the characters voice their opinions will be covered throughout, but Haliburton's writing style, rhetoric, and obviously his ideology is what is most clearly replicated by the Imperialists of the late nineteenth century. Where the work's easy-to-read sketch format had an impact on *The Clockmaker*'s dissemination, as will be discussed, it will not be greatly focused on as it was hardly replicated in the later writers discussed in the third chapter.

While being placed in more of a comedic light, *The Clockmaker* was meant to be Haliburton's way of expounding his version of Tory values – those ideas broadly associated with a kind of conservatism, with the term 'Tory' itself being used in British-inspired institutions[5]. The popularity of the book covers up the fact that the author's form of Toryism was considered to be archaic by his contemporaries, even by his publisher, Howe. Placing Haliburton and his ideology within its proper context will be the focus of the first chapter, with the perhaps-out-of-place popularity being reserved for later. By writing a book that was approachable to all by the standards of the time (although decidedly less-so today) and more enjoyable than his more essay-like work, the author would have given his conservative values a digestible spin that gave them a new life in

[5] In Canada, the term seems to have been more commonly used as a colloquial one to refer to the Conservative or Progressive-Conservative parties and their values.

Canada. This will be argued as having taken form in later generations within the circle of Canadian Imperialists that shared many of the same values, most notably an attachment to the British Empire and a very critical approach to the one led by the American republic. Using the power of literature to live beyond the author's limitations, by being more easily interpretable and being able to exist for much longer within the popular consciousness, *The Clockmaker* allowed for the reconstruction of a bygone form of Toryism that sought justification in the past and found it in the popular novel.

Before any profound analysis though, there must be a necessary preamble on methodology, terms, and sources. This is useful to establish that the historical aspect of this work, while integral to carrying out the analysis of Canadian identity, is secondary to the literary aspect. 'History' is used throughout as the study of elements of the past. How that past is constructed or understood can be approached from many angles, including literature. The idea of 'making' historical narratives, however, is carried throughout the thesis, whether it be through literature or not. Such ideas are informed here by the works of Benedict Anderson and Homi K. Bhabha on the narrativizing of nations, as both seem to "lose their origins in the myths of time" (Bhabha 1). 'Literature' will refer to various forms of stories (novel, myths, legends, etc.) Its use will most often be in reference to *The Clockmaker* and the works published by the Imperialists studied below. Next, in using fluctuating terms like "culture" and "identity", a working definition is needed for this paper which relies on how they were constructed. In its barest form, 'culture' will refer to a set of ideas and behaviours that are part of the way a community distinctly identifies itself. As Roy Miki notes, and as it pertains to this paper, ideas of culture are often co-opted, if not created, by a larger entity or nation-state (2). 'Identity' will refer to the qualitative aspects, a condition of sorts, that an individual relates to and that defines them in relation to others (6). Both concepts change over time (and will do so over the course of this work), but how one approaches them as a fixture

within their life – how one specifically expresses an identity within a culture – is the relevant aspect here. The specifics of Canadian culture will, in this case, be defined in the way the Imperialists saw it and the way it came to be a part of their identity with the help of Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*. For a culture like Canada's that is often described as a multicultural mosaic, the intent behind such groups as the Imperialists was, interestingly, to stabilize a culture so as to identify it as something greater and more unified within the British Empire. So, while both concepts have broad definitions, these will rapidly become complex within this study's context, in which a very specific definition of Canadian culture and identity is created.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton is a complicated writer to approach, most notably because of the openly racist and sexist rhetoric that pervades much of his thought and literary output. An early chapter, "The Silent Girls", provides an salient example of how sexism and racism are combined in the discourse of the Sam Slick character:

> […] they chatter all day long – so do the niggers – and so do the Blue Noses of Nova Scotia. […] I guess if you were at the factories at Lowell we'd show you a wonder – *five hundred galls at work together in silence*. […] I expect the world don't contain the beat of that; for a woman's tongue goes so slick of itself, without water power or steam […] it comes as natural as drinkin [*sic*] mint julip. [*emphasis author's*] (17)

To put it succinctly, whether referring to black slaves in America, Nova Scotians, or white women, Haliburton's discourse (as voiced through Sam Slick in particular) merges what he viewed as the 'inferior' inhabitants of nineteenth century North America (i.e. those who were not white 'Anglo-Saxon' men) into a single category that gets no empathy from the author. On the contrary, Haliburton apathetically encouraged such a worldview by seemingly writing it off as humorous.

This conjunction of racism and sexism was not limited solely to the Tories addressed in this thesis but is something that underlies much imperialist thought in Canada.

Regarding intent, this is a study of imperialist thought as a conceptual framework and the way it was perpetuated and evolved through literature and its devices. While this thesis does not directly address such tenets of imperialism as slavery or male chauvinism (among others), it must be noted that many works concerning such topics informed it, even indirectly. Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*, for one, is difficult to avoid for its study of the position of the novel in "the history and world of empire [and] in the formation of attitudes, references, and experiences" (xii). Said's relevance to analyses of Haliburton and his literature lies in his understanding of cultural productions as engaging in an ideologically-motivated tradition that is both independent from and attached to the "economic, social and political realms" (xii). Haliburton's body of work functions similarly insofar as it makes culture a vehicle for imperialism. However, literary and historical critics alike have rarely engaged with the lasting ideological effects of Haliburton's work, choosing instead to focus on the immediate meaning of texts like *The Clockmaker*. Said's work, therefore, allows us to understand Haliburton's novel as having an impact beyond the Nova Scotians who, "*just like the nigger boy, don't know the value of their diamond*" [*emphasis author's*] (Haliburton 17) – a statement that touches on all three of the realms above – and into later generations of imperialists who adopted aspects of the novel into their own ideology.

Several thinkers have addressed the sexism and racism discussed above as they operate within Haliburton's *oeuvre* and in imperialist discourse more broadly. George Elliott Clarke's extensive body of work on Africadians informed my reading of the texts discussed below and their authors' positions on slavery. His articles on *The Clockmaker*, "White Niggers, Black Slaves, Slavery, Race and Class in T. C. Haliburton's The Clockmaker" and "Must We Burn Haliburton?"

are potent overviews of the judge's abhorrent views, but also of how that discourse can be carried on through culture, thus extending from Said. Furthermore, Clarke refers to how Haliburton's racist discourse is intrinsically tied to representations of other marginalized groups in imperialist thought, demonstrating a "fear that abolition and other socio-economic reforms marked the imminent collapse of Protestant/Christian civilization" (Clarke 9). This reminds us of the wide-reaching nature of such a discourse and how it rarely exists independently, if at all.

Sara Jeanette Duncan's *The Imperialist* offers insight into the role of women in the development and criticism of Tory imperialist thought – a discussion being increasingly had, although perhaps not enough where Duncan or Haliburton are concerned[6]. While acknowledging a hyper-masculine 'boys club' within imperialist circles[7], there was a difficulty in including writers such as Duncan within the established scope of this thesis. Her oppositional approach to imperialist rhetoric diverges from that of Leacock, Grant, and Macphail, complicating attempts to fully do such a divergence justice. Such a decision risks replicating the sexist setting Duncan emerged from. Yet, as stated above and in the conclusion, Duncan's importance – disruptive and worthy of further attention – is better suited for a time frame outside the one addressed here. Generally, a decision was made to draw from Haliburton, the Imperialists, and analyses of their work specifically, all while avoiding being celebratory of their impact simply because an important figure like Duncan was omitted. This was a way to observe more concretely what Haliburton meant in his and the Imperialists' times, rather than in this contemporary moment. The perspective therefore changes, but the value of this thesis in understanding the place of literature in

[6] Ruth Panofsky's "Breaking the Silence: The Clockmaker on Women", published in *The Haliburton Bi-Centenary Chaplet* (1996), is one of the few examples of contemporary criticism of Haliburton's problematic depiction of women.

[7] This 'club' is evidenced in behaviour by Haliburton and the Imperialists, as well as such groups as the Family Compact (also discussed below).

perpetuating certain ideas in Canada – ideas that are still influential now in some regards – does not.

As it pertains more directly to this thesis, multiple works outside of *The Clockmaker* are integral to understanding this project, namely works on cultural memory by Cynthia Sugars, Carl Berger's *Sense of Power*, and Gerald Friesen's *Citizens and Nation*. Sugars and Friesen provided a theoretical and methodological basis more than anything else. The former understands culture as something that is remembered and constructed in an individual's or community's mind and locates it within the particular context of Canada and the way the country's literature allowed for such a memory of its past to be formed. The latter scholar advanced in *Citizens and Nation* an understanding of history and the way people understand it as being intrinsically tied to how that very history was written about, namely in fiction. It is a version of history that is more focused on the way citizens affect the nation as a whole rather than the other way around. Friesen studies "how ideas and aspirations are conveyed within large social groups, and [how they can be concentrated] on this particular place" (7). When thinking about the influence of Haliburton's novel on a group's perception of its nation, such works, despite their historical focus and not their literary one, are impossible to ignore.

Sense of Power deserves more attention here as it provides a precise way through which to understand the Canadian Imperialists that will be analyzed in their relationship with *The Clockmaker*. Berger's book is a study of that group which was composed of conservative-minded people (Tories through-and-through) who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (roughly the 1870s to the 1920s) were advocating for a Canada that would be the social, economic, and cultural center of the British Empire. While Haliburton himself and certain notable Imperialists

held views that would fit a more conventional view of empire, especially concerning ideas of a British 'race', these are not this study's concern.

The brief description above is what is meant by "imperialists" – not a desire for Canada to become an empire in itself, but for Canada to be something greater within the pre-established British one. An idea of exceptionalism, racial or otherwise, is definitely present – integral even – but the focus will be on the continuity of such ideas and somewhat less on their exact manifestation. With *Sense of Power*, it becomes easier to understand the Imperialist 'moment'[8] in Canada as having a clearly-defined identity that relates to a conservative understanding of Canadian culture. Berger's study allows us to place certain early Confederation-era writers and thinkers into a well-defined category that can then be more easily analyzed as being within the same ideological continuity as *The Clockmaker*. Such a continuity will allow for the profound influence of the novel on a national mindset to be recognized.

For the purposes of this study, those Imperialists will be limited to Stephen Leacock, George M. Grant, Andrew Macphail. Sara Jeanette Duncan and her widely-known book *The Imperialist* were considered for this analysis, but both were ultimately used as a comparative tool, with the abundant critical works concerning the book being occasionally applied to the more sparsely-analyzed *The Clockmaker*. The above thinkers' expression of Canada's place within the British imperial context was mostly stated through academic works, although like Haliburton, these opinions also seemed to make their way into their literary output – especially with Leacock and Duncan. Furthermore, their academic writings featured many satirical elements that allow them to be analyzed more easily alongside *The Clockmaker*. This will allow for a broad coverage of the Imperialists (as theoretical and fictional writers alike) and establish them as lasting well into

[8] This moment being specifically understood as the revival of sorts that took place in the later nineteenth century, not a reference to the pre-Confederation time when Canada's part in the imperial project was all but taken for granted.

a time when their cherished Empire was falling (as Macphail was writing well into the 1930s for example). *The Clockmaker* will be understood as having entered the public memory and influenced how these authors came to think in very similar ways about Canada even when those ideas were, unbeknownst to them, becoming increasingly irrelevant. This may not have been a deliberate choice made by some of the Imperialists, but the similarities between the 1836 novel and their thought certainly raise the question initially posed: how do ideas about a nation arise? For an ideology that seemed to be on its last leg, it is all the more impressive that it was revived among a generation that would have grown up after the publication of *The Clockmaker* just as it would have started to properly enter the public consciousness.

The relevance of this study can be explained in two significant ways. First, as alluded to above, this is an examination that can shed some light into how literature influences a nation and its history rather than the typically-assumed opposite. From that point, there is an opportunity to develop a continuity in Canadian nationalistic thought as it was forming around the moment of the country's 'birth'[9]. While this Imperialist strand of nationalism did not endure much after the First World War, it is still indicative of the way cultures and ideas surrounding nations can come into being by taking root in a past moment. That such a moment never intended to evolve into what it was for the 'culture builders'[10] of the present makes this all the more interesting.

Second, this is not a subject that seems to have been covered in a particularly satisfactory way. That is not to say that there are no significant or interesting studies of Thomas Chandler Haliburton and his works. Simply put, few scholars have explored his contributions to the development of an identity in Canada in the specific way this study seeks to. Those who have

[9] In as much as Canada can be described as coming into its own in 1867. In true historical fashion, no such date is actually possible to determine over any other time when significant moments of unity occurred. In this case, Confederation is the easiest shorthand.

[10] A working term for those who would build a culture based on patterns witnessed in the past, imagined or not.

written about or have called for the study of Haliburton, do so inconsistently and with very precise angles. In recent years, in fact, few works have been published about him, especially not in the way this paper proposes to. A recent example of a major work on the judge (i.e. more than a single article) is *The Haliburton Bi-centenary Chaplet* – already released twenty-five years ago – which sought to reappraise certain elements of his life and writing, but little of his legacy as it pertains to the nineteenth century moments discussed here. As such, this thesis finds another partial goal in the exploration of elements of Haliburton's more direct ideological impact. As far back as the 1880s, interest in exploring Haliburton as someone who contributed to the development and influence of an imperial ideology and culture in Canada has been present[11], but it seems that few have pulled at that thread since. If they have, it is not in relation to the writers and thinkers mentioned above as Imperialists. Noted similarities with Leacock seem to be the most common among them, but most scholars have focused on the comedic sensibilities.

There have been analyses of Haliburton as a historian of Nova Scotia, for example. Scholars such as M. Brooks Taylor have done excellent work in that field. Forgivably so, these studies tend to focus less on *The Clockmaker* and more on Haliburton's theoretical and more prosaic works such as *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*. After all, these are works that are intended to be read and understood as history, where the Sam Slick sketches were not necessarily. That is not to say that they cannot be seen as such, of course. As products of their time, and especially as comments on it, the bestselling collected stories can be as important a way of understanding the past as a formal text is.

Branching off that last point, *The Clockmaker* was a comedy. This is where a majority of the analyses of the book come into play. Taking a variety of angles over the years – from how

[11] Francis Crofton's study of the man and his work is a notable example of this.

influential the novel was to comedic sensibilities, to researching the origins of its satirical aspects – such studies nevertheless do not provide a wide enough picture for the purposes of this thesis. It is true that, especially when referring to satire, many scholars have also managed to address questions raised about the politics of Haliburton's novels and essays. Oana Godeanu-Kenworth has, more than once, focused on T.C. Haliburton's views of the British North American colonies and his relation to settler mentalities. Matthew Laird has argued how Whigs had opposed the Tory appeal of Haliburton's popular satirical Sam Slick character. Yet, for all the potential subjects that an analysis of comedy can bring forth, few seem to have observed Haliburton and his works outside of his own context. The rare exception to these analyses of the judge's impact on how comedy developed in the Atlantic Canadian provinces and the New England states. This therefore puts *The Clockmaker* within a Canadian continuity, but a specifically comedic one rather than a socio-cultural one. The book is therefore often placed alongside the likes of Thomas McCulloch's *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters* as an early example of a distinctly Atlantic-Canadian branch of humour writing.

Such an influence on comedic trends and traditions in north-eastern North America meant that Haliburton's study has not been entirely stopped throughout the centuries, and the author is not forgotten within Canadian literary history. Studies that examine Haliburton in such a category have tended towards inclusions of his name and famous Yankee character within survey texts or essays. The judge-turned-writer is lauded as being a part of the literary continuity and "canon" and is noted for certain trends that he helped propagate. Even as an extension of writing in a comedic style, studies and analyses of *The Clockmaker* as a piece of popular fiction have been written by Ruth Panofsky or Claude Bissell. Both these authors have opened up discussions about the

reception of Haliburton's ideas as a result of or thanks to the fact that it is a comedic text that fits within an understood and generally-understood (or assumed) Canadian continuity.

Comedy is not the only element of *The Clockmaker* that needs to be highlighted though, despite its being an integral part of understanding the text's enduring quality (as seen below) and the aspect that will be most relevant for this very study. Haliburton's 'classic' also distinguishes itself from his other publications as a work of fiction. Ruth Panofsky's study of the publication history of the three *Clockmaker* series opens up many ideas that are central to explaining the successful dissemination of Haliburton's thought. In "The Publication of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, 1st Series", the sketch format, the publication medium, and the characters are all seen as fundamental but only developed enough to provide an overview of how *The Clockmaker* was disseminated. Before proceeding, while they will be discussed throughout, it is important to understand that these elements were all part of *The Clockmaker*'s success and continued place within the public and imperialist consciousness. Sketches and short tales were a much more popular and widely-read format than the essay, for example. The release of *The Clockmaker* in different publications (depending on the country) contributed to its high print rate. Finally, the use of fictional characters as satirical archetypes is arguably a much more intriguing way for Haliburton to voice his opinions than through stale rhetorical essays that were part of the reason that the writer was considered old-fashioned in the first place. In short, the way Haliburton's ideas were structured in *The Clockmaker* was just as important as the genre of writing, even though the latter is what most people remember the text for. How exactly the writing will play into this study will be explored in the final part where elements of Haliburton's discursive style were noticeably adopted by Leacock and Macphail. Such elements (along with the ideas that are

promoted through them) influenced the Imperialists more than any specific sketch seems to have done.

This enumeration of the aspects of *The Clockmaker* that have been written about is not simply to emphasize that this text will be different in its subject and scope. While the contention is certainly that that is true, these texts are very useful and deserve to be highlighted beforehand for the sake of better clarity before delving into the main topic. The aspects above are all elements that will be revisited to varying degrees. These will help explain why *The Clockmaker* was a popular text in the first place, how it could have endured in the public consciousness, and what the power of stories are to a national ideal. Instead of focusing on the politics, the comedy, and the historical context individually, this work examines them in conjunction with each other; relating these aspects in ways that provide an understanding of *The Clockmaker* as a text that goes well beyond its original form as a series of funny tidbits published in a newspaper.

Berger's introductory words to his study of the Imperialists sum up the direction of this thesis. "Canadian imperialism was one variety of Canadian nationalism – a type of awareness of nationality that rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, and the national mission" (9). This is not a historical analysis, nor a political one. It is the study of how a book could influence a group of nationalists in Canada. *The Clockmaker* was born out of a specific set of circumstances and was itself one of the circumstances that led to the development of the attitude known as Canadian imperialism. Haliburton's antagonism towards a confederated British North America was on full display within the pages detailing the adventures of Sam Slick. The same can be said of his criticism towards the British and their rule. These antagonisms did little to discourage Haliburton's old Tory ideas to evolve from the page – from the citizen – to the nation. The Imperialists had an understanding of history where Haliburton was a linchpin in the

development of their thought. That they disagreed with him over the geographic form Canada would take was irrelevant. That their own gripes with the British 'motherland' were more nationalistic in nature than interventionist, just as much. What mattered was the thought and action associated with the Northern nation, that through thick-and-thin, Canada was a proud and valuable member of the British Empire and that it should reflect it through its actions. Differences in context allowed for divergences, but few of these were in intent.

This is a study of ideas, of the transformation of values as facilitated by their initial existence within pieces of literary fiction. The Tory ideology has been mentioned multiple times in this introduction as if it were a stable and consistent concept. As will be argued though, and as the title of this study suggests, Toryism is something that changes, like most ideologies, according to a variety of factors. *The Clockmaker* was a way for Haliburton to channel his own version of that style of conservatism. Canadian Imperialists also displayed Tory-minded traits and ideas. The two were different in some regards, as befits the change in context, but the way in which the former is argued here to have influenced the latter leads to the argument that this ideology was indeed something reconstructed. Adhering to a conservative view of culture and society, Imperialists namely looked towards *The Clockmaker* to be the proof that their 'old' views were once popular and could be again. The context was different, but the ideas could hold their ground. This is a study of the transmissibility of ideas across time, on literature and its influence on perceptions of history and, by extension, the present.

Chapter One: Haliburton's Literature and Views in Their Historical and Social Context

In order to determine in what way Haliburton's form of Toryism was reconstructed in the late nineteenth century, it is important to understand the latter ideology. Once the basic concepts of British/Canadian Tory ideology have been set up, Haliburton's views can be better placed within their context and better understood as belonging to a bygone form of that ideology. Thus, the main focus of this chapter will be to analyze how Haliburton's views and values were reflected in his writing, first in his essay-like texts, then in *The Clockmaker*. Although the latter was released earlier than his essays, it pulls from many ideas that were developed as singular elements in his non-fiction. *The Clockmaker* is the coalition of Haliburton's ideas that were expanded upon in greater detail after the fact of its publication.

In other words, it will be easier to understand and interpret the views presented in *The Clockmaker* once they have been more clearly presented through his prior essays, which focus more seriously on the aforementioned views instead of putting a humorous spin on them from the start. Before that 'ideological analysis' of sorts, an element must be added as a way to open up the subject more clearly. That is, a quick examination of why literature, and specifically *The Clockmaker*, can be used as a way to talk about issues of Canadian imperialism and, more broadly, history in the first place, even from a fictional standpoint.

1.1 – Literature & History: Why Use *The Clockmaker*?

It would be easy to say that since literature is a product of a writer's mentality and knowledge of the world around them, that it would make sense for there to be a link between history and literature. This can be based on assumed knowledge of the past or present, of course,

but ultimately it does not really matter. The author writes based on their view of the world around them – positively or not is up to them. The concept of 'writing what you know' is not that much of a foreign one. This can even be taken one step further in claiming that history is not too far from literature in that it weaves a story told from a specific point of view, often one that differs from another even for a same event. Our knowledge of history, like literature, influences our perceptions of how we view our surroundings. They are written with the intent to create an idea of a moment (White 7). Lois Zamora's *The Usable Past* is an excellent example of how these conceptions of the past can be manufactured like and influenced by literature in order to recreate a 'common' memory. Zamora writes that:

> History has indeed been one of the severest figures of the America's [*sic*] collective imagination. […] The revolutionary idea that the particular occurrence derives its intelligibility from the process of history as a whole strongly influenced the developing genre of the novel. In his classic exposition of the connection, Georg Lukacs refers specifically to the Hegelian foundations of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century historical novel, and much of what he says can be related to the development of the genre in general (1-2).

However, this is an examination of literature as a solidifier and perpetuator of ideas; as something that keeps ideas alive in its own time and allows for their historicization in a later one. In a sense, this will be more in line with work done by Carole Gerson in *A Purer Taste*, a work that explores nineteenth-century Canadians' desire to self-define through historical romance literature. Nations and groups as disparate as Canada and the Imperialists are the very reason why an examination of literature as an influence on history is relevant for the Canadian context. The Imperialists, in their conservatism, looked to the past and latched on to works like *The Clockmaker* to justify a

background for their imperial ideal. Without even being intended as history – although its relation to real events is noted by the fact that the sketches were originally published as *Recollections of Nova Scotia* (Nesbitt 93) – the text became so because it fit within the cultural memory of that late-nineteenth century group.

In looking to turn Canada into a central part of the British future, the Imperialists' looking to the past was indeed a bold contrast[12]. This was possibly an anchor of sorts by which to create a discourse of 'origins' despite the noticeable differences between the 1830s and 1890s forms of Imperial connections. The Imperialists remembered (or wanted to remember) a time when Canada openly accepted its imperial connection and *The Clockmaker* allowed for an easily-digestible proof of that past time. This can naturally lead to some contradictions – the admiring of the past in order to create a consistent future being only one example. Yet, it almost seems irrelevant that a clash became apparent.

The goal of the Tory ideology of the Imperialists and *The Clockmaker* was to remember and to effectively build on the past. Here, literature is understood in historical terms not as a product of its time, but as a powerful mechanism that allows for the past to live on because of a will not to forget, therefore creating a memory of the desired cultural tapestry. Literature will be seen as the building block of sorts for a historical moment, something that can be used in order to 'remember' a certain ideal and that forms the basis of a mentality viewed as better by the people examined in this study. Whether that sense of betterment is true or not is not for us to decide in this study.

[12] This is a trend consistent with Andreas Huyssen's analysis of modern cultural anxieties. These anxieties are caused when the contrast between the perceived past and willed future are bigger than anticipated. The past is consequently argued by the anxious to be a memory so as to make it a more justifiable and reassuring part of the same continuity as the present or future.

1.2 – Haliburton's Values

An overview of Haliburton's hardline Tory values cannot be covered by looking only towards *The Clockmaker*, the focus of the second chapter. It would certainly be simple and concise to do so, but it would unfortunately also diminish just how wide-ranging and varied the Tory ideology was in Britain and Canada. As Charles Taylor underlines in *Radical Tories*: "a distinctive tory sensibility has long been at work in our culture. From Haliburton and Mrs. Moodie through Leacock to the present day, it has been especially evident in our literature" (80). The intricacies have been oft-noted as far-reaching and these will be explored to some extent, especially in 'Chapter Three'. The point is that while Haliburton often serves as the basis to understand the broad lines of what could be called 'classic' or, better yet, 'conventional' Toryism, it is not quite the case. Such views were more complex and cannot be chalked up to being stereotypes of the conservative mindset in Canada and Great Britain. It is a pointed and hard-to-define ideology, but there can, by taking the time to look at many sources, be some attempt at a consensus as to one person's vision of it and how it fit alongside contemporary versions of Toryism.

By looking at how Haliburton's views were more clearly discussed in such works as *The Bubbles of Canada* and *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, it then becomes easier to see how those opinions were more artistically presented in *The Clockmaker*. That the novel was written prior to most of his theoretical work does not change much. Haliburton's views were on full and unaltered display during his political career, but exist now mostly in letters and official transcripts, things that are not always as coherently articulated as in the above-mentioned books. Consequently, while this requires a look at multiple works that were produced over many years following the release of *The Clockmaker*, it is necessary to look at Haliburton's later essay-like output in order to get a better and more well-rounded sense of his politics.

When faced with the need to contextualize Haliburton's thought and literary output, it is simpler to begin with the latter. This is not because it is harder to pin down the intricacies of an ideology and a person in so few pages, but because understanding Canada's literary context and Haliburton's place within it at that moment does not need to be developed as intricately as one might expect. In placing the literature in context, the intent is not to examine the ideas or story in their proper time *per se*. The ideas are to be developed later in this very section and the story is to be subjected to greater analysis in the next chapter. What is necessary for now, is what Canada's literary landscape looked like in terms of general characteristics – writing styles, formats, genres, etc. This knowledge of setting will enlighten how *The Clockmaker* was received and inform further explanations in the second chapter.

At its core, *The Clockmaker* is emblematic of both the old styles of writing and publishing that were brought over to the so-called 'New World' by European settlers, as well as a specific brand of writing that could only have been born in that precise area of North America where Haliburton was living. Daniel Royot sums up this duality by explaining that "[through] Haliburton's persona New England and Southwestern lore is transmuted and given a fresh perspective. Such hybridization, misleading though it might appear in the past, is essentially based upon a reinterpretation of the picaresque tradition in the New World" (123). This is indicative of two main points that should be developed here: the reliance on an old foundation and the adoption of new North American models that can be used for comedy.

In British North America, as Desmond Pacey points out in his survey of English-Canadian literature, the continued use of styles that were reminiscent of the British heritage[13] is due in part to the continued attachments that the colonies held dear for most of their early history and that

[13] The use of dry humour or the adoption of literary movements that had already gone by the wayside in Britain by the time they firmly reached the colonies, for example.

were starting to slip as Haliburton was publishing *The Clockmaker*. The lack of revolutionary moments as in the United States and the perceived influence on creative writing by the Loyalists that came to the Eastern-most British colonies certainly kept this 'traditional' style alive. As Pacey writes about Haliburton and the expression of those sentiments, he explains that "from his father, a staunch and high-principled Tory, he inherited or acquired his political conservatism; from his mother, […] he inherited his hatred of America particular and republican democracy in general" (12). While a reliance on parental lineage might not be the most solid of evidence for the origin of Haliburton's thought, it is nevertheless indicative of the way the writers in the colonies perpetuated what they knew best, by defaulting back to how their forefathers wrote.

To write what one knows is also to observe the world as it is in the contemporary moment, not simply what it was according to the Empire's education or one's parents. The differences in style and subject came not only from the fast-paced and new America, but from the expanding frontier of the British colonies too. The subjects that emerge in the nineteenth-century colonies are ones that are very focused on nature and socio-political situations that are specific to these territories. This statement in itself is nothing surprising considering what was available to write about at the time and the subjects that European styles encouraged. What is noticeably different as Haliburton starts writing is the approaches to satire and comedy that are starting to develop. His use of what would – for him, unfortunately – be named American humour used a much more common form of satire that had no limits in its subjects and that thrived through the use of the "self-conscious funny man" (Bissell 6). Alongside the increasing freedoms that the colonies and the American republic allowed for, this satire and humour that developed pulled no punches and could potentially laugh at nearly everything (Vincent 57).

This all cements Haliburton's literary context rather well. While valuing the ideas of old that were petering out in the 1830s, he was able to voice his opinions at a time when a bold and new form of writing emerged. Two important things could therefore take place. First, as previously mentioned, the North American brand of satire was liberal enough for Haliburton to attack or ridicule anything he felt needed it, doing so in a way that people would read (possibly explaining the success of *The Clockmaker* when compared to his other publications). As will be explored later, this provided Haliburton with the opportunity to reinvigorate the crumbling imperial/aristocratic mindset. Second, the type of writing that he used in *The Clockmaker* was recent enough to still make room for bold originality, such as the use of a Nova Scotian and Yankee dialect for the sake of comedy (Royok 124). So, while Haliburton's place within the continuity of Canadian literature and Atlantic comedy in general is firmly entrenched in traditional modes, his secure place within these "canons" can be explained by his influence on the way later writers adopted his comedic techniques – at times without their knowledge because of Haliburton's ubiquity (as will be seen by Leacock's sentiments about the man).

As for the overall ideological context, the use of literature might be diminished in favour of understanding the intricacies that emerge outside of it and that help build a better sense of Haliburton's character. *The Bubbles of Canada* was published in 1839, in part a response to the Rebellions of 1837-1838 that had taken place in Upper and Lower Canada. *A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham* was published in the same year and touches on some similar topics, but the former text is wider in its scope and gives a better idea of T.C. Haliburton's sentiments about Canada and the colonies. The particular interest here is that both these texts are specific responses to and are fueled by opinions concerning the more democratic and republican ideals of the

aforementioned revolts. This places them within a very specific context, yes, and one that had not arrived yet in 1836 when *The Clockmaker* was released.

It is important to remember that *The Clockmaker* did feature criticism of these liberal-minded demands; they had just not come to a point of rebellion yet, and so the judge did not criticize them as much as in *The Bubbles of Canada*. It is also interesting to note that *The Bubbles of Canada* seem to be an immediate reaction to this specific moment in time. Responsible government, while nearing its insertion into Canadian colonial politics, was not yet in place. Haliburton is thus writing very poignant criticisms of what he sees as a republican and anti-imperial sentiment, believing that he can still change the course of where colonial politics were heading.

A passage at the start of the book is indicative of the way Haliburton saw not only the Rebellions and their demands, but the response to it, and the British management of their North American possessions.

> They [the people of the Canadas] felt, too, that although nothing could justify their having desolated the country with fire and sword, in support of mere speculative points of government, some pity was due to deluded men, who had been seduced from their allegiance by promises of support, and direct encouragement to revolt by people of influence and standing in the mother country; but although they knew that mischievous counsels had been given, they certainly were not prepared to hear similar sentiments publiclyavowed [*sic*] in the parliament of the nation (Haliburton 8).

These introductory remarks allude to Great Britain as the land which Upper and Lower Canada should serve unconditionally and that the Rebellions were incited and supported by members of the British aristocracy and leadership that were evil in their intents – leading the people of the

colonies astray. This is but one aspect of his Tory ideas, though, a profound attachment to the old ways of doing things. This old way, to Haliburton, would encourage a more direct intervention of the British in North America. This becomes particularly evident in *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* where he blames the American Revolution – and therefore the lack of British control and 'proper' values – for the despotic turn that American Republicanism was gearing towards according to the author.

The status quo, as Haliburton perceived it, was that the British government was there to help build up the colonies in a manner that reflected the 'motherland'. To give too much power to the British North Americans was to become an "advocate of the ballot box and extended suffrage" (Haliburton 324) which was to be "looked upon […] as a dangerous concession to the deplorable spirit of radicalism, already too powerful" (Chittick 238). Haliburton's views on what he saw as republicanism – or the seeds of it – in the Canadas seems to have informed much of his worldview as it returns time and again in his writings. Interestingly, and this will bring us to the second part of this breakdown of Toryism, is that Haliburton saw what was happening in the Canadas as a warning for what not to do in the province he lived most of his life in, Nova Scotia (Marshall 136-7).

A sort of British exceptionalism permeates most of Haliburton's writings. Yet, as was shown in his opinions in *The Bubbles of Canada* and *A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham*, this exceptionalism was not above corruption or criticism. Believing that the monarchical system of Britain was the best form of government possible, Haliburton was also convinced that a highly-hierarchical system could allow for the ultimate freedom of all British citizens. This freedom was to be limited only by class and perceived social value. *Rule and Misrule* is clear about this when Haliburton writes in it that

> [monarchy] gives place and honour to rank and virtue, and countenance and encouragement to timid or retiring merit…. It limits and defines with precise accuracy and delicate shading the various minute differences that always exist in society, and assigns with equal skill and impartiality, to rank, reputation, and talent, their respective places. (365)

Stanley McMullin clarifies Haliburton's views on social order even further by explaining that the judge's actions in court and the Provincial Legislature (to which he had been elected a few times) reflected his belief that "no classes should be deprived at the mere whim of an elite" (McMullin 10).

Haliburton is therefore a much more complex Tory than might be initially expected. Is he progressive enough to be considered ahead of his time? No, not at all, as will be seen later. In thinking about the future of his province, his values were couched in a language that made him appear to want a better life for all his countrymen. While being adamant that the British colonial system was good as it was, it had the potential to be better within those confines. What scared him about the Rebellions and the demands for responsible government were that the rebels were working outside of that system and actively working to disrupt it. This explains some of the antagonism that Haliburton included in *The Clockmaker* about the Canadas. To him, association between those provinces and Nova Scotia for any reason than to build the Inter-Colonial Railway was absurd and would lead to greater degradation. "Canada has had more privileges and indulgences granted to it than any other of our American colonies; unpopular officers have been removed; obnoxious governors have been recalled; constitutional points abandoned to them […] for all this forbearance and liberality they have been met with ingratitude, abuse, and rebellion" (Haliburton 13-14).

His ideal positioning for Nova Scotia as a society, seen more precisely in *The Clockmaker* than in his other works, is one that rejects the 'radical' liberalism of the United States, but that still allows for economic and cultural growth within the British system. Neither of these had been quite achieved by the stage in which he is writing[14], but his fear of republicanism and British colonial apathy is quite present in the book. As will be developed later in Chapter Three, the later Imperialists will firmly grab onto these ideas as well, minus the complete rejection of what was by their time Ontario and Quebec.

Haliburton's views go much deeper than that, touching on a variety of subjects that were explained from *The Clockmaker* to *Rule and Misrule*. In fact, some of these, including the place that French-Canadians were claimed to hold (or supposed to hold) within British North America and later, Canada, would actually be picked up to some extent by the Imperialists. The decision to stop before reaching that point (and others) in an examination of his brand of Toryism is both for the sake of page real estate and because many of these ideas are extensions or variations on the basic idea touched upon above. The British way of life and its perceived 'traditional' institutions are the best fit for Nova Scotia and the North American colonies, as well as for the good functioning of a just society. The intent is not, as could be believed, to focus solely on the 'nicer' or more relatable aspects of Haliburton's politics. The goal is not to romanticize him and his values in any way by deliberately leaving out, for example, a discussion of his opinions on slavery. With what has been elaborated on so far, there is enough to continue an examination of his impact on the Canadian Imperialists.

[14] Although the "contended and happy colonies" (*The Bubbles of Canada*, 320) that he viewed the Maritimes as were also on their own agitated path to responsible government at that time (Roper 59). It seems the Canadas were more overt in doing so and, appealing to Haliburton's wishful thinking about Nova Scotia, garnered more of his attention.

His place within the British North American and Nova Scotian political spectrum has been alluded to many times here without much elaboration. Let us rectify this by placing Haliburton as clearly as possible within his proper context before looking at *The Clockmaker*'s role in placing him within a future mindset. Quite possibly the most cited and referred-to ideological clash in Haliburton's life is with his one-time publisher and friend, Joseph Howe. The similarity between the two men's views began and ended with their feelings about Nova Scotia's place within British North America, with both of them opposing Confederation. Howe, whose political career would continue in Canada into the 1870s, long after Haliburton had gone to England and died, would actually be the only elected leader of the Anti-Confederation Party that developed in Nova Scotia. Yet, even this common ideological stance would end as Howe would join forces with MacDonald's Progressive-Conservatives the year following his election (Beck 279-80).

In comparison to Haliburton, by today's standards, Howe would have been quite the liberal and was among those who advocated for responsible government in Nova Scotia before it had yet to be implemented in that province. Though, as Henry Roper writes in *Thomas Chandler Haliburton: Complications and Contradictions*:

> 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 is reminiscent of the 17th century English political philosopher Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha: A Defence of the Natural Power of Kings Against the Unnatural Liberty of the People*. (60)

The relationship between Haliburton and Howe would eventually fall apart, mostly due to their conflicting ideas and the heated debates that came of them (Beck 221). Their diverging political

and social stances (Howe's reform-oriented ideas break any attempt at reasonably comparing the two men as being similar forms of Tories) nevertheless help in opening up the topic of Haliburton's place on the political spectrum. Compared to the liberal-minded people of his time, it seems that he was, as Roper points out, as conservative and inflexible in his beliefs as could be. Is the same statement true when placed within a Tory frame?

A passage in Donald Creighton's *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* indicates the states of Toryism in the 1830s and 1840s. Speaking of Macdonald's attempt to create a more cohesive party from its blatant divisions, Creighton writes that:

> On the one hand were the Liberal Tories [not unlike Howe], distinctly the larger group of the party, but composed, for the most part, of men who were either young or relatively unknown. On the other hand, were the surviving members of the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique – men like Badgeley, Hale, and Moffatt from Canada East, like MacNab, Boulton, Robinson, and the Sherwood brothers from Canada West. (103)

This minimal remnant of the Family Compact and what it represented within British North America can provide the exact ground for comparison needed for Haliburton. The men who Creighton (and the liberal reformers of the time) called out as being a part of that group in Upper and Lower Canada would be a much more successful and well-known example of what Haliburton believed the system should resemble in the colonies – save the repression of justice that they allowed for. Furthermore, as noted in the quote, this type of conservative was known as being a small part of the government, holding on tightly to what little power it still had. While the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique were in Upper and Lower Canada respectively, their mentality

and strength among the conservatives had analogs, as noted by many scholars[15], throughout British North America.

The Tories associated with the Family Compact were indeed of the elitist branch that saw the British aristocracy as the epitome of legitimate government and that by-and-large rejected attempts at responsible government. Egerton Ryerson vehemently wrote of that kind of conservative as "a lordling in power, a tyrant in politics, a bigot in religion" (qtd. in McMullin 42). John Strachan, the pre-eminent example of what this group represented, would be adamant in his desire to implement "his vision of an hierarchical and carefully ordered British society, secured by an established church" (Westfall 600). Right down to the bigotry that has not really been developed here, this does not seem to be too far off from the picture painted of Haliburton thus far. Stanley McMullin puts a wrench in this assumption in a way that will definitively allow us to recognize Haliburton as a character that was almost impossible to pin down within Tory thought. This makes it all the more interesting that a form of his opinions should so clearly resurface at a later date.

Haliburton's willingness to move somewhat outside of the hardline values of conservatives like John Strachan did not stop him or his work from being criticized in its own time as *passé*. *Rule and Misrule* sold little (McMullin 50) and high-selling pieces like *The Clockmaker* were criticized even by Nova Scotians, "probably through wounded feelings" (Hagerman 46), who felt that they had moved past the author's satirical indictments. Yet, as this chapter has striven to show and as McMullin points out, Haliburton was much more liberal than he is typically given credit for – when placed within his own context, of course. In an ideological comparison of Haliburton and Ryerson, McMullin writes that "both Haliburton and Ryerson celebrated the 'inner spirit' of

[15] Including some mentioned in this study such Roper and Chittick.

conservatism. They were both 'moderate' Tories, always seeking the middle ground between contending forces" (51).

In seeking to explain why Ryerson was more recognized and popular as an author in the contemporary moment, the scholar does allude to something interesting that will be built on later.

> Ontario was in search of roots by 1880, good conservative roots to justify its role as the dominant centre of an emerging Canada. Canada First[16] had begun the process of myth building. The year 1884 saw the celebration of the centennial of the arrival of the Loyalists and 1890 saw the creation of the Imperial Federation League[17]. The United Empire Loyalist Association was founded in 1896. For the most part, these movements, events, and institutions were created by Empire Ontario. In the 1880s, Ontarians had finally taken possession of their environment. (50)

McMullin is clear in pointing out that Ryerson was met with more direct success and recognition in Ontario, but that Haliburton would have been closer ideologically to what these identity-seeking Canadian Imperialists wanted. Various factors, mostly regional in nature, would have kept Haliburton in the Nova Scotian setting where that Imperialist mindset was not as strong as in Ontario.

The goal of this thesis being what it is, the coming chapters will delve into how Haliburton would have possibly had more of a noticeable impact on Imperialist thought than scholars like McMullin indicate. After all, "the respect for history, the primacy of the community over individual selfishness, society conceived as an organism of functionally related parts and structured to reflect different human aptitudes, religion as the mortar of the social order, and the

[16] One of the group of Imperialists namely mentioned in Berger's *Sense of Power* but that will not be specifically explored here for the sake of conciseness.
[17] The above note applies here as well.

distrust of materialism" (Berger 103) are all elements present in *The Clockmaker* and within Imperialist thought. Haliburton's combined background as a historian and popular writer give more credence to his potential influence than someone like Ryerson who tended to be more academic, less approachable, and lacking in some of these conservative elements that tied the Imperialists together.

M. Brook Taylor, writing in "Thomas Chandler Haliburton as Historian", points out that "Certainly what he called his 'resort to a more popular style' in *The Clockmaker* series better suited his talents [than analytical historical writing]" (68), but that does not stop history from permeating and being an integral part of *The Clockmaker*. Returning to the themes introduced at the start of this chapter, Haliburton's use of his knowledge and perception of history and the way it plays out informs so much of his work, both fiction and non-fiction. As much as *The Clockmaker* writes about a very specific moment in British North American history, the fact remains that it is steeped in not only ideological but also cultural continuity. Influenced by the British monarchical tradition and the artistic sensibilities that inform much Atlantic North American writing (Hagerman), Haliburton was, whether it was recognized or not by the people reading him, a part of a continuity in Canada.

The writing about the past and its glories may have seemed nostalgic to those reading *The Clockmaker* as it came out. Criticizing the book for such a flaw though, ignores what Haliburton was trying to say through it about the future of Nova Scotia and the colonies. Disenfranchised by the adoption of responsible government, Haliburton returned "home" to England and slowly faded out of literary and political history (Chittick 644). Yet, as the next two chapters will attempt to show, by being a part of two continuities, Haliburton had a greater influence than would be expected on both Canadian literary history and the Tory identity. Stephen Leacock, as seen in

Chapter Three, is the most glaring example of this. Ideologically, as described by Berger and McMullin, the Toryism-driven Imperialism was present as much as with Haliburton. So too was the affinity for using satirical methods for getting a message across. Using satire was not only for conservatives, of course. It should not be dismissed, however, that in staying within the artistic continuity of which Haliburton is considered to be a part, that he and his works would be at the forefront of this nineteenth-century ideology.

Chapter Two: Adapting Imperialist Ideology in *The Clockmaker*

Thinking about *The Clockmaker* and its role as a conveyor of ideas, it is important to first recognize its ability to move and change across time and space. This simply means that, as a piece of art, as a literary work, it is interpreted differently from one person to the next, at different moments in time, and in different places. The reasons for those various interpretations can be historical, political, economic, or any number of factors that occur within a society. This chapter will first, as an extension of sorts from some of the previous chapter's points, address the value of examining an ideology through a highly-interpretable medium like literature. This goes beyond a look at how Haliburton's comedy made conservatism more palatable, into the very ways it was able to survive throughout the decades into the later nineteenth century.

Once such ideas are clarified (while always keeping *The Clockmaker* in mind), it will then be finally reasonable to examine the precise ways in which the novel adapts the Tory values that were elaborated upon in the first chapter. Five sketches will be particularly useful for that later section: 'The Clockmaker', 'The Grahamite and the Irish Pilot', 'A Yankee Handle for a Halifax Blade', 'A Cure for Conceit', and 'A Body Without a Head'. Drawing upon these sketches, this chapter will establish more coherently the relation of *The Clockmaker*, rather than Haliburton, to the British imperial project in Canada. It will be demonstrated that having a book be the method of transmission of Canadian imperialism rather than a person helped the ideology become more far-reaching. The ability to move across time and space is, after all, much easier for an inanimate object.

Finally, it is necessary to specify the terminology used as it relates to various genres and kinds of literature and writing, especially when Haliburton's *The Clockmaker* covers a wide range of them on its own. The most important genres or types of writing covered here are those of

comedy and political rhetoric. They are the most evident genres in *The Clockmaker* and the ones that most concern the later writers that will be argued as having been influenced by Haliburton and his novel. Comedy, as it concerns the era that Haliburton (and to an extent, Leacock as well) was writing in, is less about slapstick jokes or displaying absurdity and immaturity as would be increasingly seen in various media as time went on.

This early North American brand of humour centers much more around satirizing relevant cultural and social elements that most people could understand. The adept comic would use word play and contemporary examples to poke fun at a situation in a way that is more in line with what we could see today as caricatures – a surreal exaggeration of a real event or thing that highlights the ridiculous aspects. *The Clockmaker*'s jabs at Americans through Sam Slick, the British through the Squire, travelling preachers, the Irish, and of the institution of slavery (to name but a few), are chosen as comedic subjects by Haliburton because they are things that a contemporary audience could easily criticize in one form or another. Comedy, essentially, is about pointing to the real world and exposing its ridiculously unreal characteristics.

Within such a frame, the use of literature – especially comedy – to promote a certain political ideal is not a far-fetched idea. After all, what better way to make your opinions clear (or at least to have people listen to them) than by making fun of your opposition? Therefore, as this study will go on, while politics and ideologies – the summations of the opinions of individuals and groups about the society they inhabit – are central, they will most often be directly tied to comedy as it is the principal vehicle through which these values are expounded by the people examined here. This provides us with a more palatable version of the Imperialists' values but makes them a bit more muddled, as they are mixed in with puns and jokes. With a bit of interpretation though, as with all literature, the core of Haliburton's and the Imperialists' political arguments will surface.

2.1 – Literature and Ideological Adaptation

In order to determine how *The Clockmaker* can be expected to transmit ideas from one generation to the next, we must go beyond the arguments that were made in the previous chapter. It is good to explain that literature is a way to understand history, that history is – to an extent – the weaving of a tale, bringing to light elements of a society that had not necessarily been expressed before. Whether the tale is fictional (as literature is often associated with) or factual (as history is often assumed to be) is not what is important for the purposes of this thesis. What matters is the ideas that are transmitted throughout history thanks to literature; starting from a place of fiction like *The Clockmaker* and becoming a part of the factual understanding of readers' worlds as is the case with the Canadian Imperialists. Drawing from *The Usable Past*, the author explains that:

> Reasons for the willingness to suspend the distinction between the narrative claims of history and fiction move along a continuum whose poles exist in obverse relation. One pole is the modernist privileging of autonomous consciousness and thus the individual's version of the past, true by definition because reality exists as it is *perceived* to exist. The other pole is the poststructuralist privileging of the ideological and material effects of discourses as they operate collectively, conditioning (obviating) individual versions. At this pole, reality exists as it is *conceived* to exist: history is a commodity produced by language and other controlling systems of power, no matter whether it is presented as history or fiction or journalism or myth. The first pole takes historical understanding as inevitably singular, the second as inevitably not; the first is phenomenological and constructivist, the second political and deconstructivist. At both extremes, history and fiction collapse into each other. (Zamora 41)

Haliburton's role as a historical source in his own time – with his interpretation of Nova Scotian life in *The Clockmaker* – and as a resource that later Imperialists drew from as a type of artifact,

thus indicates one of the ways in which Zamora's argument can take shape. Furthermore, the fact that Haliburton's values existed independently from him elsewhere in Canada at different periods of time lent weight to the use of the term 'usable' in reference to the past. *The Clockmaker* is something that changes and becomes an ideological tool to some, not solely an independent piece of art. There must be something said about adaptation and reinterpretation, the latter of which will be more of a topic reserved for the later look at the Canadian Imperialists in the third chapter. Even if *The Clockmaker* is ostensibly the adaptation of the author's own beliefs, a discussion should be had about which beliefs were chosen to be a part if this book and why?

The best way to begin is with a reminder that *The Clockmaker* is not, in itself, a message – as literature goes beyond such limitations – but that it is trying to promote one. Haliburton had certain ideas about what he wanted British North America to be – that is, an area that promotes economic and social advances while maintaining a hierarchical and conservative form of government – and had the opportunity to tell a wider audience about it. Yet, even in creating and disseminating a more entertaining form of communication like the sketches-turned-novel, Haliburton understood that he had to think about how that entertainment took shape. Most important, is Haliburton's realization that he was writing for an audience with certain expectations and knowledge of literature. To write an original satire with characters that would define a generation of comedy in North America is one thing, appealing to ingrained sensibilities about stories and form is another (Panofsky). Where *The Clockmaker* differs from Haliburton's other works is that the most important elements (the characters and their interaction, for one) are fiction. Therefore, while Haliburton uses much of his page real estate to discuss then-current issues, there is a sense that it is always from an outsider's view that is looking in from a more neutral setting; everything presented is intentionally funny and exaggerated, so while there is meaning to be found

in *The Clockmaker*, it's still removed enough from reality to be seen as escapism for an audience that does not necessarily want to be inundated with rhetoric. As the original title of *Recollections of Nova Scotia* indicates, these stories are meant to be based on real and relevant situations told in a manner that reminds readers of a reminiscing storyteller. There is simultaneously a realistic and a fictional weight to the sketches that make them worthy of serious attention while being written with a widespread appeal in mind.

Claude Bissel points out in "Haliburton, Leacock and the American Humourous Tradition [*sic*]" how the conservative author was attempting to approach his ideologically-charged fiction without appearing to be reactionary. "Humour in Haliburton […] then depended upon ironic balance as opposed to the triumphant contrast that was the main spring of American humour. But the American manner was not without influence in Canada. Haliburton adopted it even though at the same time he made fun of it" (13). The key component to focus on – much like with Haliburton's outlook on modernity – is the attempt to strike a balance. The old and the new coalesce into *The Clockmaker* as a story and within its pages.

While Haliburton was reacting to ways the Empire was changing in many of his works, *The Clockmaker* was, at the very least, an attempt to show some restraint. In short, it is not excessively reactionary. The book displays an attempt to weigh the pros and cons of American, British, and colonial lifestyles according to their respective realities at that moment in time. Therein lies the most potent value of examining an ideology through literature rather than through an essay. It is more palatable and processed so as to appeal to as big an audience as possible. The very thought and concern that Haliburton displayed in his letters to Joseph Howe over how his characters were specifically meant to act (as seen in *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton*) are rife with an intent to create something comedic first and instructive or informative second.

Haliburton noted, in relation to the stand-out Sam Slick character, in November 1835 that "the dialect is half the wit" (78). In her examination of *The Clockmaker*'s publication history, Ruth Panofsky offers these types of interjections of the author to his publisher as an example of how much Haliburton cared for making something his audience would enjoy (6).

What an audience it was indeed. "The Publication of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, 1st Series" is among those multiple sources that affirm the sketch collection to be the first best-seller in Canada. While its success was mixed in terms of financial profit for the publisher, the fact that the book was so pirated due to a fluke in copyright management certainly helped it reach a wide audience who could have bought the text cheaply. Howe did not encourage such practices, although Haliburton did – this is one of the reasons why their relationship failed (Panofsky 17). These details may seem tedious or unimportant, but they in fact set up the impact of *The Clockmaker* as well as what can be achieved by such texts on a cultural, national, or even, international level in this case. With (mostly pirated) copies being sold in Britain and the United States, *The Clockmaker* gained some attention. This attention was evidently not entirely positive, as Cynthia Smurthwaite notes, but on the whole, as Howe indicated (perhaps from a biased perspective) that all things considered, *The Clockmaker* was "a universal favorite" (*Novascotian* 376).

Whether positive or negative, the reactions to the adventures of Sam Slick and the Squire across the Nova Scotian setting struck a chord with audiences. Some Nova Scotians loved it for its humour, others despised it for its criticisms. The same went for Americans and the depiction of them that some felt to be unjust. Enjoyed by Haliburton and despised by Howe to an extent, the popularity of the text was certainly something to take note of. Just what it meant to those who would read it as the sketches were released or once they were compiled is very much the point of

literature as an interpretable work. Haliburton's important goal of criticizing in *The Clockmaker* the differences in conceptions of the British North American future through exaggeration and absurdity led – perhaps intentionally – to criticism that "concentrated on traits [that made the book] an unwelcome herald of regionalistic stereotypes, both from the Nova Scotian and New England perspective" (Smurthwaite 39). Where *Rule and Misrule* or *The Bubbles of Canada* can lead to debates over the validity of Haliburton's arguments, *The Clockmaker* has a similar ability only in a more pointed and hermeneutic fashion. It forces the question as to whether the points raised in the literature are what the satirized populations want audiences to think of them or not. Is it true that all the Nova Scotians are lazy and the Americans chaotic? Of course not, but the power of literature is to confront an audience with that perception and to ask what they are going to do about it. That response changes from one person to the next, but the idea remains that a work like *The Clockmaker* incites one to think about their situation and interpret how to react to it because there is room for it. The piece is vague enough at times – and specifically relevant in others – to allow for debate as to what certain characters represent or want for Nova Scotia or the Empire in their varied situations.

This is where we can return to the idea of cultural memory and remembrance. *The Clockmaker* can be utilized by later thinkers (in this case, those of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) to refer back to an ideology and worldview that peaked six decades after the book was published. Its ability to be interpreted over and over again, to have certain elements be selectively chosen out of all others, is what allows it to live on in people's memories. Better yet explained, it allows the book to be the basis for a memory of Canada that needed a continuity. These evolutions in interpretation are the continuity – one idea leads to the next and while the context may be different, the general idea may not necessarily be. Dennis Duffy, referencing

another nineteenth century bestseller (Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty*), demonstrates how these single continuities can arise from diverging histories or interpretations of them.

> Modern Canada as depicted imaginatively by Parker consists of a single foundation: the entities of British North America and New France. Canadian history is a single stream, Canadian political and cultural realities a single construct. One imperial fragment falls victim to another empire. Integrated within that victorious empire, the one-time fragment remains fused even when that empire is itself later fragmented by a rebel colony. Yet that remaining, loyal fragment – Canada – retains its own unity, with a continuous history resulting from the earlier fusion. If historical memory resembles genealogy, then the family tree has long since been fused into one. The two imperial entities are no longer autonomous and discrete, but one in any historical schema imposed upon Canadian space. (280)

As romantic a view as Parker presents in his 1896 novel, it is rather indicative of the way literature and history influence one another. Elements from the past remain and are reused to build the values, myths, politics, or any other such construct of a people. That is the very point of the aforementioned *Usable Past*. Literary elements (archetypal characters, recognizable themes, events considered to be historically relevant, etc.) are most certainly used as a way to inform the direction a culture goes in. Parker may have a more unified vision of Canada than some, but it is rather pertinent to use such a vision especially when focusing on the Imperialist moment in Canada – a moment that required *all* of the country to be more present in the British Empire. *The Clockmaker* expressed that sentiment for Nova Scotia, as we will now see, but the Imperialists interpreted such a sentiment because it was easy to do so from such a medium and imposed that history of imperialist thought onto a Canadian space.

2.2 – *The Clockmaker*, Bearer of Ideology

With Haliburton's politics placed in their proper context and with literature being established as the potent vehicle for history and palatable ideology that it is, *The Clockmaker* can now be specifically examined. By bringing all these aspects of Haliburton's oeuvre together succinctly, the book will take its place as the linchpin of this study and of Imperialist sentiments. This section of the study will be more of a straightforward literary analysis. Always in the background of that analysis though, will be the ways in which a book can move beyond itself and its main commentary or message into a realm bigger than itself – effectively crossing borders of time and space in Canada. In other words, we are moving more concretely into what Gerald Friesen indicated, that is, "how ideas and aspirations are conveyed within large social groups, and its concentration on this particular place, [Canada]" (7). *The Clockmaker*'s place within a large social group (having reached such a wide audience) has been demonstrated. Now, it is time to see how that specific brand of Toryism is presented to that large (British/American) social group.

The Clockmaker clearly displays T.C. Haliburton's opinions, but an analysis of the ways in which the book makes those ideas approachable can almost only be understood when placed alongside his 'theoretical' writings. We can start with an examination of the broadest concept, the one that permeates most of the sketches no matter who the Squire and Sam Slick run into or where they are exactly: the place and role of Nova Scotia. The narrative device used to present these ideas throughout the text is almost exclusively through conversation between Haliburton's two literary 'personas', his dichotomous voices. This is perhaps a reflection of Haliburton's aforementioned derision of 'radical' action and his favouring of a discussion founded in clearly-presented opinions meant to achieve a peaceful settlement. The importance of dialogue and ideological discussion,

even as Slick takes the spotlight much more often than the timid (and passively Nova Scotian in nature, it seems) Squire, follows us throughout this analysis.

As for the ideas themselves, Haliburton's perception of the then-colony and the view of what form it should take within North America as well as the British Empire were noted in many texts brought up in the previous chapter. Nova Scotia was seen as a place worthy of admiration, but that still had room to grow by adopting some hard-working American economic values and the political and social heritage that the British Empire left for its inhabitants. By adopting these broad concepts, Haliburton thought that his cherished province could achieve a higher status within the empire. Yet, as alluded to many times, many of his basic conceptions of Nova Scotia and its populations feelings towards republicanism or towards the Canadas were misguided or filled with a bias that deliberately went against the historical reality of the place. The question we must then ask ourselves is, how did he explain his views in a way that made it seem like they were the most natural?

The obvious prevalence of the imagery and idea of the "clock" is a good way to address how Nova Scotia should become or *needs* to become something new according to Haliburton. This is a discussion that will lead to an understanding of the way that Nova Scotia (and later, by extension, Canada) should be addressed as an entity rather than a part in need of change. In thinking about a clock, the obvious place to begin is that it is a piece of technology – something artificial and mechanical by its very definition – that is used to understand and measure the passage of time, a concept most unavoidable and natural. The topic of how Haliburton understands the relation between technology and nature, how he understands (perhaps in a contradictory fashion) the place of elements of 'progress'[18] in a world that still relies on old modes of thinking, is central

[18] In as much as technological advancement is seen as progress in a nineteenth century liberal-minded sense.

to this mechanical imagery. At its core, *The Clockmaker*'s Nova Scotia is a place that needs to add technological elements that work to improve the productivity and economy on an internal level, but that keeps its conservative and well-established structure. Not unlike a clock, the issues are often with the gears (mechanized inner workings), and less with the body and hands that form the bigger part of the structure. In a 1984 symposium on Thomas Chandler Haliburton, scholar Robert L. McDougall pondered the author's relation to technology:

> "How come," I asked myself, "we find this man whose notion of Utopia seems to be an agrarian economy, stable to the point of inertia and supported by an industrious yeomanry benevolently watched over by country squires – how come such a man takes such an interest in building railways and moving things around?" Later, it was to occur to me that the appearance of trains in the scenario was a giveaway. (155-6)

Indeed, the train is one of the minute and gear-like changes that Haliburton supports as a way to improve the growth of Nova Scotia within the British Empire. At times, the train is simply presented as a metaphor – a writing device that Haliburton (through Slick) seems particularly fond of – but it's presence is noteworthy and potent nonetheless as a symbol of advancement and willed change of (perhaps Nova Scotian) nature. It is a change that does not remove from the agrarian society that McDougall points to as Haliburton's utopia, but instead allows it to broaden its scope.

Interestingly though, while this latter idea of where Nova Scotia should stand in the Empire is evident in the text, the ones who are given the role of 'maker' in the book's title role are the Americans. This gives the Atlantic colony a dichotomous flavour within the Empire that would not necessarily be obvious with a surface reading of *The Clockmaker*. The efficient clock-like technology is to be used to the advantage of the British, yet its concept is depicted as American – an idea that will return in the next chapter's discussion of Stephen Leacock's imperialism. A great

example of this vision of the colonies is when Haliburton gives Sam Slick the role of herald of technology, especially during *The Clockmaker*'s occasional presentation of the Intercolonial Railway[19] and the value of technology in the economy. Slick, in one of the many condescending diatribes that he runs against the Nova Scotian "Blue Noses", mentions (to the agreement of the Squire) that "[the] folks of Halifax have run down, and they'll never go to all eternity, till they are wound up into motion: the works are all good, and it is plaguy well cased and set – it only wants a *key* [emphasis author's]. Put this railroad into operation, and the activity it will inspire into business, the new life it will give the place, will surprise you" (Haliburton 34). The passage, as well as the clock metaphor, indicate that the "key" is internal changes, ones that will make the Nova Scotians depart from their idleness, but still function within the system they are under. It also, as with many of Slick's speeches, is meant to criticize the way Americans seemingly look down upon the colonies for not being dynamically progressive enough. Slick, and this is the case throughout *The Clockmaker*'s loosely connected narrative of seemingly aimless wandering (another of Haliburton's metaphors for Nova Scotia), is the patronizing voice that incites action and willful thought even if he turns out to be wrong in the end. A recurring theme in *The Clockmaker* is that Slick always believes he is right and will make sure his voice is heard loud and clear so as to spread the 'American way' everywhere he goes.

This passage above is perfectly in line with what was said about Haliburton earlier. His fear of republicanism and of what he saw as anarchy within the highly-ordered empire was a fear on a systematic level. His actions as a judge and his writings, especially in *Rule and Misrule*, reflect this desire for micro-changes that will help the so-called average citizen move forward in this modern world. Contradictions, then, in his thought and actions, are maybe not as evident as

[19] Which was already a planned project by the 1830s in British North America even if its full realization would not be attained before the 1880s.

one might anticipate when thinking of *The Clockmaker*'s advancement of both conservatism and technological progress. Much like the rest of Haliburton's ideas, these aspects have their place in society, but should be limited so as not to allow for a chaotic world to take over. Naturally, Sam Slick is Haliburton's way of personifying the American propensity for technological and industrial development. R.D. MacDonald highlights this aspect of *The Clockmaker* by saying that "Slick continually makes invidious comparisons between dull inaction and joyful motion – Nova Scotia as a becalmed sailing ship, 'an everlasting flappin' of the sails and a creaking of the booms' and the Yankees as a sudden sweet motion of a 'steamboat a-clippin' by'…" (178). That very fact though, also serves as one of Haliburton's perhaps paradoxical warnings within the pages of his bestseller.

It is through technology that the author asks the Nova Scotians to develop by means of the railways (or by generally being more industrious) and that the next topic can be approached. Should Nova Scotians fail to apply certain aspects of modernity into their lives in a well-balanced way (that is useful, yet deliberately limited in scope), the alternative, to Haliburton, would arrive from a people that will not limit themselves – the Americans. To the judge, the newly-formed republic was a place of unrestrained possibilities, a place that could rapidly devolve into chaos should the freedom of modernity be left unchecked. Through this interpretation of the American project, we can open more succinctly onto Haliburton's outlook on anti-Americanism in Nova Scotia and the British colonies. To point to a specific passage in *The Clockmaker* that fully encapsulates this sentiment would be unnecessarily tedious. Most, if not all, of the sketches point to some form of criticism towards Americans and their perceived lifestyle. The second chapter, which shares the book's name, does feature some of the most generalized statements that can get

us started. Haliburton introduces, at the very end of the chapter, how Sam Slick perceives money and technology.

> That, said the Clockmaker as soon as we were mounted, that I call '*human natur!*' [sic] Now that clock is sold for 40 dollars – it cost me just 6 dollars and 50 cents. Mrs. Flint will never let Mrs. Steel have the refusal – nor will the deacon learn until I call for the clock, that having once indulged in the use of a superfluity, how difficult it is to give up. […] Of fifteen thousand sold by myself and partners in this Province, twelve thousand were left in this manner, and only ten clocks were ever returned […] We trust to '*soft sawder*' to get them into the house, and to '*human natur*' [sic] that they never come out of it. (13-14)

Here, the most evident criticisms of the United States and its people are, of course, unchecked capitalism and their expounding of it. Clearly Sam Slick cares for little other than making a profit off superfluous items. His entire character extends out from that one idea, in fact. Throughout *The Clockmaker*, the American characters, or the ways in which Slick criticizes Nova Scotia and the British, always tend to come back around to the ability to make as much money as possible. This, in fact, is established in the very first story, "The Trotting Horse". To avoid admitting that his horse lost a circuit race against Squire's, Sam changes the subject, through excellent word play that characterizes *The Clockmaker*, how Nova Scotia is divided up "into circuits" that maximize sales to "a pretty harmless sort of folk" (9). In that sense, Slick – as the pure and unfiltered voice of American dynamism – is both the proof of greater economic success and the representation of capitalistic hubris unwilling to accept defeat. Simultaneously, Haliburton's two references to 'human nature' remind Nova Scotians to stay away from what Slick expounds here, that their 'nature' is, in fact, consciously derived from the imported British values that are the status quo as Les McLeod points out in "Canadian Post-Romanticism". Human nature, in this case, is a catch-

all term that steers Nova Scotians away from that which will change too much of the imperial framework. Their nature is British in North America, not American.

That aforementioned quest for profit is not a solely American trait, however. Capitalism (to varying degrees) has been a part of many civilizations before and since the creation of the United States. Yet Haliburton (as well as many of his Canadian and British contemporaries) were, and still are to some extent today, quick to criticize Americans for taking capitalism too far, for valuing the profits it promises above all else. This criticism can be easily understood from the above passage, but more can be taken from it as an extension of sorts. Haliburton's anti-Americanism does not simply stem from economic terms. That feeling mostly stems from a firm moral belief, one that the Americans have apparently left by the wayside according to the judge.

As established in the first chapter of this study, Haliburton's moral vision centered greatly around Christian values – with the church being a purveyor of good doctrine and the basis for a more equal society that breaks down barriers between the aristocratic and lower classes (376). *The Clockmaker* is less directly focused on religion, but it still offers jabs at the United States and the way they integrate religion with commerce. Naturally, these criticisms are directed towards American preachers encountered on some adventures or at Sam Slick in those occasional moments when the Squire can get a critical word in. The third sketch of the book, "The Silent Girls" opens with one such criticism and opens up a discussion of the perceived moral decline of the United States as an extension of their focus on capitalism. The Squire and Sam once again are discussing, with the former's argument being presented as more favorable in the end, despite Slick's usual "unblushing effrontery" (Haliburton 8) in claiming superiority in most aspects.

> [*Sam speaking*] We take [the preacher] at first on trial for a Sabbath or two, to try his paces, and if he takes with the folks, if he goes down well, we clinch the bargain, and let and sell

> the pews; and I tell you it pays well and makes a real good investment. There were few better specs among us than Inns and Churches, until the rail roads came on the carpet – as soon as the novelty of the new preacher wears off, we hire another, and that keeps up the steam. I trust it will be long, said I, [*Squire speaking*], ere the rage for speculation introduces "the money changers into the temple," with us. […] Depend on it, Sir, said he, with a most philosophical air, this Province is much behind the intelligence of the age. But if it is behind us in that respect, it is a long chalk ahead of us in others. (16)

In the paragraph that follows, Haliburton brings the conversation fully towards economic benefits, leaving the moralistic and religious aspect aside. That brief interlude though, allows Haliburton to make the point that the people of Nova Scotia are still morally, if not always economically, superior to their American cousins. As the book continues and as the author would elaborate later in his career in *Rule and Misrule*, the reasons for that moral advantage is due, in great part, to a certain overseas connection.

Given, as Oana Godeanu-Kenworthy notes, T.C. Haliburton's position as "a vocal member in the ongoing debate over the fate of the Maritime colonies within the larger family of the British Empire, the available choices being either annexation by the United States or a reinvention of the role of the colonies in the imperial network" (209), the source of his morality is hardly debatable. The British Empire, despite the faults that the author readily criticized – most importantly the aristocrats that "spend the whole revenue on themselves" (106) – was where the colonies could nevertheless pull from when seeking moral guidance.

The Squire, the representation of that Nova Scotian citizen who is more readily British in thought, opens up the sketch called "The Grahamite and the Irish Pilot" with a passage that shows that sentiment. "I think, said I, this is a happy country, Mr. Slick. The people are fortunately all of

one origin [British], there are no national jealousies to divide and no very violent politics to agitate them. They appear to be cheerful and contended, and are a civil, good natured, hospitable race" (103). Naturally, given what we know about Haliburton's feelings towards the Canadas and their rebellious nature in the 1830s, his reference to "country" is Nova Scotia, as he would not have so many kind words to say of Upper and Lower Canada. The tone of Squire's words is also an integral addition to this understanding of a non-revolutionary people. Compared to his clock-peddling companion. While Squire's assessment of a homogenous people is flawed, there is a sense of composure to the way he speaks of a supposedly 'national' trait. Even in his most defensive moments (see "Mr. Slick's Opinion of the British"), he is depicted as thinking his ideas through before acting upon them, unlike Slick who just does, without thought for the consequences.

The above passage is an interesting one to develop beyond its being a rose-tinted vision of the province. It can be related to an imperialist sentiment rather clearly. By buying into the idea, or rather the myth, of the British Empire as a body, an institution that brings happiness and 'progress', the Squire attaches the ideals of British exceptionalism to Nova Scotia. This is reinforced scathingly by Sam Slick later on in the book in "A Cure for Conceit". The entire episode is dedicated to Slick's attack against the superiority that the British reinforce in themselves and in their colonies at this point in the empire's history. In a vitriolic diatribe that does not seem to lose any of the Yankee charm that is part of the character's charisma, Sam states that "[they] reckon themselves here, a chalk above us Yankees, but I guess they have a wrinkle or two to grow afore they progress ahead on us yet" (137). This connection between the British and the Nova Scotians is where the Imperialist connection comes through here. To Haliburton – through the Squire's admiration, Slick's criticism, and indeed through the whole point of *The Clockmaker* – Nova Scotia should be a greater recognized place within the Empire because of how it is exceptional in

so many respects and how it still has a chance to be different from the United States. The province's exceptionalism though, comes from its close association with a country and nation other than itself.

The close ties to Great Britain as seen through Squire are a point of focus for Godeanu-Kenworthy and highlights just where Nova Scotia seems to stand in the 1830s according to Haliburton. In fact, she rightly notices that the Squire is probably British and not Nova Scotian. At the very least, the character seems to recognize himself as such throughout *The Clockmaker*. Godeanu-Kenworthy brings up a point that will become particularly useful later when parallels with the Canadian Imperialists are analyzed in greater depth.

> Haliburton's use of Slick as well as the unnamed and presumably British Squire as his literary personae may hint at the difficulty to articulate and sustain any stable national self-definitions in British North America at the time. […] There is no Canadian equivalent to Sam Slick. The resulting identity patterns change and are constantly renegotiated throughout the three series in an endless triangular dance among the British North Americans, the Americans, and the British. (212)

Indeed, the "Canadian" in *The Clockmaker* is seen in the absolutes of two empires, British and American. This is relatively understandable considering the context at the time. Canada was not yet a country and a colony was not encouraged to think much beyond its relation to the motherland, especially in Haliburton's Tory views. This would obviously change by the time the Canadian Imperialists would be a notable presence in the 1880s and 1890s, but this is important to note here nonetheless.

The process of self-definition for Haliburton here is inevitably linked to the British. While it has not been and will not be developed here in detail, this link was such that even his opinions about the French-speakers of Canada – those seemingly furthest away from being brought into the

folds of 'Britishness' – were tepid at best.[20] *The Clockmaker* shows a will for Nova Scotia (on its own) to become better and express a national pride and might that Haliburton is keen to point out incessantly in his sketches. But the Empire and its values should always come first. Keeping that in mind, the immense popularity of the text in Nova Scotia, the United States, and throughout the British Empire is no doubt indicative of how well the author strikes chords among multiple communities, giving them each their due in service of making his province greater.

Americans, British, and Nova Scotians alike receive their fair share of criticism for various reasons. These critiques and jabs are elements though, not the whole. All of them, Nova Scotia's reluctance to embrace certain changes, America's tendency to capitalize on every aspect of society, and the British conceit, among others, are but a part of what Haliburton is trying to display the Maritime province as being – something that the Imperialists will use again later in broader scope. To Haliburton's eyes, Nova Scotia is not unlike a gentle monster, something powerful but that does not follow through on using its abilities. Another of Slick's momentous speeches, when comparing the "Bluenoses" to a calm sea, uses such an image. "An everlastin flappin of the sails, and a creakin of the boombs, and an onsteady pitchin of the ship, and folks lyin about dozin away their time, and the sea a heavin a long heavy swell, like the breathin of the chist of some great monster asleep [*sic*]" (63). It must be said that this final argument is not quite in the same vein as what was said about Nova Scotia and its relation to technology, despite what might initially be thought. As Tom Marshall mentions in "Haliburton's Canada", it more aptly relates to an argument about space and the refusal, to Haliburton, by the people of Nova Scotia to confront the emptiness that it represents.

[20] This is an unfortunate feeling many of the later Imperialists would share.

The emptiness that is referred to is not one that will be related in a specifically demographic or geographic sense *per se*. Instead, it is understood in the context of Haliburton's artistic and political intentions as the lack of any real ability or attempt to form a cohesive Nova Scotian (or Canadian) identity. Space, as broadly related to locations and borders, inhabited or not, is certainly an important aspect to many conceptions of nation. What is understood as being empty in this text is a sense of identity. This discussion surrounding identity is where this chapter will actually end, by merging the many elements covered above. Using language that relates to space and geography, Haliburton establishes that Nova Scotia is a place that looks nice and inspires awe and visions of great potential but that is also devoid of substance – in something that might constitute a well-formed and established nation. Upon being asked his opinion of Halifax (a frequent stand-in for the province as a whole), Sam Slick responds that "it's a splendid province, and calculated to go ahead, it will grow as fast as a Varginy gall […] It's a pretty Province I tell you, good above and better below; surface covered with pastures, meadows, woods, and a nation sight of water privileges, and under the ground full of mines" (69-70). On display here, Haliburton depicts a version of Nova Scotia that has all the materials for becoming a greater part of Britain's empire in North America. The recurring motif of great but rather empty locations and people is nevertheless worthy of note. There is room enough for Americans like Slick to come in and divide the province up "into circuits, in each of which we separately carry on our business of manufacturing and selling clocks" (9). There is a lacuna within Nova Scotia that needs to be filled in and Haliburton's solution involves a restructuring rather than an actual physical filling (the mass import of immigrants, for example). This restructuring and re-imagining of Nova Scotia as a grander place of sorts, is arguably central to Imperialist thought.

In discussing the evolution of forms of imperialism in the British Empire, Ged Martin writes that "T.C. Haliburton and Joseph Howe were its leading colonial supporters" (67). While Martin goes on to list a number of supporters to the colonies getting a greater form of representation within Empire, he also adds soon after that "Empire federalism[21] was not a consistently popular idea" (69). The waxing and waning of this ideology and its variations does in fact correspond with this study. Haliburton demonstrated, though *The Clockmaker*, many of the core tenets that would resurface in the 1890s after one of the 'slumps' in the thought's popularity that Martin is referring to. Throughout the novel, two main ideas emerge, an exceptionalism that permeates the British subjects and their destiny, as well as a gap within that development that needs to be filled by a greater sense of purpose. These might seem like contradictory ideas, as Henry Roper pointed out as a recurring element of Haliburton's thought, but their complementary nature can also be argued for. The exceptionalism can be divided up into a form of anti-Americanism that wishes to distinguish the inhabitants of British North America and the United States, and a moral superiority of the British subjects. On the other hand, Haliburton also notes that in order to fully expand as a major part of the British Empire, its colonial citizens must be more assertive like their American neighbours and demand that the British government encourage a better social, political, economic, and cultural development. These ideas are then less contradictory than ones that understand the tools that Nova Scotians have at their disposal and are able to use for their exceptional purposes. Haliburton, in being critical yet also complimentary of the Nova Scotians, British, and Americans, wishes to push them towards the Imperialist 'dream'. That the book was a bestseller, as is argued below, is one of the elements that made the book enter the public mindset along with the fact that it took its ideas from so many recognizable and long-

[21] One of the many variations of Imperialism seen in Canada.

lasting institutions. As a comedy and a political manifesto, *The Clockmaker* presented to all in the Empire's borders what they could reach for – the ability to be the best among the greatest. Sam Slick, of all people, described it most succinctly in *Sam Slick's Wise Saws* that "[it] shouldn't be England and her colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole" (Haliburton 221).

Chapter Three: Making a History of Canadian Imperialism

Leaping forward in time from Haliburton's era, this final chapter will directly examine the Canadian Imperialists[22] of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specifically, this examination will first analyze what exactly these Imperialists were as a broadly-defined group and what their intentions were. Thereafter, the crux of the chapter will be to attempt to explain how these men formed a considerable-sized ensemble despite the fact that their ideology seemed to be dying out with Haliburton, as previously established. While the ideology of imperialism had certain common elements, there were variations from one group to the next. In an attempt to come to terms with that, this chapter will focus on Imperialists (Stephen Leacock, Andrew Macphail, George Munro Grant) who came from different strands of the ideology and different periods in its history. The relevance of this methodological choice is to show that, in spite of the variations, there is a certain cohesiveness to the Imperialist thought – one that can still (at least in part) be related back to *The Clockmaker* and its long-lasting influence.

The main argument for this 'revival' of imperial thought in Canada will rest on both the popularity and legacy of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*. This argument will not seek to discredit, but add to, the conventional reasons for this revival which will be briefly touched upon. As opened up in the first chapter, the ability for these imperial Tory ideas to enter the popular consciousness due to the novel's ubiquity in the 1830s and 1840s, as well as *The Clockmaker*'s status as an influential comedy, will form the basis of the argument for which the novel became a linchpin in the formation of Canadian Imperialist attitudes. Furthermore, going beyond an understanding of Haliburton's text as a major element of the past that the later Tories could pull

[22] While both Haliburton and the later group can both be identified as imperialists – the term "Imperialist" or its variations (such as "Canadian Imperialists") will be in reference to the later group. This is how they have commonly come to be known and marking a clear distinction, in spite of their similarities, helps separate the two over the course of this chapter.

from, this chapter will seek to understand the Canadian Imperialists as myth-makers of sorts. By using texts and culturally-significant moments from the British Empire's and Canada's past, this group could better build a cohesive narrative that satisfied not only their reliance on past (conservative) elements in order to build a future, but also gave legitimacy to their ideology as something that had a storied and well-regarded history. Thus, the argument here is about the ways *The Clockmaker* was re-interpreted and reconstructed to fit the Toryism of a later date, how it went from a popular comedic text to a cog in a mythologized past that was being built up along with a specific vision of Canada. As Philip Massolin wrote in a study of post-World War Two Toryism, "in essence, the conservatives […] were not political theorists or party ideologues; rather they were myth-makers […] who were influenced by current events and certain conceptions of history and the future" (8-9). While the time frame examined in this chapter is different than Massolin's, the point remains relevant, in part due to the logical continuity between the Tories of both eras. The Canadian Imperialists were also, first and foremost, social critics who were thinking about building a society based on the past. *The Clockmaker*, it will be argued, was a significant building block in that construction.

To open a discussion on Haliburton's influence, it is important to remind the ways his legacy was specifically secured. As it was succinctly noticed by Robert McDougall in his afterword to *The Clockmaker*: "Sam Slick has survived because the man who created him was a capable humorist – and the tricks of making people laugh change little over the years" (218-9). What has not been much touched upon in this paper, and that which this chapter will rectify, is the impact of Haliburton's writing style on the political rhetoric of groups and individuals in the later nineteenth century. Essentially, it can be argued that Haliburton's *The Clockmaker* entered the public mindset because of its ease-of-access as a comedy, and had a certain staying power over

many generations because the comedic tools that it so potently used could also be powerful political devices. This, as is later argued, is seen most noticeably in the witty, epigraph-like, and politically-engaged writing of Stephen Leacock and Andrew Macphail. Whether writing fiction or not, both seem to be channelling a similar format as Haliburton by producing morally-concerned works that come across as bombastic more than academic (McFarlane 2).

3.1 – Canadian Imperialism: Balancing Nationalism & Loyalism

This part, in addition to clarifying who the Canadian Imperialists were as a group and what their motivations were, will also re-contextualize imperialism in Canada to the later nineteenth century as a way to contrast what it was in Haliburton's era. The principal reason for this decision is that previous works, most notably Berger's *Sense of Power* and Norman Penlington's *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899* have already provided excellent analyses of what the ideological movement was. At this point, providing more than an overview and summary of the aspects necessary to this study would be redundant. Rather, it is much more important to understand the changes that the Imperialist movement went through (something that has rarely been done in any detail) before being able to understand the reasons why it went through such changes and resurfaced when it did. Therefore, an analysis of the later movement will focus more on how it changed the Imperialist 'formula' to fit an entirely different world. Understanding the history of changes in imperialist ideology from one that concentrated purely on the individual colonies for example to one that encompassed all of Canada will allow not only for an understanding of the social changes that occurred between the 1830s and the 1890s, but of the ways in which ideas can remain relatively stable yet malleable over time. This latter point is where *The Clockmaker* will

come back into play below, as an example of the ability to shift mentalities and perspectives on a national level through literature.

While there were distinctions within the Canadian Imperialist sphere, the overall idea of the movement remains the same. Over the course of the last few decades – as attempts at decolonizing Canada have arisen since the 1960s – the term 'imperialism' has, very broadly speaking, been correctly associated with the deliberately violent dominance of one group over another. As Berger notes in the introduction to his study though, "in the context of Canadian history imperialism means that movement for the closer union of the British Empire through economic and military co-operation and through political changes which would give the dominions influence over imperial policy" (3). For the purposes of this study, the elements that will be pulled from such a general description are the economic and political impact of the dominions. These are the most glaring elements that Haliburton endorses in *The Clockmaker*, although distinctive elements can and will be developed that are not covered in Berger's description – mainly cultural ones. Briefly, this late nineteenth movement of imperialism emerged in the midst of the creation of Royal Colonial Institute and the Imperial Federation League (and its Canadian branches) that both sought to "stem the tide of imperial disengagement" (3). In essence, imperialism in the colonies was less about promoting the conquest of other nations. It was about over-valuing the relations between those that were already a part of the British Empire.

The maintaining of strong ties between Canada (or British North America) and the British motherland is the basic element that remains consistent from one era of imperialism to the next. Yet, even in such a situation, variations do emerge over the course of decades-long shifts in society. Starting off broadly, one of the significant differences between Haliburton's imperialist ideal and that of his counterparts at the end of the century was the way in which their ideology manifested

itself as nationalism. Two significant events contributed to the Canadian version of imperialism to take on a more nationalistic form as an extension of the imperial ties – the realization of Confederation and the United Empire Loyalist Centennial (UEL) celebrations. Both contributed to a nationalistic sentiment that differed from the version that Haliburton valued but the Centennial is what will be focused on more specifically as it ties back quite directly to the Imperial Federation League and its supporters. Confederation can be seen in this case as the element that concretized a united rather than a provincial vision of Canada – thereby shifting the rhetoric about what entities were to be associated with Empire (no longer individual provinces but the whole nation). The Centennial opens this study up to the creation of a mythologized past, to the principal people that are to be involved in the rest of this study, to the nationalism that grew specifically out of an attachment to Empire, and finally to the revival of the tradition that Haliburton made central to *The Clockmaker*.

T. C. Haliburton himself has often been placed within the Loyalist tradition (or on its peripheries) by later literary critics and historians even though this is not quite accurate. His mother is most often seen as the pre-eminent provider of that aspect of Haliburton's opinions. Yet, as Stanley McMullin was quick to point out, any association that the writer had with the Loyalist tradition would, in his lifetime, have been tenuous at best. He would have certainly shared a similar attraction to the idea of a 'united empire'. Using *The Clockmaker*, we find such indicative passages as "how much is it to be regretted, that […] they [colonial subjects] would not unite as one man, and with one mind and one heart" (95). These can be misleading in an overall evaluation of the man's thought though, as he was (as covered in the previous chapter), more progressive in certain ideas than the Loyalists – namely in the ability for the 'common people' to influence the government in a non-rebellious way. The Loyalists would not have allowed such influence due to

their strong ties to stable aristocracies (McMullin 39-40). However, as the Loyalist tradition became more myth than reality, it began to be given – much like Haliburton's ideas and relation to the group – a lot of importance as a turning point in Canadian cultural history.

As the Imperial Federation League began operating and growing rather quickly in 1884, the United Empire Loyalists celebrated "the centennial of the migration of their ancestors" (Berger 78) at the end of the American War of Independence. Both groups had, as their central motif, a profound and conservative appreciation of what came before them and a desire to keep elements of that past alive. As the Imperial Federation League arrived in Canada from London in the early 1890s, it is then no coincidence that its members had strong ties to the UEL celebration from only a few years prior. "With only slight exaggeration it might be said that the list of those who sponsored the loyalist tradition centennial in 1884 reads like a roster of the Imperial Federation League in Ontario in 1890" (Berger 81). Thus, the Imperialists' appreciation for history as well as their own adherence to such groups united them to the Loyalists and their ideals. It is in this condition that groups like the progressive-conservative Imperialists and the staunchly conservative Loyalists that were initially opposed in Haliburton's time became more closely linked.

3.2 – G.M. Grant: The Economic Argument Has Not Changed

Among those members of the Imperial Federation League that supported the Centennial was George Munro Grant. Better-known today as a long-standing principal of Queen's College in Kingston and for writing *Ocean to Ocean*, Grant was also one of the more vocal and articulate proponents of Canada's imperialist potential. He expressed these ideas most concretely in an 1891 lecture that was later published in print as *Advantages of Imperial Federation*. Within the opening pages of the lecture, Grant clearly sets out the advantages that he alludes to in the title. Speaking

in the name of the Canadian branch of the Imperial Federation League, Grant claims that the basic benefits of an imperialist model are "material prosperity in strict subordination to duty and honour, the independent development of our political life, the safety, unity, dignity and well-being of the Commonwealth. These secured, our advantage will be the world's advantage as well as Canada's" (5). The crux of Grant's argument is an economic one from which a cultural and political life in Canada can thrive within the Empire. The main concern that Grant and his peers face should Canada not embrace its imperial ties, comes from the impression that their economic needs will not be met and that there is a threat coming from the south that the British are not recognizing as much as they should. It is at this point that Haliburton's *The Clockmaker* can return to form some interesting parallels despite a generational gap.

Simply comparing *The Clockmaker* to *Advantages of Imperial Federation*, we find that Haliburton and Grant shared certain views that even expressed themselves in similar manners. The ease with which Grant could have come into contact with Haliburton's work may be related to the similarities in their arguments, but such an idea will be explored later when Leacock is discussed. In "Mr. Slick's Opinion of the British", readers are treated to what is ostensibly Haliburton's unrestricted opinion on the need to improve the local economy. These words parallel Grant's views, albeit on a provincial level. "[The British] *don't encourage internal improvement, nor the investment of capital in the country* […] *the only persons who duly appreciate it, are the Yankees*" [emphasis author's] (94-5). While this could be misconstrued as a way of valuing American intervention in the Nova Scotian and British North American economy, the previous examination of Haliburton's most heartfelt values would contradict such a statement. Rather, as we have seen, this was a way for Haliburton to point to certain flaws in the British administration while also providing solutions that could be – in part – found in the United States' drive for prosperity.

Haliburton was not a pessimist who only saw flaws and offered no solutions. He was a satirist who could laugh at the flaws because, to him, the solutions were so simple that only fools would not see them. However, despite the desire to snap Nova Scotians out of their apparent complacency, Haliburton's satire was perhaps not as efficient as it could hope for. Francis Crofton, writing a section of 1897's *Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet*, notes that: "[there] can be little doubt that Haliburton's satirical criticisms have borne wholesome fruit […]. Yet, in the opinion of some observers, every one of the defects he pointed out remains to-day". [*sic*] (70) That is to say that in Grant's time, the acquiring of better governmental practices, the official formation of a nation-state, and the series of other changes that came to be between the publication of *The Clockmaker* and the era of the Imperialists, were not seen by many as the significant changes that would make of Canada a nation that stood out within the Empire. On the contrary, the loosening of direct oversight by the imperial power was seen as detrimental since the major questions of Haliburton's time had not been solved. The very premise of *The Clockmaker*, then, remained accurate to its readers many generations later. As *Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet* shows, for example, there is still reason for many (including Grant who is quoted in the document) to look to what Haliburton was criticizing sixty years prior and use it to establish that it is time to hasten change where there had been none for some time. In terms of the economic criticism that Grant holds as central, the Imperialists would also turn their gaze to the Americans. They were certainly more negative in their outlook than Haliburton, but the basis for their criticism clearly emerges from a similar place.

Instead of returning to the economic argument that Haliburton and the later Imperialists use as a justification for increased ties with Britain and seeing how that argument was formed in relation to the United States, a discussion on the perceived ills of republicanism will follow. This is to expand on the many angles from which the Imperialists approach their worldview and to

increase how many relations there are between past and present arguments. In "The Grahamite and the Irish Pilot", Haliburton is specific in what he sees as the direct results of republican sentiments in British North America, embodied by the Liberal/Reform party that opposes the Tories. "Them radical [Liberals] are for levelin all down to their level […] and they'd agitate the whole country to obtain that object, for if a man can't grow to be as tall as his neighbor, if he cuts a few inches off him why then they are both of one heighth. They are a most dangerous, disaffected people – they are eternally appealing to the worst passions of the mob" [*sic*] (106). In so many words, Haliburton is essentially arguing that the republican ideal that the United States promotes (and that the Liberals of his time were close to) is a type of radical populism. In turning to the Imperialists – starting with Grant before turning our gaze elsewhere – these generalized sentiments can also be seen. One of the differences, is that these sentiments are placed alongside a desire to culturally distinguish Canada from its American 'cousin'.

In examining the relationship between the United States and Canada, Grant concludes that seemingly endless concessions to America, disguised as a form of free trade[23], is what Canada and Britain need to be wary of. "It may be said that the people of the United States protested last November against the McKinley Bill and in favour of Free Trade. Let us not be deluded. Neither of their great parties is in favour of Free Trade" (Grant 7). While he understands that trade with the United States is inevitable, their power should be limited by giving a greater place in the Empire to Canada. This allows for Britain to maintain its continued superiority on the world stage, but would also – as unchecked capitalism was recognized as doing by many Imperialists – limit the rampant speculation and instability of the economy. Therefore, from a political standpoint, in their advocation for continued relations with a hierarchical monarchy, as well as an economic one, in

[23] The Washington Treaty of 1871, which many Canadians saw as a bad deal where it concerned the economy of their Atlantic fisheries (Creighton 101), is an excellent example of this.

their desire to counterbalance the effects of capitalism, the Imperialists would recycle similar arguments as those made by Haliburton. We can glance at the logic behind the Imperialists' thoughts when reading a passage such as "[how] is it that an American can sell his wares, at whatever price he pleases, where a Blue Nose would fail to make a sale at all?" (10) The answer to that question is, to them, the flagrant lack of development in the colonies; a criticism that had been directed at the British for many generations. The ghost of Haliburton and his views seem to haunt the Imperialists who believed that history might be repeating itself. Where, in the 1830s, American encroachment was seen in the power of republicanism and capitalism through the rise of the Liberal party and reform-driven rebellions, the later Imperialists were also fearful of such an intrusion, albeit for different reasons. The acceptance by the British of certain American standards was more prevalent than in the 1830s yet the effect was the same: a conservative fear of the failure of its perceived source of power. What would they be if not British in nature? What would they do to stem the tides of change? Despite the changes in circumstances, the same questions would arise from one generation to the next as those circumstances were seen as being ultimately the same but on a different scale (Grant 6).

3.3 – Leacock & Haliburton: Elevating Through Satire

However, the question of what Canada exactly should be within the Empire – if not entirely American, nor entirely British – does arise. The answer for the Imperialists as for Haliburton, is a curious mix of relations to both powers. Stephen Leacock, the famous satirist, will help demonstrate that point, while also helping to show another way that Haliburton would enter the Imperialist mindset: through the influence he had on the writing of comedy. In *Greater Canada: An Appeal*, a short text similar to Grant's *Advantages of Imperial Federation*, Leacock goes

through the ways in which he believes – some twenty years after Grant – how Canada could take its grander place within Empire. Where many of the arguments seem to be similar to Grant's, two things in particular stand out in Leacock's ten-page pamphlet. He comes to terms with the overall fear that is the economic and political annexation by the United States (although not of a cultural one) and he writes in a fashion that is pithy, direct, and moralistic – reminding readers of a prior writer that Leacock was surprisingly outspoken against. Leacock, in his concluding remarks writes a paragraph that perfectly combines these two aspects that set him apart from his Imperialist peers.

> The day of annexation to the United States is passed. Our future lies elsewhere. Be it said without concealment and without bitterness. They have chosen their lot; we have chosen ours. Let us go our separate ways in peace. Let them still keep their perennial Independence Day, with its fulminating fireworks and its Yankee Doodle. We keep our Magna Carta and our rough and ready Rule Britannia, shouting as lustily as they! The propaganda of Annexation is dead. Citizens we want, indeed, but not the prophets of an alien gospel. To you who come across our western border We can offer a land fatter than your Kansas, a government better than Montana, a climate kinder than your Dakota. Take it, Good Sir, if you will: but if, in taking it, you still raise your little croak of annexation, then up with you by the belt and out with you, breeches first, through the air, to the land of your origin! This in all friendliness. (9)

Therefore, in Leacock, the significant advantage of Imperial Federation and of the "Greater Canada", as he puts it, is to be able to stand toe-to-toe with the United States as a place that can hold its own in a cultural sense (in a very British-centric fashion). It is to be a place that is independent and that can recognize itself as distinct in its ties to the past – something that is apparently not as strong in the republican-minded and progress-oriented cousin.

Leacock's final sentences, speaking rather humorously of kicking any unruly Americans out, recalls a call for action and a need for an assertive Canada that is not typically imagined by groups outside the Imperialists. Haliburton's avowal to see this type of action from the Nova Scotians has been noted many times in this study. Instead, the method by which this same message of assertion will be explored.

While the above passage certainly puts on display Leacock's affinity for using a comedic turn to make a point, it is far from showing his full capabilities as a satirist. His better-known works, *Literary Lapses* and *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, do more to emphasize those characteristics of Leacock's writing. Interestingly enough, they also seem to borrow from *The Clockmaker*'s sketch-like format, although Leacock offers a cohesive story rather than more individual tales. There seems to be little evidence that the sketch format was specifically influenced by Haliburton but the similarity in format will be another point of comparison that will nevertheless be returned to below. Leacock's aforementioned works also advocate for a certain conservative and rural-centered society, although not a specifically Imperialist one. Regardless, Leacock's use of humour – even if not always for the same arguments as set out in *Greater Canada* – is noteworthy because it is utilized to make a relevant point more palatable, as evidenced by the high sales (that still do not quite reach the levels Haliburton did) (Karr xi). As the two above-mentioned books were released in 1910 and 1912 respectively, the significant issue plaguing Canada – and a major point that concerns Leacock – was a potential reciprocity treaty with the United States as driven by the Wilfred Laurier government (Bissell 12).

Being of a more conservative bent, Leacock was quick to note with passion, quips, and humour the effects and reactions of these debates on what he saw as traditional Canada. Giving to his liberal political character, John Bagshaw, a speech upon his defeat, Leacock demonstrates his

own Haliburton-like mastery of subtext and absurdity. "'I am an old man now, gentlemen, and the time must come soon when I must not only leave politics, but must take my way towards that goal from which no traveller returns.' There was a deep hush when Bagshaw said this. It was understood to imply that he thought of going to the United States" (170). There is certainly more subtlety in the pages of Leacock than Haliburton, but there is a similarity in tone. Leacock's joy at the Liberal defeat shines through in the book, but Bagshaw's speech exists to highlight the absurdly exaggerated reactions that Leacock feels politicians will have in the face of something so seemingly menial as a lost election. The comedy here is Bagshaw's self-imposed exile in the face of not getting what he wants, a criticism of the wrongly placed priorities that those in power have according to Leacock.

Analyses of the similarities between Leacock and Haliburton have been done many times. Those comparisons usually extend to their common use of satire and little else, with many critics noting Leacock's disdain for Haliburton as a reason why they are dissimilar more than anything. Whether Leacock chose to admit it or not though, his debt towards Haliburton is clear. Glenn Clever, in "The Achievement of Stephen Leacock" alludes to this debt (one that goes beyond a type of humour that Haliburton was recognized as having had an effect on) by saying that: "Leacock, superb raconteur though he was, is more than a glib comic, his humour balanced by an awareness of the deliberate evil of much human motive and act" (125). This is very much an awareness found in Haliburton's satire: one that relies on the complexities and quirks of the world around him, different from Leacock's as it may be. The flaws of the peoples he writes about are the flaws of the society he criticizes. The similarities of the two men are therefore not merely in their preferred medium or their Imperialist opinions, but in the very way they chose to understand the problems they wrote about.

There is one final – central – point to bring up that unequivocally relates Leacock to Haliburton. Their mutual admiration for the British tradition and the genre they wrote in come together and are realized in a way that is distinctly American. As has been previously observed, this is not the contradiction it seems to be as the Imperialists' loathing of the American republic did not stop them from pulling ideas from it and attempting to 'elevate' them. Specifically, the relation of both Haliburton and Leacock to American humour, not just American society writ large, is a great way to understand how they came to integrate one empire into their vision of another. In naming humour "one of the undisputed national products of the new republic" (Leacock 2), the Canadian satirist was not above giving credit where he felt it was due and wearing his influences on his sleeve. Yet, there is an element lacking in his understanding of American comedy that even the likes of Mark Twain (who Leacock was writing of in the above quote and who was noted by Leacock himself as having had an influence on his writing) would have to address: the influence of T.C. Haliburton on American comedy in the first place.

Daniel Royot, in an examination of *The Clockmaker*'s influence on North American comedy, summarizes that "[through] Haliburton's [Sam Slick] persona New England and Southwestern lore is transmuted and given a fresh perspective. Such hybridization, misleading though it might appear in the past, is essentially based upon a reinterpretation of the picaresque tradition in the New World" (123). Royot immediately follows up this statement by saying "Haliburton's vision of Sam Slick epitomizes the seminal contradictions of a committed observer torn between unrefrained self-expression and colonial allegiance" (123). This analysis seems to encapsulate and complement what was said earlier about Haliburton's criticisms of America – that while he displays pride for being a part of the British Empire in *The Clockmaker*, the titular

character is not entirely unlikeable as an American either. The combination of colonial allegiance and American know-how would create a perfect world for Haliburton.

This comes to play in a surprisingly similar fashion in Leacock. Despite being a strong advocate in *Greater Canada: An Appeal* of an independent rather than a distinctly colonial Canada, the satirist mirrors his Nova Scotian predecessor quite well in his ideology, yes, but also in the medium. Leacock's influences are explained by Beverly Rasporich as being on proud display in his fiction and non-fiction writings. Rasporich writes in "Stephen Leacock, Humorist: American by Association" that "[in] Leacock's humour, the exaggerative mode is not precisely of the same nature as that of Twain's – nor of the American frontier. It is most certainly there […], as a grand comic streak of absurd or overblown metaphor and outrageous anecdote or statement" (77). This use of metaphor and "verbal play" (Rasporich 79) is strongly associated with an American sentiment but ignores the initial influences of said ways on the American humorous tradition itself. The use of the bombastic and grandiose language, present in Haliburton and Leacock, was either associated with or acknowledged as belonging to the tradition of the republic. Yet, both Canadian writers are intrinsically tied despite their differences in understanding their writing. While Leacock is unwilling to admit the influences of Haliburton, their uses of language and comedy are essentially the same – to use the (exaggerated) American style against them in order to elevate their sentiments of Empire.

Bringing together the ideas presented so far, let us briefly review the ways in which Haliburton could have had an influence on two notable and recognized Imperialists, G.M. Grant and Stephen Leacock, before moving on to the final one in Andrew Macphail. The latter will help coalesce the potential for literature to transcend generations and influence historically-based ideals. G.M. Grant mirrored the more theoretical elements presented in *The Clockmaker*. In both,

arguments about the need for a greater economic place for Nova Scotia and Canada within the Empire are central. The important place of the Protestant religion within the state – while not covered in detail in this study – was also a notable similarity between Grant and Haliburton. As for Stephen Leacock, the relation is in the use of comedy to send a message to a wider group of readers but also in the American connection. While both were critical, as is typical of the Imperialist sentiment, Haliburton and Leacock were not above using the tools of those they viewed as antithetical to their ideals. Both humourists understood that there were some elements that made the relatively new nation such a success on the world stage and that certain concessions would need to be made to an American mindset in Canada if the Imperialists were to achieve their central dream. T.C. Haliburton's influence on Leacock, while probably due to a more subconscious or ingrained view of satire in Canada instead of a deliberate choice, needs to be noted. It allows us to begin to finalize our thoughts about the impact of literature on perceptions of history. While Grant was open in admitting that "we are all of us pupils of Haliburton" (44), Leacock's use of similar modes of communication as Haliburton while rejecting the man's contributions shows that *The Clockmaker*'s influence was already becoming (or had become) a cultural touchstone that influenced Tory sensibilities in Canada by the later nineteenth century. Haliburton's own dream of keeping his bygone beliefs alive was taking shape.

3.4 – Andrew Macphail: Owing to the Empire & The Dying Breath of the Imperialists

To finalize this analysis, Sir Andrew Macphail will be used as a way to understand the length of time Imperialism lasted in Canada (thus continuing its long-enduring ties to 'tradition') but to also come full circle, in a sense, to the relegation of imperialism to the status of a minority thought much like in Haliburton's time. Macphail, using similar tactics to Haliburton's *The*

Clockmaker, attempts to justify one of the most prevalent ideologies of nineteenth-century Canada at a time when the Empire was noticeably falling apart. Therefore, literature and writing can be seen – in part through Macphail and some of his works – as once again being a way through which certain elements of history can try to be revived. In contrast to Leacock who used comedy and satire to make a point seem more normative, and Grant who advocated a more logical and education-driven approach, Andrew Macphail was much more eclectic and serious in his understanding of this form of Toryism. Macphail, much like Haliburton, was simultaneously the embodiment of the multi-faceted idea that was Imperialism, and the final piece of this Tory ideology puzzle that shows "that such different and strong personalities could find a home within it" (Berger 48). Much like Haliburton's diverse approach, Macphail exemplifies the adaptable nature of the Imperialist ideology and "the emotional power that bound them together" (Berger 48) in a common appreciation of past cultural ideals.

The diversity in Imperialist thought is represented by the fact that Andrew Macphail was great friends with Stephen Leacock. Although this bond that was forged by their common ideals, the former's were represented in completely disparate ways. Macphail – while producing well-recognized and profoundly thought-out works like *Essays in Politics* (discussed below) – was seemingly more comfortable with producing vague moralistic epigrams that made his exact thought difficult to pin down. As his satirical friend wrote of him, Macphail "was as a shadowed pond with shifting shades but no ripples", who had "a stern set frame of beliefs and traditions from which he was unwilling to depart; he always hated idle scoffing […] and he always loved the sterner ideas of conduct that went with the illumination of old beliefs" (446-7). In short, Macphail was, to Leacock, a representation of old ideas that refused to die, a man who tried to condense those ideas in as condensed and appealing a form as possible. As we will see, Leacock was closer

to the truth than he might have thought, as Macphail began writing seriously about Canada and the British Empire just as the latter was on the verge of starting to collapse in the aftermath of the First World War. Following in the footsteps of Haliburton in more ways than one, Andrew Macphail held strong as one of the final bastions of the Imperialist brand of Toryism in Canada – a brand that could never hope to recover.

The chapter titles in Macphail's *Essays in Politics* are immediately indicative of the subjects that he holds dearest. "The Patience of England", "Loyalty – To What", and "British Diplomacy and Canada" are but a sampling of the ideas that the Montreal medical doctor saw as the inevitable relation that Canada would need to continue to have with the British power. Taking an example of the epigram-like writing that Leacock characterized as a hallmark of Macphail's writing, the final paragraph of "Loyalty – To What" is strikingly accurate and will allow us to finally return to Haliburton. Macphail concludes his diatribe – a well-chosen term as the writer seems to be essentially monologuing throughout rather than drawing from and elaborating on sources as a conventional essay would – with:

> What more can we Canadians do? We can be true to the ancient virtue of race. We can by example urge England and the other portions of the Empire to be true to it also; and by being true to that we shall be true to one another. "This above all, to thine own self be true," is as applicable to a community as to a man. Canada will be loyal to England so long as England is loyal to herself. (36)

Lending, more than anything, his personal voice to a series of topical issues and capping most chapters off with a broad and didactic paragraph, Macphail seems to be channelling a tradition of political writing that goes back decades. Combining such a format with the ideas that permeate

Essays in Politics about keeping close ties to England while elevating the role of the (quasi-former) colonies, the influence of Thomas Chandler Haliburton does not appear to be so far off.

Returning to *The Clockmaker*, Haliburton has been noted here and elsewhere for writing in a very similar style as Macphail's. The latter is much more turgid and uptight but, ultimately, there is an argument to be made that the similarities are greater than the differences. As has been covered many times in this study, Haliburton's comedic style did not stop any genuine criticism of events in British North America from taking place within his book. On the contrary, looking back on *The Clockmaker* now, while the intention was to create a funny jester in Sam Slick, the appearance of many of Haliburton's opinions through the character does make the novel seem more like a straightforward political essay than it was intended at the time. The casual tone of the text is much like Macphail's writing in that it is very personal. Both men speak based on observation and ingrained conservative opinions rather than established arguments and sources. One needs to look no further than the opening lines of *Essays in Politics* to recognize this: "British diplomacy has two sides – the one which it presents to its enemies, and the other which it presents to its friends. That explains why the enemies of England think of her diplomacy at one time astute unto perfidy and again complacent to the point of stupidity" (1). Not only is Macphail's so-called 'explanation' based on a vague one-line observation, but it also utilizes a writing style that once again focuses on snappy and (in this case) rhyming phrases to get a point across. Haliburton uses similar techniques, namely at the end of his chapters when, to take only one example, he writes of the government in Nova Scotia: "*My rule is, I'd rather keep a critter whose faults I do know, than change him for a beast whose faults I don't know*" [emphasis author's] (81). Sam Slick speaks, throughout the novel, in generalized and often contradictory phrases about the North American societies. Macphail does the same and is even – as indicated by the quote above – as critical of the

Empire as Haliburton. However, Macphail's essays evidently lack the intemporal charm that Haliburton's book puts on display and while he was a noted thinker in his time, a different set of elements made his opinions less noticeable in the long run.

The stylistic and ideological connections between Haliburton and the later Imperialists have been well covered with George Munro Grant and Stephen Leacock. A uniquely important point to note with Macphail is really the lateness. As with Haliburton, Macphail was writing at a time when the brand of Toryism he was expounding was dying out due in part to a decreasing lack of support, in part because of shifting social conditions that would enable it to thrive. While it was not touched upon in this study, Sara Jeanette Duncan's *The Imperialist* (1904) is most likely among the most perceptive of the Imperialists' destiny. The titular imperialist, Lorne Murchison, criticized England's "cumbrous social machinery" (Duncan 123) – its lack of adaptability to new social circumstances like the rise of the Canadian state – while conceiving of Canada's future in the exact terms that have been described in this study. Yet, as Lorne's party rejects him, he is reminded that "you didn't get rid of that save-the-Empire-or-die scheme of yours soon enough" (262). Duncan's novel, inciteful as is it, predicts but one reason for the failure: lack of popular support.

Similarly, Haliburton and Macphail were among the last to want to create a body of literature that advanced the Imperialist worldview. It is at this point that we can better understand this group of men as myth-makers, as Philip Massolin put it, rather than indicators of the overall will of the population. Where Haliburton's ideals still had room to expand alongside Britain's empire, Macphail's were the product of generations of propaganda that made that ideal as close to a reality as it would be. The lack of recognition of that fact – that the image of a unified Canada and Empire would soon collapse – is the integral point of difference between the otherwise striking similarities between T.C. Haliburton's imperialism and Grant's, Leacock's, and Macphail's. As

Macphail's attachment to imperialism rose, so too did the tensions that killed the movement: the First World War (Berger 264).

Conclusion

As a study about the resurgence of an old Toryism – a brand of conservatism that now truly has disappeared in Canada as a cohesive group – Thomas Chandler Haliburton and the Imperialists that were argued as having been inspired by him can be described as reactionary. These people, working in two different eras in Canada's history, were actively fighting against changes that they saw as destructive to the society they envisioned as perfect. Much like Haliburton closed his eyes to any recognition that Nova Scotia was going through similar changes as the Canadas, so too did the Imperialists close their own to the changing realities of Empire as the twentieth century dawned. The goal of this thesis was to put on display the ways in which Haliburton's literature, as seen in the seminal 1836 novel *The Clockmaker*, came to be used by later thinkers as a marker of a long-standing history and culture of conservatism and imperialism in Canada. We were concerned here with how, in trying to change certain elements of Canada's path (economically, politically, and socially), Imperialists such as George Munro Grant, Stephen Leacock, and Andrew Macphail, ended up relying on a past that had little chance of succeeding by the time they began their crusade.

This was a study about the interpretation of literature (in this case, *The Clockmaker*) as entirely indicative of a historical moment and, ultimately, the futility of such an interpretation. After all, while literature may inform conceptions about the past or inspire elements of the present, to see literature *as* an absolute historical account rather than an interpretation would be to ignore the minute changes that occur in both subjects – and indeed in society as a whole – over time. History does not repeat itself, as the adage would claim, something the Canadian Imperialists failed

to recognize.[24] The only thing that the Imperialists succeeded in doing with their significant following in Canada, was to create a myth of imperial ties that was already dying with Haliburton and which arose again out of a fear of change. As G.M. Grant's own grandson would later remark on, history is being increasingly seen as a process that relies on a will to create a better future based on the perceived failures of the past (Grant 11). The Imperialists, however, seemed to want to recreate the past they saw in such literary (and mostly fictional or mythologized) works as *The Clockmaker* rather than grow from the mistakes it depicted. Their works then seem to be, as Smaro Kamboureli remarked on the nineteenth-century quest for a Canadian literary identity, "primarily informed by the memory of an abandoned reality" (10). The Imperialists produced work that was "extraneous to [Haliburton's] Canadian experience" (10) in that they failed to recontextualize *The Clockmaker* to their needs.

This work has gone through a history of imperialist literature to see how literature influences and was influenced by perceptions of said history. To do that, we first saw the context in which Haliburton wrote *The Clockmaker* and the ways literature and history relate to one another. That is, how literature can be used by interested parties to inform or alter perceptions of a specific history that suit the needs of that party. Then, in the second chapter, *The Clockmaker* was examined as a vehicle for its author's opinions about various (then) contemporary topics. The final chapter then examined a few select writers and thinkers that were a part of what is known as the Canadian Imperialists and how their ideas and mediums related back to Haliburton (who had written his comedy over sixty years prior). A through-line idea in this study – always present while not always explicitly stated – was the will to manipulate history without considering its

[24] Even in taking a Marxist approach by stating that the Imperialists are the repetitive farce to Haliburton's tragedy, the adage is still lacking, as it fails to address the ways that Canada and the British Empire did change, as stated throughout this thesis.

complexity. *The Clockmaker*, rife with possibilities for interpretation, allowed for the expression of the complexity of past ideas. However, where many paths diverged, the Imperialists saw but one: that which best suited their ideological needs. With Haliburton being somewhat forward-thinking, and the Imperialists being more of a past-admiring kind than those who inspired them, the intent here was to show how literature informs perceptions of the past. Literary works do so by being informed by that past – whatever it may be – and manipulating that past in ways it sees fit. *The Clockmaker* and its later ideological extensions (if the Imperialists' body of work can so be called) represent this flawlessly.

As Haliburton wrote *The Clockmaker*, the Tories he was sympathetic to – monarchical and imperially-minded aristocrats – were faced with an issue that threatened the power that Britain had set up in North America: the demand by the population for greater representation in state affairs. That these demands fell on deaf ears ultimately led to rebellions in the year following the publication of *The Clockmaker*. The widespread socio-political changes that were proposed by reformers were addressed in the satirical book, as Haliburton proposes an alternative in which no violent uprising is necessary. He agrees that Nova Scotia (and by extension the clearly distinct Canadas) should have a greater say in affairs, but that the population should do so by showing that it has what it takes to 'properly' develop (especially economically) without direct intervention by the British or Americans. By cracking jokes at every party involved in the affairs of the British North America, Haliburton sought to show that the solution to the issues of the land lay not in repeating the same British systems or by completely rebelling like the Americans but by fully exploring the capabilities of the Nova Scotian people as products of both. While he may not have agreed with the ultimate direction taken by the provinces, there is an argument to be made that Haliburton's ideas were followed to an extent. Insofar as the gaining of responsible government

and the advent of Confederation are concerned, there is indeed a clear will to self-determination in Canada that develops alongside a desire to maintain close and stable British ties. The question we should then ask ourselves is why the Imperialists emerged with a doctrine so similar to Haliburton's after his ideas had seemingly run their course? The answer lies in the perception of Britain's failure of and the imagination of Canada's potential.

The rhetoric of the Canadian Imperialists, despite their minute differences, was steeped in a belief that the time for Britain to head the Empire had passed. While men like Grant and Macphail believed in the long-lasting nature of the British Empire, they also believed that it was time for a change. Seeing a shift in power dynamics, with the United States becoming a greater power than in Haliburton's time, the Imperialists reacted against the perceived failures of the British motherland to respond to this rising 'threat' to British hegemony by giving more power and a greater voice to the colonies like Canada. It was in this vein that movements for imperial federation were born, where places like Canada would take their place as the new center of imperial power and morality. The literature of the Imperialists, despite coming from a different context and era, reflected the sentiments that Haliburton brought to the forefront of Canadian colonial politics and letters because their ideas came, essentially, from a same origin. Both were responding to changes in British society by advocating their own changes in the Canadian landscape that would rely on the old 'tried-and-true' ways of doing things in their romanticized past. Haliburton's past was that of his youth and of the Loyalist generation: attached to the Crown, yet willing to go through changes to live a better life. The Imperialists looked to and mirrored (in their ideas and textual approach) Haliburton and their perception of his success in bringing an old Tory imperialism to the surface of the colonial mind.

The question of whether some Imperialists consciously drew from Haliburton in their ideas is debatable. Grant directly cited the man and his ideas, but Leacock claimed to despise the man and his work as overly colonial. Such arguments, though, would fail to understand the intent behind this study. At its core, what has been argued here is that Thomas Chandler Haliburton, in writing *The Clockmaker* as a type of satirical manifesto that seeks to push Nova Scotians to reach greater heights within the Empire, was an important influence – conscious or not – on later Tory thought in Canada. This was not, either, an attempt to argue for such clichés as 'history repeating itself' (through the use of literature in this case). Rather, this thesis argued that Haliburton's bestselling comedy succeeded in ways that even the author did not anticipate. *The Clockmaker* caused a stir in the 1830s as Nova Scotians and Americans reacted to the thinly-veiled critiques that Haliburton launched at them through his text. Its true power would come as it progressively entered the public consciousness, influencing later, more popular writers such as Mark Twain. *The Clockmaker* found its place rather quickly in the canon of North American and Canadian letters and arguably became a part of the 'cultural memory' that is the central force behind this work. While ultimately unheeded at the time, the book's place within the public consciousness allowed for the ideas it presented to have legs to stand on once they became somewhat relevant again in the decades that followed.

The events that the Canadian Imperialists were experiencing at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century – as the balance of world power was shifting away from the British Empire – elicited a reaction that was similar to Haliburton's. Satirical and politically-charged writing with clear influences in *The Clockmaker* were a hallmark of Grant, Leacock, and Macphail's own output in their time. These Imperialist thinkers, well-versed as they were in literature and its power to inform and criticize contemporary society and politics, channeled what

made Haliburton so enduring and impactful in the first place in order to maintain a past and a social vision that was influenced by the latter. The Imperialists' failure to recreate not only the success, but the potency of *The Clockmaker*, came mostly as a result of the multitude of forces working against them and inability to prevent not just the change, but the collapse of the British Empire after the First World War. So, this is less a study of the ways literature can tell us about the past – or rather how writers specifically expressed themselves in that past – and more of an examination of its influence on our collective understanding of it. Haliburton's idealized memories of the past and the Imperialists' memories of Haliburton's time and writings demonstrated how collective ideas of a culture are formed through a selected usage of the stories we tell.

The Imperialists relied heavily on the past presented by Haliburton and *The Clockmaker* to inform their contemporary worldview, yet as we have seen, they failed to understand that their branch of Toryism could never be reconstructed in full. After all, such a vision ignored what Haliburton was trying to do in the first place: promote elements of change to the Empire. *The Clockmaker* is the work of a reactionary Tory, but one that tried to steer the tides of history, not freeze them. Haliburton and the Imperialists both used a static medium (insofar as it is fixed onto a page), but the latter group did not interpret it as being able to change Canadian society, only inform it. Haliburton's overly colonial mind, as Leacock would put it, also deeply understood that the colonial model needed to change. What *The Clockmaker* presented was a model that offered change from the inside through a medium that could adapt and shape itself to different moments. The Imperialists only saw a book that instructed them what to do about the changes they perceived or how to express those ideas, not a text with malleable ideas. This is indeed much like how they saw the British Empire, as an expression of fixed values. They saw the conservative half of what Linda Hutcheon defined as essential to parody, not the "authorized transgressive" (76) part that

allows the literature to somewhat promote change. They did not see the book for what it was: a piece of literature that allowed for change from within. They only saw it for what it was not: an unflinching guide to Toryism that ignored change.

Works Cited & Consulted

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso Books, 2016.

Beck, J. Murray. *Joseph Howe, Volume I: Conservative Reformer, 1804-1848*, Montreal, McGill University Press, 1982.

---. *Joseph Howe, Volume II: The Briton Becomes Canadian, 1848-1873*, Montreal, McGill University Press, 1983.

Berger, Carl. *Sense of Power: Studies in Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Bissell, Claude T. "Haliburton, Leacock and the American Humourous Tradition [*sic*]." *Canadian Literature*, 1969, Number 39, pp. 5-20.

Briggs, William, editor. *Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet*, Windsor, The Haliburton Club, 1897.

Bhabha, Homi K., editor. *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, 1990.

Chittick, V. L. O. *Thomas Chandler Haliburton: A Study in Provincial Toryism*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1924.

Clarke, George Elliot. "Must We Burn Haliburton?" *The Haliburton Bi-centenary Chaplet*, edited by Richard A. Davies, Gaspereau Press, 1996, pp. 1-40.

Clever, Glenn. "The Achievement of Stephen Leacock." Edited by David Staines. *Stephen Leacock: A Reappraisal*, University of Ottawa Press/Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1986, pp. 121-131.

Creighton, Donald. *John A. MacDonald: The Young Politician/The Old Chieftain*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Crofton, Francis Blake. *Haliburton: The Man and the Writer*. Windsor, J.J. Anslow, 1889.

Davies, Richard A., ed. *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Duffy, Dennis. "Romancing Canada in Bestsellerdom." *Canadian Literature and Cultural Memory*, edited by Cynthia Sugars and Eleanor Ty, Oxford UP, 2014, pp. 274-288.

Erll, Astrid. *Memory in Culture*. Translated by Sarah B. Young, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Fiamengo, J. "Sara Jeannette Duncan and Stephen Leacock: Two Master Satirists of Religion and Politics." *Studies in Canadian Literature - Études En Littérature Canadienne*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2012, pp. 54–72.

Friesen, Gerald. *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Gerson, Carole. *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Gibbon, John Murray. *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1938.

Godeanu-Kenworthy, Oana. "Pariahs of the Empire: Settler Ambivalences in T. C. Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*." *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 18 September 2015, pp. 685-696.

---. "The Political Other in Nineteenth-Century British North America: The Satire of Thomas Chandler Haliburton." *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2009, pp. 205-234.

Grant, George. *Time as History*, University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Grant, George Munro. *Advantages of Imperial Federation*, Toronto, C. Blackett Robinson, 1891.

Hagerman, Verna Blanche. *The English Literature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, Influences and Trends*. 1934. McGill University, Master's Dissertation.

Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*. Halifax, 1829.

---. *The Bubbles of Canada*. London, 1839.

---. *The Clockmaker, or, The sayings and doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville*. Toronto, NCL – McClelland & Stewart, 1993.

---. *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*. New York, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1851.

---. *Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances; or what he said, did or invented*, London, 1853.

Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Parody The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2000.

Huyssen, Andreas. "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia." *Public Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2000, pp. 21-38.

Kamboureli, Smaro. "An Archaeology of the Canadian Long Poem." *On the Edge of Genre*, University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 3-46.

Karr, Clarence. *Authors and Audiences: Popular Canadian Fiction in the Early Twentieth Century*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Laird, Matthew R. "Nativist American Humour: Sam Slick and the Defense of New England Whig Culture." *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 1993, Vol. 23, Number 4, pp. 71-88.

Leacock, Stephen. "Andrew Macphail." *Queen's Quarterly*, issue 45, Winter 1938.

---. *Greater Canada: An Appeal*, Montreal News Co., 1907.

---. *Mark Twain*. New York, Appleton, 1932.

---. *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, Toronto, NCL – McClelland & Stewart, 1989.

MacDonald, R. D. "Thomas Chandler Haliburton's 'Machine in the Garden': Applying Leo Marx's Criticism of America to Haliburton's Clockmaker." *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Summer 1988, pp. 165-181.

MacDougall, Robert. Afterword. *The Clockmaker*, by Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Toronto, NCL – McClelland & Stewart, 1993, pp. 217-226.

Macphail, Andrew. *Essays in Politics*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1909.

Marshall, Tom. "Haliburton's Canada." *Canadian Literature*, Number 68-69, 1976, pp. 134-138.

Martin, Ged. "Empire Federalism and Imperial Parliamentary Union, 1820-1870." *The Historical Journal*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1973, pp. 65–92. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2637916. Accessed 9 July 2020.

Massolin, Philip. *Canadian Intellectuals, The Tory Tradition, and the Challenge of Modernity, 1939-1970*, University of Toronto Press, 2001.

McDougall, Robert L. “The Achievement of Thomas Chandler Haliburton: An Assessment Panel,” *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, edited by Frank Tierney, University of Ottawa Press, 1985, pp. 151-157.

McFarlane, Duncan. “On the Doctor and the Clockmaker: The Satire of the Classical Epigraph through Samuel Johnson and T. C. Haliburton.” *Translation and Literature*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1–20.

McLeod, Les. “Canadian Post-Romanticism: The Context of Late Nineteenth-Century Canadian Poetry.” *Canadian Poetry*, vol. 14, Spring/Summer 1984, http://canadianpoetry.org/volumes/vol14/mcleod.html

McMullin, Stanley E. “The Decline of American Moral Vision: A Study of The Clockmaker in Relation to Rule and Misrule of the English in America.” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 1974, Vol. 4, Number 2, pp. 2-22.

---. “In Search of the Tory Mind: Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Egerton Ryerson,” in *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, edited by Frank Tierney, University of Ottawa Press, 1985, pp. 37-51.

Miki, Roy. “Inside the Black Egg: Cultural Practice, Citizenship, and Belonging in a Globalising Canadian Nation.” *Mosaic*, 2005, Volume 38, Number 3, pp. 1-20.

Nesbitt, Bruce. “The First *Clockmakers*,” in *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, edited by Frank Tierney. University of Ottawa Press, 1985, pp. 93-102.

Pacey, Desmond. *Creative Writing in Canada*. Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1952.

Panofsky, Ruth. “Breaking the Silence: *The Clockmaker* on Women” *The Haliburton Bi-centenary Chaplet*, edited by Richard A. Davies, Gaspereau Press, 1996, pp. 41-54.

Panofsky, Ruth. “The Publication of Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s *The Clockmaker*, 1st Series.” *Past, Present, Future; Canadian Literature* (Special Issue), 1993, pp. 5-20.

Passfield, Robert W. *The Upper Canadian Anglican Tory Mind: A Cultural Fragment*, Oakville, Rock’s Mills Press, 2018.

Penlington, Norman. *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899*, University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Rasporich, Beverly. “The New Eden Dream: The Source of Canadian Humour: McCulloch, Haliburton, and Leacock.” *Studies in Canadian Literature*, vol. 7, no. 2, June 1982, https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/SCL/article/view/7986.

---. “Stephen Leacock, Humorist: American by Association” Edited by David Staines. *Stephen Leacock: A Reappraisal*, University of Ottawa Press/Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1986, pp. 69-82.

Roper, Henry. “Thomas Chandler Haliburton: Complications and Contradictions.” Presented to the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 19 January 2011.

Royot, Daniel. “Sam Slick and American Popular Humour” in *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, edited by Frank Tierney, University of Ottawa Press, 1985, pp. 123-133.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage Books, 1993.

Smurthwaite, Cynthia. “Slouching Towards Slickville: Sam Slick’s Chilly Reception.” *Studies in Canadian Literature*, vol. 22, no. 2, June 1997, https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/SCL/article/view/8265.

Sugars, Cynthia, and Eleanor Ty. Introduction. *Canadian Literature and Cultural Memory*, edited by Sugars and Ty, Oxford UP, 2014, pp. 1-19.

Taylor, Charles. *Radical Tories: The Conservative Tradition in Canada*, House of Anansi Press, 1982.

Taylor, M. Brook. "Thomas Chandler Haliburton as Historian." *Acadiensis*, Vol. 13, No. 2 Spring 1984, pp. 50-68.

Vincent, Thomas. "Stratagems of Satire In North American Literature Before Haliburton: A Background Paper," in *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, edited by Frank Tierney, 1984, pp. 53-64.

Westfall, William. "John Strachan." *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, edited by Gerald Hallowell, Oxford UP, 2004, pp. 600.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, The John Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Zamora, Lois Parkinson. *The Usable Past: The Imagination of History in Recent Fictions of the Americas*. Cambridge UP, 1997.