Historians have long recognized that newspapers in this country constitute the principal source of information about the nineteenth century. Until recently, however, only a few scholars have directed their attention to the growth of the industry of newspaper printing and publishing. Its many avenues are now beginning to be explored – the printing press, the typographical unions, the reading public, and the powerful personalities involved. In the following articles, which are the fourth in a series of reprints of important papers on Canadian bibliography, the Maritime newspaper press in the nineteenth century is examined.

In the late 1930s until the 1950s four names stand out as students of the nineteenth-century newspaper press: J.S. Martell and D.C. Harvey in the Maritimes and J.J. Talman and W.S. Wallace in Ontario. All of these ‘pioneers’ in the study of the history of printing and publishing in Canada were active in archives and library work. Martell and Harvey were at the newly-founded (1931) Public Archives of Nova Scotia; Talman was Chief Librarian at the University of Western Ontario, and W. S. Wallace directed the activities of the University of Toronto Library. In the years 1930-1960 these institutions were in what might be called their formative years. Archives and libraries are always in a formative state; however, I think it’s fair to say that in the pre-boom (1960) period the growth was slow because of small budgets which meant curtailment of staff and funds for collection development.

There was one distinct advantage for the scholar librarians and archivists. The historians of the press had daily personal and unrestricted access to the rich newspaper holdings of their institutions. In a very real sense the archive and rare book collections available to them became their personal research laboratories. The material for historical and bibliographical research was there and they used it well.

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia was housed, until recent years, in its own building situated on the Studley Campus of Dalhousie University only a book’s throw from the MacDonald Library, then the arts and science centre for study at Dalhousie. As I remember it, there was a certain 'feel-
‘which existed for a time about what was appropriate for the Archives and what rightly should be held by the University Library. For instance, Dalhousie had been given the J.J. Stewart Collection which included many nineteenth-century Nova Scotian newspapers. The archivists thought that these valuable holdings should be under their roof. Of course, the Dalhousie librarians, myself included, held the opinion that they should remain where they were. I will admit that in the 1950s the Archives did have better facilities for the preservation and use of the often fragile nineteenth-century materials. I remember that this particular matter, not uncommon amongst neighbouring or rival institutions, was one of the first topics of conversation I had with D.C. Harvey after I joined the Dalhousie staff. Happily it never really was discussed in detail and my meetings with Dr. Harvey over the years became short chats which stretched into afternoons of great enjoyment and, for me, enlightenment about life and Nova Scotia.

Harvey was a natural mentor. Now I can imagine how J.S. Martell, who died tragically in his thirty-fourth year, must have thrived ‘under the direction’ of the strict but compassionate Harvey. In those days the Provincial Archivist was cross-appointed to the Dalhousie Department of History so that courses in Maritime history could be offered. Our talk focussed on university matters, certain administrators, but most often on the history of Nova Scotia. Harvey was discerning, even inquisitorial. He looked you over and not infrequently posed questions on a wide variety of unexpected topics.

D.C. Harvey’s main interest was the intellectual history of the Maritimes. He was interested in the imagination, in the minds of Nova Scotians, in particular, as they came to grips with themselves in what he has termed the ‘Intellectual Awakening’ and the ‘Age of Faith.’ This is evident in his article reprinted here. He was not as interested, as Martell obviously was, in printing presses and publisher-personalities, but in how the newspapers in their often penetrating, often erratic ways, reflected the slow, happy growth of the Provinces towards maturity. For Harvey it was the newspaper in society through the eyes of the historian.

James S. Martell’s article deals with one of the most colourful periods of Maritime intellectual and literary history. It also stresses the fortunes and misfortunes of presses, printers, and publishers. Names such as James Dawson, Joseph Howe, Thomas McCulloch, Anthony Holland, Edmund Ward, not to overlook James Spike, occur in his account of ‘The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830s.’ In describing the growth of the press Martell indulges in something of a metaphoric binge, which at first encounter seems overdone, but as one reads on one finds oneself waiting for his next bout with the sea, ships, and publishing. One example is
enough to illustrate Martell's sprightly narrative style: 'In the rough politi-
cal seas of the thirties, when great storms of reform and sudden squalls of
reaction made sailing dangerous for all craft, whatever their ensign, the
record of the liberal skippers was outstanding. Time and again, they kept
afloat when their contemporaries went to the bottom.' Ah the Maritimes!
We profess to be Colonial and not merely Nova Scotian Patriots [Colonial Patriot, July 22, 1829].

The interests of the Provinces being so closely connected, it becomes a duty with each to endeavour after an intimate acquaintance with the others, to pay much attention to their internal regulations, and to the manner of dealing with them which the parent country adopts [Acadian Recorder, Dec. 10, 1831].

While discussing Novascotian affairs, we lost no opportunity of sympathizing in the struggles of our neighbours, so far as they seemed to be contending for sound principles, and the advantages of economical and responsible Government [Novascotian, Jan. 9, 1840].

The Newspapers of the 1830's, perhaps more than those of any other period, reflected and influenced life in the Maritime Provinces. Their wide circulation had never been attained or even approached by the publications of previous years. Only within the past decade had any appreciable advance been made in overcoming the illiteracy and apathy of the general public, or had changes come about in the old and uncertain means of communication. Not until 1828 and later did the progress of education,¹ the rise of local patriotism, and the gradual growth of social, economic, and political unrest create a demand for more and better newspapers. At the same time, the advent of stage coaches and steamships facilitated the gathering of news and the distribution of papers.² Small wonder, then, that the 1830's witnessed the rise of a popular, powerful press. In later years, paradoxically

¹The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's' was first printed in the Canadian Historical Review volume 19 [March 1938] pp. 44-49. The text is reprinted here as it appeared in that publication with the kind permission of the University of Toronto Press.
enough, frequency of publication and delivery, fast and safe ways of travel, even the increase of literacy and intelligence, lessened the influence that newspapers had formerly enjoyed when their arrival in isolated communities was hailed as an event of some consequence. There is no need to question the historical value of these early papers. They present a field of research as wide as life itself. No student of the history of the Maritime Provinces, if his interest be in the 1830's, can afford to overlook them. Not only are they almost the sole source of information on many important problems of that period, but they give a variety of views on nearly every aspect of provincial activity. Besides this, they present, with a clearness that is not always discernible in documents, the play of outside influences upon local developments. Their editors, while not neglecting affairs at home, were essentially cosmopolitan in their outlook. They filled column after column with European, British, American, and colonial news which they discussed at length in their editorials. Their curiosity about their colonial neighbours is especially striking. The Nova Scotians, in particular, ever conscious of their position as the senior British colonists, followed the Canadian situation with close concern, well aware that its repercussions were bound to affect the Atlantic provinces one way or another. That this early interest in the upper provinces could have changed within the next thirty years to indifference and even distrust is not as surprising as it seems. The seeds of the deep-rooted opposition to confederation in the 1860's were being sown in the 1830's. The more the sea-minded bluenoses learned about the inland Canadians, the more smugly satisfied they were with their own moderation and decorum and the more convinced some of them were that the nineteenth century belonged to the Maritime Provinces.

The newspapers read in preparing this study were found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Legislative Library at Halifax. With the exception of a few scattered issues of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island papers, they were all published in Nova Scotia. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that circumstances prevented any research being done in the other two provinces, but the files of the New Brunswick journals are far from complete, and only one of the three or four Prince Edward Island publications has survived intact. Visits to the New Brunswick Museum and the Free Public Library at Saint John and the Legislative Libraries in Fredericton and Charlottetown would undoubtedly have proved very profitable, but they were less necessary after discovering that the news and the views of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island editors appeared regularly in the columns of their contemporaries in Nova Scotia. Besides frequent quotations and many references to, and comments on, the press of the sister colonies, Nova Scotian papers carried correspondence
and contributions from all points in the Maritimes Provinces. The combined result enables one to follow without difficulty the trend of opinion in both New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Although at least twenty papers were published intermittently in the three Atlantic colonies between 1752 and 1812, the press of that period was never truly popular, widely influential, or distinctively native. Eleven of these papers appeared in the pre-loyalist and loyalist towns of Halifax, Lunenburg, and Shelburne in Nova Scotia. Their circulation was small and only three of them, the Halifax Gazette and the later Halifax Journal and Halifax Weekly chronicle, continued far into the nineteenth century. The six loyalist journals of Saint John and Fredericton in New Brunswick fared little better than their counterparts in Nova Scotia. The Royal gazette survived, and the City gazette of Saint John, which did not begin publication until 1811, succeeded in reaching the 1830's. A similar story might be told of the four papers published in Charlottetown for the small population of Prince Edward Island. Three of them, including the Royal herald supported by sixty subscribers, passed away after a brief existence. The fourth, which, like the City gazette of New Brunswick, was not established until 1811, had hopes of living much longer when its editor became king's printer in 1826. The persistence of these early settlers, particularly the loyalists, in establishing newspapers when there was obviously little prospect of success sprang out of their pathetic endeavour to give to the rude surroundings of the northern provinces a little of the cultural atmosphere of the older colonies; but they might as well have tried to cultivate hothouse plants in a wilderness. The people, engrossed with the many new problems of making a living, were not interested in literary extracts and classical allusions, nor were they ready to make any contributions themselves. The day of intellectual curiosity, local patriotism, and native originality had not dawned in the Maritime Provinces. It awaited the coming of a new generation born and bred in the country.

The rapid rise of the power of the press after the War of 1812 originated in the discovery of young Maritimers – sons of pre-loyalists, loyalists, and Scots – that newspapers were an excellent medium for the expression of their extraordinary thirst after knowledge, their robust pride of country, and their intense dissatisfaction with the old order of things. They were directly responsible for the great majority of the forty odd papers that first saw the light of day in this period. Some of the new publications, of course, went to the wall within a few years; but others, like Joseph Howe's Novascotian, thrived on the strong competition. Before describing the circumstances of their birth and the development of their policies, something should be said of the practical difficulties encountered by their editors and publishers.
The young hopefuls who embarked on a career in journalism a century and more ago soon found that public interest was one thing and public support quite another. Although people were more anxious to read newspapers than they had been before the war, they were often unable to pay for them. In the country districts, where specie always seemed to be scarce, struggling publishers found it inadvisable to insist on receiving cash. William Milne of the Colonial patriot in Pictou, for instance, after spending a few months in jail for debts that he could not pay until he had settled some of his own bad accounts, announced on his release that his agents would henceforth take “payment in Flour, Meal, or Barley, at current cash prices”, and he himself “Any kind of merchantable produce” at the office. James Dawson, who published the Pictou Bee a few years later, also informed his readers that “Farm Produce, such as Oatmeal, Flour, and Butter” was acceptable in payment for the Bee. Even Joseph Howe, the most successful proprietor in the capital, had his trials and troubles over non-paying subscribers. They regard newspapers, he said on one occasion, “like the rain, the air, and the sunshine – common blessings, provided by Providence for the good of all, but for the continuance of which no man need tax his mind or his pocket”. In order to disabuse them of this naïve belief, he threatened in 1834, after nearly seven years of silence, that in the future he would take legal action against all accounts of over three years’ standing.

Howe’s unexpected move seems to have had some results, but the warnings and concessions of lesser men had little effect on their outstanding accounts which, because of the practice of refusing to stop delivery on papers until bills were paid in full, often outlasted their papers.

Lack of financial support was but one of the many anxieties of publishers. Although party feeling in the Maritime Provinces did not run so high that editors were in danger of losing their ears, as did their unfortunate contemporary of the Newfoundland Public ledger who was attacked by common thugs, the weight of dignified officials was always ready to crush them as it had crushed poor Mr. Parsons of the Newfoundland Patriot. Only the fact that their fate was left to the judgment of a jury – a privilege that was apparently denied to journalists in Newfoundland – saved them from the heavy sentence that was meted out to Mr. Parsons by the very loyal Chief Justice Boulton. The freemen of Prince Edward Island led the way to the liberation of the press in the Maritime Provinces. In the summer of 1829, when James Haszard, the proprietor of the Prince Edward Island register, was sued for £3,000 damages for publishing an article on the speech of the late Attorney-General Johnston that reflected unfavourably on Mr. Palmer, a local lawyer, the Charlottetown jury within an hour and a half reached the verdict that Mr. Haszard was guilty of publication but not of malicious intent. The court patiently explained the differ-
ence between express malice and legal malice, and then ordered them to find the defendant guilty or not guilty. In twenty minutes they returned with a second verdict: "We find the Defendant Guilty – Damages, one shilling!" In a long and legally worded commentary on the trial, Dr. Thomas McCulloch of Pictou, Nova Scotia, warned the readers of the Colonial patriot against the doctrine urged by the court in Charlottetown: "It being out of our own Province makes no difference, in either our duty or right, for we profess to be Colonial and not merely Nova Scotian Patriots; and besides if we allow legal error to be quietly smuggled into any one of the colonies, it is not easy to tell where its baneful influences may terminate...." Independent spirits like McCulloch were also to be found in New Brunswick where, two years later, jurymen in Saint John made a further advance against the frowning fortress of the libel law. John Hooper, the publisher of the British colonist, was the man on trial, and the libel in question was a letter, written by Thomas Gardiner for a Mr. Layton of Richibucto, which was not pleasing to the legal profession in the loyalist colony. Like Joseph Howe in 1835, Hooper conducted his own defence, scorning to lean on the dry limbs of the law when he could depend on "the fearless independence of the people". Nineteen hours the jury deliberated without reaching a unanimous conclusion; but the ten men who refused to find Hooper guilty of malicious libel were enough to make him a free man. The failure of the Saint John jury to come to a decisive conclusion and to free the actual writer of the libel who, in a later trial, was fined £30 and ordered to give sureties for good behaviour, left two steps still to be taken before the press in the Maritime Provinces was finally liberated. The last victorious advance was made by the twelve jurors of Halifax who, responding to the argument and eloquence of the young printer of the Novascotian, unanimously agreed that he was innocent of the charges against him and made no reference to the writer of the communication that had criticized the civic administration of Halifax. After this complete triumph of Howe, the shadow of the law no longer darkened the lives of journalists down by the sea.

The more prosaic problems of publishing, the gathering and writing of news and special articles and the distribution of papers to subscribers, were unaffected by these brilliant victories for the freedom of the press. They were obviated to some extent by the new advances made in transportation; but there was still much uncertainty over the arrival and delivery of mails. During the storms of winter, stage coaches were not uncommonly held up for hours, and even days, and steamships which usually plied regularly between the colonies stopped running entirely. The old sailing packets, at the mercy of wind and tide, continued throughout the thirties to carry the Atlantic mails, although after the crossing of the Sirius and the Great
Western to New York in 1838, the latest English and European news was received from the United States. During those lean periods in the winter and spring, when British, foreign, and even colonial intelligence was often lacking, editors in the past had relied on literature, science, and the classics to eke out their meagre resources; but, beginning in 1828, Howe set a new style by filling his Novascotian with reports on the debates of the local assembly which generally met some time between January and April. In New Brunswick, where nearly all the newspapers were published outside the capital, editors had to be content with the printed journals of the assembly until 1831, when some “spirited” gentlemen in Saint John raised enough money to send a reporter to Fredericton for the express purpose of recording the legislative proceedings. Seven years later, the assembly itself offered to pay half the expenses of this service on the condition that the reports would appear semi-weekly. Although out of direct touch with their assembly, the journalists in New Brunswick had the advantage of being nearer American and Canadian centres than any of their confrères in the other two colonies. The position of newspaper men was just the reverse in Prince Edward Island, where the capital was the only centre of the press. Editors in Charlottetown could always depend on the active assembly to provide news during the session; but, owing to the comparative isolation of the island and its small population, they sometimes experienced a dearth of information in the summer, although only rarely could a week’s intelligence be summed up in those two lines of Hamlet which Mr. Haszard used in September, 1828: “Have you had a quiet guard? Not a mouse stirring.” When the mice did stir, over-worked editors in all three provinces had difficulty in following their movements.

Reporters were a luxury that few publishers could afford and, in the early 1830’s at least, there was a definite lack of dependable local talent. Joseph Howe, in one of his typical moments of reminiscing, wrote in 1840: “At the commencement of the Old Series of the Novascotian, there was not a single individual, with one exception, capable of writing a paragraph, upon whom we could fall back. Now we could at any moment call upon a dozen, who would, at a week’s notice, supply an original number.” He might have added that since the early days he had also acquired a staff of two reporters to do some of the everyday drudgery that had once fallen solely upon his shoulders. Luckily for Howe, his constitution was made of iron and his energy and enthusiasm were boundless, but even this God-given combination cracked under the strain of reporting the debates and election speeches during the constitutional crisis of 1830. In the spring of 1831, when the second session within a year was over, Howe went to bed for a month. During the following summer, he slackened his pace, deliberately leaving politics to one side and publishing accounts of his Eastern
rambles. The refreshing draughts of country air and country ale – his customary meat and drink in the hot season – soon revived him. Long before the new session he was back in the capital striking his old stride. In 1834, when legislative proceedings were enlivened by a discussion on the constitution of the council, his notes on the debates filled 172 columns of the *Novascotian*. He continued at this rate until he entered the assembly himself in 1837, when he hired Adams Archibald to report the debates. When the legislative council began its first session a year later, he employed another reporter, John S. Thompson. Thompson, who had conducted the *Acadian telegram* for two years, was also the editor of the *Novascotian* from the end of April, 1838, to the middle of November, when Howe was making his first pilgrimage through the British Isles and Europe.

While the *Novascotian* far outdistanced its rivals in the general race of reporting debates, elections, legal proceedings, public meetings, and, in fact, all the varied aspects of local life, its rivals often ran it a close second in particular features. At times, for instance, the *Acadian recorder* had almost as long reports on the local legislature and the *Colonial patriot* usually had as much news of the outside world, while the *Halifax journal* and the *Halifax Times*, like their commercial counterparts in New Brunswick, always gave ample space to the problems of currency and banking and to the general prosperity of the country. Naturally, they all changed their interests from year to year and from season to season. The *Novascotian* in the summer-time, when Howe went on his rambles to see the country and listen to the people, was filled with literary extracts and colonial, British, and foreign news, or crowded with contributions from local writers. In the winter, when he had no other room, Howe brought out special supplements to take care of the countless letters and articles that were continually piling up on his desk. These effusions of native genius received less consideration from other editors, but they appeared from time to time in all the papers. The years, like the seasons, brought their changes in the contents of the various journals. The *Acadian recorder* in 1829 was the sympathetic medium of the long-winded complaints and accusations of John A. Barry who, after posing as a man of the people, came out as a dyed-in-the-wool tory the next year. The *Colonial patriot* between 1827 and 1830 was the chief oracle of the impending constitutional crisis; but lost its voice of authority after that date. The *Halifax journal* by the 1830's had settled down to the slow, unchanging pace of age, giving over its editorial columns to the latest news of shipping and its front and back pages to the newest advertisements, but the new-born *Times*, which acquired its first legislative reporter in 1838, like the more youthful publications in New Brunswick, was always ready when the opportunity offered to dash into the arena of active politics and petty local squabbles.
The never-ceasing efforts of publishers and editors to make their papers interesting and instructive were more tiring but not as exasperating as the difficulties encountered in the actual delivery of papers. These difficulties had increased with the growth of circulation and the new popular interest in public affairs. The first caused papers to be lost and mislaid, while the latter, particularly during times of general excitement, led to petty pilfering. Lost, strayed, or stolen, harassed editors had no means of knowing; they could only apologetically acknowledge the letters from irate readers who had not received their papers in weeks. Few subscribers spoke in the temperate tones of Marcus Gunn of Miramichi who wrote to the Saint John British colonist and the Pictou Colonial patriot in 1833 to say that, owing to "the most discouraging irregularity" in the receipt of his copies, he was obliged to discontinue his subscriptions, although he had "an affinity" for the political principles of both papers. The anxiety of the people to get news during periods of crisis is well illustrated in the letter which a correspondent in Antigonish sent to Joseph Howe during the dispute over the brandy duties in the spring of 1830: "Your Papers are sought after and read with an avidity which I have never seen equalled, in this quarter, even in times of greatest excitement. I conversed with a gentleman from the lower extremity of the county yesterday, who tells me a similar interest is manifested in all the other Townships." If any further evidence on this point were needed, it is in the statement of the Prince Edward Island subscriber of the Halifax Times who, after the Canadian crisis in 1837, wrote that several times during the past six months his papers had not arrived on schedule, although they had turned up "subsequently". Despite their complaints, however, the readers of newspapers had reason to be thankful that they were no longer solely dependent on the old couriers. When the Western Stage Coach Company began its operations in 1828, Howe said that the people of western Nova Scotia would henceforth get their Novascotian "fresh from the Press" instead of "waiting nearly four days for its arrival". Before the end of the thirties, stage coaches and steamships were providing frequent and comparatively rapid services between the towns and ports of the Maritime Provinces and linking them with the principal centres in the Canadas and the United States, and the first iron monsters were frightening the good people of eastern Nova Scotia.

The various costs of running a newspaper in the 1830's are by no means easy to estimate, but there are one or two obvious suggestions to make and a few facts to state. Although the charges involved in obtaining news and information were negligible, particularly when the editor did his own staff work and was not sparing with his scissors and paste, the price of paper and printing ink, imported from England almost exclusively before 1830, but
after that date also from the United States, must have been considerable. The initial amount needed to acquire a printing establishment was usually kept a secret by the parties concerned. Even Howe, who was accustomed, in the exuberance of his editorial writing, to refer to many autobiographical facts, only admitted in a private letter that the *Novascotian* cost him £1050 – £210 a year for five years – when he bought it from G.R. Young late in 1827.⁷ At the time of sale, the *Novascotian* claimed the second highest circulation in the country. Howe would have paid a good deal less if he had been able to buy the establishment of some defunct publication. This was a common practice in the thirties, when there were more papers and more failures. The printing presses and types of the short-lived *Yarmouth telegram*, for instance, which had already been used for the *Bermuda gazette*, were taken over by the proprietor of the *Yarmouth herald* in 1833, sold to James Bowes of the Halifax *Weekly mirror* in 1836, and at last, it is said, shipped to New Brunswick in 1839 to end their odyssey in the printing of George Fenerty’s *Saint John Commercial news*.²⁸ The presses and types of the *Colonial patriot* also had a varied experience. In 1836, they were purchased by James Dawson to print the Pictou *Bee*, and then by John Stiles to publish the Pictou *Mechanic and farmer*, and finally, it seems, they were moved to New Glasgow to begin the *Eastern chronicle*.²⁹ Then as now, of course, the expenses of publishers did not cease until their papers reached the door-steps of their readers, but the charge for delivery, in ratio to the circulation, was definitely higher. This “tax”, as it was called, was the subject of continual complaint among publishers in both political camps during the 1830’s and the cause of many a protest to the deputy postmaster-general. A statement made in a petition to the assembly by the editor of the *Acadian recorder* suggests that the amount paid to the post office by some papers was as high as £40 a year,³⁰ but hints like this are so few and far between that the total annual expenditure of the average publisher remains a mystery. The fact that total expenditures sometimes exceeded total revenues might be enlightening if the amount of the revenue could be determined, but this is impossible without the accounts of the publishers. To multiply numbers of subscribers by rates of subscriptions would be most misleading, for, as already stated, the amount of public patronage given to a paper was no indication of the extent of its financial support.

While comments on the circulation of newspapers belong more properly to the later consideration of their influence, a few general statements, suggesting the relative success of liberal, tory, and independent publishers in the 1830’s may not be out of place here as a preface to the description of the birth and development of the political policies of their papers. In the rough political seas of the thirties, when great storms of reform and sudden squalls of reaction made sailing dangerous for all craft, whatever their
ensign, the record of the liberal skippers was outstanding. Time and again, they kept afloat when their contemporaries went to the bottom. The tories usually sailed briskly in the breezes of loyalty that now and then crossed the waters, while the independents were almost invariably wrecked on the rocks of non-support, regardless of the prevailing winds. The high percentage of casualties in the 1830's, while principally owing to the changing state of public opinion, was also affected by the large number of competitors. Few publishers failed in the earlier years of the post-war period, when sailing was relatively much smoother and competition definitely less keen.

The long-lived *Acadian recorder*, slipping down the ways in Halifax early in January, 1813, heralded the dawn of the new era that was about to break over the Atlantic sea-board. Flying the first standard of reform ever seen in the Maritime Provinces, the fearless twenty-nine year old master was the native-born Nova Scotian, Anthony Holland. Despite the challenge at his masthead, Holland did not experience any serious opposition during the first three years of his voyage. Indeed, two of his dignified tory rivals, the *Royal gazette* and the *Weekly chronicle*, went out of their way to avoid a conflict, while the third, the *Halifax journal*, after a brief show of fire, hauled in its guns. Not until that pugnacious, egotistical Irishman, Edmund Ward, launched the *Free press* in 1816 as the avowed champion of the family compact did Holland meet an opponent worthy of his mettle. The fight between Holland and Ward, which stirred the waters of Halifax journalism for the first time, was enlivened as much by personal enmity as by the difference in their political principles. A truce was called late in 1821 after an ignominious climax in the courts of law. Ward sued for damages and won "Nine Pounds and Three Pence".31 The loss of so small a sum is not likely to have had much influence on Holland's decision to leave the *Acadian recorder* two years later, although there is little doubt that the case was still vivid in his memory. Certain it is, at any rate, that his brother and successor, Philip Holland, was always ready to renew the hostilities with Ward who by the 1830's was carrying on a general engagement with the whole reform press.

Philip Holland had been a partner of his brother, Anthony, along with Edward Moody, three years before he assumed the sole control of the *Acadian recorder* in January, 1824. Under his management the *Recorder* maintained an unchanged course, demanding moderate reforms in a stout British manner. His "old fashioned notions", as he once confessed, held him back from the vanguard of the reform movement established by the Pictou Scribblers late in 1827 and strengthened by Howe after 1829; but he could always be depended upon for a creditable rear-guard action. When he finally resigned at the end of 1836, owing to ill health, he seems to have
had few regrets either for his own personal conduct in past years or for the
general cause that he had espoused.

Holland's moderation and caution in the handling of the *Acadian recorder* were not emulated by John English and Hugh Blackadar, the two youthful editors who succeeded him in January, 1837. Sailing into the front line of battle with all the fire of their untried spirits, English and Blackadar were immediately opposed by the whole strength of the tory opposition. What with dark threats from high placed "opponents" in consequence of their outspoken comments on the Canadian rebellions at the end of 1837 and the wave of loyalty that swept over Nova Scotia in the wake of those rebellions, their ardour was dampened for a full year. Not until 1839 when, thanks to Lord Durham, reformers had regained their respectability in the Maritime Provinces, did the more experienced young skippers again raise the flag of reform at the topmast of the *Acadian recorder*.

The *Novascotian*, the other great bulwark of reform in Halifax and the flagship of the party not only in Nova Scotia but in all the Maritime Provinces during the 1830's, did not, like the *Acadian recorder*, sail with the reformers from its earliest days. To those persons who, before it appeared late in 1824, had urged its prospective owner, G.R. Young, "to strike out a new and independent course of action ... to assail the measures of the Government ... to found a regular organized opposition, and to aspire, forsooth, to the honors of a radical" the actual course taken by the *Novascotian* must have been a great disappointment. Instead of coming smartly forward, as they had hoped, to join forces with the *Acadian recorder* in the fight for reform, it sailed away for a three years' voyage in the calm channels of commerce. Although Young's scorn for the rising tide of political unrest seems to have been as sincere in 1827 as it was in 1824, when he emphatically rejected the "insidious counsel" of his "pretended friends", he was shrewd enough to see that his essentially economic outlook, popular enough in past years, would soon be out of favour with a people becoming more and more politically minded. He gave no reason for his resignation in 1827, but it seems safe to assume that he had looked forward to diminishing profits in journalism and then decided to try his fortunes in the world of business and literature. He was determined, however, that in spite of the coming changes, the character of the *Novascotian* should not be let down by his successor, and to make sure of this he persuaded young Joseph Howe to leave his position as joint editor of the very respectable *Acadian*.

Joseph Howe and his partner, James Spike, who had purchased the old *Weekly chronicle* from William Minns and renamed it the *Acadian*, had set out in January, 1827. Their one year together proved to be uneventful.
Professing to be advocates of no party and only occasionally showing their tory tendencies, they sailed along almost unnoticed by their more outspoken contemporaries. After Howe went over to the Novascotian in 1828, leaving Spike alone at the helm of the Acadian, both ships remained within hailing distance for a short stretch and then veered away as storm clouds gathered on the eastern horizon where the Pictou Scribblers were gleefully predicting the death and destruction of all opponents of reform. Before the end of 1828, Spike had gained the shelter of a safe tory harbour and was already enjoying the distinction of being called the “Tom-Thumb-Champion of all Government measures”, but Howe, undaunted by the threats from Pictou, was still outside, apparently ready to ride the advancing storm.

The true bearing of Howe’s course as he took the Novascotian into the troubled political waters of the 1830’s has been so blurred by controversy and myth that it should be clearly charted. The invidious suggestion that he did not swing over to the side of the reformers until after their election victory in October, 1830, or, at least, until after their unexpected show of spirit in March and April of that year may be squelched at once by the evidence of his own words. Although when he began publishing his legislative reviews on July 9, 1829, Howe declared that he was writing for no party, a month later, on August 6, he attacked the high salaries of the judiciary and little over six months later again, on January 21, 1830, he stated frankly that he believed the structure of the council was “unconstitutional and defective” and then explained that “recent events” had “wrought a change” in his opinions. Although by “recent events” Howe undoubtedly meant the unseemly squabbling in 1829 between John Barry, openly supported by the council, and the house of assembly from which Barry had been expelled, he may also have been thinking of the influence of the Pictou Scribblers which he is said to have acknowledged in the office of the Colonial patriot during the 1830 election in Pictou, where, according to Edmund Ward’s Free press, he joined the side of the reformers in the general riots that took place at that time. Howe denied Ward’s accusation, but in the previous April, he had had nothing to say when the Pictou Scribblers, after reading his editorials on the Brandy dispute, publicly charged him with “Council-Slaughter”. The course of the Novascotian from this time onward never wavered. Before another year had passed it was leading the reform line, its booming guns exploding the myth that its master was a minor political figure prior to his trial in 1835.

The financial success of Howe and Holland in the 1830’s presents a striking contrast to the failures of their tory rivals, Ward and Spike. While the former two steadily forged ahead year after year, the latter two floundered sadly in the mounting waves of the reform movement. Ward’s Free
press was the first to go under, but he managed to keep himself dry by launching the *Temperance recorder*. The original idea of capitalizing on the growing cause of temperance had belonged to J.H. Doane who on December 20, 1833, issued a prospectus for the *Temperance advocate*, but Ward’s quick action early in 1834 prevented the building of this dreamed-of barque.\(^39\) Although Ward now sailed in a sea of his own, the profits did not come up to his expectations. Three years later, he again made a change, crossing the Bay of Fundy, to set forth once again in the *New Brunswick sentinel* at Fredericton. In the same year, 1837, James Spike also deserted policy for profit, bringing out the non-controversial *Farmer and mechanic*, and a year later, retiring even further from the churning waters of politics in the church of Scotland *Guardian*.

After the *Free press* went down, the family compact pinned its hopes on the new *Times*, a trim, well-built craft that first appeared in June, 1834. Messrs. Gossip and Coade were in charge of the *Times* and their intended course was stated at the outset: "... we profess to be governed not so much by a desire of change, as a wish to let well alone." Although each year they vied with Howe and Holland in reporting progress and improvements, it is obvious that this was owing to their strong financial backing and not the result of popular approval. They did, of course, feel the favourable winds of loyalty that swept over the Atlantic colonies after the Canadian crisis and enabled them to pass beyond the thirties with colours flying.

None of the independent journalists in Halifax, with the exception of Hugh Munroe and his non-political *Halifax journal*, succeeded in steering a middle course throughout the 1830’s. James Bowes tried his hand at the wheel of the *Weekly mirror*, but sold out a year later to Hugh Blackadar who, in turn, was ready to quit after twelve months. Joining forces with John English in 1837, Blackadar found in the *Acadian recorder* a better, if a more dangerous berth. John S. Thompson had a similar experience. He set out in the *Acadian telegram* in 1836 proposing to collect news without views; but two years later, he was glad to accept a position on Joseph Howe’s *Novascotian*. Despite these failures of non-partisan publishers, young Jacob D. Kuhn was ready to try his fortune on the *Haligonian and general advertiser* which, as he announced in August, 1839, was to be "mainly devoted to Commercial purposes" and the first semi-weekly in Halifax. Such hopeful ambition probably deserved success, but it seems doubtful if the *Haligonian* ever left the shipyard of dreams.\(^40\)

The outstanding characteristic of the press of Nova Scotia was the keen rivalry exhibited between the newspapers of Halifax and those in the rest of the province which sprang naturally from the various social, economic, and political fences that separated the capital from the country. This rivalry was particularly noticeable in the late 1820’s and in 1830, when the
Colonial patriot, the first country paper to appear after 1812, opened its fire on the family compact in Halifax. Its guns, manned by the youthful editor, Jotham Blanchard, the stout publisher, William Milne, and that redoubtable protagonist, Dr. McCulloch, reverberated throughout the Maritime Provinces, giving full expression to the Scottish radicalism of eastern Nova Scotia that had long been denied sufficient space in the “Royalist” journals of Halifax. After 1831, when its editorials had dropped away to a low rumble, Joseph Howe, whose sincere interest in the people outside Halifax had already been evidenced in the sympathetic accounts of his arduous travels among them, succeeded in overcoming much of the bitterness and distrust that they had once entertained for the city folk.

The Colonial patriot of Pictou, beginning late in 1827, afforded in its short life of seven years a superb illustration of how a paper could rise on outspoken advocacy of reform and decline with a change to non-committal inactivity. The leading reform journal in the country during its violent attacks on the council and constitution, the Colonial patriot sank into comparative obscurity after Blanchard entered the assembly in the capital, where, so men said, he was neutralized by tory wines and compliments. Although Blanchard was called a turncoat, the strange coma of indifference that came over him after 1831 may have been more than this. His health was none too good, and throughout 1832 he was so oblivious to his responsibilities as an editor that the Colonial patriot, already feeling the competition of the new Pictou observer, rapidly lost its influence and circulation. Blanchard’s attempts in 1833 and 1834 to re-establish himself in the estimation of his former friends and admirers were unsuccessful, and in the latter year the Colonial patriot ceased publication.

The Pictou observer, the second paper to challenge the journalistic monopoly of Halifax, was the rival of the Colonial patriot. These new Pictou Scribblers, springing out of the bitterness that followed the election of 1830, sparred with the old in a struggle that ended in the death of both their papers. Their successor, the Pictou Bee, established by James Dawson in the spring of 1835, “to cultivate peace and friendship” between the two factions, held to the middle of the road for two years; but during the crisis in the Canadas in the summer and autumn of 1837 he sheered so far to the left that the Halifax exchange reading-room banned the Bee from its tables. The loss of the Halifax subscription would have been a matter of small concern to Mr. Dawson if his other subscribers had been more considerate in paying their bills. As it was, the action of the reading-room committee brought him one step nearer the point of living “on nothing”. This, as he once informed his readers, was not one of his accomplishments, and the event proved his word. In the spring of 1838 he was forced to sell out to John Stiles, the proprietor of the new Mechanic and farmer, the
fourth paper to be published in Pictou. In the same spring, the old *Pictou observer* came to life again, its tory opinions unchanged. The editor, John McKenzie, rejoiced that he was able to resume his labours "on the eve of a Royal Maiden's Coronation", and well he might have, for the tide of loyalty that rose so strongly in Nova Scotia in that year carried him, as it carried the editors of the Halifax *Times*, beyond the uncertain thirties.

The example set by eastern Nova Scotia was soon followed by western Nova Scotia. If the Scots needed to air their views and grievances, why then, so did the sons of the first New Englanders and not a few of the later loyalists. The democratic spirit of old America could burn as fiercely as the radical fire of old Scotland. Yarmouth, the chief sea-port of the west, came near to having a paper before Pictou. In June, 1827, Mr. Younghusband of Saint John, New Brunswick, issued a prospectus for the *Yarmouth advocate*, but, for one reason or another, his hopes "died in the bud". A native of the town, like Herbert Huntington for instance, might have succeeded where an outsider failed. Huntington, however, was less interested in the pen than he was in the public forum of the assembly, where his fellow townsmen sent him in 1830. So long as local talent held back, outside journalists, experienced and inexperienced, were bound to come in. Yarmouth and the large surrounding district, increasing in prosperity and population year by year, presented a promising market for publications. Messrs. L'Estrange and Jackson, the proprietors of the *Bermuda gazette*, were the first to enter it. Their *Yarmouth telegram*, which began publication in November, 1831, lasted for less than a year. Whether this was owing to the personal incompatibility of the publishers, who dissolved their partnership in July, 1832, or to the fact that their views were not in tune with public sentiment cannot be determined with certainty, but ensuing events point to the latter reason. The gentleman who issued a prospectus of a "very respectable" periodical in September, 1832, apparently had cause to think better of his intentions, but this was not the case with eighteen-year-old Alexander Lawson, who, arriving in Yarmouth in the summer of 1833, promised to discuss politics "in a liberal and manly spirit". Fresh from his apprenticeship in the *Colonial patriot* office at Pictou, Lawson succeeded in striking the right chord in Yarmouth. The voice of his *Yarmouth herald* became the voice of western Nova Scotia and he was still its editor at the age of eighty. E.K. Allen, his contemporary in Windsor, another pre-revolutionary town, was not so successful. Allen's *Hants and King's county gazette*, established in October, 1832, was a fairly independent advocate of moderate reform measures, but the competition of the Halifax papers (the capital was only forty-five miles distant from Windsor) put it out of business within two years. More outspoken views on reform might have prolonged its life because the spirit of pre-revolutionary New
England was as prevalent in the Annapolis valley as it was in Yarmouth. Another interesting test of public opinion in the latter district came in 1839, when Richard Huntington’s new *Yarmouth conservative* failed in six months.49

Two papers were also published in Cape Breton during the 1830’s. The first was established in 1832, when “A Society of Gentlemen” in Sydney, estimating the population of the island at 30,000, expected that they would find sufficient subscribers for their new paper, the *Cape Breton herald.*50 Although they announced that their interests were with the people and, as if to prove this, asked a country man, N.H. Martin of St. Peters, to become their editor, it soon became evident that they were more concerned with the promotion of their tory principles. Their paper, which began publication in June, 1832, continued until the following January when it suddenly succumbed. This early failure of a newspaper promoted by the established gentlemen of Sydney did not deter C.R. Ward and his partner, Mr. Haire, two young men of liberal ideas, from immediately bringing out another in its place. That their *Cape Bretonian*, which, when it appeared in the spring of 1833, was hailed by Joseph Howe as a “neat and spirited little Paper”,51 continued publication for well over a year, and perhaps went beyond that, fairly indicates the temper and the poverty of the Scots in Cape Breton during the 1830’s.52

The short surveys of the press in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island that now follow suggest conclusions that are strikingly similar to those already outlined for Nova Scotia. In both provinces, but particularly in New Brunswick, the reform papers were the most successful, although again it is evident that the period following 1836 was an auspicious time for the beginning of tory journals in the Maritime Provinces. Beyond this general similarity in the experience of journalists, and the fact that the majority of the editors seem to have been young natives of the country, local characteristics naturally made a distinction between the presses of the three colonies.

In New Brunswick, where commerce vied with loyalty for prominence in the press, at least fifteen new papers were published between 1811 and 1840. Three came out in the capital city: The *Fredericton watchman* [1833], the *Conservative* [1835], and the *New Brunswick sentinel* [1837]. The others, established in Saint John, Saint Andrews, Miramichi, and Woodstock, appeared in the following order: *Saint John courier* [1812], *Saint John star* [1818] which became the *Weekly observer* in 1828, *Saint Andrews herald* [1819], *Miramichi mercury* [1825] which became the *Miramichi gleaner* in 1829, *British colonist* (Saint John, 1827), *Saint Andrews courant* [1830], *Saint Andrews standard* [1833], *Woodstock times* [1837], *Weekly chronicle* (Saint John, 1837), *Saint John news* [1838],
Another paper which, in age at least, belonged to this group of new era publications was the City gazette of Saint John, which began publication in 1811. The only survivor of the earlier pre-war journals was the old Royal gazette at Fredericton.

The journalists of New Brunswick, who were remarkably dispassionate in their political outlook during the 1820's, when they received no reports on the debates in Fredericton and were solely engrossed in the affairs of commerce, did not discuss public affairs with spirit until stirred by the revenue disputes in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1830. Following that momentous year, the citizens of Saint John, where all, or nearly all, the liberal papers of the 1830's were published, made arrangements to have legislative reports sent from Fredericton to the Saint John papers.54

The liberal editors in New Brunswick, like their opposite numbers in Nova Scotia, soon discovered that opposition to authority was good business for journalists in the 1830's. John Hooper of the Saint John British colonist said that he secured a hundred new subscriptions after his announcement in the autumn of 1830 that the attorney-general intended to prosecute him for libel.55 Although less than a year after his trial in January, 1831, “Patriot Hooper” departed for England,56 his spirited successor continued to attack the authorities. It is known that the British colonist was still very much alive in 1835, but how long it continued after that date is not evident in the papers of Nova Scotia.57 The second Saint John paper to profit by the expression of Liberal principles was the Saint John courier which, after the publication of outstanding reform articles in 1832, became the most popular journal in the country.58 The Courier, along with the third liberal paper in Saint John, the Weekly observer, successfully maintained publication throughout the 1830's.

The tory and independent press in New Brunswick was also affected by the changes in public opinion. As early as August, 1831, Peter Stubbs, Sr., resigned as editor of the Saint Andrews herald, acknowledging that “his political principles” were no longer in accordance with “those of the great body of the people of the Province”. Because of this, it seems, he was ready to give over the paper to his son.59 It seems doubtful, however, whether young Mr. Stubbs accepted the offer of his father. As no further references to the paper appear after 1831, the probability is that the Saint Andrews courant, which had come out in the previous year, was the only publication in town until 1833, when it, in turn, apparently gave way to the Saint Andrews standard.60 Little can be gleaned in the Nova Scotian press about the political leanings of the editors of the Courant and the Herald. Like not a few of their contemporaries, their interests seem to have been mainly commercial. If this was truly the case, there is every reason to believe that
five tory or independent papers failed in New Brunswick before 1837: two at Saint Andrews, the *Herald* and the *Courant*; one at Saint John, the *City gazette*, which after several shifts in management in the early 1830's, ceased publication in 1835; two at Fredericton, the *Watchman* which appeared in 1833 and disappeared in 1835 and the *Conservative* which came out in 1835 and may have lasted a year or two. The only tory or independent papers definitely known to have reached the year 1837 were the *Royal gazette* at Fredericton, the *Miramichi gleaner* (commercial), and the *Saint Andrews standard*. They were then joined by the *New Brunswick sentinel* (tory), the *Weekly chronicle* (tory), and the *Woodstock Times* (probably tory), and all six were swept into the 1840's on the high tide of New Brunswick loyalty that arose after the Canadian rebellions. The three papers established after 1837 may have been affected by the same tide. Nothing more than the name is known of the *Saint John news*; but the *Saint John herald* (tory) and the *Saint John Commercial news* [the first penny paper in the Maritime Provinces] both carried on into the 1840's.61

The survey of the press in Prince Edward Island may be briefly stated. The three, or perhaps four, papers of the 1830's were all published in the capital where men's thoughts were thoroughly preoccupied with politics. Although it has been said that James Bagnall, a native of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, "continued to print and publish newspapers" from the early years of the nineteenth century until 1843,62 all evidence points to the fact that he left the field of political journalism, at least, in or before 1830.63 After August, 1830, at any rate, the only papers in Charlottetown were: the *Prince Edward Island register* (1823) which was published as the *Royal gazette* after August 17, 1830, the *Prince Edward Island times* (1836), and the *Colonial herald* (1837).64

James Haszard, the editor of the *Royal gazette* during the 1830's, was the first native of Prince Edward Island to become a local journalist. Twenty-six years old when he began the *Prince Edward Island register* in 1823, he was soon in the thick of the troubled politics that disturbed the island throughout the 1820's. Heedless of the warnings of Lieutenant-Governor Smith, he continued to urge reform with all the vim and vigour of youth. His official appointment as king's printer, however, proved to be more effective than the official advice, with the result that Prince Edward Island lacked an independent organ of the press until William Rankin established the liberal *Prince Edward Island times* in 1836. The following year, J.B. Cooper, an Englishman, began the *Colonial herald*. It is not certain, but it is quite possible, that Cooper wished to offset the influence of Rankin. Little is known about either of the papers, but it appears that they both hurdled the last years of the 1830's without difficulty.65

One final group of papers which, with a few exceptions, have not yet
been mentioned, are the religious periodicals that were published in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the post-war period. Nothing need be said about them beyond the fact that, instead of calming the troubled waters of politics, most of them added the explosive elements inherent in the religious and educational issues of the day. The following list includes quarters, monthlies, semi-monthlies, as well as weeklies: The Philanthropist or Nova Scotia religious and political register (Halifax, 1824), the Baptist missionary magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Saint John, 1828), the New Brunswick religious and literary journal (1829), the New Brunswick monthly and Christian intelligencer (Anglican, Saint John, 1830), the Wesleyan Methodist magazine (Halifax, 1832), the Baptist missionary magazine (Halifax, 1832), the Colonial churchman (Anglican, Lunenburg, 1835), the Christian gleaner (Halifax, 1835), the Christian messenger and repository (Baptist, Halifax, 1837), the Christian Reporter (Saint John, 1837), the Guardian (Church of Scotland, Halifax, 1838).

The powerful influence that the newspapers exerted on the life of the Maritime Provinces during the 1830’s was the direct result of their new and widespread popularity. As they had many more readers than subscribers, editors usually spoke in the most general terms when commenting on circulation, but it is clear that an extraordinary change had taken place in the reading habits of the people in the previous decade. When the Novascotian began publication late in 1824, only two persons out of three thousand took newspapers in the district of Mabou, Cape Breton, yet less than eight years later, Howe claimed an almost complete coverage for the Novascotian:

Under the able management of our predecessor the Novascotian had acquired a large circulation, which has gone on rapidly and steadily increasing, until it has attained an extent far beyond our most sanguine expectations; and is equalled, we believe, by no Journal in British America. In the adjoining colonies of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island alone, nearly three hundred are taken; and in our own Province, there is scarcely a village where it is not as freely circulated as in Town; hardly a hamlet or cross road, however obscure, into which it does not weekly find its way. The merchant reads it to his customers round the counter; the smith drops his hammer for a reference to its pages; and it passes from hand to hand, around each farmer’s fire all over the broad bosom of the country whose name it bears. What we now write we know will be read far and wide by thousands....

The general scramble to scan the news during periods of political excitement has already been illustrated, but little or nothing has been said of the more common coming together of small groups of people to read and
discuss the newspapers. An excellent word picture of such significant gatherings appears in a letter written by an enthusiastic reader of the Colonial patriot: “Generally on the evening after the paper comes to hand, a few of the neighbours assemble in my house, and, after our homely and heartfelt compliments are exchanged, a reader is appointed, who after drawing his chair up to the head of the table, trimming the candle, coughing, and clearing his throat, unceremoniously bawls out ‘Silence’ – and immediately all are attention. After the reading is over, then come the remarks....”

Here was adult education a century ago, when newspapers came like manna from heaven to a people hungry for cultural and social enlightenment, economic information, and political intelligence, and, what was more, ready and willing to respond to the pleas and suggestions of their favourite editors.

Reflecting as well as influencing the life of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830’s, the newspapers are unrivalled sources of information for the student of the period, whatever his interests. The social historian, whose other sources are scant, will probably find them the most useful. In their pages, he will catch, as nowhere else, the strong spirit of local patriotism, intellectual curiosity, and religious bitterness that dominated the lives of the people. The economic historian, while less dependent on newspapers, will not complete his story until he has read their detailed descriptions of the deep valleys of depression and high peaks of prosperity that alternately discouraged and heartened editors and correspondents. The political historian likewise must use newspapers as well as documents, if he wishes to follow all the variations of the reform movement and all the impressions on local thinking made by the ideas of European revolutionists, British reformers, American democrats, and Canadian radicals, or if he desires to understand why the great majority of the people in the Atlantic provinces disapproved of the Canadian appeal to force in 1837, why most of them were suspicious of Lord Durham’s scheme of colonial union, and why some of them saw in their own provinces a great social, economic, and political future.
Appendix
Extant Files of Newspapers Published in the Maritime Provinces during the 1830’s

NOVA SCOTIA

Newspapers preserved in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Legislative Library, Halifax:

Acadian - 1834 (scattered issues) [L.L.]
Acadian recorder - 1830-9 [L.L. and P.A.N.S]
Acadian telegraph - 1836-7 [L.L.]
Cape Bretonian - 1834 (Feb.-Aug.) [P.A.N.S]
Christian messenger - 1837-9 [L.L. and P.A.N.S.]
Colonial churchman - 1836-9 [L.L.]
Free press - 1830 (Jan.-May), 1834 (Jan.-April) [P.A.N.S.]
Guardian - 1838-9 [L.L. and P.A.N.S.]
Halifax journal - 1830, 1831, 1832, 1839 (issues missing in each year) [P.A.N.S.], 1831-2 [L.L.]
Hants & Kings county gazette - 1832 (third issue), 1834 (Jan.-Sept.) [P.A.N.S.]
Novascotian - 1830-9 [P.A.N.S.], 1830-4, 1836-9 [L.L.]
Nova Scotia royal gazette - 1830-9 [L.L.], scattered issues [P.A.N.S]
[Pictou] Bee - 1835-8 [L.L.]
Pictou observer - 1832 (Jan.-Oct.), 1833, 1838-9 [L.L.]
Times - 1834-9 [L.L.], 1834, 1836-9 [P.A.N.S.]
Weekly mirror - 1835-6 [L.L.]

Neither the Archives nor the Legislative Library have any files of the following papers which were noted in the pages of their contemporaries: Cape Breton herald, Conservative (Yarmouth), Farmer and mechanic, Mechanic and farmer (Pictou), Temperance recorder, Yarmouth herald, Yarmouth telegram, or any of the various religious publications mentioned on page 46.

NEW BRUNSWICK


Christian reporter - 1837, 1839 [N.B.M.]
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Newspapers preserved in the Legislative and Public Library, Charlottetown: 73

NOTES
1 D.C. Harvey, “The intellectual awakening of Nova Scotia” [Dalhousie review, xiii, April, 1933]. The wide background of Professor Harvey's general knowledge has been a source of continual inspiration and fact during the preparation of this article.
2 A few stage coaches, but no steamships, ran for short distances before 1828.
3 See appendix for lists and dates of papers.
4 The total number of subscribers of these three publications in 1800 is said to have
been no more than two thousand (J.J. Stewart, “Early journalism in Nova Scotia”, *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vi, 91-122). In his survey of the early papers in Nova Scotia, Mr. Stewart lists the following: in Halifax, *Halifax gazette* which first appeared in 1752 and later became the *Royal gazette*, *Nova Scotia chronicle and weekly advertiser* (1769-70) which was merged with the *Gazette* in 1770, *Halifax journal* (1781-“about” 1870), *Weekly chronicle* (1786-1826) which became the *Acadian* in 1827 and seems to have continued until the spring of 1837, *Nova Scotia gazette and weekly advertiser* (1801-6), *Halifax telegram* (1807-?), *Novater* (1809-10); in Lunenburg, one paper, printed in German (1787-8); in Shelburne, *Royal American gazette*, which had been published in New York during the American Revolution, *Port Roseway gazette and the Shelburne advertiser* which began publication at Shelburne in 1784, *Nova Scotia packet and general advertiser* which was first issued in 1785. All three had ceased publication before the close of the century.

5 *Royal St. John gazette and Nova Scotia intelligencer* (1783) which became *Royal New Brunswick gazette and general advertiser* in 1784 and, after several further changes in name, finally moved to Fredericton in 1814 as *New Brunswick royal gazette*, *St. John gazette and weekly advertiser* (1785-1807), *New Brunswick chronicle* (1804), *Fredericton journal or telegraph*? (1806), *Gazette and New Brunswick advertiser* (1808?-15?), *City gazette and general advertiser* (1811-35). This list was compiled from information supplied by Dr. A.G. Bailey of the New Brunswick Museum, Miss Estelle Vaughan of the Saint John Free Public Library, and Miss Doreen Harper of the Legislative Library at Fredericton.

6 *Royal commercial gazette and intelligencer* (1787-90 or before); *Royal gazette and miscellany of the island of St. John* (1791-1800 or before); *Royal herald* (1800-?; “some years”); *Recorder* (1811-25). James Bagnall who conducted the *Recorder* first issued his *Royal gazette* in 1826. With the exception of this last date, which was found in the *Novascotian*, April 19, 1826, the above information was taken from W.L. Cotton, “The Press in Prince Edward Island” (*Past and present of Prince Edward Island*, B.F. Bowen & Co., Charlottetown, n.d.).

7 The name of each of these papers will be found in the subsequent text and notes.

8 The average subscription rate was 15s. a year, plus 2s. 6d. for postage.

9 *Colonial patriot*, Nov. 18, 1829. He was freed owing to the “friendly interposition” of some faithful supporters.

10 *Bee*, June 15, 1836.

11 *Novascotian*, Aug. 7, 1834. Some of Howe’s accounts at this time were of five and even six years’ standing.

12 *Acadian recorder*, June 20, 1835. John S. Thompson, when pro tem. editor of the *Novascotian* in 1838, referred to the *Public ledger* as a paper “generally, if not uniformly, opposed to the politics” of the assembly (*Novascotian*, Aug. 30).

13 *Novascotian*, June 25, 1835. Mr. Parsons was not only sentenced to three months in prison, but ordered to remain there until he had paid a fine of £50. Chief Justice
Boulton was particularly noted for his loyal speeches when fired with the wine of patriotism that flowed so freely when the good gentlemen of Saint John's gathered to dine (Acadian recorder, May 7 and 28, 1836).

14 Colonial patriot, July 22, 1829. Dr. McCulloch's editorials were marked by his son, William McCulloch, in the files of the Colonial patriot that were presented to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia by Miss Isabella McCulloch of Truro, Nova Scotia. Jotham Blanchard once wrote that McCulloch suggested the name of Colonial patriot as being better than the Pictou patriot (Colonial patriot, Jan. 5, 1833).

15 Direct quotations from the New Brunswick press with added comments of the Nova Scotian editors will be found in Acadian recorder, Nov. 27, 1830, Jan. 29, March 5, 1831; Novascotian, Jan. 27, 1831; Colonial patriot, Jan. 29, 1831.

16 This letter signed by "the People" appeared in the Novascotian, Jan. 1, 1835. All the press in the Maritime Provinces carried reports of Howe's trial in the following March.

17 Novascotian, Jan. 27, 1831, Nov. 15 and 22, 1832.

18 Ibid., Jan. 18, 1838.

19 There was steamship service between Pictou, Nova Scotia, and Charlottetown during the 1830's.

20 Quoted in the Novascotian, Sept. 25, 1828.

21 Ibid., Jan. 2, 1840.

22 Ibid., June 2, 1831. He published 160 columns on the debates in the first session of 1830, and over a hundred more during the second, which began late in 1830 and continued into 1831, to say nothing of the pages given to election speeches, legislative reviews, and editorials, all originally written in his own hand.

23 Colonial patriot, April 30, 1833. The letter was addressed to the editors of both papers and a copy sent to each.

24 Novascotian, May 6, 1830.

25 Times, Feb. 27, 1838.

26 Novascotian, April 3, 1828.


28 J. Murray Lawson, Yarmouth, past and present (Yarmouth, N.s., 1902), 18. Also Acadian recorder, Sept. 28, 1839.

29 George Patterson, A history of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia (Montreal, 1877), 384-5.

30 Acadian recorder, May 19, 1832.

31 Ibid., Oct. 27, 1821.

32 Ibid., Dec. 30, 1837.

33 Even the size of their paper was smaller in 1838. This was probably owing to the loss of subscribers whose views had coincided with the moderate opinions of Philip Holland.

34 Novascotian, Dec. 27, 1827.
Martell: 'The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's'


36 Patterson, History of county of Pictou, 377. Patterson quotes Howe as saying: “The Pictou Scribblers have converted me from the error of my ways.”

37 Novascotian, Oct. 28, 1830.

38 Colonial patriot, April 24, 1830.

39 On January 7, 1834, Ward told the readers of his Free press that he would soon give them a special department on temperance, and a month later on February 11, he announced that he would devote all his talents to the popular movement which then had “at least 10,000” adherents.

40 Beyond Kuhn’s prospectus in the Novascotian, Aug. 29, 1839, and in other papers, no reference to the Haligonian has been found.

41 Bee, May 2, 1838. James Dawson was the father of Sir William Dawson.

42 Ibid., Nov. 15 and Dec. 27, 1837.

43 Ibid., Oct. 19, 1836.

44 John McKenzie was not the Rev. Kenneth John McKenzie, a prolific Pictou scribe, who died in 1838.

45 Lawson, Yarmouth, past and present, 9. The prospectus appeared in the Novascotian, June 28, 1827.

46 The first issue appeared on November 25, 1831, and the last on October 26, 1832.

47 Acadian recorder, Sept. 29, 1832.

48 The last issue found was dated September 22, 1834.

49 George Brown, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia [Boston, 1888], 352. Richard Huntington was not a brother, but a cousin of Herbert Huntington, and on the other side of the political fence.

50 Their prospectus, published in the Novascotian, May 24, 1832, estimated that Cape Breton had increased in population by some 18,000 people in the past fifteen years.

51 Novascotian, May 9, 1833.

52 Cape Bretonian, Aug. 2, 1834. Publication was suspended with this issue, but resumed in the following October. The Acadian recorder, Oct. 25, 1834, suggests that C.R. Ward carried on alone after that date.

53 The publisher of the Commercial news, G.E. Fenety, was formerly an apprentice in the office of Joseph Howe.

54 See above, p. 8.

55 Hooper’s editorial was quoted in the Acadian recorder, Nov. 27, 1830.

56 Novascotian, Dec. 15, 1831.

57 Ibid., March 19, 1835, letter from “T.S.” of Kentville.

58 Ibid., Feb. 5, 1835, another letter from “T.S.”

59 Ibid., Aug. 25, 1831.

60 No reference to the Courant was found after 1833.

61 Lawson, Yarmouth, past and present, 18.

The papers that James Bagnall published between 1810 and 1830 were the *Recorder* (1811-26), *Royal gazette* (1826-8 or 1830), *Phoenix* (1828).

The proposal of J.H. White to establish the *British American* in Charlottetown was noted in the *Novascotian*, July 21, 1831, but no mention of its appearance was found.

Cotton, “The Press in Prince Edward Island”.

Few files of these publications are extant. References to them were found mostly in the *Novascotian* and the *Acadian recorder*.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Agricultural papers*, William McKeen of Mabou to John Young, Feb. 11, 1825. John Young, well known as “Agricola”, was the father of G.R. Young, the first proprietor of the *Novascotian*.

*Novascotian*, March 1, 1832.

See above, p. 11.

*Colonial patriot*, March 28, 1828.

For documentary evidence, see notes and documents section of this issue.

This list was compiled from information forwarded by Dr. A.G. Bailey and Miss Hazel Hunter of the Museum, Miss Estelle Vaughan of the Free Public Library, and Miss Doreen Harper of the Legislative Library.

This detailed list was compiled by Miss Jean Gill, librarian at Charlottetown.