

By George L. Parker

JOSEPH HOWE AS PUBLISHER

Joseph Howe has always been well known as a crusading journalist and reforming politician, but less attention has been paid to his cultural activities. Certainly he is remembered for promoting the arts in *The Novascotian*, and also for many great speeches, several patriotic songs, and for the narrative poem *Acadia*. Yet in spite of his being the publisher of *The Clockmaker*, little is known about Howe the book publisher.

This paper will discuss Howe's publishing career from 1828 to 1841 in order to explain his role in the cultural life of Nova Scotia during the 1830s. As I hope to show, there is a relation between the routine business of book publishing and the cultural life of a society. Such an approach to the intellectual life of this country is all too rare, partly because the source materials no longer exist, especially those which deal with publishing activity in nineteenth-century British North America. We are particularly fortunate, however, to have a good illustration of this activity in the Howe Papers; apart from the Neilson Family Papers (for Quebec City), there are really no other similar existing records from colonial times.

Although the discussion will centre on the books and pamphlets which Howe published, it is useful to see how several related activities--his newspaper and his book store--all contribute to the picture of Howe the publisher. Indeed, as editor, journalist, printer, bookseller, and author, Howe was in an enviable position to assess and contribute to the culture of his Province. One is tempted to conclude that, with all these activities, besides the political role he played after

Account of Nova Scotia (1829), which the author had worked on for five years, and hoped as did Howe that it would justify the Province in the eyes of the world.⁷ Howe was so certain of its success that he brought out Haliburton's share of the production costs, borrowing from Haliburton to do this. But there were problems in production as well as with sales. Sixteen months elapsed between the announcement of the work--21 February 1828 in *The Novascotian*--and its publication. Howe explained to a correspondent, "in the past year did as much job printing as doubled my calculations when I took the concern. In addition to this I have been printing 3,000 copies of Haliburton's History of the Province by which I shall clear a handsome sum".⁸ Howe did not like the physical appearance of the book, and recorded in Volume I that the death of Haliburton's father prevented the author from reading the proofs and that the engravings were unsatisfactory.

Howe distributed the book widely, "relying on heavy sales in England, the United States, and the other Provinces. None sold abroad"⁹; he recorded later. Tilestone & Holingworth of Boston sold only a few copies and Oliver & Boyd of Edinburgh had no better luck.¹⁰ To the previously-mentioned Scottish bookseller, Howe admitted, "I did suppose that such a work would command an extensive sale in Scotland."¹¹

There are conflicting records of the *Statistical Accounts's* costs. One very neat statement may have been prepared in 1829-1830. Paper, plate, and duty on 336 copies sent to the United States (£58) came to £391.18.5. Type and leads cost £32.10.0; wages accounted for £310.18.5. Along with other expenses, the total Debit was £1173.17.5. The credits include a £280 advance from Haliburton, a £100 advance from another source, and cash from sales of £475 (£237 of this came from the city). Thus the Credits were £855 and these reduced the Debit to £318.17.5. However, two pencilled debits of £100 and £95.8.9 brought the expenses up to £514.6.2. Howe paid off Haliburton's note over the next ten years.¹² A second estimate of the cost was £1243.16.2, made in his annual entry for 1829. But on 2 January 1841, Howe told Haliburton that his expenses were £800, and with interest added, came to over £1300.¹³ Whatever the costs, the sales

his election to the Assembly in 1836 and his entry into the Cabinet in 1840, Howe spread himself too widely. This was, perhaps, his strength and his weakness.

Howe's early ambition was to own and edit a newspaper and through this vehicle to contribute to the literary life of the Province. In this respect he followed a well-established tradition in which his father John Howe and Anthony Henry Holland were two illustrious predecessors. Colonial journalism, first subsidized in semi-official newspapers, had evolved by the 1820s to the point where it could reflect contemporary opinion and be supported by the public. In December 1827 Howe purchased from George R. Young *The Novascotian, or Colonial Herald*, and ran it from January 1828 to December 1841.

His first editorial on 3 January 1828 announced:

The Periodical Literature of Great Britain and America is rich with instruction and amusement, and a regular supply of the leading Reviews and Magazines will enable us to draw largely on its stores....

In itself this approach was not unusual since most colonial newspapers reprinted articles from British and North American papers. However, when we read further, it becomes evident that one of his goals was to educate local readers through contact with literary events in the larger world. The editorial continues:

To foster and extend our Provincial Literature will be our most peculiar care; and we earnestly invite the contributions of those whose talents or acquirements may stamp a value on their offerings. For very many years the Newspaper Press must be the great medium of instruction to the People, and every essay on morals or manners, science or literature, which breathes a sound and healthy tone, will be gladly welcomed to our pages....

This statement is even more significant, for Howe intended to encourage local writers by seeking them out and using their work in the paper. Again, perhaps this approach was not unusual among colonial newspapers, but, lest this manifesto appear to be rhetoric only, the evidence lies in his success. In that very first issue, for instance, was the "Christmas Address to the Patrons of the NOVASCOTIAN" by the best-known Maritimes poet, Oliver Goldsmith, who was at that time stationed in the Commissariat in Halifax.

In subsequent years, Howe continued to introduce cultural elements into the pages of *The Novascotian*. In August 1830 we find reprinted from the London *Atlas* a review of Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*¹. He modelled his "Club" papers on Blackwood's popular "Noctes Ambrosianae" and patterned his own sketches, "Western Rambles" (1828) and "Eastern Rambles" (1829-1831) on Cobbett's "Rural Rides". Approving of the need to educate the working classes, Howe noted with pleasure the formation of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute, for which he gave the Inaugural Address in January 1832. He commented favourably on the establishment of James Dawson's *The Bee* (1835) in Pictou. He carried at least one original serialized work of fiction, reprinted fiction from the foreign journals, and offered reviews of the local theatre. Practically every issue had poetry, sometimes a borrowing such as Mrs. Moodie's "The Canadian Herd Boy" (4 December 1834), and sometimes original pieces sent in by readers like the young Rev. Henry Clinch.

At the time he bought the newspaper, he came into possession of an office and equipment whose uses were not wholly devoted to *The Novascotian*. He soon undertook job printing and by mid-1829 had done as much of this "as doubled my calculations when I took the concern"², he told a correspondent. Moreover, he used the office as a bookstore--a common practice among colonial printers--where he sold his own publications as well as distributed them around the Province through his newspaper agents. He also had contacts with other booksellers: we can see in the advertisements for books in *The Novascotian* and in other colonial newspapers that printers often sold the imprints of other offices.³

These activities naturally developed his sensitivity to Provincial book tastes. One 1831 letter to an unnamed correspondent, probably a Scottish bookseller, records Howe's opinion of these tastes:

Good solid works in History, Economy, and Science as a general rule, would be the safest--many such I know, from cheap catalogues, etc. may, with [you?] be purchased very low, and I am satisfied that a fair annual profit might be drawn from exportation to Nova Scotia. Law books would sell, some Medical Works, and a fair sprinkling of Novels, Poems, and the lighter Literature of the day.⁴

This bookseller had suggested that he and Howe might exchange shipments of books, and Howe's letter is a tentative agreement. Such negotiations may have been common with colonial booksellers. Howe was hesitant about shipping American books (reprints of British copyrights, one wonders?) to Scotland and pointed out that "in point of appearance and execution they are generally inferior to British publications and being issued from smaller establishments cannot be sold at so cheap a rate."⁵ Furthermore, while Howe could import books from the United States at 3 3/4 per cent duty, the books he sent to Britain faced a 10 per cent duty. As for payments, he agreed to the suggestion that they should exchange books rather than sell each other's goods on commission.

In his fourteen years as proprietor of *The Novascotian*, Howe published over twenty books and pamphlets. (See Check List at the end of this article.) When they bear the "Joseph Howe" imprint, it appears that he paid for the production costs himself, whereas "Printed at the Novascotian Office" seems to indicate that the author may have shared expenses. Several titles which I have attributed to Howe's office have no full imprint but from other evidence it seems likely that Howe was the printer. Since he did far more job printing, we cannot consider this list complete.

Compared with a modern publisher's list, Howe's is striking by the absence of more fiction and poetry. However, the number of novels published in Canada before the 1880s was small, and volumes of poetry were almost as infrequent. This is a representative colonial list: a large proportion of political works, religious pieces (sermons or doctrine), and statistical and legal treatises. There are two poetry titles and two fiction titles. Judged by its decade, the most surprising omission is an almanac. Nor are there any text books, although in 1830 Howe bought the stereotype plates of Emerson's *Grammar and Arithmetic*, and later noted, "never used"⁶. While twenty imprints in fourteen years seems a small number, some of these books were major undertakings for their time and place.

One of the most ambitious undertakings in colonial publishing was Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *An Historical and Statistical*

were very disappointing to both men, and when the rift came between them, Howe refused Haliburton's request for another local edition of the work, which had been re-published in London in 1839 by John Snow.¹⁴ The business relations of Howe and Haliburton were off to an ominous start. The misunderstandings which arose later from the three *Clockmakers* demonstrated that a colonial publisher could suffer, more, financially, than the author.

In the next several years Howe published Andrew Shiels' *The Witch of the Westcot* (1831), the Rev. Robert Cooney's *A Compendious History of the Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick* (1832), and Beamish Murdoch's two-volume *Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia* (1832-1833). There is no information relating to these works apart from the fact that Howe ordered new type for Murdoch's work.

We have information, however, on the production of several pamphlets. Four hundred copies were printed of *A Bried Sketch of the Present State of the Province of Nova Scotia* (1834), by the M.P. John Homer, and these were distributed to Howe's agents around the Province.¹⁵ Similarly, Howe's own *Trial for Libel* (1835) had about 585 copies distributed around the Province.¹⁶ The majority of copies were usually sold in Halifax--99 of Homer's, for example--while Pictou, Truro, Yarmouth, and Windsor usually took more copies than other centres. Typical of costs was the Rev. Cooney's sermon *The Glory of God of Israel* (1836):

34 pages--comp. dis. cor. & presswork	£ 4.13.9
Paper 1 ½ lbs. at 27/6	2. 1.3
Cover and Binding	1. 8.0
2 years interest	[?] 19.4
	£ 9. 2.4

Meanwhile in 1836 he was planning the Rev. James Robertson's *Treatise on Infant Baptism* (1836), the Anglican position on a burning contemporary religious controversy.¹⁸ Howe informed the Rev. William Cogswell, who had written on behalf of another clerical author, that he "could not in honor undertake anything that would interfere materially with that".¹⁹ Howe made two agreements for Robertson's

book with Thomas Spurr of Bridgetown, who acted as one of *The Novascotian* agents. He estimated a 480-page volume, printed in New Bourgeois type on good paper, neatly bound in boards, would cost about £100. "For that sum I will undertake to do it, and if required, send the proof by stage, to be returned of course by the next."²⁰ When he was asked by Spurr to publish the work at his own expense, he replied, "I would have no objection to take the work off Mr. Robertson's hands, but shall have the Clock Maker to publish at my own risk, and do not care to put too much to hazard in one year."²¹ He would offer free advertising, and revised the contract to print 500 copies at £6.10 per sheet "whether it be more or less than 360 pages."²² The final cost was:

13 sheets and 1/6 at £6.10 for 500 copies:	£ 85.11.8	
Extra 100	15	
9 copies bound in silk	.18	23
	£101. 9.8	

But *The Clockmaker* was held up again, this time by a satiric poem on the coming election by "Christopher Caustick", *The Outline of a Speech to be Delivered at the Hustings* (1836). Writing to "Caustick" on 10 August, Howe advised that "as time is precious-- and it will be advisable to have proofs corrected by yourself--please return it by Saturdays stage with your directions--I like the idea, and the execution much--and do think the thing will take--so far as any literary effort takes, in a country such as this."²⁴ He estimated that 500 copies of the 1000-line poem would cost about £9 and sell for 1s.3d. He offered a choice of three publishing arrangements: either to "print the work on your account"; or to "print it at our own mutual risk-- and divide the profits, if any with you"; or to "publish it at my own cost, and pay you £5 down--whether I win or lose; or send you instead of that amount, the 100 copies which you think can be sold in your immediate neighborhood."²⁵ Printed in an edition of about 400 copies, the pamphlet was published on 31 August 1836, and Mr. Abel Gore [the author] of Amherst took three lots of 50 copies.

The Clockmaker (1836) first appeared as "Recollections of Nova Scotia" in twenty-two numbers of *The Novascotian* between 24

September 1835 and 10 February 1836, when they were discontinued so that they could be prepared for book publication that autumn. It finally appeared on 31 December 1836. There is no information on its production or actual sales, although Howe told Haliburton on 2 January 1841:

Clockmaker No. I you gave me, considering it of no value. I published it at my own risk and for my own benefit. It brought you reputation--plate--Books--the means of earning thousands, a handsome sum in subsequent arrangements with Bentley, and it brought me about £35.²⁶

But *The Clockmaker* was successful, for Howe reissued it in early 1837. It was published in the United States in 1837 by Carey, Lea & Blanchard of Philadelphia, and in London that spring by Richard Bentley. Howe noted in *The Novascotian* on 18 May 1837 that the Bentley edition was selling well and added bitterly:

Though it is gratifying in the extreme, to find any book issuing from the Novascotian Press republished in England, and to hear of the popularity of our friend Sam Slick in the great world of letters, still we are not quite sure that we shall not bring an action against Mr. Publisher Bentley, for pirating the copyright, and printing an edition without our leave.

Howe did not copyright his edition either in the Province (which would have given him local protection only) or at Stationers' Hall (which would have ensured protection throughout British territory). While his neglect was careless, he could hardly have expected the work to be so popular that a respectable London publisher would pirate it. On 16 October 1837 Howe wrote Bentley a half-threatening, half-conciliatory letter:

...I was preparing to publish an Edition in London or Edinburgh when I found that you had already put the work to press. I presume that this step was taken on your part, without any intention to trespass on my private rights--either under the impression that the Colonies were not protected by the Copyrights Act, or that the work (as was stated in some of the papers) had first appeared in the United States. If I am right in this conjecture I presume that you will see the propriety of making such compensation for the appropriation of my property without putting me to the necessity of seeking redress before the tribunals of our common country...the Clockmaker seems to have secured a singular measure of popularity, and sales, from the best information I can obtain, have been very large. Under the circumstances a verdict would probably bring with it handsome

compensation, but I would prefer an amicable arrangement, dictated by your own sense of justice. It is possible that another vol. of the *Clockmaker* will soon be ready for the Press, and in that case, should the affair which forms the subject of this letter be arranged to the satisfaction of all parties, you may become the publisher in England of that also.²⁷

We do not know if there was any communication before the two met in London on 7 June 1838, while Howe and Haliburton were on their trip to England. This was the year Haliburton was lionized by London literary and social circles. *The Clockmaker*, Second Series (1838) did not have Howe's imprint, but he had the colonial rights for it and contributed towards production costs. His Diary records of this meeting: "Concluded with Bentley. £ 5 sheet of 24 page of 16 will be £ 80 Stg. for 2000 copies binding [undecipherable word] £25 or about £ 130 currency."²⁸ I am not certain what arrangements Carey, Lea & Blanchard made for the Second Series. The negotiations for the Third Series, however, suggest that Howe was squeezed out of the arrangements between the author and his British and American publishers.

Howe made a statement of the subscriptions and sales estimates of *The Clockmaker*, Second Series:

280 12 June

Halifax 203 names	255 subscribers - probably	300
	Probable sale from Office, same as Vol. I	100
	Do to Bookseller do	100
Quebec	T. Cary & Co. about	100
Montreal	Armour & Ramsay "	100
St. John, N.B.	John Howe 76 now } Vol. I 85	
	will be 200 } 88 120	100 ²⁹

The remaining copies were to be distributed to *The Novasotian* agents. Because 500 copies were shipwrecked and between 200 and 300 remained unsold at the agencies, Howe believed that about 1200 were sold in the Colonies. "It was profitable--from my being in England expenses were saved, and the bulk of the overplus of too large an edition were shipwrecked and insured."³⁰

The arrangements for the Third Series (1840) were evidently changed by Haliburton, and as a result Howe suffered financial loss, public humiliation, and private pain. On 17 May 1839 Howe wrote to Lea & Blanchard, Harper Brothers, and William Badger of Boston, to offer the American rights for the best deal, "and as it is proposed to forward a Manuscript Copy to the [U.S. publisher] in time to preclude the possibility of any interference from England, my object in writing is to ascertain what you will be disposed to give for it—not books, as you [i.e., Lea & Blanchard] proposed formerly, but in money."³¹ Lea & Blanchard got the American rights, but they complained of the way the Second Series had been handled, which suggests they had had an arrangement in 1838 with Howe. He tried to soothe their fears of piracy, and wrote on 18 June 1839:

...no copy will be sent to England until the American and Colonial editions have been prepared, so that your agent there cannot negotiate about it, and Mr. Haliburton's arrangement with Mr. Bentley reserves to himself the right to the market on this side of the water. Mr. Haliburton having received no advantage from the publication of his Books in the United States hitherto conceives that this volume ought to yield him something handsome...I have given him a handsome sum for the Colonial copyright. Bentley pays a large price for the English, and...5 or \$600 would seem to be a fair return for the right to supply the whole American market. If, however, you will give \$400 for the Ms. it is yours.³²

Howe also enquired about having his edition (which did not have his imprint) printed in the United States. Later he wrote to say that the MS could not be delivered that autumn as Haliburton had set it aside to work on *The Letter Bag* (1840), which had the imprints of Bentley, Howe, and Lea & Blanchard. For some reason Haliburton gave part of the colonial market for this work to L.G. Geldert, A Windsor bookseller, although Howe was its colonial publishers. *The Letter Bag*, incidentally, was the first book copyrighted in Nova Scotia under the 1838 Copyright Act (2 Vict. Cap.36). Howe was certain that *The Bubbles of Canada* (1839), *A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham* (1839) and *The Letter Bag* had done Haliburton's reputation "a serious injury on this continent, and, for the present, spoilt the sale of your works...The indecency of the latter work, more perhaps than the politics of either, is the reason given by [the Philadelphia publishers and *The Novascotian* agents]." ³³

By June 1840 Howe had about 700 subscriptions for *The Clockmaker*, Third Series, an unexpectedly low figure. In this same month he travelled to Windsor and discovered that his relations with Haliburton were changing. Haliburton no longer wanted to give him a MS for Lea & Blanchard; in other words, Howe would forfeit \$400. Howe's letter of 2 January 1841 is not always clear on what happened, but at this point--in June--Haliburton may have been considering a £300 offer. Was it for the American and Colonial markets? Then Haliburton decided that Geldert should have part of the Colonial market for the Third Series also. We can only guess at Haliburton's motives. Possibly Bentley wanted to dispose of the American rights himself and to cut out Howe; someone must have seen the advantage of having one less party in the bargains. It seems likely that Lea & Blanchard got a copy of the Bentley edition for their printing after all. At the same time it appears that Haliburton was trying to sabotage Howe's position as his colonial publisher. If these conjectures are part of the truth, we are still left with the question of Haliburton's motives. Did he think he could make more money by changing his arrangements? Was he unhappy with Howe's distribution and sale of *The Letter Bag*, which he may have accused Howe of suppressing?³⁴

The other surprise Howe received in June was the unmistakable satiric reference to himself in some passages which Haliburton read to him from the Third Series. Howe returned to Halifax. "Though grievously wounded, and in no humour to discuss business matters, I felt, as I have always done in these affairs, that the first things to be looked to were your reputation, feelings, and interests, and that the business perplexities and arrangements ought to be met by me, and managed by me with as little trouble to you as possible."³⁵

Howe's long letter of 25 December 1840 was the first of three letters in the next month which marked the end of their close friendship. In the first letter Howe refused to have further dealings with Bentley ("he has treated me so ill"),³⁶ declined to order any more copies of the Third Series from Lea & Blanchard, and advised Haliburton to find another agent. In reply to Haliburton's letter of 28 December, Howe wrote on 2 January 1841 to explain further. It is a long, emotional, often confusing narrative. But clearly Howe

believed he had acted in good faith, and he pointed out: "Of all our book arrangements, then, one only can be said to have yielded me anything, perhaps from £250 to £280, rather a poor compensation, I should say, for all the time, trouble, conversation and correspondence, about Books, since the publication of the History."³⁷ And Howe observed of their friendship:

One tribute shall certainly be paid to our past friendship, that I shall not publicly resent insults which have been publicly given. I have calculated the extent of the damage the Book will do me and my principles, and expect to survive it. The world is wide enough for us both, and although you have the largest share of it, and cannot miss my friendship, what I have is enough, and I will endeavour to live without yours.³⁸

By the end of the 1830s, Howe evidently still considered pursuing a long-term career with his newspaper and book publishing. But his political activities kept him from his business, and he made several arrangements to ease the strain on himself. On 30 October he arranged for his former apprentice, Arthur W. Godfrey, to run a book and stationery store in partnership with himself. Godfrey was to receive £80 per annum. On 8 November Howe appointed John Sparrow Thompson editor of *The Pearl* at £100 salary for 1840 and another £100 to edit *The Novascotian*. Howe bought *The Pearl*, a literary weekly established in 1836 by J.S. Cunnabell, "to help Thompson". Recognizing how much time he must devote to the Assembly, he also arranged for William Small and Richard Nugent (who bought *The Novascotian* in 1841) to print the newspapers and do office jobwork at a cost of 391.5.0 per annum.³⁹

In 1840 Howe was in financial difficulties. Although not all of these problems were due to his publishing efforts, nevertheless, the unsold copies of Haliburton's *Statistical Account* were still in the office, and the investments in *The Pearl* and the bookstore might not show returns for years. There are many calculations in Howe's notebooks--presumably entered during this time--which estimate his debits and credits. One memorandum indicates the Printing Office was valued at £900, and *The Novascotian* copyright at £1500. Another memorandum estimates his sales between 1840 and 1843. This includes *The Letter Bag* (4500 copies), *The Clockmaker*, Third Series (4500), and the three *Clockmakers* issued in one volume (10,000).⁴⁰ In the

light of his experiences of the 1830s, these figures are an optimistic prediction of the market. There were also sales estimates for his projected *Nova Scotia Library*, a splendid venture which never materialized. On 14 January 1841 he announced that the *Nova Scotia Library*, "in imitation of those cheap and highly popular works which are produced at home [Britain] ... might have the effect of setting a good example." This was an exhortation to Nova-Scotian authors to look around them, at home and abroad, for inspiration and to emulate British and American authors. Eight volumes would be published, at 5s. each, every half year for four years. Each work would be about 300 pages, in clear English type on good paper, and with fancy covers. The volumes would include Provincial Poetry, a History of the Province, Lights and Shadows of Colonial Life, a Natural History of Nova Scotia, a Handbook of the Lower Provinces, a Novel, and two final volumes whose subjects were still undecided. Howe hoped for sales of 1000 to 6000 copies for these titles. This ambitious and imaginative project apparently did not receive the necessary advance subscriptions.

Discussing the impracticality of the *Library*, James Roy wondered where the books would come from and where the markets would be.⁴¹ As we have seen, there was a market in Nova Scotia, and certainly for the new cheap series coming from the United States and Britain. Howe's idea was the local application of current practices, and perhaps he believed the members of the Mechanics' Institutes in the Province would support his *Library*. One suspects that Roy meant, where would the fiction come from? But two novels, George Fenety's *The Lady and the Dressmaker* (1842) and George R. Young's *The Prince and his Protege* (1844), indicate that there was *some* creative activity, and the latter work, according to its title page, even won "a prize of ten Guineas, offered for the best tale of Nova Scotia, by the Editor of the Morning Post."

Howe is important not as a prolific publisher, for several of his colonial contemporaries published far more titles than he did. Nor did he probably have a book-store established as large as those of A. & W. MacKinlay, Armour & Ramsay, or even William Lyon Mackenzie. Nor is he important as an innovator, for his methods of publishing

and bookselling were common practice by his time. His innovations in *The Novascotian* (recording the daily sessions of the Assembly, for instance) are another story, of course.

Even his reforming and missionary spirit, which inspired Nova-Scotian society in the 1830's, was not an innovation. That spirit had been a dominant note in Provincial writing for almost two decades. Holland's *Acadian Recorder* (established 1813), John Young's *Letters of Agricola* (1822), Thomas McCulloch's "Letters of Mephiboseth Stepsure" (first printed in the *Acadian Recorder* in 1821-1822), Haliburton's *Clockmaker* series, and George R. Young's *On Colonial Literature, Science, and Education* (1842) were all motivated by a desire to awaken the country (this is a recurring metaphor) to its natural and intellectual resources. Indeed, the reforming spirit, necessary as it was, may have diverted Howe's generation and the next one from conventional literary pursuits--much to the loss of a developing colonial literature. But because he was an influential journalist and politician, he has a strong claim to be considered as the most important book publisher in British North America in that decade. Without the vigorous Howe at its centre, it is difficult to see how the intellectual awakening of Nova Scotia could have crystallized. Moreover, as a colonial publisher Howe was faced with problems that still plague the Canadian book trade. He did have, at least, a compact local market so that actual distribution was not a major problem. But his book sales were erratic and never as large as he hoped: yet a sale of 1200 copies (*The Clockmaker*, Second Series) would still be considered good by Canadian standards for fiction. He had no copyright problems in the local market, but as soon as he entered foreign markets, he ran into conflicts where he emerged the loser. The English trade considered a London imprint as a more meaningful publication than a colonial imprint, and were less enthusiastic about arranging market rights with him than with American firms. The fact that he was unable to control the American rights for *The Clockmaker*, Third Series, as a colonial proprietor is one instance of a continual problem for Canadian publishers.

If he were too ambitious, this was unfortunate for his own business affairs, but he did try--with lasting effects, we must

acknowledge--to improve the culture of his Province. Hence his aspirations for the colonial book world were not unrelated to his political vision, and this is a combination which was far commoner in colonial British North America than it is in twentieth-century Canada. And as the first publisher of Haliburton, Howe must always have an important place in the literary publishing annals of the country.

But Howe should have the last word on his book-publishing career. In his final editorial in *The Novascotian* on 30 December 1841, he assessed his efforts thus:

The growth of literature in every country depends a good deal on the enterprise and liberality of its publishers. In this branch of my profession I have endeavoured, I trust, to set a good example. Most of the works which have had a tendency to elevate the character of the country--to make it known at home and abroad--and to lay the foundation of a Provincial Literature, that have appeared within the past twelve years, have issued from The Novascotian Press. Haliburton's History of the Province, Murdoch's Epitome of the Laws, Cooney's New Brunswick, the Clockmaker, and several other Works were published by me; and for a year, I vainly essayed, with the able assistance of its Editor, to sustain a Periodical devoted exclusively to Literature and Science. I would, perhaps, have attempted to do more, but while I have published a volume a year for every year that I have been in business--by none of them making much, and by some of them losing heavily, I trust I have done something, to point the way towards a field which will by and by admit of more brilliant and profitable cultivation.

FOOTNOTES

1. James A. Roy, *Joseph Howe: A Study in Achievement and Frustration* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935), p. 31. Roy drew my attention to several reprinted articles in *The Novascotian*.
2. J. Murray Beck, ed., *Joseph Howe: Voice of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), p. 22.
3. *The Clockmaker*, Second Series (1838) was distributed outside the Province to Henry Stamper, Charlottetown; John Howe, Saint John; T. Cary & Co., Quebec; Armour & Ramsay, Montreal; and even to booksellers in Demarara and Bermuda. Diary, 1838, *Joseph Howe Papers*, vol. 45.
4. Letterbook, 28 September 1831. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Annual entry for 1830. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32. This "work" may actually be two popular American textbooks of that decade: Benjamin Emerson's *Introduction to the National Spelling Book...* (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1828) and Frederick Emerson's *The North American Arithmetic* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmonds, 1829).
7. See V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton: A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), Chapter VI.

8. Beck, p. 8.
9. 140 copies of the *Statistical Account* went to Saint John, 200 to Boston, and 100 each to New York, Quebec, London, and Edinburgh. To add to his troubles, he had bought £65 worth of books and stationery from Boston, and sold perhaps £25. Annual entry for 1829. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
10. Letter of 18 September 1831. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Letterbook. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
13. Howe to Haliburton, 2 January 1841. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
14. In 1844 another Halifax edition appeared: "Halifax: Published for Joseph Howe and Sold by C.H. Belcher, Halifax."
15. Letterbook. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. The Reverend James Robertson (1801-1878) was the S.P.G.F.P. missionary in the Bridgetown district.
19. Howe to Cogswell, 30 May 1836. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
20. Howe to Spurr, 16 February 1836. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
21. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1836. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Letterbook. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
24. Howe to "Caustick" 10 August 1836. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32. Mr. Abel Gore of Amherst may have been the author.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Howe to Haliburton, 2 January 1841. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33. David Kaser's *The Cost Book of Carey & Lea 1825-1838* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 231-232 provides the costs of the two pirated American printings of *The Clockmaker*, First Series.
27. Howe to Bentley, 16 October 1837. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
28. Diary, 1838, *J.H.P.*, vol. 45.
29. Howe to Haliburton, 2 January 1841. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
30. Howe to Lea & Blanchard, 17 May 1839. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
31. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1839. *J.H.P.*, vol. 32.
32. Howe to Haliburton, 2 January 1841, *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, 25 December 1840. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
 37. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1841. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. Abstracts of Agreements. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33.
 40. *J.H.P.*, vol. 33 ;
 41. Roy, p. 109.

A Check List of Imprints Issued from
 Joseph Howe's Novascotian Office
 Between 1828-1841

1828

Halliburton, Brenton. *Observations Upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced, that HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL Have No CONSTITUTIONAL POWER to Controul Individual Appropriations, or to Amend or Alter Money Bills: With a Few Remarks upon the Conduct of that Body on the Questions of Granting Encouragement to Common Schools, and a Permanent Provision to the PICTOU ACADEMY.* Halifax: Printed at The Novascotian Office, 1828. 40 p.

Origin and Formation of the Baptist Church, in Granville-Street, Halifax, N.S., Constituted on the 30th of September, A.D. 1827.... Halifax: Printed at the Novascotian Office, 1828. 73 p.

1829

Halliburton, Thomas Chandler. *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia.* Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1829. 2 vols.

1831

Howe, John. *Letter on the Doctrine of Personal Assurance; Written by Mr. John Howe to Mrs. John Walker.* Halifax: Printed at the Novascotian Office, 1831. 77 p.

Shiels, Andrew. *The Witch of the Westcot; A Tale of Nova-Scotia in Three Cantos; and Other Waste Leaves of Literature.* Halifax: Printed and Published by Joseph Howe, 1831. 213 p.

Cooney, Rev. Robert. *A Compendious History of the Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick, and of the District of Gaspe, in Lower Canada.* Halifax: Printed by Joseph Howe, 1832. 288 p.

1832

Murdoch, Beamish. *Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia.* Halifax: Printed by Joseph Howe, 1832. 2 vols. in one. [Separate title page, pagination, and index for each volume.]

1833

Murdoch, Beamish. *Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia*. Halifax: Printed by Joseph Howe, 1833. 2 vols. in one.

1834

Homer, John. *A Brief Sketch of the Present State of the Province of Nova Scotia, with a Project Offered for Its Relief*. Halifax, N.S., 1834.

Howe, Joseph. *Address Delivered Before the Halifax Mechanics Institute, on the 5th of November, 1834*. Published at the Request of the Institute. Halifax, N.S., 1834. 23 p. [Probably printed at the Novascotian Office.]

1835

[Howe, Joseph.] *Trial for Libel, on the Magistrates of Halifax, The King vs. Joseph Howe, before the Chief Justice and A Special Jury*. Halifax, N.S., 1835. 102 p. [Probably printed at The Novascotian Office.]

1836

Caustick, Christopher [Pseud.] *The Outlines of a Speech to be Delivered on the Hustings, at the next General Election for the Province of Nova Scotia*. [Not located. Later imprint: Saint John: G. W. Day, 1853. 32 p.]

Cooney, Rev. Robert. *The Glory of the God of Israel Displayed, Being the Substance of a Sermon Preached at Liverpool, before the Wesleyan Ministers of the Nova Scotia District, on Monday, 26th of May, 1834*. Halifax: Printed at the Novascotian Office, 1836. 34 p.

[Haliburton, Thomas Chandler.] *The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville*. [First series.] Halifax: Printed and published by Joseph Howe, 1836. 221 p.

Hayden, Rev. Henry. *Illustrations of Astronomy*. Second Edition. Halifax: Printed at "The Novascotian" Office, 1836. 46 p. [First edition: Halifax: Printed at The Times Office, 1836. 38 p.]

Robertson, Rev. James. *A Treatise on Infant Baptism; Shewing the Scriptural Grounds and Historical Evidence of that Ordinance; Together with a Brief Exposition of the Baptismal Offices of the Church of England*. Halifax: Printed at "The Novascotian" Office, 1836. 291 p.

1837

Howe, Joseph. *Information for the People. Results of the Session, 1837*. From The Novascotian. [n.p.; n.d.] 4p. p.

1839

[Howe Joseph.] *Responsible Government. Letters to the Right Honorable John Russell, &c. &c. on the Right of British Americans to be Governed by the Principles of the British Constitution*. "Look on this Picture, and on that." Halifax, N.S., 1839. 48 p. [Probably printed at The Novascotian Office.]

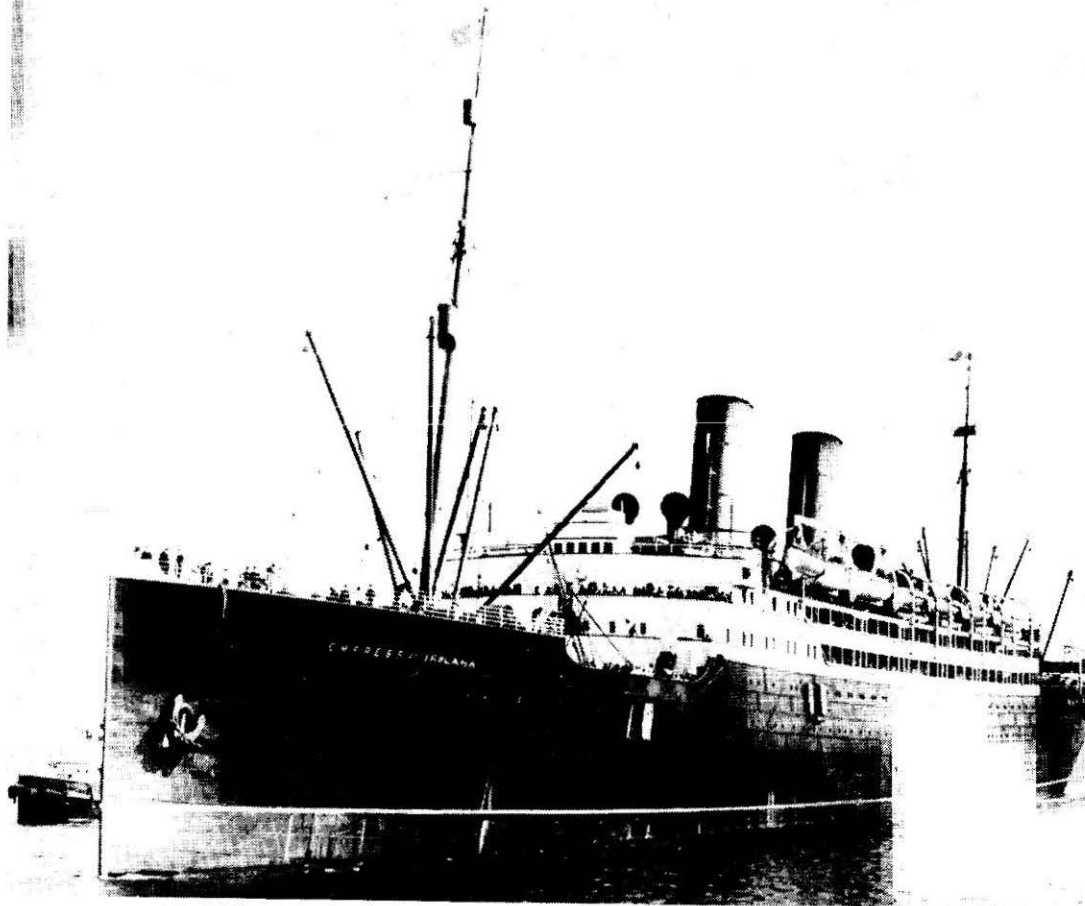
Minutes of the Nova-Scotia Baptist Association, Held at Wilmot, Annapolis Co. on the 24th, 25th, & 26th June, 1839. Halifax: Printed at "The Novascotian" Office, 1839. 24 p.

[Thompson, John S.] *Debate on the Despatches, Transmitted from Her Majesty's Government, and Submitted by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, to the House of Assembly of Nova-Scotia. January 18, 1839.* Halifax: Printed at "The Novascotian" Office, 1839. 94 p.

1840

Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. *The Letter Bag of the Great Western; or, Life in a Steamer.* By the Author of "The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick." Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1840. 189 p.

Information for the People. The Solicitor General's Speech to the People of Nova Scotia. [n.p., n.d.= 12 p. [Probably printed at The Novascotian Office.]



THE DALHOUSIE REVIEW

Empress of Ireland - 1906-1914. 14,200 GT. Steam. Built on the Clyde (Fairfield), 18½ knots. Dimensions - 549' x 65'. Rammed and sunk in thick fog near Rimouski on May 29th, 1914 by Norwegian Collier *Storstad* which was entirely to blame. 1011 lives were lost. This name hasn't been used by the C.P.S. since this disaster. This photo is actually the *Empress of Britain*. Name on bow is copy work by a photographer, Dec. 11th, 1955.