BOOK REVIEWS


Though the title of this volume suggests a limited field, the subtitle, “A Study of Constitutional Beginnings of the British Commonwealth,” lifts the subject at once onto the plane of world events and also enunciates a thesis which the author has consistently maintained: that Nova Scotia was the laboratory “in which was wrought principles and practices later applied in all the other great colonies of the British Empire.” Several quotations from the speeches and essays of Joseph Howe, who wished to make Nova Scotia the normal school for the other colonies and indeed for the Empire, also enunciate a thesis that Howe, at least, was a conscious architect of the British Commonwealth which has transmuted an empire of dependencies into a partnership of freely associated dominions.

The work is in the main a narrative with occasional ventures into the paths of exposition and criticism, and, as such, it is undoubtedly the most complete account that has yet been written of the achievement of responsible government in Nova Scotia. While the study is concerned primarily with Nova Scotia, Professor Livingston has been careful to note opinion, change, development in the other British North American colonies and in Great Britain, thus placing his narrative of one small colony, hitherto, with one exception, treated as an annex to Canada, in its proper perspective as part of a far-flung evolving new colonial system. Hence the interplay of colonial politics, the mutual relations of colonial and British parties, the visits of governors-general to Nova Scotia, or Nova Scotian statesmen to Canada and to Great Britain, the exigencies of party politics in Great Britain are all faithfully recorded and revealed as dynamic factors.

Professor Livingston commences his study with an analysis of the elements of the population in Nova Scotia, its religious and economic characteristics; and, then, endeavors to show how the conflict of interests and ideals between the frontier and the capital ultimately developed into a conflict between democratic Nova Scotia, trusting to Imperial goodwill, and a petty Haligonian aristocracy, sheltering itself behind Mr. Mothercountry of the Colonial Office, in the name of loyalty and defence of the royal prerogative. He contends that Howe and his group fought not for self-government
alone but for self-government as a bond of imperial well-being and unity.

One of the most impressive incidents in the book is that in which two delegates from the Assembly, representing the democracy, and two from the Council, representing the Family Compact, sit in the Colonial Office in Downing Street; and, with the Colonial Secretary as judge, debate the true interpretation of the British constitution. From such scenes as these the British administrators learn that reformers in Nova Scotia may be trusted not only with their own domestic concerns but also as custodians of the will of the Crown.

The volume comprises, besides the text, two Forewords, designed to give it a wide imperial appeal, a number of historic despatches, extracts from the census of 1827, a map, and a bibliography. The text itself is well documented, and manifests skill in weaving a narrative out of source material. Unfortunately, there are several misprints; an omission of an entire line (p. 217); one definite error in which Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick) is confused with Sir Brenton Halliburton, who tried Howe in the libel case (p. 49); and one rather loose statement passim, that Nova Scotia enjoyed universal Manhood Suffrage. Further one or two of his analogies with Jefferson's ideals are far-fetched, unless the British Commonwealth be conceived as an Imperial federation. But, on the whole, Professor Livingston has done a creditable piece of work, creditable alike to his subject, his university, and his own open-mindedness.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the study did not include Nova Scotia's early demand for a voice in international relations; for here other economic factors which cannot be explained as a conflict between rural and urban, frontier and centre, caused the Conservative Haligonian aristocracy, as early as 1818, to take a very different attitude towards rule from Downing Street. In other words, the struggle for domestic responsible government is only half the story and its opponents in domestic affairs became its champions in international relations.

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