

# “A Tale of Two Cities:” Boosterism and the Imagination of Community during the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John and Halifax in 1860

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[See table of contents](#)

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## Article abstract

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## **“A Tale of Two Cities:” Boosterism and the Imagination of Community during the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John and Halifax in 1860**

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### **Abstract:**

**A phalanx of politicians, newspaper editors, and leading citizens in Saint John and Halifax used the royal visit of 1860 to promote their respective communities to the Prince of Wales and his entourage of British statesmen and reporters. Halifax boosters used the city's status as a provincial capital to impress their international visitors. The Prince and his royal retinue were regaled with a levee, a grand ball, a regatta, numerous military displays, and an excursion to the Prince's Lodge. Organizers in Saint John used a different promotional strategy. They presented their city as a viable commercial centre and insisted that the Prince cross the Reversing Falls Suspension Bridge and ride the European and North American railway line to Shédiac. The Prince was also shown how to manufacture deals at a local sawmill. The response to these spectacles was decidedly mixed. While some British and American press correspondents praised the boosters' efforts and the cities themselves, others were quick to ridicule or criticize Halifax and Saint John. Nonetheless, an analysis of the boosters' promotional strategies reveals how they “imagined” their communities to local and international audiences as well as to themselves. Moreover, their efforts illustrate how segments of the urban middle class used this celebration to construct favourable images of their communities to attract international attention and thereby political prestige and economic investment.**

### **Résumé:**

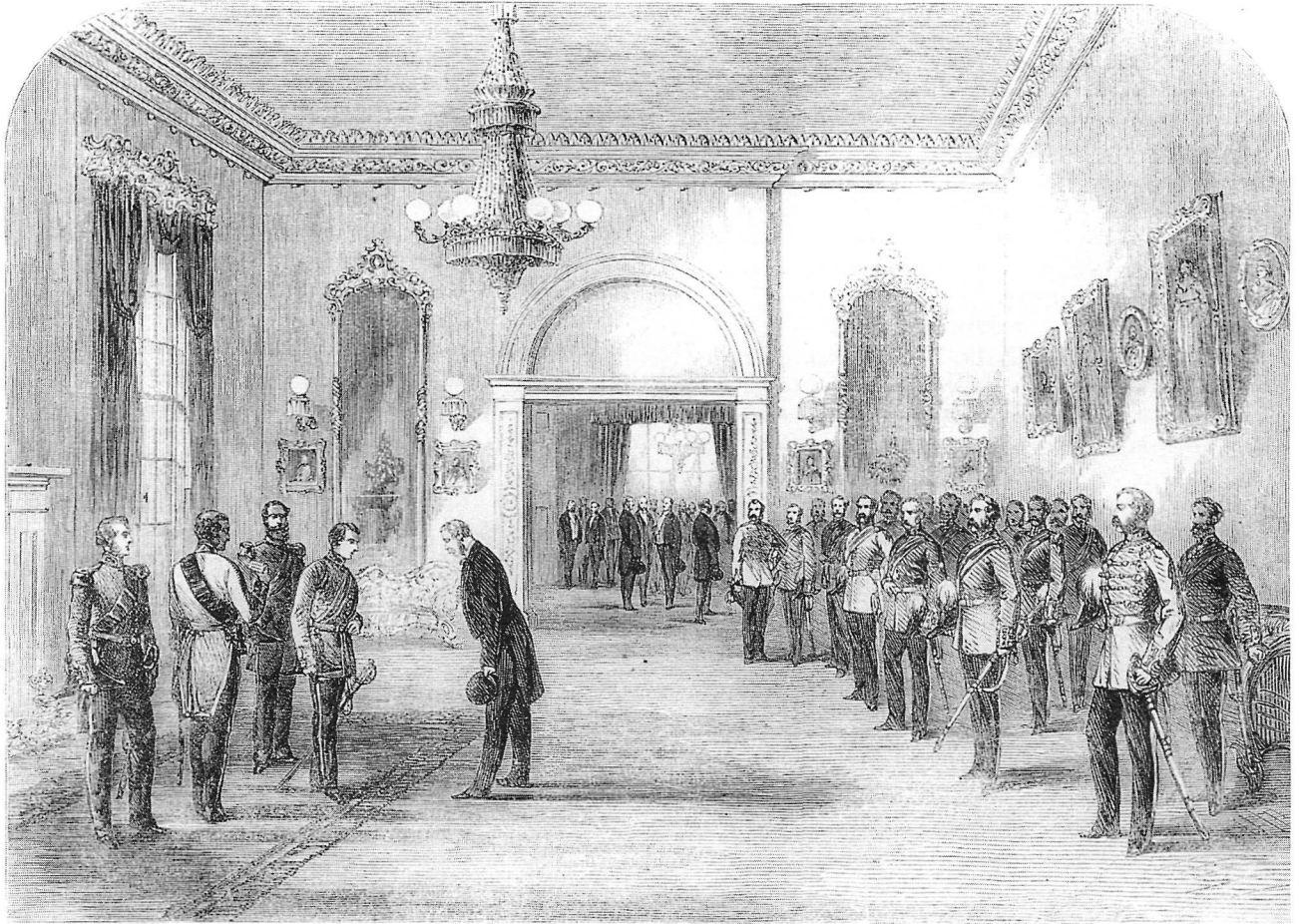
**Un « commando » de politiciens, d'éditeurs de journaux et de citoyens de premier plan des villes de Saint John et Halifax ont profité de la visite royale de 1860 pour faire valoir les attraits de leurs communautés respectives au prince de Galles et à son entourage d'hommes d'État britanniques et de journalistes. Les supporters de Halifax ont misé sur le statut de capitale provinciale de leur ville pour impressionner les visiteurs étrangers. Ils ont organisé pour le prince et la suite royale une réception, un grand bal, des régates, diverses exhibitions à caractère militaire et une excursion qui s'est terminée à l'hôtel où logeait le prince. À Saint John, les organisateurs des festivités ont axé différemment leur stratégie promotionnelle. Ils ont fait valoir que leur ville était un centre de commerce rentable et ont insisté auprès du prince pour qu'il emprunte le pont suspendu au-dessus des chutes réversibles et qu'il voyage dans un train de la European & North American Line jusqu'à Shédiac. Le prince a également eu droit à un cours sur la fabrication des madriers dans une scierie locale. Ces célébrations ont provoqué des réactions nettement mitigées. Si certains correspondants de presse anglais**

**et américains ont loué les efforts de promotion des élites locales, d'autres ont été prompts à ridiculiser ou à critiquer Halifax et Saint John. Néanmoins, une analyse des stratégies promotionnelles utilisées à cette occasion révèle comment les supporters des deux villes en sont venus à donner aux publics locaux et internationaux ainsi qu'à eux-mêmes un portrait de leurs communautés qui était le fruit de leur imagination. En outre, leurs efforts illustrent de quelle manière des segments de la classe moyenne urbaine ont utilisé ces célébrations pour inventer des images favorables de leurs villes afin d'attirer sur elles l'attention internationale et du même coup, rehausser leur prestige politique et y stimuler les investissements.**

Nineteenth-century inhabitants of Saint John and Halifax caught their first glimpse of the Heir Apparent in 1860, as Prince Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales, visited various parts of the colonies and the United States as part of a cross-continental tour. Of what scholarly value is this much-publicized visit? Political historians might use the tour to measure the nature and extent of patriotism and royalism in the colonies at mid-century.<sup>1</sup> This study, however, will analyze the visit as a vehicle of local boosterism. Boosterism is usually associated with the rise of Western Canadian cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,<sup>2</sup> but C.M. Wallace and D.A. Sutherland have shown that boosters also promoted the growth of Maritime cities in the mid-Victorian period.<sup>3</sup> This paper argues that an examination of the boosters' promotional strategies during the visit, as well as the logistics of their efforts will shed light on how a phalanx of politicians, newspaper editors, and leading citizens chose to imagine themselves, both on a local level and to an international community. This process of civic construction will provide important insights into the 19th-century rivalry between middle-class boosters in Saint John and Halifax, as they jockeyed for position in the race for the urban leadership of the East. In this sense, the visit is a case-study of the “politics of prestige,” both on a regional and local level.<sup>4</sup>

Much has been written recently on the “imagining” of nation, and its intersection with empire.<sup>5</sup> What, however, of the imagining of local communities? Benedict Anderson, in his seminal work *Imagined Communities*, notes that “In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined.”<sup>6</sup> Homi K. Bhabha also acknowledges that “... it is the city which provides the space in which emergent identifications and new social movements of the people are played out. It is there that, in our own time, the perplexity of the living is most acutely experienced.”<sup>7</sup> How can festivals and ceremonials, like the visit, contribute to the negotiation and promotion of community? Alessandro Falassi argues that “the primary and most general function of the festival is to ... renew the life stream of a community, by creating new

*"A Tale of Two Cities"*



***Presentations to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales at Government House, Halifax. Illustrated London News, 1 September 1860, p. 235. Print Collection=de Volpi NS #101. Courtesy, Charles P. De Volpi Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Libraries.***

energy, and to give sanction to its institutions."<sup>8</sup> Most interesting about the visit is that the residents in Saint John and Halifax chose to give sanction to very different institutions, reflecting distinctive "styles" of community (image)ning. Anderson comments that "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the *style* in which they are imagined."<sup>9</sup> How did the boosters of Saint John and Halifax portray their communities to local and international audiences? C.M. Wallace, in his analysis of 19th-century boosters in Saint John, argues that Saint Johners used the Prince's visit to parade their "commerce, capacity and capabilities before visitors," whereas Haligonians relied on their "institutions, conventions and scenery" to impress strangers.<sup>10</sup> It is the contention of this paper that these different styles and promotional strategies reflect the diverging civic (middle-class) cultures which were emerging in Saint John and Halifax at mid-century. Drawing on their own cultural currencies, boosters in Saint John and Halifax hoped to impress not only the royal visitor, but important British statesmen

who would be accompanying him, such as the secretary of state, the Duke of Newcastle, who was the Prince's personal companion during the tour. Visiting press representatives from such influential papers as the *London Times*, the *New York Tribune*, the *Toronto Leader*,<sup>11</sup> and illustrated papers, such as *Reynold's* and *Lloyd's*, would also be broadcasting their impressions of the colonies to an international community. As Anderson has noted, print-capitalism "... made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate themselves to others in profoundly new ways."<sup>12</sup> Despite the enthusiasm of local boosters, the visit was not an entirely successful promotional endeavour; international correspondents published rather arrogant and demeaning impressions of the Maritime colonies. Nonetheless, an analysis of the visit still provides many important insights into the defining characteristics of local cultures and class agendas, and also shows us the Victorians' confidence in ceremonials as instrumental

## ***“A Tale of Two Cities”***

mediums. Surely this is an indication that we should take such festivities more seriously.

Saint John and Halifax were the major urban and commercial centres in the Maritimes at mid century. Saint John's merchant community engaged aggressively and competitively in an international timber trade and ship-building industry, moulding the city's reputation as "the Liverpool of North America."<sup>13</sup> Although Halifax also enjoyed a lively salt-fish trade and general import trade,<sup>14</sup> one Haligonian noted in comparing Halifax with Saint John: "Both cities engage largely in commerce, but in our city it holds a secondary place, in the other it is everything."<sup>15</sup> Saint John (including Portland) also boasted a larger population at mid century, growing from 31,174 to 38,000 between 1851 and 1861, compared to Halifax, which stood at slightly over 25,000 in 1861.<sup>16</sup> Despite Saint John's commercial and numerical prominence, Halifax's status as the political and administrative centre of Nova Scotia diversified its array of public buildings and governmental institutions. A large British garrison and naval yard also profoundly affected the nature of the city's social life, as officers became entrenched in the ranks of the local elite. Nicholas Augustus Woods of the *London Times* commented that the presence of the garrison and the naval station "secures to the inhabitants of Halifax more of what is termed 'good society' than can be found in any other of the provinces."<sup>17</sup> Rank-and-file soldiers, comprising close to 25% of the resident male population, also generated a distinctive soldier-town at the base of Citadel Hill. Sailors and fishermen similarly contributed to the creation of a sailortown along the city's waterfront area.<sup>18</sup>

Saint John had military detachments at the Saint John Armoury, but the capital city of Fredericton functioned as the official centre of the military, educational, religious, and political establishments in New Brunswick. Many Saint John residents took great pride in being anti-establishment ('anti-Fredericton'), providing the headquarters for the 'low-Church' Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics. Saint John merchant-politicians also cultivated an opposition to provincial politicians in Fredericton.<sup>19</sup> But while Fredericton often hindered the plans of the Saint John boosters, Halifax was their main commercial and political competitor.

Who comprised the ranks of the boosters in Saint John and Halifax during the Prince's visit? Representatives ranged from the official celebration committees, to local entrepreneurs and businessmen, to private citizens. In Halifax, residents initially appointed a large executive committee charged with laying the foundations of the celebration. This committee consisted of all levels of government and a coterie of community leaders (merchants, professionals, and newspaper proprietors, among others, Figure 1). Eventually, a more manageable subcommittee of nine was formed to oversee general operations (Figure 2). In addition to the executive committee's program, the Admiral orchestrated the landing ceremony at the Dockyard and the Major-General oversaw other military observances.<sup>20</sup>

### **Figure 1** ***Executive Committee, Celebration of the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax, 1860***

#### **PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT:**

##### ***Members of the N.S. Executive Council:***

Howe, Joseph  
Johnston, James W.  
McCully, Jonathon  
Wier, Benjamin  
Young, William

##### ***Members of the N.S. Legislative Council:***

Almon, Mather Byles  
Kenny, Edward,  
president

##### ***Hon. Members for City and County***

#### **CIVIC GOVERNMENT:**

*Mayor, Caldwell, Samuel*

##### ***Members of the City Council***

Custos  
Sheriff and Recorder

##### ***Magistrates:***

Bliss  
Stewart  
Wilkins

##### **CITIZENS:**

Cochran, James—merchant  
Coleman, William—merchant  
Compton, John T.—editor of *Evening Express*  
Cunard, William—merchant  
Davis, Robert—builder  
Drillio, George—editor of *Daily Reporter*  
Findlay, William—architect  
Kenny, Thomas, sr.—merchant  
McCulloch, John—silversmith  
McKenzie, George—editor of *Halifax Reporter*  
Mitchell, Thomas—founder  
Mott, John P.—Soap and candle manufacturer, Dartmouth  
Northup, Jeremiah—merchant  
Penney, W.—proprietor and publisher of *Halifax Journal*  
Phelan, Cornelius—Lt. in Volunteer Fire Co. No. 1  
Power, Patrick—dry goods merchant  
Ritchie, John W.—barrister  
Robson, Charles—merchant, Dartmouth  
Smithers, George—painter  
Stairs, William—hardware merchant  
Taylor, John—merchant  
Tupper, Charles—physician, MPP  
Uniacke, Andrew M.—barrister  
Walsh, Thomas  
Wetmore, Robert—guilder  
Wilson, James—distiller

Taken from: *Novascotian* 28 May 1860

## “A Tale of Two Cities”

**Figure 2**  
**Tripartite Subcommittee of Nine, Celebration of**  
**the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Halifax, 1860**

**EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT:**

Howe, Joseph  
Young, William  
Wier, Benjamin

**CITY COUNCIL:**

Mayor—Caldwell, Samuel  
Alderman—Bell, Hugh  
Alderman—Twining, William

**CITIZENS:**

Almon, Mather B.  
Tobin, John  
Uniacke, Andrew M.

Taken from: *Novascotian* 4 11 June 1860.

Although the boosters hoped that the visit would bring untold riches and opportunities to themselves and their localities, they could not agree on more “mundane” yet crucial issues, such as financial and logistical responsibilities. A number of prominent Nova Scotia Tories such as John Tobin and Dr. Charles Tupper insisted that the provincial Liberals should bear all of the expenses for the visit, since the event was a provincial affair, and the provincial parliament had unanimously passed an unlimited vote of credit to the Lieutenant Governor for the subsidization of a public reception for the Prince of Wales.<sup>21</sup> The Liberals retorted that those who wanted the city to host the reception and the province to pay for it, had the “most extraordinary ideas of the relative importance and rights of their city in comparison with the rest of the province.”<sup>22</sup> The resolution that Halifax should bear part of the expense was eventually carried by members of the provincial government, including the Reformers Joseph Howe and William Young, and the tripartite subcommittee eventually ironed out civic and provincial responsibilities. The city would provide for the cleaning, ornamentation and illumination of the city streets and civic buildings, the erection of lo-



*The Suspension Bridge over the River St. John, New Brunswick, visited by the Prince of Wales on the 7th of August, with a view of the City of St. John – from a photo by C. Flood. Illustrated London News 8 September 1860, p. 235. Print Collection=de Volpi NB #192. Courtesy Charles P. De Volpi Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Libraries.*

*"A Tale of Two Cities"*



*Halifax, Nova Scotia, Spring Garden Road, looking east, 1860. Arch of General (Major-General Charles) Trollope in honor of the visit of H.R.H. Prince of Wales, Arch designed by Col. Nelson, R.E. PANS N-1253. Courtesy, W.H. Chase Collection, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.*

cal arches, and invitations to neighbouring mayors, while the province was responsible for the renovation and decoration of public buildings, provincial arches, state dinners and the levee.<sup>23</sup> Similar civic and provincial responsibilities were ironed out in Saint John.<sup>24</sup>

The method of fund-raising also generated discord, particularly among private residents. It is important to note that local inhabitants took an active role in debating the logistics of the visit; this shows that the festivity was, in some ways, a negotiated process. In a letter to the editor of the *Evening Express*, "An Economical Citizen" argued that "the poor should be protected, and I think it would be wrong to impose an additional tax on that which he is now bound to pay". A subscription, on the other hand, would "give the men who are now sucking the very vitals of the province dry, a chance to contribute and show their loyalty."<sup>25</sup> "A Right Loyal Citizen" disagreed, feeling that voluntary subscriptions usually fell upon a few liberal individuals who dispensed substantial amounts. This effectively shut out the poor, who, although they wished to contribute, were ashamed to put their meagre gifts beside the larger donations of the affluent. Assessment enabled every citizen to contribute regardless of means, and gave them an interest in the ceremony. The poor

man taxed ten shillings would be called upon for approximately one shilling and three pence for the celebration, about the same amount expended for a night's amusement at Temperance Hall, and the proposed attraction was a three day extravaganza.<sup>26</sup> In any case, both cities eventually ended up levying taxes to pay for the festivities.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the divisions and disagreements over financial and logistical responsibilities, boosters were united in their hopes that knowledge obtained during the visit would dispel general ignorance and popular misconceptions about the colonies,<sup>28</sup> for example the belief in Britain that British North America was covered by a "primitive eternal fog or ice."<sup>29</sup> Local journalists anticipated that increased exposure of the region's natural resources would attract investors and immigrants.<sup>30</sup> The *Morning Journal* foresaw an increase in trade, tourism, and enterprise emanating from a good showing during the visit:

Halifax will be no longer in the newspaper world, dreary, deserted, drowsy Halifax, but vigorous, loyal, enterprising Halifax. ... That we leaped over many years of waiting (waiting, we are sorry to say, with folded hands), in the three days

## "A Tale of Two Cities"

which His Royal Highness remained in our city, there can be no doubt.<sup>31</sup>

The visit was also an opportunity to fulfil certain political objectives. Royalists believed that the visit would promote a greater attachment to the Throne and a sense of imperial brotherhood.<sup>32</sup> It was also thought that the Prince's tour of the United States would enhance the relationship between British North America, the United States, and Great Britain,<sup>33</sup> and help to unify the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world. The press also mentioned the potential of the visit to promote a union of the British North American provinces, and ironically, to reinforce the distinctive identity of each province.<sup>34</sup>

How effective were the boosters' efforts? Both cities took great steps to impress their visitors. Halifax's celebration committee requested that the mayor and city council clean up the city streets prior to the visit.<sup>35</sup> Halifax and Saint John were dirty port cities with open sewers and polluted gutters. In the summer, the inhabitants were smothered in dust, and when it rained they were knee-deep in mud. Although mid century saw a good deal of building in stone and brick, both cities were still composed primarily of unpainted and dingy wooden buildings.<sup>36</sup> Residents generated various suggestions for cleaning up the two cities, such as painting and liming the buildings, imposing fines for littering, doing away with night watchmen and hiring the men to clean up the streets, and even carting the mud away to be recycled as manure.<sup>37</sup> As one Saint John poet put it:

Take warning, all you Council men;  
Have all the cats removed.  
Exert yourselves, and try and get  
Portland and Town improved.  
Remove the rubbish off the Square,  
Improve and clean the streets;  
Neglect it not, for he is coming -@EXCERPT LT MD =  
Coming his friends to greet.  
Exert yourselves, I say again,  
Oh, paint our City Hall;  
Fix up our mighty Station House  
Where we will have our ball.  
And when you have your work all done,  
Let not your spirits fall,  
Each and every one of us  
Shall answer to your call.  
I think that our most worthy Mayor,  
Surrounded by men like you,  
Could ornament our City Square,  
Oh, do then put it through.  
Make everything appear so grand;  
Improve our City Gaol;  
Neglect it not, for he is coming-@EXCERPT LT BT =  
Good, Royal Prince of Wales.<sup>38</sup>

Private citizens again contributed to the discourse surrounding the visit by voicing concern over the planned procession route in Halifax. After landing at the Dockyard, the Prince was to proc-

ess along Water Street, through Granville to Morton's Corner, by George Street to Barrington, and then to the Government House. Some questioned why the Dockyard and Water Street had to be used, when other colonial cities were showing their best frontages, (i.e., Prince William Street in Saint John). One correspondent went so far as to suggest that they should exhibit as little of Halifax as possible.<sup>39</sup>

Water Street, running parallel to the Dockyard, had been the main commercial thoroughfare of Halifax, but by 1841 was being challenged by Granville Street and later Hollis Street.<sup>40</sup> By 1860, Water Street had become part of sailortown, with its narrow thoroughfare, crowded alleyways, unseemly odours, and grogeries and nautical shops.<sup>41</sup> Unlike Granville Street, which was rebuilt in the early 60's to "uniform architectural designs in freestone and cast iron with Italianate detailing,"<sup>42</sup> on Water Street the buildings differed in age, size, and style, in the "tea chest order of architecture."<sup>43</sup> One correspondent in the *Morning Sun* sarcastically commented that the highlight of the visit would be remembered as "... the leading of their Prince through the neither wide nor white, but wet, weltering, weather-stained, wharf, winding, wonder-striking Water Street."<sup>44</sup> Some residents suggested alternate routes, such as landing at the Queen's Wharf, going past the Province Building, up George Street to the Grand Parade, and along Barrington to the Government House.<sup>45</sup> Others, however, thought that Water Street deserved a place in the procession route, since the city owed its prosperity to the wharves.<sup>46</sup> Clearly, residents did not agree on the "preferred image" of Halifax.

Instead of relinquishing the Dockyard-Water Street route, the celebration organizers and many residents "spruced up" the neighbourhood by lining the streets with spruce trees, and cleaning and painting the buildings.<sup>47</sup> However, the Water Street spectacle did not fool *New York Herald* correspondent, who commented that it would be better if this "sudden desire for cleaning streets and houses and rubbish were of a more permanent character."<sup>48</sup> Indeed, shortly after the celebration, the brush had to be removed because of its combustible nature.<sup>49</sup>

While most boosters (and probably many residents as well) dreamt of future increases in trade and tourism as a result of international coverage during the visit, local businessmen hoped for more immediate financial gains. Although 1860 was relatively early in the development of the mass market economy, entrepreneurs had begun to realize the importance of "high days and holidays" in stimulating "consumer demand."<sup>50</sup> Thus, there was a great deal of "speculation" during the visit, that is, taking advantage of the images of the celebration for advertising purposes. The correspondent of the *London Times* commented that the Prince's

... name and titles were somehow mysteriously associated by advertising with cheap pork, old patents, ladies' dresses, sales of timber — everything in fact from a waterproof coat to a barrel of mild cider. You could not sit down to dinner but

## *“A Tale of Two Cities”*

his portrait loomed dimly from beneath the gray in the centre of the plate. It was Prince's hats, Prince's boots, Prince's umbrellas, Prince's coats, Prince's cigars, and the whole colony nodded, in fact, with Prince's coronets and feathers.<sup>51</sup>

Shopkeepers took advantage of the popular desire to “dress up” and “spend freely” during special occasions.<sup>52</sup> C.D. Everitt and Son of Saint John were “anxious that all should look well for the reception”, and offered a variety of hats and caps for sale.<sup>53</sup> A merchant named Jones appealed to “strangers from the country” to check out his clothing items.<sup>54</sup> Advertisements for ornamental ribbons, flowers and other accessories also appeared in the local newspapers.

The day of truth finally arrived on the morning of Monday, July 30, when the Prince of Wales landed at the Halifax Dockyard. After three days of festivities in Halifax (Figure 3), the Prince departed for Windsor and Hantsport, then proceeded on to Saint John via the Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy. Although the visitors enjoyed the Minas Basin trip, they suffered during the rough Bay of Fundy crossing. According to Nicholas Augustus Woods of the *London Times*, everyone was very quiet “save when the stillness was broken by some unhappy Canadian, who, in an exaggerated attitude of despair, proclaimed his intention of perishing on the spot.”<sup>55</sup> The Prince landed at Reeds Point in Saint John on August 3 for a day of festivities (Figure 4). The following morning he left for Fredericton, but returned again on August 7 to spend time in Indiantown (in the city's north end) and in Carleton (the city's west side).

Both cities used pageantry to impress the Prince and his entourage. In Saint John and Halifax, local dignitaries welcomed the Prince upon his arrival, and then, along with various voluntary societies, accompanied him to the Grand Parade in Halifax and to Chipman Hill in Saint John, where they witnessed children's demonstrations. Among the most visible participants in this pageantry, aside from the children, were the fire companies, clearly a reflection of the importance of the fire establishment in cities ravaged by the “devouring element.”<sup>56</sup> As well, fire companies had the necessary accoutrements to make a grand display. In Halifax, the Union Engine Co. and Axe Fire Co. headed the parade assembled to greet the Prince, and held a torchlight procession while Saint John's firemen marched with the Prince and pulled his coach up King St. in Carleton, and also had a torchlight procession for the press representatives. The fire companies also provided an avenue for the articulation of respectability and masculinity. William F. Bunting, a foreman of the No. 6 Volunteer Fire Co. of Saint John, asserted that the “greatest and most pleasing source of attraction to the distinguished strangers” during the Prince's visit to Saint John was the

splendid appearance of our Volunteer Fire Department with their neat and appropriate uniforms, their handsome and neatly decorated Engines, and Hose Carriages, and above

### **Figure 3** **Program for the Prince's Visit to Halifax, 1860**

#### **Monday July 30:**

Landing at Halifax Dockyard  
Procession along Water St to Grand Parade  
Children's demonstration at Grand Parade  
Review of societies at Government House

#### **Tues July 31:**

Military review on Common  
Athletic sports on Common  
Grand ball at Province Building

#### **Wed Aug 1:**

Levee at Government House  
Regatta in Harbour  
Excursion in Bedford Basin  
Visit to Prince's Lodge  
Visit to Mr. Down's Zoological Gardens  
Firemen's Torchlight Parade and fireworks

#### **Thurs Aug 2:**

Departure for Windsor, Hantsport, then across Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy to Saint John

Taken from: *Novascotian* 23 July 1860; *Acadian Recorder*  
4 August 1860.

all the manly and gentlemanly bearing, and youthful and orderly appearance of the Firemen.<sup>57</sup>

The Prince also enjoyed fireworks displays, illuminations, decorations, and hosted levees in both cities (Figures 3 and 4).

However, because of its status as a capital city and garrison town, Halifax primarily drew upon its “institutions, conventions and scenery” to impress visitors.<sup>58</sup> Local dignitaries entertained the royal suite at receptions and entertainments in Halifax's public buildings, most notably a levee at the Government House and a grand ball in the Province Building. Besides flaunting their public institutions, Haligonians appealed to ostentation and convention during the grand ball, which commanded over half of the budget for the entire celebration.<sup>59</sup> As the site of a large British garrison and naval station, Halifax also featured impressive military spectacles. The Prince of Wales reviewed the regular troops and volunteers, and enjoyed a regatta at which a number of “jolly tars” attempted to retrieve a pig in a bucket at the end of a greasy pole extending into the observatory jetty.<sup>60</sup> The naval vessels in port sported their colours for the occasion.

Aboriginal ceremony played a visible role in Halifax's festivities. A subscription opened by merchant Charles Beamish, insurance agent James Whitman, and Professor Thomas Lane, raised money to provide “traditional costumes” for a group of about forty Mi'kmaqs to appear before the Prince during the reception. Before the visit, this costumed entourage paid a visit



**Figure 4**  
**Program for the Prince's visit to Saint John, 1860**

**Fri Aug 3:**

Calithumpians' demonstration  
Landing at Reeds Point  
Procession to Chipman mansion at Chipman Hill  
Children's demonstration at Chipman Hill  
Court House: presentation of societies and addresses  
Levee at Court Room  
Ride on Suspension Bridge  
Fireworks display

**Sat Aug 4:**

Departure for Fredericton  
Demonstration at Rothesay

**Tues Aug 7:**

Visit to Indiantown  
Children sing national anthem on steps of Baptist Meeting House  
Suspension Bridge to Carleton  
Fire companies pull Prince's coach up King St, Carleton  
Visit to John Robertson's sawmill  
Departure for Windsor  
Press dinner for press representatives  
Firemen's torchlight procession

**Wed Aug 8:**

Press trip on railway

Taken from: *Morning Freeman* 2 4 9 August 1860;

to the Lieutenant Governor, the Admiral, the Archbishop, and then attended the ladies' volunteer bazaar at the City Hotel.<sup>61</sup> They were also the first group to receive the Prince of Wales with an address in Chebucto Harbour. A contingent of canoes then led the royal barge to the Halifax wharf.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, a number of Mi'kmaq presented themselves to the royal suite at the levee, and participated in bow and arrow competitions, footraces and other "Indian Amusements" at the athletic sports on the common, and in canoe races during the regatta, for which the executive government made a grant of \$25 to the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Club.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, Mi'kmaq engaged in their own ceremonial gift-giving, by presenting the Prince with a number of traditional crafts, including a quilted box and lid containing 14 quillwork placemats.<sup>64</sup> After the visit, the Prince of Wales reciprocated as expected, with a gift of 50 sovereigns, presented at a special ceremony.<sup>65</sup> At Lord Mulgrave's residence, a young native woman also presented the Prince with a cigar case and a small basket, which she begged him to relay to Queen Victoria. Not understanding the expectations associated with gift-giving, Woods commented: "For the romance of this incident I am sorry to be obliged to add that the squaw called afterwards for the present in return, and

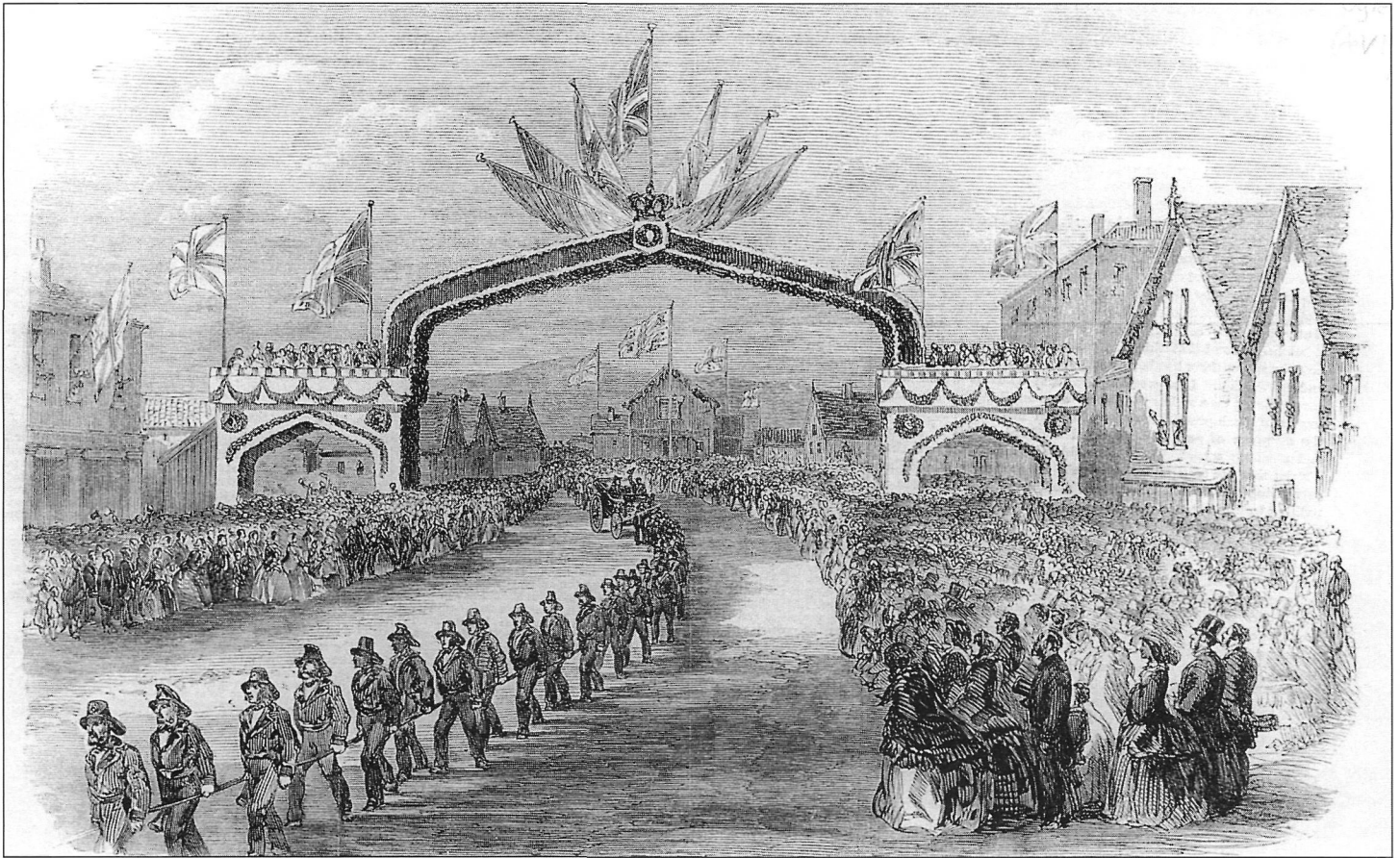
plainly intimated that no acknowledgement would be so acceptable as one tendered in the lawful coin of the province."<sup>66</sup>

There was also an aboriginal presence in Saint John during the festivities. An illustration of a native woman in "full Indian dress" graced an abutment facing Reeds Point; one of the decorative arches in the city similarly featured a group of Amerindians holding a flag.<sup>67</sup> Upon the arrival of the royal suite in Indian-town, an elderly native woman also presented the Prince with some beadwork, for which she received a gift out of the purses of some of the noblemen present.<sup>68</sup> However, Amerindians definitely played a more visible role in Halifax than in Saint John. This may be partly attributable to the proximity of a Mi'kmaq encampment across the harbour in Dartmouth.<sup>69</sup> The more evident acceptance and even encouragement of aboriginal participation also suggests that organizers and participants in Halifax saw some political value in such a display. Besides appealing to their philanthropic consciences, I would like to suggest that the Amerindians also played an important role in Nova Scotia's "official" historical memory and sense of colonial identity. Native peoples figured prominently in Cornwallis's establishment of Halifax in the wilderness of 1749. Indeed, one Haligonian referred to the Mi'kmaq as the "real representatives of the Province."<sup>70</sup> Saint John, on the other hand, had a forward-looking and commercial image as the "Liverpool of North America." When the city's boosters did look back, they centred on the Loyalists as the honorary founders of the city.<sup>71</sup> The significance of aboriginal imagery for Nova Scotia is reflected in the presentation of a portrait of Mary Christianne (Morris) Paul, Mi'kmaq artist and model, to the Prince of Wales as a memento of the province.<sup>72</sup> The identity of the colony was so infused with the image of the "Indian", that, although locals frequently ridiculed them, the local press was very offended when a visiting correspondent described Mi'kmaq women as "splay-footed squaws."<sup>73</sup>

Finally, the visitors to Halifax partook of much of the "scenery" of the Bedford Basin and the Northwest Arm. After watching a regatta on the harbour, the royal suite went for an excursion into the Bedford Basin, where the Prince visited the last remains of his grandfather's property, the Prince's Lodge, from which he sent a piece of sweet briar to his mother, Queen Victoria.<sup>74</sup> He then proceeded to Mr. Down's Zoological Gardens on the Northwest Arm, where he bought a few quails and received a moose's head as a gift. Nicholas Augustus Woods of the *London Times* was suitably impressed with the scenery of the Halifax area, describing it as "wild and romantic."<sup>75</sup>

Saint John, on the other hand, portrayed itself as a progressive commercial and industrial centre. Greeting the Prince upon his arrival in Saint John were large contingents of cordwainers, millmen, founders, ship builders and caulkers, spar makers, riggers and shoemakers (Figure 5). Other trades would have participated, but protested the short time given for preparation, and the importation of foreign-made furniture for the visit.<sup>76</sup> Halifax's welcoming procession sported only one trade — the Carpenters' Benevolent Society.<sup>77</sup>

## "A Tale of Two Cities"



*The Members of the Fire companies drawing the Prince of Wales through Carleton, a suburb of St. John, New Brunswick. Illustrated London News, 8 September 1860, p. 215. Print Collection = de Volpi NB #135. Courtesy Charles P. De Volpi Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Libraries.*

The Saint John Calithumpians, a largely working-class burlesque troupe, also parodied the "volunteer movement in a strange fantastic fashion" in the early morning hours.<sup>78</sup> The trades procession and burlesque display both reflect the more visible commercial and anti-establishment ethos of Saint John, as well as the city's well-established tradition of working-class activism. The latter is largely attributed to the considerable bargaining power attained by the city's dock workers as a result of the seasonal pressures of the timber market.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the early establishment of the Saint John common council in 1785 provided the lower middle and upper working classes of the city (the main participants in civic affairs) with a longer legacy of participation in public life than their counterparts in Halifax, who did not form a corporation until 1841.<sup>80</sup>

Saint John also paraded symbols of "capacity" and "capabilities" before strangers. For example, boosters arranged for the Prince to cross the reversing rapids via Saint John's Suspension Bridge, one of the city's foremost symbols of commercial progress. Nicholas Augustus Woods favourably compared the

bridge to the one at Niagara.<sup>81</sup> The Saint John *Morning News* suggested that Saint John send a delegation to Halifax to persuade the Prince and his entourage to ride the newly opened European and North American railway line to Shediac on his way to Prince Edward Island, and thus see Sussex Vale, the most fertile part of the province. The paper also objected to the inordinate length of time to be spent in Fredericton (four days), as opposed to Saint John (two days). Revealing an anti-Fredericton bias, the editor wondered: "Did our big folks in Fredericton have something to do with the two days?"<sup>82</sup> Although the Prince and his suite stuck to their original plan of travelling to PEI via Windsor and Pictou, he rode the new railway en route to Fredericton, accommodated in a lavishly decorated "Prince of Wales" car, a moving exhibition of the "credible specimens of Saint John manufacture."<sup>83</sup> He also came back for a day to visit Indiantown and Carleton, at which time he rode over the Suspension Bridge once again and visited the sawmill of John Robertson in Carleton, where he was shown how to manufacture deals (Figure 4).

## “A Tale of Two Cities”

Local advertisers appropriated images of commercial progress, as did Thomas McColgan, proprietor of the Exchange in Saint John, who published the following advertisement:

In their efforts to promote Saint John's "commerce, industry, capacity and capabilities," the city's boosters appealed not only to the Prince and his entourage, but to the visiting press as well. Arrangements were made for the press to travel to Shediac in the royal coach (Figure 4). As they rode along, the Chief Engineer ex-

### PROGRESS

New Brunswick Progressing  
St. John and Shediac Railway Open  
Prince of Wales Coming  
Red Oysters imported over line from Shediac for Prince of Wales and subjects—meals  
Exchange—Thomas McColgan, proprietor—17 Church St.<sup>84</sup>

plained the details of the railroad and its bridges, and the visitors reportedly admired the scenery and fertility of Sussex.<sup>85</sup> While some Haligonians entertained the more prominent press representatives in their homes, the Saint John common council authorized the mayor to provide special hotel accommodations for the reporter of the *London Times* and other papers as advised.<sup>86</sup> About 100 reporters and correspondents also enjoyed a special dinner at Stubb's Hotel, arranged by a "number of literary gentlemen, including the [local] Press." Amidst the feasting and drinking, Mr. Kinnear of the *Montreal Herald* declared that this was the first time that attention had been lavished specifically on the press.<sup>87</sup>

Did catering to the whims of the press pay off for Saint John? What were the impressions of the visiting correspondents? Generally, most papers thought that Halifax's celebration exceeded that of Saint John's, which is not surprising, considering that Halifax had superior facilities as the capital of Nova Scotia. Nicholas Augustus Woods of the *London Times* commented:

St John's [sic], with its enterprising population, its fast rising importance, and, for a colonial city, its large trade and wealth, could easily have given the Prince a very grand reception; but I must own that it fell rather short of what was anticipated from the Halifax fetes.<sup>88</sup>

He asserted that although the illuminations were superior in Saint John, and some of the arches more tasteful, ornamentation was more widespread in Halifax, due to ubiquitous "private efforts."<sup>89</sup> Halifax's military spectacles also outdid Saint John's smaller garrison displays.<sup>90</sup> However, other representatives from England were surprised that so much could be done when it was taken into account that Saint John was not the seat of government as was Halifax, and that "all honours" had to be shared with Fredericton.<sup>91</sup>

Halifax's spontaneous enthusiasm also impressed many press correspondents. According to Nicholas Augustus Woods, Haligonians cheered for the Prince of Wales "as if they were demented" and threw their caps in the air like "madmen...taking leave of their senses."<sup>92</sup> Considerably less enthusiasm was perceived in Saint John. The *Freeman* correspondent reported a "faint attempt" to raise a cheer at the landing ceremony, but it "failed lamentably." The same paper sensed a feeling of indifference and apathy during the procession, which the correspondent attributed to an overwhelming curiosity which had "spread its contagion."<sup>93</sup> Part of this coldness was probably also due to the staid behaviour of the Sons of Temperance in the procession, who were instructed not to cheer for the Prince of Wales, but as a mark of the "most profound respect" to take off their hats and salute in silence. According to Susan G. Davis, abstinence and orderly demeanour were expressions of respectability in 19th-century parades.<sup>94</sup> It appears, however, that popular enthusiasm increased the longer the Prince stayed in New Brunswick, and particularly intensified at the Prince's departure from Carleton.<sup>95</sup> In a letter to Queen Victoria, the Duke of Newcastle described the latter demonstration as "the proudest and most gratifying of all that have yet taken place."<sup>96</sup>

Although generally impressed by Halifax's celebration, the press was disappointed with the aboriginal demonstration. Reflecting the racial stereotypes of the 19th century, the correspondent of the *New York Tribune* noted that the Mi'kmaq at the landing ceremony were not

comfortable looking creatures, these few survivors of a fading race. Stolid and void of expression, their countenance gave indication of nothing but ignorance and wretchedness. Not one face was lighted up with the dimmest spark of intelligence.<sup>97</sup>

Although condemned for their "racial inferiority," the Mi'kmaq who took part in the Prince's reception were also criticized for not being "Indian enough". The mingling of native and white dress, although typical of Mi'kmaq ceremonial costumes by mid century, obviously did not meet the exotic expectations of the European and American imagination.<sup>98</sup> The *New York Tribune* commented that the "fantastic picturesqueness of the Indian costume was wanting."<sup>99</sup> Similarly, the *London Times* disapproved of the "un-Indian costume" of blue frock coats, trousers, and English beaver hats, which, combined with the bead work ornamenting the cuffs and collars of the coats, made such a "curious melange of the whole dress," according to Woods, "that it was hard to say of the two whether civilization or barbarism was the most travestied."<sup>100</sup>

Regardless of the visiting correspondents' impressions of the festivities in Saint John and Halifax, the local press proudly asserted that at least their receptions far surpassed those of their uncivilized counterparts in Upper Canada. In Kingston, Toronto, and Belleville, militant members of the Orange Lodge refused to permit the Prince to land unless he agreed to process under their arch, which was contrary to the non-partisan nature of the

## “A Tale of Two Cities”

visit.<sup>101</sup> Although the Orange Lodge in Saint John did stage a demonstration during the Prince's visit, the press refused extensive coverage for fear of encouraging it; in any case, there did not seem to be the violent Orange militancy as experienced in Upper Canada.<sup>102</sup>

As well as reporting on the celebrations, the press commented on the colonies themselves. One of the most widespread criticisms was the inadequacy of accommodation. Visitors had been complaining about this problem for decades.<sup>103</sup> Individual entrepreneurs made some effort to offer more beds and meals for the visit. In Halifax, W.L. Stewart erected a large temporary structure called the “Royal Pavilion” with a piazza front and two rows of seats for spectators. Built on the corner of his “Head Quarters” saloon on Hollis St., Stewart fed hundreds of visitors a day. The city's new Kingfisher flag adorned the building and the Liverpool Band played in the evening. “Will the Ranter” said of Stewart:

Stewart's pavilion stands out bright  
It is a very pretty sight;  
He is a cunning little wight;  
With a great head;  
Fair play in justice and in right  
He takes the lead.<sup>104</sup>

Henry Hesslein, proprietor of the Acadian Hotel, also opened a Dining and Oyster saloon with limited accommodation for lodgers in the upper stories. Like Stewart, he decorated his establishment in a patriotic manner, featuring a miniature of the Parker and Welsford Sebastopol monument.<sup>105</sup> Thomas Keating also opened up an Eating Saloon, as did Mrs Sullivan on Barrington St.<sup>106</sup> In Saint John, J. Kenny advertised apartments and meals in the Coffee House, while Thomas McColgan advertised meals at the Exchange.<sup>107</sup>

Nonetheless, visitors to both cities complained about the lack of suitable room and board. Visitors started dropping in looking for accommodation several days in advance.<sup>108</sup> At an early hour on the day of the visit, an almost unbroken line of people from the surrounding towns and villages entered Saint John in wagons, and on horseback and foot. Crowded rail cars and steamers also arrived from points in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The “Admiral” steamer brought a number of visitors to Saint John from the United States.<sup>109</sup> According to Nicholas Augustus Woods, in Saint John “no accommodation was to be got for money, and certainly not for love.”<sup>110</sup> The editor of the *Morning News* admitted that Saint John fell behind Boston in terms of the availability of respectable room and board, but asserted that the city at least surpassed Halifax.<sup>111</sup> In Halifax, the shortage of rooms led J.D. Nash to set up bedsteads in the street near his Variety Hall.<sup>112</sup> Woods contended that Halifax hotels were crowded with four times the number they could easily accommodate, which did little to refute Halifax's bad reputation among tourists. Beds commanded “fancy prices” and many who were late could find no accommodation. Confusion was augmented, as “everyone ap-

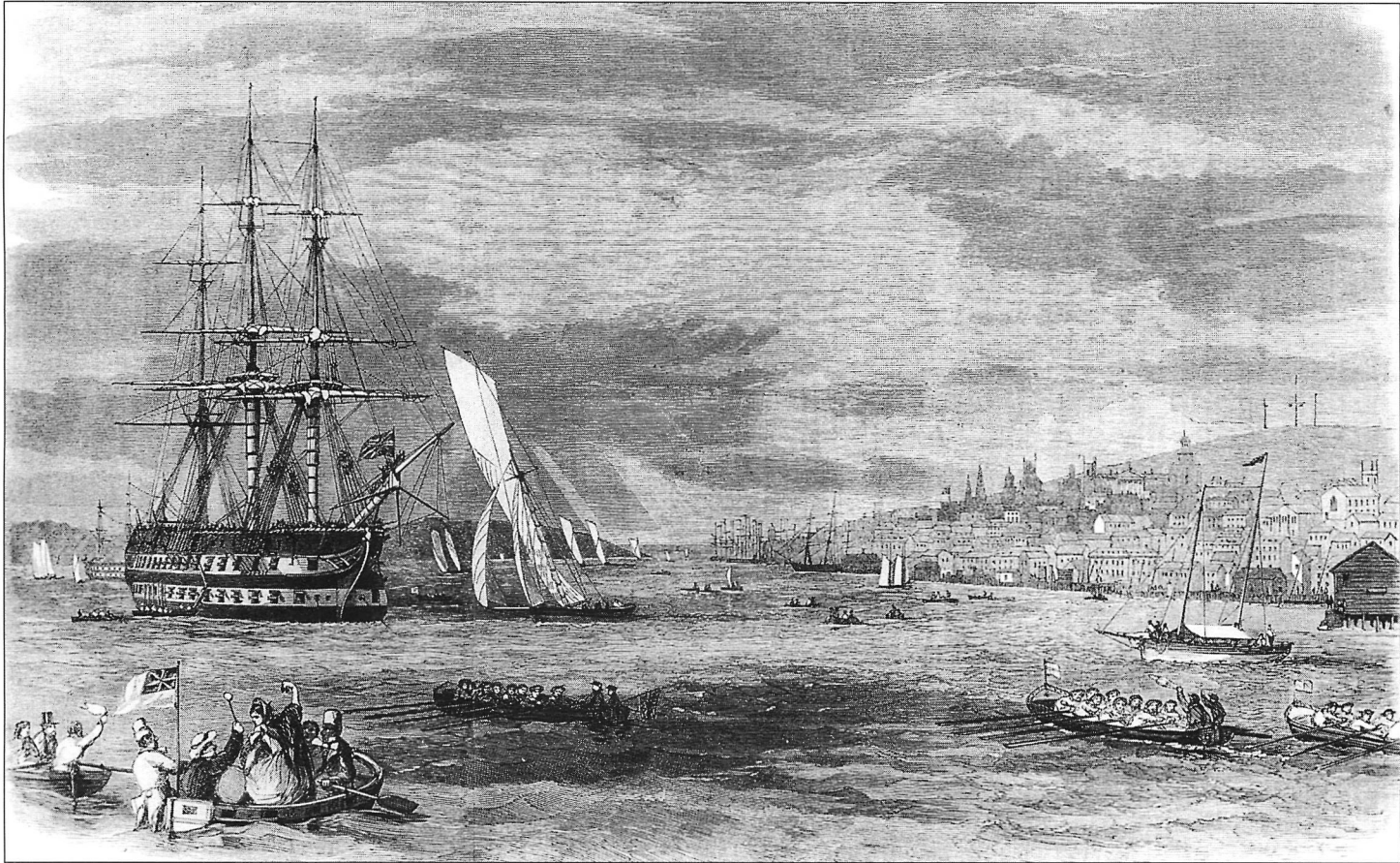
peared to have got some one else's luggage.”<sup>113</sup> Woods also complained that people would “pig together” during meals and on mattresses on the floor, and that his hotel room was “the smoking and drinking room.”<sup>114</sup> According to the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, what made Halifax the “most miserable town in North America” was the want of a “decent hotel.” His claim that there was no one “enterprising enough” to take over the newly renovated Halifax Hotel is not quite accurate; two entrepreneurs, including Hesslein, had offered to dispose of the lease of the hotel, but their offer had been rejected.<sup>115</sup>

The press also found other problems with Saint John and Halifax. The *Toronto Leader* saw Halifax as a little isolated microcosm with a conspicuous lack of enterprise, attributable to “old fogginess”. The correspondent also wondered how the rich men in Halifax made their wives happy with such “horrible looking houses.”<sup>116</sup> Similarly the correspondent of the *Edinburgh News* thought that the inhabitants needed a little of the Yankee “go-ahead” enterprising spirit.<sup>117</sup> Charles Tupper, editor of the *British Colonist*, resented being compared to the Americans, commenting smugly that he “would rather be the slow going, taking-the-world-easy, full bellied, contented people that we are, than the rushing, lanky, excited race.”<sup>118</sup>

Most controversial was the coverage of Nicholas Augustus Woods of the *London Times*, whose reports were regularly reprinted in the local press, and who also wrote a book about the visit entitled *The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States* (London, 1862). Why were Woods's impressions taken so seriously? One reason might be the popularity of his paper, which sold over three times more than all of the other London daily morning papers put together.<sup>119</sup> Woods also wrote in a rather blunt and unrestrained fashion, despite the 1852 stipulation of Lord Derby and the House of Lords that the journalists of the *Times* should “maintain that tone of moderation and respect even in expressing frankly their opinions on foreign affairs.”<sup>120</sup>

Woods complemented Halifax on its show of loyalty and enthusiasm, its superior Volunteer companies, and the Bedford Basin, which he thought was one of the finest harbours in the world. He prophesied that Halifax would become one of the most important naval stations in the empire, and the only surprise was that it was not so already.<sup>121</sup> However, most of his impressions of Halifax, apart from its festivities, were negative. As he walked from the railway station upon arrival, Woods commented on the seedy houses and the “seedy looking squalid inhabitants, who lounge about as if they had very little to do, and were too idle to do even that.”<sup>122</sup> When he came to the “more fashionable part of town,” he noted that the streets were wider, although as hilly, dusty and stony as most of the other towns in British North America. He thought that the city had an “air of antiquated sleepiness about it, a kind of wooden imitation of the dullness of old cathedral towns in England, where each rickety house seems as if it only nudged its neighbour to keep still.”<sup>123</sup> Several of Woods's comments offended the local press. A Halifax correspondent, for example, refuted his contention that

*“A Tale of Two Cities”*



*Regatta in Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia. Illustrated London News, 31 August 1861, p. 210. Print Collection=de Volpi NS #71. Courtesy Charles P. De Volpi Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Libraries.*

“pork and beans” was the usual fare in Nova Scotia.<sup>124</sup> Many local editors were outraged by Woods’s description of the drunkenness in Halifax during the celebration. He commented: “In all my life I never saw so many stupid forms as lay about the streets that night.”<sup>125</sup> The editor of the *Novascotian* worried that such accounts could harm the reputation of the region, and fumed at Mr. Woods:

Mr. Woods should have mentioned when writing ... that the Asylum for the Insane in unfinished, and at present can accommodate only a limited number of patients, ... which ... might account to his readers for the fact of a person capable of writing such trash being permitted to go at large in the community.<sup>126</sup>

Woods painted a similar picture of the debauchery in Saint John. According to Woods, the lack of accommodation

... led ... many of the masses to fortify themselves to such an uncommon degree against the ill effects of sleeping in

the night air, and subsequently to recline on the road and footway in attitudes indicative of the most profound oblivion to personal comfort and safety. In provincial phraseology, St. John was very ‘tight’ that evening, for the arrival of His Royal Highness seemed to have transported the people with delight, and drinking his health and long life was considered an excuse for everything.<sup>127</sup>

The editor of the *Morning News* contended that “these John Bull folks are determined that Colonists shall be drunkards whether they *drink* or not.”<sup>128</sup> The editor of the *Freeman* suggested that the drinking in the hotels of “fast young men” and those who “ought to be more respectable,” was mistaken as the state of the entire city.<sup>129</sup>

In spite of this portrayal of intemperance, Saint John did not fare nearly so badly as Halifax in the eyes of Nicholas Augustus Woods. He felt that “St. John’s” [sic] was a superior city:

## “A Tale of Two Cities”

St. John's [sic], which is the real, though not the legislative capital of New Brunswick, is one of the most picturesque and flourishing cities of the North American Provinces ... there is an air of business and prosperity about the place very different from the languor that ordinarily prevails at Halifax.<sup>130</sup>

The Saint John *Morning News* responded to Woods' appraisal: "although there is a vein of flippancy through the epistle ... we are gratified to think that he can see enough in our country to recommend it to the world through the columns of the world's leading paper." The Saint John paper also could not pass up the chance to rub salt in the wounds of Halifax:

... we are not a little amused at the cavalier way in which he treats our rival city, when comparing it to St. John. Our friends over the way won't like it, but it is fun for us, and we hope they will not think hard of St. John because the leading paper of the world says (through its correspondent) 'On the whole, however, though large and flourishing, struggling Halifax seems in every way inferior both in beauty and importance and wealth to St. John's [sic], New Brunswick.'<sup>131</sup>

Along with other foreign correspondents,<sup>132</sup> Woods was very impressed with the potential of New Brunswick, but not necessarily with the utilization and exploitation of its resources. He declared that it must be within the responsibilities and capabilities of the Home Government to see that accurate information is more widely diffused. He noted:

For farm laborers, sufficiently intelligent to understand how a virgin soil should be treated, and who are willing to work hard for a few years, no place, I believe, offers such inducements as New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.<sup>133</sup>

How effective was the visit as a vehicle of boosterism? In terms of immediate gains, the visit certainly seemed like a mixed bag. While international correspondents congratulated local residents on their demonstrations of loyalty, general descriptions of the region were not always complementary, especially for Halifax. Although Woods looked upon Saint John more favourably, C.M. Wallace argues that local boosters failed in their attempts to rejuvenate Saint John, as the city experienced a net population loss of 5.3% between 1881–91.<sup>134</sup> However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to assess the long-term successes and failures of the boosters' efforts. Rather, the visit has been presented as a lens through which we can view the construction of identity. We have seen how segments of the middle class in Saint John and Halifax manipulated civic imagery to obtain economic, personal and political benefits. Particularly interesting is the sense of self-importance and optimism possessed by these boosters at mid century; they portrayed Saint John and Halifax as vital players in international commerce and politics. According to Saint John boosters (in particular), their commercial and

### **Figure 5** **Procession in Saint John, 1860**

Mayor and Corporation  
Town Major  
Field officers of militia  
Lt. Govr's Aide-de-Camp  
Officer commanding HM's troops  
Duke of Newcastle Prince of Wales Lt. Govr  
HRH's Equerries – Earl of St. Germain and Major Genl Bruce  
Remainder of suite  
Chief justices, judges, and exec. council  
Pres. and members of legis. council  
Speaker and members of house of assembly  
Mayors of other cities  
High Sheriff and Coroner  
Members of press, foreign and local  
Stipendiary and other magistrates  
Heads of civil depts  
Office bearers of national societies  
Volunteer cos.  
St. Stephen's Band  
Sons of Temperance  
Cadets of Temperance  
Firemen  
Cordwainers  
Millmen from Mr. John Clark's Mill, Carleton  
Founders, Phoenix Foundry  
Ship Builders and Caulkers  
Spar Makers  
Riggers  
Shoemakers  
St. George's Society  
St. Andrew's Society  
St. Patrick's Society  
Mounted Draymen  
Indian Chief and 2 native men

Taken from: *Morning Freeman* 4 August 1860; *Morning News*  
6 August 1860

industrial efforts had a significance beyond the constricting confines of the local arena; they were ultimately symbols of Victorian progress. The strategies used to attract international attention also help to illuminate the politics of promotion. Drawing on the benefits of Halifax's capital city status, Haligonian boosters portrayed the city as intensely loyal and impressive, replete with beautiful buildings and scenery, and a great deal of pomp and circumstance. Saint John, on the other hand, could not draw upon such resources, so boosters presented a more subdued, yet proud and commercially viable urban centre. Finally, this analysis of the visit debunks the image of celebrations as nothing more than trivial manifestations of whipped-up froth. On the contrary, such festivities can often be transformed into instrumental mediums, used by the participants for the realization of practical economic and social objectives. Interest

## ***“A Tale of Two Cities”***

groups today continue to use similar events to impress upon imminent visitors the perceived advantages of their region.

### **Notes**

1. This is essentially what Philip Buckner is doing in his analysis of the royal visit of 1901 – “The Boundaries of Loyalty: The Royal Tour of 1901,” unpublished paper presented to the Boundaries Conference, University of Edinburgh, Centre of Canadian Studies, May 1996.
2. A.F.J. Artibise “In pursuit of growth: municipal boosterism development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871–1913,” G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise eds. *Shaping the urban landscape* (Ottawa, 1982), 116–47.
3. C.M. Wallace “Saint John Boosters and the Railroads in Mid-Nineteenth Century”, *Acadiensis* Vol VI, no 1 (Autumn 1976), 71–91; D.A. Sutherland “Joseph Howe and the Boosting of Halifax”, in Wayne A. Hunt ed., *Proceedings of the Joseph Howe Symposium* (Sackville, 1984), 71–86.
4. For an analysis of the “politics of prestige” in Halifax in 1841, see D.A. Sutherland “A Prince, the Governor, and Mr. Mayor: Halifax and the Politics of Prestige in 1841,” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 1, 1998, 93–103.
5. Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983); Homi K. Bhabha *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990).
6. Anderson, 6.
7. Bhabha, 319. (Emphasis mine).
8. Alessandro Falassi “Festival: Definition and Morphology”, in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque, 1987), 3. Quotation thanks to Robert Rutherford “Canada’s August Festival: Communitas, Limitality, and Social Memory”, *Canadian Historical Review* Vol 77, no. 2 (June 1996), 234.
9. Anderson, 6. (Emphasis mine).
10. Wallace, 72.
11. This paper was reputedly the most powerful Conservative paper in Canada West—see Peter B. Waite “A Visit to Nova Scotia and to Louisbourg in 1860,” *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1972), 129.
12. Anderson, 36.
13. Graeme Wynn *Timber Colony* (Toronto, 1981); T.W. Acheson *Saint John. The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), Chapter 1.
14. Janet Guildford, “Halifax 1850–1870,” unpublished paper presented to Halifax History Group, 1989, 3.
15. Wallace, 73.
16. C.M. Wallace “St. John”, *Urban History Review* Nos. 1–75 (1979), 15; Janet Guildford “‘I often run in the streets of Halifax’: Middle Class Attitudes to Children in Halifax, 1850–1870,” unpublished paper presented to Dalhousie History Department, 1989, 31.
17. Nicholas Augustus Woods *The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States* (London, 1861), 14–15.
18. Judith Fingard *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* (Porter’s Lake, 1989), 15; Fingard “Beyond the Halifax Barracks: The Social Context of Late Victorian Army Life”, the MacNutt Memorial Lecture, University of New Brunswick, 3; Fingard *Jack in Port. Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982).
19. Wallace “Saint John Boosters”, 81–112.
20. Halifax advertised three major programmes for the visit: 1) the Admiral’s, featuring the landing ceremony at the Dockyard; 2) the Major-General’s, which encompassed various military activities; and 3) the Executive Committee’s which included everything else—*Morning Sun* 16 18 20 23 27 30 July 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 14 July 1860.
21. Parliament’s vote of credit—*Morning Sun* 23 May 1860; *Novascotian* 14 May 1860. On May 7 1860, the House of Assembly sent the vote of credit to the legislative council—*Morning Sun* 8 June 1860. The Lieutenant Governor gave thanks for the grant during his prorogation speech—*Morning Sun* 14 May 1860; *Novascotian* 14 May 1860.
22. *Novascotian* 11 June 1860. For public meeting, see *Novascotian* 28 May 1860.
23. Committee meeting 4 June 1860 and 7 July 1860, in Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].
24. *News* 1 June 1860; *Freeman* 2 June 1860. On 1 June, the Saint John common council requested that a bill be brought forward in the legislature for the “ornamenting” of the city and “other preparations”—Saint John Common Council Minutes, 1 June 1860, New Brunswick Museum [hereafter NBM]. At a public meeting, it was reported that the province had contributed money to provincial events—*Freeman* 28 June 1860. In the council meeting of 26 June, several communications from the provincial secretary were read regarding the “arrangements” which the government “is disposed to advance to cover” – Saint John Common Council Minutes, 26 June 1860 [NBM]. Representatives from the common council and provincial executive met in Fredericton to discuss the amounts to be expended—James Brown’s Journal, 28 June 1860 [NBM].
25. “An Economical Citizen” in *Evening Express* 30 May 1860, 6 June 1860.
26. “A Right Loyal Citizen” in *Morning Journal* 30 May 1860.
27. The Saint John common council authorized Mayor McAvity to raise £600 for the celebration by borrowing on the security of the £4000 Water Debentures, to be raised the following year by assessment—Saint John Common Council Minutes, 17 July 1860 [NBM]. In 1862, the expenses of the reception, which amounted to \$986, were defrayed by imposing a modified assessment on those who paid over \$12 in taxes—Street Committee Report in Saint John Common Council Minutes, 9 April 1862 [NBM]. The Halifax city council also agreed to authorize the borrowing of £1000 for their part of the reception, to be assessed and repaid in 1861—*Evening Express* 30 May 1860, 6 June 1860; *Morning Sun* 4 11 June 1860, 20 August 1860; *British Colonist* 7 June 1860, 27 Sept 1860; *Novascotian* 1 October 1860.
28. *News* 3 10 August 1860; *N.B. Courier* 18 August 1860.
29. *Evening Express* 29 August 1860.
30. *Novascotian* 6 August 1860; *Evening Express* 1 August 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860; *Morning Journal* 30 July 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 4 August 1860; *Morning Sun* 6 August 1860; *New York Tribune* in *Freeman* 28 August 1860.
31. *Morning Journal* 6 August 1860; *Evening Express* 3 August 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860.
32. *London Times* in *British Colonist* 3 May 1860; *British Colonist* 2 August 1860; *Montreal Gazette* in *British Colonist* 6 September 1860. Albert became “our Prince” – *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860; *New York Evening Post* in *Acadian Recorder* 8 September 1860; *Novascotian* 6 August 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 4 August 1860; *Morning Sun* 3 August 1860; *Evening Express* 1 8 10 August 1860; “A Friend of Temperance” – *Evening Express* 21 September 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 4 August 1860; *Novascotian* 6 August 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860; *Quebec Chronicle* in *British Colonist* 24 May 1860.
33. *Morning Journal* 30 July 1860; *New York Times* in *Morning Sun* 15 August 1860; *New York Herald* in *Evening Express* 10 August 1860. The Mayor of Boston commented that the attention of the Prince’s staff on him and his companions would end up being very good for Boston – *Evening Express* 31 August 1860.
34. Union—*New York Evening Post* in *Acadian Recorder* 8 September 1860; *Evening Reporter* 23 25 August 1860, 4 September 1860; *Newbrunswick* in *Acadian Recorder* 15 September 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 22 September 1860; *Evening Express* 8 October 1860; *Toronto Daily Leader* in *Evening Reporter* 1 September 1860. Distinctive identity—*Morning Sun* 13 June 1860; *Edinburgh News* in *British Colonist* 11 October 1860; *News* 1 10 August 1860.

## ***“A Tale of Two Cities”***

35. Committee meetings of 20 May 1860 and 4 June 1860 in Minutes of the Meetings for the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860, [PANS].
36. Susan Buggiey "Building Halifax", *Acadiensis*, Vol. X, no. 1 (Autumn 1980), 91–94; Guildford, "Halifax 1850–1870," 1.
37. Liming—*Morning Sun* 23 May 1860; littering and manure—letter to editor in *Acadian Recorder* 30 June 1860; night watchmen – "Veritas" in *Morning Sun* 20 July 1860.
38. "The Prince of Wales is Coming" by "N.B." in *News* 29 June 1860.
39. *Acadian Recorder* 23 June 1860.
40. Buggiey, 92.
41. "A Marvel" in *Acadian Recorder* 30 June 1860; "Mastix" in *Morning Sun* 9 July 1860.
42. Buggiey, 92.
43. Buggiey, 90; "A Marvel" – *Acadian Recorder* 30 June 1860; "Mastix" – *Morning Sun* 9 July 1860.
44. "G." – *Morning Sun* 16 July 1860.
45. "A Marvel" in *Acadian Recorder* 30 June 1860; "Mastix" in *Morning Sun* 9 July 1860.
46. *Acadian Recorder* 21 July 1860; "Malachi Malagrowther" in *Morning Sun* 30 May 1860.
47. *Morning Sun* 27–30 July 1860; *Morning Journal* 23–27 July 1860, 3 August 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 4 August 1860; *Novascotian* 6 August 1860; *Evening Express* 27 July 1860.
48. *New York Herald* in *Evening Express* 10 August 1860.
49. Spots were designated on the common for the disposal of the spruce—Streets Office meeting of 2, 3 August 1860 in Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee for the Reception of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1860 [PANS].
50. H. Hamish Fraser *The Coming of the Mass market, 1850–1914* (Hamden, 1981), 76.
51. Woods, 13.
52. According to Robert Malcolmson, "dressing up and spending freely for a holiday were relatively accessible means of winning approval" in the 19th century—Robert W. Malcolmson *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700–1850* (Cambridge, 1973), 86, 87. Also see Allan Delago *The Annual Outing and Other Excursions* (London, 1977), 58, 77; Fraser *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 80.
53. *Freeman* 31 July 1860
54. *N.B. Courier* 4 August 1860
55. Woods, 41, 43.
56. For a discussion of the Union Engine Co and Axe Fire Co, see Bradley Rudachyk "'The Most Tyrannous of Masters': Fire in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1830–1850," M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1984, 109–134; also see Rudachyk's article "'At the Mercy of the Devouring Element': the Equipment and Organization of the Halifax Fire Establishment, 1830–1850," *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Colls.*, Vol 41, 165–83.
57. William Franklin Bunting Diaries, 3 August 1860 [NBM].
58. Wallace, "Saint John Boosters", 72.
59. For a description of this ball and banquet, see Bonnie Huskins "From Haute Cuisine to Ox Roasts: Public Feasting and the Negotiation of Class in Mid-19th-Century Saint John", *Labour/Le Travail* 37 (Spring 1996), 9–36.
60. *Morning Sun* 3 August 1860; *Evening Express* 3 August 1860.
61. For general references to the subscription, see the *Novascotian* 23–30 July 1860; *Morning Journal* 23 July 1860; *Evening Express* 20 July 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 21 July 1860; *Morning Sun* 23 July 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 24 July 1860. The subscribers were actually a little bit in debt afterwards—*Morning Sun* 13 August 1860. Visits—*Morning Sun* 30 July 1860.
62. *Morning Sun* 8 August 1860; *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860.
63. Levee—*Acadian Recorder* 11 August 1860; John H. Harvey was appointed head of the "Indian Amusements" committee for the athletic sports—*Acadian Recorder* 28 July 1860; grant for canoe races—*Novascotian* 30 July 1860; canoe races—*Morning Journal* 3 August 1860; *Novascotian* 6 August 1860
64. Ruth Holmes Whitehead "Micmac, Maliseet, Beothuk Collections in Great Britain", *N.S. Museum Curatorial Report*, No. 62 (January 1988), 12. The collection described by Whitehead also lists a number of items either presented to the Prince of Wales in 1860 or Prince Arthur in 1869, including a tobacco pipe and pipe stem, four canoe models and wooden furnishings, two male and three female dolls, and a pair of moccasins.
65. *Morning Sun* 8 August 1860; *Morning Chronicle* 9 August 1860; *Novascotian* 13 August 1860; *Morning Journal* 8 August 1860.
66. Woods, 26.
67. *Morning Freeman* 4 August 1860.
68. *Morning Freeman* 9 August 1860.
69. Nicholas Augustus Woods visited the camp during his sojourn in Halifax—Woods, 36.
70. "A Highlander" in *Morning Sun* 20 July 1860.
71. Murray Barkley "The Loyalist Myth in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825–1914," *Acadiensis*, Vol. IV, no 2 (Spring 1975), 3–45.
72. Ruth Holmes Whitehead "Mary Christianne Paul", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol XI, 679.
73. *Morning Sun* 27 August 1860; *British Colonist* 23 August 1860; Woods, 14.
74. Robert Stamp *Kings, Queens and Canadians* (Markham, 1987), 147.
75. Woods, 14.
76. *Freeman* 4 August 1860.
77. *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860.
78. *Morning Freeman* 4 August 1860. The Calithumpians and Polymorphians are briefly discussed in Bonnie Huskins "The Ceremonial Space of Women: Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax", in *Separate Spheres*, eds. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton (Fredericton, 1994), 145–59.
79. Ian McKay "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax, 1850–1884," M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975, 174–175.
80. Acheson *Saint John*, Ch 2.
81. Woods, 44.
82. *Morning News* June 27, 1860. For a description of the celebration of the turning of the sod of the European and North American Railway, see John Willet "How Saint John Celebrated in the Good Old Times", *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, No. 11 (1927), 238–76. Also see Wallace "Saint John Boosters", 84–85.
83. *Freeman* August 4, 1860; Woods, 49.
84. *Freeman* 2 August 1860
85. *Freeman* 9 August 1860; *News* 30 July 1860, 10–13 August 1860.
86. Saint John Common Council Minutes, 26 July 1860, [NBM].
87. *Freeman* 11 August 1860.
88. *London Times* in *Freeman* 13 September 1860
89. Woods, 45. The *Acadian Recorder* 4 August 1860 noted: "Even the poorest classes—the tenants of single rooms, hung out something from their walls—a little flag, an evergreen wreath, or a garland of flowers—as an evidence of their feeling in the matter."



## **“A Tale of Two Cities”**

90. *London Times* in *Freeman* 13 September 1860.
91. *News* 6 August 1860.
92. Woods, 24. Also see *Toronto Globe* in *Novascotian* 10 September 1860; *Boston Post* in *Morning Journal* 8 August 1860; *Montreal Gazette* in *Morning Sun* 31 August 1860; *Manchester Guardian* in *British Colonist* 20 September 1860; *Toronto Leader* in *Evening Express* 17 August 1860; *Montreal Advertiser* in *British Colonist* 6 September 1860; *Boston Post* in *Morning Sun* 10 13 August 1860; *Edinburgh News* in *British Colonist* 4 11 October 1860; *London Times* in *Freeman* 13 September 1860.
93. *Freeman* 4 August 1860; *London Times* in *News* 12 September 1860. According to the *N.B. Courier* 4 August 1860, he was met with “prolonged and deafening cheers”.
94. Susan G. Davis *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1986), 161; *Freeman* August 7, 1860.
95. Spence contended that he had never experienced a voluntary demonstration of equal enthusiasm – *Montreal Gazette* in *News* 5 September 1860.
96. Quoted in Wallace “Saint John Boosters”, 87.
97. *New York Tribune* in *Morning Journal* 24 August 1860. For similar comments, see Woods, 21–22; *London Times* in *Novascotian* 17 September 1860.
98. For a discussion of Mi’kmaq dress, see McGee *The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada*, 110; Ruth Holmes Whitehead *Elitekey. Micmac Material Culture from 1600 AD To the Present* (Halifax, 1980), 19,22.
99. *New York Tribune* in *Morning Journal* 24 August 1860.
100. Woods, 21.
101. Col. Thomas Riley “A reminiscence of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada in 1860,” MG 29 E1, Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC].
102. *N.B. Courier* in *Morning Freeman* 11 September 1860; *Morning Freeman* 8 15 September 1860; *Morning News* 7 September 1860.
103. James C. Brandow “The Journal of Nathaniel T.W. Carrington: A Barbados Planter’s Visit to Nova Scotia in 1837,” *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2, (1982), 26.
104. *Morning Journal* 8 June 1860; *Evening Express* 11 June, 15 August 1860; *Morning Journal* 3 August 1860; “Preparing for the Prince of Wales”, by “Will the Ranter” in *Morning Journal* 11 July 1860.
105. *Morning Sun* 8 June 1860; *Evening Express* 11 June 1860, 16 July 1860; *Morning Journal* 27 July 1860.
106. Keating—*Morning Journal* 25 July 1860; Sullivan—*Morning Journal* 27 July 1860.
107. *Freeman* 2 August 1860.
108. *Morning Journal* 25 July 1860.
109. *Freeman* 4 August 1860.
110. Woods, 49.
111. *Morning News* 7 September 1860.
112. *Morning Journal* 30 July 1860.
113. Woods, 15.
114. *London Times* in *Novascotian* 3 September 1860; *British Colonist* 23 August 1860; *Morning Sun* 27 August 27, 1860.
115. *New York Herald* in *Evening Express* 9 13 July 1860, 5 10 August 1860; also see *Toronto Leader* in *Evening Reporter* 16 August 1860, 22 September 1860; “Ager” from the *Boston Post* commented patronizingly that British North America was “nice and quite smart,” but they hadn’t “yet reached the eminent distinction of being able to keep a hotel” – *Boston Post* in *Morning Sun* 10 13 August 1860; *Evening Reporter* 14 August 1860; Waite, 130.
116. *Toronto Leader* in *Evening Reporter* 16 August 1860, 22 September 1860; Waite, 131.
117. *Edinburgh News* in *British Colonist* 4 11 October 1860.
118. *Harper’s* in *British Colonist* 30 August 1860.
119. Ivon Asquith “The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1780–1855,” in *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day*, eds. George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate, (London, 1978), 104.
120. Anthony Smith “The long road to objectivity and back again: the kinds of truth we get in journalism”, *ibid.*, 154.
121. Woods, 37, 38.
122. Woods, 14.
123. Woods, 14.
124. *British Colonist* 23 August 1860.
125. *London Times* in *Novascotian* 17 September 1860; Woods, 38.
126. *Novascotian* 3 September 1860.
127. *London Times* in *News* 12 September 1860; Woods, 39.
128. *News* 12 September 1860.
129. *Freeman* 13 September 1860.
130. *London Times* in *Freeman* 13 September 1860; Waite, 131.
131. *London Times* in *News* 29 August 1860; *Freeman* 1 September 1860. One Haligonian correspondent agreed with the *Times*, contending that the city looked “more attractive” than Halifax, with superior buildings, houses which were painted better and brighter, not mud-coloured as in Halifax, and streets of a “good width” – *Halifax Chronicle* in *News* 27 June 1860.
132. The correspondent of the *Montreal Herald* thought that the scenery on the St. John River was “grand in the extreme”, and he was thoroughly impressed with Sussex Vale. He was very surprised at the extent of the province’s natural resources, but noted that the people were “somewhat slow in improving them” – *Montreal Herald* in *News* 1 August 1860.
133. *London Times* in *Freeman* 13 September 1860; *News* 14 September 1860; *London Times* in *News* 12 September 1860.
134. Wallace, “St. John”, 15.