

LAWRENCE
O'CONNOR
DOYLE

Doyle

WIT, HUMORIST, REFORMER

BY
GEORGE
MULLANE



LAWRENCE O'CONNOR DOYLE.
(From Bourinot's Builders of Nova Scotia.)

“A SKETCH OF LAWRENCE O’CONNOR DOYLE, A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES.”

By GEORGE MULLANE.

Read before Nova Scotia Historical Society, 6th December, 1912.

To rescue from almost total oblivion the memory of a man whose doings and sayings vastly interested the generation in which he flourished is a somewhat difficult task, when it happens that none of his contemporaries are alive nor any relative or descendant that had met or conversed with him who could describe his characteristics. Still it seems but just that the attempt should be made in the case of one who held a high place in the circle of Reformers who obtained responsible government.

In this historic building gathered a number of men whose talents and acquirements would have gained fame in the wider arena of the mother country—men whose eloquence and persistence changed the old order of affairs and brought about the new form of responsible government as we know it to-day. In the Supreme Court, a few feet from here Joseph Howe stood at the bar charged with libel, and was pronounced not guilty by twelve of his fellow citizens. These halls rang with cheers from an immense crowd when the verdict was made known. In this chamber sat the opponents of the reformers within closed doors. One of the principal men to open these doors to admit the public is the subject of this paper. To effect the free admission of the public, Lawrence O’Connor Doyle moved four resolutions, the first of which was as follows; “Resolved, that the practice hitherto pursued by His Majesty’s Legislative Council of this Province of excluding

the people from their deliberations is not only at variance with the House of Lords in England and that of several of the Legislative councils in other British North American colonies, but contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, and injurious to the interests and liberties of the country. Mr. Doyle's speech on the occasion was spirited and logical beyond criticism.

Lawrence Doyle, the father of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, was a native of Ireland and a leading merchant of Halifax in the early years of the nineteenth century. His place of business was on the water front—in the vicinity of the present N. & M. Smith's wharves on Lower Water Street. Just one hundred years ago he was an officer of the Charitable Irish Society. The records of that Society show the following for 1812:—

Hon. Charles Morris, President.

Samuel Hood D. George, Secretary of the Province, Vice-President.

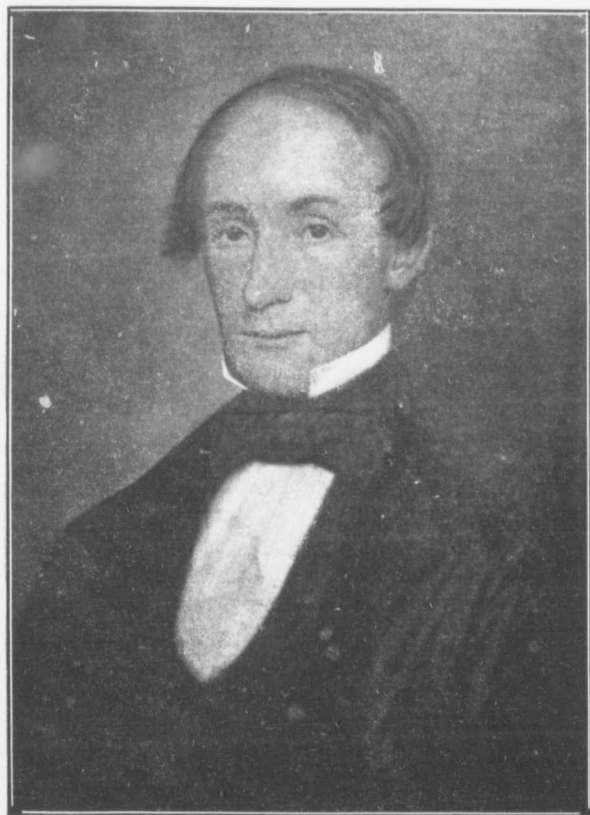
James E. Butler and Lawrence Doyle, Assistant Vice-Presidents.

Robert Phealon, Secretary.

Henry Austen, Assistant-Secretary.

It may be said of Lawrence Doyle that he was a faithful member of the Roman Catholic Church, manifesting a deep interest in religious and philanthropic works. At the time of his death he owned and occupied the present residence of Wylie Smith on Pleasant Street. After his death this residence came into the possession of Sir Edward Kenny. In 1826 Lawrence Doyle was president of the Charitable Irish Society, having followed in that office the Hon. Joseph Allison, a member of the old "Council of Twelve", and a partner in business of Hon. Enos Collins.

An elder brother of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle named Morgan, died on the 20th of July, 1845. A table head-stone marks his last resting place in Holy Cross Cemetery. Lawrence



HON. WILLIAM ANNAND.

Doyle and his wife Bridget O'Connor Doyle are buried in old St. Peter's burying ground.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was born in the same year as the Hon. Joseph Howe. His birth took place on the 27th of February 1804, while that of Howe was on the 13th of December, 1804, thereby making Doyle the elder by about nine months and a half. The birth register of old St. Peter's Chapel, Halifax, records that Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, son of Lawrence Doyle and Bridget O'Connor, was baptized on the 9th of March, 1804, aged twelve days. The ceremony of baptism was performed by the Rev. E. Burke, Vicar-General to the Bishop of Quebec.

Of Howe's lieutenants in the great fight for responsible government in Nova Scotia, none is so little known to-day as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle. And yet, no one in the early stages of the constitutional struggle took a more active part in the various steps that finally wrested power from the "old Council of Twelve." Huntingdon, the Youngs, and Annand, stand prominently forth as the younger liberals who rallied to the standard of reform, but Doyle's part seems overshadowed by his confreres who remained longer in the public eye.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle's fame as an astute politician and an ardent reformer, appears to have suffered somewhat from his reputation as a humorist and a *bon-vivant*. His more solid qualities lose distinctness through the nebulous light which surrounds him as a wit and boon companion.

Doyle had all the better traits which characterize the Kelt, but he lacked the personal dignity which stood some of his contemporaries in good stead, in the absence of rhetorical abilities. Judge Longley, in his recent life of Howe, says: "Mr. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, was a man of the most delightful character whom Howe—not a poor judge of such matters—regarded as the wittiest man he had ever met.

When Doyle was born, the outlook, outside of trade, was dark indeed for an ambitious lad of the Roman Catholic faith. There were no seminaries where a Catholic youth could obtain a superior education. The test oaths debarred him from entering King's college—the only institution in the province offering a fit training for a professional career. There are now but meagre details of his youth to be gathered. His father purchased from Bishop Burke a building on the site of the present St. Mary's glebe, which had been built by the bishop as a college, and which his lordship attempted to found, but which fell through for want of adequate means to maintain such an institution.

Doyle was educated abroad—probably at Stonyhurst. The Halifax of his youth offered no opportunity for the education of one of the Roman Catholic persuasion, without coming under influences unfavorable to his faith. Even dissenters of all kinds were debarred from taking advantage of a training in a seminary which received a substantial grant from the people that outnumbered by five to one the privileged denomination that controlled the Windsor college. One of the ordinances of that college read as follows: "No pupil was allowed to attend Mass, or meeting house of Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, or to be present at seditious or rebellious meetings." If a youth entered King's college he would have to put aside the religious observances in which he was trained, and before he could obtain a degree he would have to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles—in fact, become a member of the Church of England.

In the *Weekly Chronicle* of April, 1821, appeared some verses on the death of Bishop Burke. It was stated that they were "lines by a very young gentleman, a native of this town at H. H. (probably intended for S. H., meaning Stonyhurst) college in England, on receiving information of the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke. The lines, which were signed "L. O'C****D*le" are as follows:



The Glebe House to the right, was for a considerable period the parental home of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle.

(From a Water Colour by William Eagar.)

BISHOP BURKE.

From every eye the tear shall start,
And every heaving bosom swell;
A bitter pang shall wring each heart,
When tolls the death inviting knell.

The babe unborn shall hear his fame,
And fading age beweeep his doom;
The Indian fierce, repeat his name,
Amidst the wigwam's cheerless gloom.

If e'er a heart could sorrow feel,
If in the eye one tear could lurk;
That heart may vie with hardest steel,
That heaves not at the name of Burke.

Then fare thee well since life is past,
And icy sleep hath locked thy frame;
Yet still, methinks, each plaintive blast,
Sighs softly forth our Edmund's name.

When Doyle arrived at an age which qualified him to assume some calling in life, the religious disabilities were still in force throughout the English-speaking portions of the British empire. The advance of liberal principles and a more tolerant spirit towards Roman Catholics gave the hope that a Catholic relief bill could not long be postponed in Nova Scotia, and decided Doyle's father to article his son to the profession of the law.

It is pertinent to recall an incident from which, perhaps, there may be formed an idea as to the manner of man Doyle was. An ungenerous article in one of the denominational journals reflecting somewhat on the efforts that were being made, in the late thirties, by the Roman Catholics of Nova Scotia to improve and extend their academic institutions stirred Doyle, on the spur of the moment, to take up the cudgels in behalf of his co-religionists.

In the course of his communication to the press he said: I am not disposed, nor probably qualified, to adventure within the lists of controversy. By the accident of birth, a Catholic, I find my spiritual moorings to that faith *trebly-linked* by the convictions of manhood. I interpose not between any one's opinions as to his proper way towards the other world. The editor whom I now address talks of coercing conscience. While a boy, at a distance of 3000 miles from my home, driven thither by the penal laws of which he so pathetically "*hinc illae lacrymae*", speaks—immured within the enclosures of a monastery—I was taught as a tenet of my faith, in the words of St. Cyrian of the 2nd century: "*non est religionis-religionem cogere*"—not to coerce conscience. Yet we are to suffer under imputations of principles utterly at variance with the same.

Again: Is "bear not false witness against thy neighbor," among the commandments of those who profess vital christianity, or not? For such appears in the catechism of our Catholic children. If they practice it not—they sin. Every congregation is allowed to institute its useful society for charitable purposes, for attending upon the sick, distribution of relief and other eleemosynary ends. Yet an institution in the Catholic church, almost solely devoted to the uses of itinerant charity, unconnected with any conventual system of education, is denounced, because it is a matter of alarm in the mind of the Christian editor, lest the broth which may moisten the lip of our dying pauper should bear the flavor of holy water.

Again: At this season of Advent when the minds of all sincere believers in the doctrines of our Saviour are, or ought to be, occupied by the sacred reminiscences of His nativity, I feel more sensibly the edge of the weapon aimed at us. The Roman Catholics of the province have been an unobtrusive class; they have not been as mendicants for private or public alms; they have erected their own edifice of worship at the cost of thousands, without the solicitation or receipt of one

penny from a member of any other class of christians; and yet forsooth, they are not to be permitted to rest in peace, if after a discharge of all earthly claims upon their establishment, they venture to apply the surplus of their own monies for the purposes of education.

Again: If we do not instruct we are reproached with ignorance. If we attempt to teach we are arraigned for superstition. And this, out of a spirit of "vital christianity." A more insidiously written article than the one which constitutes the object of my notice I have seldom read. In earlier life I have perused the attacks of Sturges and Greer. In later times the virulent phillipics of Sullivan and McGhee. These were fair assaults. The point was directed to your breast, you saw it, you could parry or repel. But my christian editor, "willing to wound but afraid to strike", mingles his apologetic tones with the accents of injury.

In a prefatory way, it may be said, that the first constituency Mr. Doyle represented in the house of assembly was the Isle Madame. That was in the early thirties. He was then about 30 years of age. The period was too far back for anybody now on the stage to recall his personal appearance when he first stepped into the public arena, but he has been described as being rather short, of a hale complexion, careless and plain in his dress, and had a cast of countenance which inclined to good nature.

When Parliament was in session Doyle usually addressed the chair from the head of the bench on the Speaker's left. His politics were Liberal first, last, and all the time—and as a public man his conduct was strictly consistent. No member of the house came to the attack more fearlessly than the youthful member for Isle Madame. Speaking of him in the early forties it was remarked that he had been an able and unflinching advocate of reform. He invariably declaimed against the propriety of the Council debating with closed doors. The house was hardly organized in 1837 before he formally brought

the matter under its notice. He was the author of the Quadrennial bill—one of the most popular measures passed during the struggles for constitutional reform.

Mr. Doyle seldom made a set speech, but he was pithy and laconic in his impromptu replies. He had a shrill, clear voice, more action in debate than many of his compeers, and never addressed empty benches. He was decidedly the most humorous debater in the house. Many a fell inroad his occasional sallies of wit made upon the long-visaged seriousness of an important debate.

To repeat: Doyle was educated at Stonyhurst College. No doubt it was his father's intention to educate him for the priesthood, but on the youth showing a disinclination for clerical life, and the repeal of the obnoxious laws against Catholics offering opportunities of a professional career, the design of the parent had to give way to the inclination of the son—hence it came about that Doyle was articled for five years to Richard John Uniacke, the old Attorney-General. On the 22nd of January, 1828, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, Martin I. Wilkins, John C. Halliburton and Stephen H. Moore were admitted as attorneys, and on January the 29th, 1829, all four became barristers.

Let me, by the way, refer to an item or two of a more local interest: St. Patrick's day, 1828, was celebrated at the Exchange Coffee house; about seventy gentlemen sat down to an excellent repast. James Boyle Uniacke presided over the festival, and was ably supported by L. O'Connor Doyle, as vice-president.

When Doyle's father purchased the college building from Father Burke and the Catholic corporation, he at once set to work to improve the lower part of the building and to make it suitable for a residence. This was in the early boyhood of the son.

During Doyle's student days, contagious and infectious diseases raged in Halifax. A report of the House of Assembly

states that out of a population of eleven thousand, eight hundred had died. The disease which afflicted the inhabitants of the town had been brought by immigrant ships, and James B. Uniacke, afterwards Doyle's friend,—and then, again his colleague and opponent—in the legislature, was taken down by the small-pox.

When the Archbishop of Quebec visited Halifax in 1815, he kept a diary of his journey. In it there is recorded that Doyle's father gave a dinner to which a number of the principal Catholics were invited to meet the Archbishop. His lordship remarks slyly about this function: "the conversation turned generally on religious topics, but while speaking of edifying matters, these good Irishmen were most unsparing of wine."

It was during this visit that the Archbishop was a guest at Mount Uniacke, while *en-route* to Annapolis. He described graphically the lordly residence of the old attorney general, presided over by his second wife and his daughter, the widow of Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell.

It may be noted here some characteristics of the young reformer who was destined to lend such valuable aid in bringing about responsible government. His nature was open, genial and frank. No artificial atmosphere enveloped him; the real man was revealed to all who came in contact with him. His disposition was most cheerful, and he went through life seemingly untroubled and with a display of wit that was irresistible. His political foes were attracted to him because in no sense, was he vindictive or resentful, but always "the hail fellow well met." In the hottest moment of party strife he bore himself as a gentleman and a christian.

Mr. Doyle was the second Roman Catholic to take his seat in the Parliament of Nova Scotia, and the first Catholic outside the province of Quebec to be admitted a member of the legal profession. On Friday, 8th February, 1833, Mr. Doyle having been returned duly elected a member for the township of Arichat took his seat in the House of Assembly—

taking the oath prescribed for Roman Catholics in the presence of Hibbert Newton Binney, one of the commissioners appointed by the lieutenant-governor for the purpose. On the same day Alex. Stewart, Wm. B. Bliss and Lawrence Doyle were appointed a committee to examine and report on expiring laws.

I have enjoyed, recently, a conversation with an aged citizen (Thomas Granville), now in his 94th year, and among other things he told me that where the Sisters' convent now stands, on Barrington street, there was in the early years a vegetable garden for the use of the resident priest. Upon this site afterwards there was built a small double cottage. In one end there resided a Mrs. McSweeney who kept a school for young children. Doyle's father, who lived nearby, owned three donkeys, who it seems had free access to the street, and who were great favorites with the children that attended the dame's school.

The donkeys with unerring instinct knew the precise hour of the children's dismissal, and, accordingly, every afternoon they would repair to the vicinity of the school to await the coming out of the children, who gathered around them, and who would, in turn, mount their backs, to be ridden about the streets, until relieved by the coming of Mr. Doyle's servant, and taken to their enclosure. Father Burke (afterwards Bishop) relates that Mr. Doyle, the father of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, whilst excavating the basement of the college building, found a "spring of running water capable of supplying half the town—we have put a pump in it." That same spring of delicious cold water, it has been told us by Archbishop O'Brien, was used by the various inmates of the old glebe house for the next eighty years. In the new glebe house it holds its place of honor and usefulness. Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, who visited Halifax in 1818, says: "the college is let at a low rent to a Catholic merchant named Lawrence Doyle. He occupied the lower part. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle at the outset of his political career intended to stand as a candidate for Cape Breton. But, as he said himself in reply to

James Boyle Uniacke, in the debate on the Cape Breton election riots of 1832, on visiting Cape Breton, I subsequently determined to offer for the Isle Madame, as I conceived I would be equally honored by representing the only Catholic township in the province."

The old inhabitant whose name I have taken the liberty to mention, described to me the appearance of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and James Boyle Uniacke, as he saw them in their prime in the House of Assembly on a St. Patrick's day in the forties. Little business was being transacted and as he sat in the gallery he saw Doyle enter dressed in a dark green cutaway coat; he stood erect, broad-shouldered, a little over the middle height, his short round Irish face beaming with good nature and humour. Uniacke, he said, looked the aristocrat, that he was—tall, graceful and a "prince among men." He was always attired in the latest London fashion and on this occasion had a large spray of "the dear little shamrock" pinned on his breast. Larry Doyle's wife was a daughter of Lieut. Driscoll of the Royal Navy. Her brother was a clerk in the Halifax Post office. Their married life was brief; and it was the opinion of Doyle's friends that her death, in the bloom of youth, had much to do in causing him to view life with an air of indifference.

After the well-known incident of Joseph Howe's victory over the magistrates of Halifax, a number of Nova Scotians residing in the city of New York subscribed a sum of money towards purchasing a silver water pitcher, to be presented to the victor in the legal battle against entrenched privileges. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was one of a committee charged by Howe's friends in New York to make a public presentation of the testimonial. It took place at the old court house—market square.

The next glimpse we get of Doyle was when he rose at the opening of the session of 1837, and seconded a resolution to the effect: "That the house recognize no religious distinction

in the appointment of a chaplain, and that equal justice and equal courtesy be extended to all denominations in the selection of a chaplain." The chaplain of the house had always been a clergyman of the Church of England, and the Rev. Fitzgerald Uniacke was again an applicant for the position. Mr. Uniacke was greatly respected by all shades of religious opinions, and some of the supporters of the Church of England in the house tried to make it appear that Mr. Uniacke was opposed on personal grounds.

Mr. Doyle met the charge in a straightforward manner; he said "that the observations of one of the hon. gentlemen had given the resolution a complexion that the mover did not intend it to bear. The question was not one of a personal nature—it involved a general principle, the pre-eminence of the Church of England.

This was one of the first moves of the younger reformers in the direction of attacking vested rights and exclusiveness. It was evident that Doyle saw plainly that the old style of conciliatory resolution to the Council in the hope that they would step down from their haughty position had passed. He saw that the fight was to be to a finish, and he faced the issue boldly. He was always in the front of the attack with the weapons of wit and shrewd parliamentary manoeuvre.

In this debate Lewis Wilkins proposed an amendment to the effect that as the house recognized no religious preference in the choice of its officers, yet it was impossible that feelings of sect in the house should be gratified by having the selection of the chaplain, and as the Rev. Mr. Uniacke had discharged his duty, while in that office, with fidelity and satisfaction, the house should re-appoint him.

Mr. Doyle did not like the terms of the resolution proposed by the hon. member from the town of Windsor. He said he did not see the incompatibility between the resolution proposed by his hon. friend from the county of Halifax and that submitted by the hon. gentleman from Shelburne. He re-

puddied the idea of adopting the old system prevailing in England in our provincial institutions.

When the new house met in 1837, on the opening day, after routine business, Mr. Doyle rose and introduced four resolutions attacking the constitution of the Legislative Council. In support of these resolutions Howe made his maiden speech in the General Assembly. These resolutions were the first direct and uncompromising frontal attack on the old order of things as it existed in Nova Scotia, and brought out the famous reply from the Council of Twelve, denying the right of the lower house to comment on its mode of procedure.

When the Council sent this defiant reply and threw down the gauntlet to the reformers, the old liberals became alarmed, and John Young, who had been the recognized leader of liberal ideas in the assembly, offered a series of conciliatory resolutions. This gave rise to the famous amendment of twelve articles offered by Mr. Howe, which comprised the confession of faith of the party in favor of "a change."

Judge Longley, in his recent "Life of Joseph Howe," gives all the credit for these resolutions to Howe, but Doyle, Huntington, William Young—the son of the mover of the conciliatory resolutions—and others had a hand in formulating this platform, though the duty of announcing its features devolved upon Howe, who sought the honor.

Without doubt Howe acquitted himself admirably in this his first attempt at leadership in a house of many older members in actual parliamentary experience. To Doyle belonged also the honor of firing an opening shot in the great battle for responsible government.

One of Doyle's jokes in the debates on the judiciary may be mentioned; he said that some members entertained very extraordinary views of the judges. One gentleman reminded him very much of a story of a Hibernian servant of the hon. Speaker (S. G. W. Archibald), who never could be prevailed upon to take hold of the bridle of a judge's horse, and on being

asked the reason said that he was very near being hanged by a judge in Ireland.

In the session of January, 1839, an election bill was prepared which gave the right to vote to all who had a clear yearly value of forty shillings in agricultural produce or other values. Mr. Morton, the member for Cornwallis, who was somewhat expansive on the claims of agriculture to the exclusion of other interests, moved an amendment intended to limit votes to those only who had a clear yearly value in agricultural produce. His amendment was to strike out the words "or other" following the word agriculture. This would shut out fishermen who produced fish to that amount or over. Mr. Doyle took exception to this and twitted Mr. Morton in a humorous way on the great stress he laid on the importance of the farmers in comparison to the fishermen and other producers. The following were the remarks of Mr. Doyle, Mr. Morton and Mr. Howe:

Mr. Doyle opposed the motion. He wondered at the attempt, to limit the franchise to those who might grow a few bushels of sour crab apples while those who produced maple sugar, or valuable quantities of fish from the rivers were to be excluded. The fisheries were said to be valuable, yet the moment any benefit was to go beyond a turnip or a parsnip, or the ridges of the agriculturist—then nothing was to be privileged but vegetables. In fact, except a man produced a certain quantity of vegetables, it would appear, that he should not be thought fit to hold a seat in that house. The sense of the house would prevent any such attempt from being successful, and would put agriculturist and fisherman on equal footing. Surely the man who took fish was entitled to equal rights with the man who raised the largest turnip. As much salmon was taken from a river in Isle Madame, as was worth more than the produce of Cornwallis—at least more than some of its best agriculturists could exhibit on farms.

Mr. Morton said that the honorable gentleman who had just spoken had talent and wit, and he was in the habit of coming into the house to show off these qualities. That seemed the extent of his legislation. He spoke of agriculture as of no consequence—and spoke of a river in Isle Madame as producing more than all Cornwallis. If Isle Madame was such a place, it was a wonder that the people there could not send one of themselves to represent them.

Mr. Doyle replied that he had no idea of assailing the hon. gentleman. If Isle Madame chose persons out of itself, it might be no harm had Cornwallis done the same. So fully had agriculture occupied the hon. gentleman's mind that he had no consideration for any other interest. If the clause were limited, as had been proposed, the poor man whose crops had been spoiled by the visitation of Providence, and who might not be able to grow the required value in agricultural produce would have his difficulties increased by a loss of franchise; also by being refused the sending of a representative to better the condition of his class.

Mr. Howe did not see why the distinction should be made. If right was confined altogether to buildings, then fishermen and farmers would be on the same footing, but the proposed alteration gave the latter a double chance. If agricultural values were to form a qualification—why not the value which the fisher produced? The hon. gentleman from Cornwallis had been repeatedly twitted about his apples—he (Mr. H.) took that opportunity of bearing testimony to their quality; he had tasted them at the hon. gentleman's farm a couple summers ago, and found them excellent. The best reason in the world could be given why the people of Isle Madame had sent his hon. friend to the house: from the nature of their occupation they were led to select an "odd fish" as their representative. The gentleman from Cornwallis as well as himself would, he was sure, be sorry to lose the wit of the hon. gentleman who represented Isle Madame, though it was sometimes directed against his side of the house.

The bill as originally proposed stood, the amendment being defeated.

The House of Assembly elected in 1843 was presided over by William Young—afterwards Sir William Young, chief justice of Nova Scotia. The following were the members of the house of assembly representing, respectively, the counties and townships. The prefix * to the name indicates that the member in question had occupied a seat in a former parliament.

Counties.

- Halifax—*Joseph Howe, and Law. O'C. Doyle.
 Colchester—*John Ross.
 Pictou—*John Holmes and George R. Young.
 Cumberland—*Stephen Fulton, and *R. McG. Dickey.
 Hants—*Benj. Smith, and Hon. L. M. Wilkins.
 Kings—*T. A. S. DeWolf, and Jno. C. Hall.
 Annapolis—Hon. James W. Johnston, attorney-general.
 Digby—Francis Bourneuf.
 Yarmouth—*Herbert Huntington.
 Shelburne—Obadiah Wilson.
 Queens—S. P. Freeman, and Jno. Campbell.
 Lunenburg—*John Creighton and Chas. B. Owen.
 Sydney—George Brennan and Patrick Power.
 Guysborough—*W. F. DesBarres, and *J. J. E. Marshall.
 Cape Breton—James B. Uniacke.
 Richmond—
 Inverness—*Wm. Young, and Jas. McKeagney.

Townships.

- Halifax—*Jas. McNab, and Andrew M. Uniacke.
 Truro—William Flemming.
 Onslow—*John Crowe.
 Londonderry—*G. W. McLellan.
 Pictou—*Henry Blackadar.
 Amherst—Thomas Logan.
 Windsor—James D. Fraser.

Newport—Ichabod Dimock.
Falmouth—Elkanah Young.
Cornwallis—*Mayhew Beckwith.
Horton—Perez M. Benjamin.
Granville—*Stephen S. Thorne.
Annapolis—Alfred Whitman.
Digby—*Charles Budd.
Clare—*Anselm F. Comeau.
Yarmouth—*Reuben Clements.
Argyle—*John Ryder.
Shelburne—*Peter Spearwater.
Barrington—Paul Crowell.
Liverpool—*William B. Taylor.
Lunenburg—*John Heckman.
Sydney, C. B.—*Hon. Edmund M. Dodd.
Arichat, C. B.—*Henry Martell.

It is doubtful viewing the names of the men who sat on the red benches in the early forties, whether any House of Assembly, before or since, in a larger degree represented the various features of our province: its intellectual culture, its measure of high statesmanship, and in the knowledge of its material resources from a practical participation in their development—on land and sea.

And yet not alone in the newspapers were they—all of them—most vigorously “hailed over the coals,” but even in the old matter-of-fact almanac their motives were impugned, and their want of zeal in the promotion of the public weal called in question in words that were by no means courteous. One quotation will suffice:

“Did our politicians, including of course our honorable members of the legislature, display half the zeal, and expend a tithe of the money, to enlighten and encourage agriculture, and to render the earth more prolific in the bounties of Providence, that they display and expend in the scramble for power—for office—which many grasp at but few obtain—we should

have less complaint of hard times; and we should become, what we too vauntingly boast of being already, an independent, a prosperous and happy people. There would then soon be but little occasion for young lawyers and boys running about to instruct our sturdy farmers in their interests and political duties."

The famous learned blacksmith was no fuller of "wise saws" than our oldtime weather predictor. His advice to the man who tickled the land with the plough was retailed in the almanac during each calendar month from January to December. The politician, too, was given "a bit of his mind" in the cool November, and after assuring the all-confiding farmer that he might "look for a snow storm between the 14th and 18th of December," he undertook to tell some homely truths to the "free and independent elector" after this fashion:

"He is not a *wise* man who does not know *how* to vote—nor a free man who *dares* not vote as he thinks right—nor a patriot who *will not* do so. We *want* more *practical* business men in our legislature, as well as upon our farms—men of sound judgment and independent bearing—and who, though they do not *talk* as much, can *think* and *act* as correctly and as promptly, as *professional* talkers; and who, knowing best the true interests of the country, are likely to do the least injury, if they do not do the most good. We also want a more extended circulation of agricultural periodicals—because they disseminate useful knowledge, stimulate industry, call into action latent genius, awaken laudable competition, induce general improvement, bring into exercise the noblest feelings of our fellow man."

Mr. Doyle—a Nova Scotian of Irish extraction—while loving his own land, had a tender regard for the land of his forefathers. Larry Doyle and Joe Howe knew each other from boyhood. The son of the loyal old Tory printer and the son of the Irish merchant often indulged in games—at base ball and marbles and

other sports in the not overcrowded streets of the town of their youthful days. And as they grew to manhood, and on Doyle's return from school abroad, the old intimacy was renewed, and, together, the two ambitious young men prepared to equip themselves for the strenuous battle which they were destined to wage in the cause of the people.

Howe, speaking at a banquet at the Four mile House on the completion of the first section Nova Scotia Railway, said: "Mr. Doyle and I commenced life together, and have a thousand personal social ties, which neither can readily forget. Many of the gayest and instructive of our days and nights were spent together. We spent them not in sport or wine, but in search of deep philosophy, wit, eloquence and poesy, arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine."

"I might say," continued Mr. Howe, "that Mr. Doyle is the only man I ever knew who had not an enemy; whose humor never flagged; whose wit never wounded; who, by common consent was everywhere welcome, and who, if immortality could be conferred by universal suffrage, everybody would vote that he would enliven every scene of festivity down to the end of time. I am quite sure if he lived so long the last trump would drown the ring of merry voices over his last jest."

No doubt the nights alluded to in the poetical quotation refer to the time when several young men of ability gathered in Howe's parlor, Doyle among the rest, to consider and write the series of clever papers, for the *Nova Scotian* entitled "The Club." They were the joint production of Howe, Haliburton (Sam Slick,) Dr. Gregor and Captain Kincaid, an officer of the Rifle Brigade then stationed at Halifax.

When Doyle first came into the House of Assembly, the vigorous attacks on the old Council (after the brandy dispute) had ceased, and a period of reaction had set in. Doyle did not fail to notice this, and in his own witty way, said of the opposition "that after six years of sin, they had entered on a year of repentance."

It was no light thing in the days of entrenched privilege for any ambitious lawyer who had his eyes set on a judgeship, to antagonize the rulers whose recommendations prevailed at the colonial office at London. The brilliant Samuel George William Archibald, keen lawyer and eloquent advocate of popular rights that he was, got quite a taste of this resentment when he sought the appointment of the chief justiceship on the resignation of the aged Sampson Blowers.

This obstruction on the part of the oligarchy had a somewhat restraining effect on the older men who saw all the plums of office go to those who defended monopoly in the lower house. But the young reformers who were of Doyle's company looked to the people for the reward which their efforts on behalf of reform deserved. Their faces were towards the morning when Doyle brought the question of the terms of the coal mines of the province to the notice of the legislature. He moved that a committee be appointed to wait upon his honor the President (in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor through ill health) and request him to order the proper officers to lay before the house copies of such documents and papers as related to the tenure of the coal mines of this province.

Thus it will be seen that Doyle was the first of the reformers to take a practical step in the direction of freeing the mines and minerals from the grasp of the creditors of the Duke of York, to whom they had been assigned. Though it fell to the lot of others, in the late fifties, to carry the project of gaining control of the minerals of the province to a consummation, it should not be forgotten that Doyle was one of the pioneers in the movement.

In the judiciary debate Mr. Doyle differed from his brother reformers in upholding the court of Common Pleas, and in defending its usefulness for the trial of minor criminal and other causes. S. G. W. Archibald, some years earlier, was the chief advocate for the establishment of this court, and had considerable trouble in getting it established—the motion only pass-

ing by one vote. Extra expenditure for judicial purposes was unpopular at that day, as the salaries bore heavily on the scant revenue of the province. The court was afterwards abolished by the reformers, but time has since proved that a court of this description was a necessity. The present county courts abundantly illustrate this fact.

On the debate on this question Doyle jocosely referred to the member for Londonderry, as inducing a belief that the contents of a jury box operated ten times worse than a box of Morrison's pills, and that lawyers were represented as travelling about like so many surgeons for the sole purpose of bleeding the country. He further remarked that "it is well known there was no chancery court in some of the United States and the reason sometimes assigned to account for that circumstance was: that the chancellor of England was said to be the keeper of the king's conscience, and as the Americans had imported very little of that commodity in their transit, they of course required no expensive officer to take care of it.

Captain J. Kincaid, who was named as one of the members of the "club," was one of the thirteen officers of the Rifle Brigade who had fought at Waterloo and came to this garrison with the Rifles in 1829. The list comprised the colonel commanding—Sir Colin Campbell, who was Col. of the Royal Scottish; major-general Sir A. F. Barnard; colonel A. G. R. Norton, lieut.-col.; majors W. Eeles and Joseph Logan; and captains W. Johnston, A. Stewart, J. C. Hope, J. Molloy, J. Kincaid, G. Simmons; quarter-master Wm. Hill, and asst. surgeons M. J. Bramly and R. McN. Robertson.

"The Club" was an institution whose proceedings created quite a stir in the social and political circles of the period. Captain Kincaid, its inspiring genius, had gallantly won his spurs on the field of battle, and he was as modest as he was brave. Intellectually, too, he was a foeman worthy of anybody's steel. When the Rifles were called away from Halifax no one in the regiment felt a keener regret in leaving our shores.

As soon as he reached London he wrote a letter to "The club"—a communication full of interest then, and none the less so, I will venture to say, at even this distance of time. I shall re-produce it:

London, Dec., 1829.

My Dear Boys,—What would I not give to be with you for as long a time as it will take me to write this letter, or you to read it. Forgive the tears by which the paper is stained; they are genuine, true hearted drops of sorrow at the reflection that the great noisy, ungovernable Atlantic is rolling between us,—and that while you are still enabled to enjoy the pleasures of friendly converse, I am, though in the midst of a crowded city, more like a banished man than a fortunate soldier, called home by the voice of his King. But—bah! why should I make you sad with my sorrow.

Pray write to me by every chance, and let me know what is doing in America, more particularly what is doing in Halifax, and most particularly what is doing in the club. I get the papers regularly, but can find no trace of it in them; surely you have not abandoned the country to its fate, and withdrawn from the management of its affairs. Now that I have quit the corner, should you quit the club, the town will run riot for want of proper censorship. Charles*—told me the other day that somebody tied a crape round the old gun the morning after I sailed, but split me if I believe him.

It is not yet determined whether I go to Russia or India; I have had several flattering interviews with the Duke, and have given him my opinion freely on the details submitted to my consideration. I find Sir James is a great favorite, but, as you may suppose, I frankly dropped a shot into his pocket, respecting the old affair. Before you hear next from me, I may be traversing the steps of Isim, or coasting along the shores of the Caspian, or it is not improbable that my next epistle may be dated at Constantinople; for you must know, but breathe it not even in The Club, that since the conquest of Tur-

*A reference, no doubt, to the Hon. Charles R. Fairbanks then in London.

key, the government here begin to be apprehensive that sooner or later an attack will be made upon our eastern possessions; and are determined to collect the fullest information that can be gathered, respecting the countries lying between the company's territories and the dominions of the Czar.

I have been in the east, you know, and having got pretty well seasoned to the climate, and a little acquainted with the language and manners of the people, the Duke is kind enough to say that there is not a man in the army better fitted for the service than myself. But, whether I shall go direct to Constantinople, and, passing through Asia Minor look in upon the Tartars and Chinese, and then examine the nature of the ground, and estimate the natural defences of Hindostan; or whether I shall set out on a three years' journey through Russia, in order to measure the actual dimensions, moral and physical, of the giant of the north, and impart the result of my observations to our Cabinet, has yet to be determined by the great Captain of the Age; however, of this you may be assured, that, go where I may, I will endeavor to tip you a stave under cover of the Foreign office, and to pick up every queer thing that comes in my way to amuse you with at my return.

Who do you think called to see me the other day—no less a personage than old Blackwood the bookseller. I thought the fellow was mad, he treated me with so much deference and respect. After some hesitation he disclosed the object of his visit, by saying that Galt who, you know, was lately in Canada, having brought home a file of the Nova Scotian, he had read with amazement several numbers of the club; and as professor Wilson was getting along into years, and O'Doherty had somewhat impaired his faculties by hard drinking, he would either pay down a large sum per annum for the copyright of our reports, or, if the whole club would remove to Edinburgh, he would use his purse and influence to forward our fortunes, and make us ample compensation for every sacrifice. The Doctor, he said, he could introduce at once to a most respectable and lucrative practice; Halliday, after his admission to the Scotch

bar, should have the entire management of all his law business, and Barrington, when not otherwise engaged, might write light articles for Maga, at a handsome salary—or publish a volume a year of prose or verse on his own account, which, by the aid of extensive bookselling connexions, he could make eminently profitable.

Having disposed of you all, he next, after apologizing for making so free, assured me that, as his politics had always been orthodox, and as he had always supported the high Tory interest, he could, merely for an able article at a particular juncture, secure me a regiment, and perhaps, at no distant day, get the major exalted to the rank of a major-general! Faith, I roared in his face, and assured him that in one month after I communicated his proposal, our friend the editor would post off to Scotland and run him through the body.

By the way, did you hear his majesty's last pun. The Duke of Cumberland was exclaiming, in the presence of his royal brother, against the reports that had got into the papers of his sight being seriously affected: "Poh!" said the sovereign, "I do not care a turn of Conyngham's ankle; such reports are *all in my eye!*" I tried to get out of the duke the probable state of the boundary question, the other day. He shrugged up his shoulders, and said "he did not think Sir Howard was just the man he would have selected for the service—he had a great deal too much talk; he did not come at once to the point, and when he did he seldom stuck to it. He writes, too (added he), as though he got paid by the acre, and if his father taught us to break *lines*, his son is the very devil at forming them."

Fairbanks, as you know, is here—and has, I believe, talked the government out of £20,000, and will, I have little doubt, persuade the bulls and bears in the money market to turn into jackasses and lend him 30 more. He swears that opening a passage into the Grand Lake will be of as much importance to the commercial world as the free navigation of the Black Sea, and is about to issue a document, similar in

size and style to that put forth by the Russian minister, and which, I have no hesitation in saying, will be just as free from humbug.

There has been a singular sensation created in the city by some having set afloat a report that the government was about to send out an order to prevent smugglers from holding seats in the colonial assemblies. You must know that since the enactment of the tariff the British manufacturers console themselves with the reflection that their goods still find a market in the States, through the agency of your provincial violators of republican law—and this report coming to their ears, they began to quake, lest by setting such a stigma on a beneficial pursuit, the practice of smuggling would be entirely discontinued and their goods left to moulder on their hands. A meeting was accordingly held at the City Tavern, and a strong and spirited remonstrance forwarded to the foot of the throne, for the recall of the obnoxious despatch, which, said the petitioners, will bring ruin and distress on many an industrious and skilful manufacturer, and force them and their families to rely on the eleemosynary pittance of the parish officers rather than on their own exertions, for a support."

For the present, farewell—I hope to hear from you before I leave England, and trust that by the next arrival I shall receive a series of reports from that *body* in which my *soul* is centred.

Your ever faithful
Major.

Doctor.—By my faith, excellent—every word of it in his old vein; fill up, and let us pledge our friend in a bumper, before we turn to other topics.

Haliday.—That we will, for who knows while we are grasping our *cups*, but he may have hold of a *Khan* in Tartary.

Barrington.—O! should he go no further than Turkey, he may chance to fall in with *A-Stray-Can* (Astrachan).

Doctor.—The subject is too serious for punning. The next news may be melancholy enough, and instead of drinking a bumper to his health we may have to fire three rounds over his memory.

Captain Kincaid, a friend of Doyle's, was one of Wellington's men. He marched from the lines of Torres Vedras to Toulouse, and was engaged in all the famous battles that pushed back Napoleon's generals from the plains of Spain and finally across the Pyrenees into France. At twenty-one years of age in 1809 he volunteered into the second battalion of the 95th Rifles, which formed a part of the famous Light Division. He was born at Dalkeith near Falkirk! Kincaid kept guard in the great hill defences of the Torres Vedras and afterward joined in the pursuit of Marshal Massenna's army. He stormed the slippery rocks of Ciudad Rodrigo, and led the forlorn hope in that wild assault that took Badajos and also took part in all the battles of these years from Fuentes to Vittoria. He served in the stubborn and bloody combats which took place in the Pyrenees. On the return of Napoleon from the Island of Elba, he crossed over to Belgium with the British Army and was present at Quatre Bras. and on the ridge of Waterloo. His battalion stood almost in the centre of Wellington's battle line on that world-famous day and was engaged in the most desperate fights that eddied around the British centre.

Kincaid was a gallant soldier and played a gallant part in the great events, but his promotion was slow. He only obtained a captain's commission in 1826. He was more fortunate indeed after he left the army than when he served in it. He was given a promotion in the Yeomanry Guard in 1844 and was knighted in 1852 and died in 1862 aged seventy-six years.

Captain Kincaid wrote a book entitled "Adventures in the 95th Regiment" which gives a splendid idea of the famous light division of the Duke's army in Spain and at Waterloo.

At no period in the history of journalism in Halifax was there less regard for the proprieties in dealing with the conduct of public men than between the years 1840 and 1860. Correspondents were given unbridled license; and even the leading articles, for which the editor was more directly responsible, teemed with abuse and, in the language of the ring, there was, too often, "a blow below the belt."

In the career of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, there was a peculiar incident which grew out of a sharp attack made on this then prominent actor on the political stage by a writer who evidently had little regard for truth, and whose partizanship betrayed him into the use of harsh and unjustifiable language. The outcome of his attacks on Larry Doyle brought the latter into collision with the publisher—a gentleman of the old school who will be remembered by some yet in our midst as being singularly inoffensive in his character—an editorial writer whose "leaders" indicated much cultured thought, and a thorough grasp of the questions then agitating the public mind—at home and abroad.

There were a good many threatened "horse-whippings" of the men who wielded the slashing pen—and occasionally "coffee and pistols for two"—in those old days, but in many cases the irate individual who ventured to visit the printing office for the purpose of administering chastisement, unceremoniously left "with a flea in his ear." The details of those bellicose encounters, during the forties, would fill a good-sized volume. Doyle had difficulties with the editor, who had, unwittingly, given an ill-tempered vituperator too free access to the columns of his otherwise well-censored newspaper.

During the exciting days of 1839, when the debate in the legislature ran high on the despatches received from Lord Glenelg, the secretary for the colonies, the *Times*, the organ

of the party that defended the old Council, made a bitter attack on the character of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, under cover of "Plain Dealer"—an anonymous correspondent.

That the base of the attack had no foundation in fact was very generally recognized, and that Doyle found himself in honor bound to bring the writer to a retraction of his false statements, or, failing in this, to hold the publisher of the libel responsible, was an accepted fact. Doyle had a shrewd suspicion as to the identity of "Plain Dealer"—an individual in the community who was known to be, unlike the mythological deity, vulnerable in more spots than in his right heel.

Acting on this view, Doyle addressed himself to the editor, William Gossip, and requested to be furnished with the name of his correspondent. The request was refused, but with courtesy. Doyle then demanded an apology from the editor, but that which was offered was imperfect and unsatisfactory. Accompanied by a friend, a young Mr. Twining, his law partner, Doyle sought Gossip at his printing office. He carried with him a dog whip. The editor was not "at home." The belligerents then crossed the grand parade to Argyle street, expecting to find Gossip in a house where he was supposed to reside. They were told that he had removed to another quarter of the town.

The following day Gossip went to the Province Building at Doyle's request, and the latter invited him into the Speaker's room. After some preliminaries, Doyle asked Gossip if he was willing to give up the name of the "Plain Dealer" letter. Gossip replied that, in his opinion, the apologies he had already sent should be accepted in full of all grievances. To this, Doyle, with much indignation, said that he did not consider the alleged apologies at all satisfactory and, standing up, he exclaimed with emphasis: "once for all, will you give up the author?"

The *Times* editor, who could not be worked into a frenzy, refused to yield further in the matter. Then Doyle declared

that but one other course remained and, suiting the action to the word, he opened the door of the room and took a horse-whip from his coat pocket, and threateningly raised it. As quick as a flash Gossip caught the whip by the middle and as quickly put the other hand in the breast of his coat—an act which gave Doyle the impression that his opponent had a pistol. Assuming an attitude of defiance, Doyle exclaimed; “fire and be — to you.” The reply of Gossip was: “no! I'll not fire,” and then sought to appease Doyle by saying that if he would only tell him what he really wanted he would try to meet his wishes in every particular. He then let go his hold of the whip.

Doyle, becoming calmer, said that all he required was the name of the author of the abusive communication. He entertained no personal ill-feeling towards the publisher, but he had been grossly vilified in his paper, and he was determined to have adequate satisfaction. Gossip, impressed by Doyle's intense earnestness, promised to inform “Plain Dealer” of the unpleasantness that had taken place and, at the same time, he gave the assurance that an answer would be forthcoming in the morning. The parties then separated, Doyle, with his whip carefully stowed away in his pocket, going into the House of Assembly, and Gossip betaking himself to his office to consider the next step. Matters, however, moved too slow for Doyle, and as a last resort to avenge his injured honor—for he felt most keenly the contemptible insinuations flung at him—he called Gossip “out,” but the latter:

Bold in the council board,
But cautious in the field, he shunn'd the sword.

You will, no doubt, be interested in an extract from “Plain Dealer's” letter: “During the sitting of the legislature its proceedings generally attract my first attention, and I cannot express my alarm and indignation which the debates on the despatches excited in my bosom. I am a moderate man, sir, and though the northern blasts may not blow as coldly upon

us in Halifax, as they do upon the good folks of Cumberland, yet I do believe that I can view things in general as coolly as any inhabitant of that old county.

But when I began to feel the prickling of Mr. Huntington's bayonets—when I heard our town Bell (a flippant allusion to the Hon. Hugh Bell) sound the alarm that the people of Nova Scotia were to be treated as step-children; when I heard Mr. Morton, who yields to none for loyalty, declare that our hopes were wholly annihilated, and that the loyalty of the people would be endangered by printing such despatches; when I saw even that moderate Mr. Lewis become 'somewhat indignant,' and that Mr. Goudge could listen to such documents without grating the nap off the seat of his pantaloons upon the red benches, that even the *temperance of Mr. Doyle was so much overcome that it was with difficulty he could keep his seat.*"—then of course "Plain Dealer's" blood began to boil.

And then again the carping writer in the course of the criticism of the debates wrote, "*let temperate Mr. Doyle totter in his seat.*" In the issue of the Times following the publication of "Plain Dealer's" letter, the editor himself was heard from. He said: "the messenger of the assembly brought a message from the house that Mr. Doyle was waiting. We therefore stepped over and were ushered into the Speaker's room. To our surprise there were present Huntington, Goudge, Doyle and Twining. Our first impression was that the house had appointed a committee to enquire into matters connected with printing, or that they had sent us a vote of thanks by the hon. members present for the able manner in which the *Times* was conducted."

After recounting the incident of the dog whip in substantially the same terms as those made public by Doyle, the editor grew bold. He was now in the secure precincts of the sanctum and took high ground. In the concluding paragraph of his statement he went on to say: "conduct like this



HON. HERBERT HUNTINGTON.
From Bourinot's "Builders of Nova Scotia."

shall never put us down; personal hostility will not succeed in making us forget our duty to the public. As we have done so will we continue to do; and with a sincere desire to live peaceably and follow our vocation without offence, never intentionally reflecting upon the personal or private character of any. No power on earth shall prevent us from steadily pursuing the political course which we conceive best adapted for the public welfare, or from exposing the errors by every proper means at our disposal, of that which we think has an opposite tendency."

An impartial reader will not consider the editor's lofty tone to be, at all events, over frank. It strikes one at this later day that the attack was of a personal nature, as it reflected on Doyle's well-known convivial habits—going so far as to insinuate that he appeared in the house in a condition which laid him open to a just criticism. Be that as it may, in dealing with the noble-hearted Larry Doyle his political enemies sometimes failed to be guided by the generous sentiment contained in the oft-quoted couplet:

Be to our virtues over-kind,
And to our faults a little blind.

Thus far I have endeavored to show Lawrence O'Connor Doyle in his public capacity as a member of a band of advanced liberals in the struggle for greater political freedom. Doyle's aim as a member of the House of Assembly was for responsible government—pure and simple. He clearly saw the goal and, so far as he was concerned, he was bound to reach it. Others tarried by the way.

In the early stages of the contest with Sir Colin Campbell, Howe was disposed to "rest on his arms!" On the other hand Doyle and Huntington and some others resolved to carry the fight to a complete finish. Their plan of action was, subsequently, adopted by Howe, and led to the triumphs which have contributed so much to make his name famous in the annals of our own land—and throughout the wide Dominion.

Turning to Doyle I find him again, after ten years, with his friend and opponent, James B. Uniacke, as president and vice-president, respectively, of the Charitable Irish Society, presiding at the function in honor of St. Patrick's day—1839. That year the anniversary fell on Sunday, but Monday—Shelah's day, as it is called in old Ireland—was set apart for the celebration. A large company was present at Mason Hall. The evening was given up to mirth and festivity.

It was a source of pleasure to see two men of brilliant talents, but then of opposite political principles, thus presiding over the gathering of a society whose object was to promote good fellowship—and to aid the needy. On the occasion mentioned the band of the 23rd Welsh fusiliers furnished the music. The 23rd had been in Halifax in 1776, sixty-three years before, when Sir William Howe and the British army retired from Boston. The boundary dispute between the State of Maine and New Brunswick was then at its height, and it looked as if the 23rd would again be called into active service—to take a hand in a scrap with old-time foes. Happily for all concerned wise councils prevailed, and the vexed question was amicably settled by Arbitration. At the St. Patrick's celebration a Mr. Alexander McDougall sang a song in rather a jingo strain, composed by himself, which indicated public feeling at that time.

Doyle was a very warm admirer of Daniel O'Connell. He ardently loved the home of his fathers, and took active steps to secure for the great agitator financial aid to continue his efforts in obtaining justice for Ireland. At a repeal meeting held in Halifax in 1843 at the Exchange Coffee house, Doyle was chosen president; M. Mahoney, vice, and Bernard O'Neil, secretary. The proceedings occupied from 7 to 11 o'clock in the evening. The meeting closed with cheers for the Queen, for O'Connell, and for the chairman of the meeting.

The Nova Scotia repeal league sent £200 as a contribution to the agitation in Ireland, and £400 in charity. Speak-

ing of this the Boston *Pilot* said: "the Catholic population of Nova Scotia is not half so much as that of Boston, nor one-eighth of New York. Yet that population has done more in three months for creed and country, for repeal and temperance, than either New York or Boston. This is no doubt in a great measure owing to the fact of having such clergymen as Fathers O'Brien and Loughnan, and such laymen as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle."

When Lawrence O'Connor Doyle returned to the house of assembly in 1844—representing Halifax—the forces of the government and opposition were arrayed in fierce party struggle over the retirement of Howe, McNab and James B. Uniacke from the executive council. Party feeling throughout the province ran high, and Lord Falkland was conspicuously dragged into the conflict. Howe had given offence to some of his more ardent supporters by accepting office without a more decided change in the executive council, and, after a brief period, realizing the mistake he had made on joining a government which had stopped short of the fundamental principles of responsible government, he endeavored to heap *all* the blame upon the lieutenant-governor and his remaining councillors.

During the session of 1844 the "red benches" witnessed many keen encounters, and although in the long and fierce debate on the address Doyle contributed his share in the support of his party, his good nature did not desert him, as the following extracts from his speech on the occasion will exemplify:

Mr Doyle said: "I much fear, Mr. Chairman, that with this gloomy, dark day, with its discouraging influences, my own temperament not a little sympathises, and as I can add nothing to the novelty of this exhaustive debate, I may felicitate myself in hoping to contribute anything to the force of the argument. Worn-wearied as the committee are, it were almost presumption thus to rise with any expectation of enlivening

an audience or animating its now languid energies. Still, sir, at so critical a period all consciousness of inefficiency ceases to exist within the bosom, lest silence should be mistaken for insensibility.

"Four years have elapsed over the legislative labors of this province, and during the interval I have stood aloof of your deliberations. An essential change, I had read, was in action—a new and beneficial system of provincial policy had marked the period in the annals of our country, as an epoch; such was the event, I was taught to believe, that would hereafter to the student of our history distinguish the period under notice, as a discovery of proud and exultant commendation. How far these fond opinions of mine have been verified the experience of this discussion unhappily demonstrates.

"I now come to the remarks of my honorable and learned friend (Andrew Uniacke), member for the township of Halifax, and, Mr. chairman, pardon me if I feel emotion. In the chambers of his lamented father, I, a mere youth, was first taught to pore over the rudiments of that knowledge whose rich stores were by him accumulated as treasures to be left as legacies to those children who are now ornaments of this house, and it was under his teaching I was first taught to think of, and to appreciate, the value of those principles this day in controversy. He, with a mind capacious enough to comprehend systems of more enlarged policy than those to which narrower ones then dedicated their idolatry—with a spirit ardently inspired to covet and to claim these benefits for this country; he, the venerated father of my hon. friend, ere I was yet a week under his vigilance and his care, imposed on me the duty of transcribing a voluminous essay of suggestion to the home government—even then, years ago, redolent, in every page, of the spirit now struggling to animate the languid constitution of this country.

"My hon. friend has reminded us that the President of the Council, the senior member of the executive, was one con-

spicuous for his popular principles, and strove in the scenes of our past history for the privileges of the people. In passing without further comment from the animated observations of my learned friend, I have to only add that the opinions attributed to the distinguished individual have been so long forgotten by himself that the public cannot remember them."

Doyle's reply to Dodd's speech was sharp and incisive: his retort of the fair pensionary spinsters who got on the list by Dodd's advocacy was not much relished by that gentleman. Nor was his description of Dodd's usurping the prerogative of the crown. When, he said, he uprose in the house crying havoc and declared war against the state of Maine the auditors in the gallery cheered in sympathy, while we, the representatives of the people, catching the military infection, vociferated for a leader until the powder exploding from the curls of the Speaker's wig, the very timber on the Aroostook trembled and Maine shrunk back in affright.

Doyle twitted Lewis M. Wilkins, whose speeches on all public occasions were brimful of classical quotations. The stately Wilkins had been a member of the Legislative Council. Doyle described him as descending from the dormitory of genius in the other hall—having hung his colonial coronet on some vacant peg to rust or rot, and, doffing the robes of a provincial peer, come down once more to battle as a burgess for popular privileges.

Journalism, in the days of the battle for responsible government, did not display the amenities that have been observed in a calmer and more recent period of its history. Appeals to the law courts were more frequent than they are today, and conflicts with the pen sometimes led to personal encounters on the streets of the town. The law, too often, got its iron heel on the editor's neck, but, like a well-trained pugilist, he never failed to send his enemy "groggy" to the corner whenever he ventured to attack him in the open arena.

In 1840 Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was one of the counsel in a suit that was brought by Edmund Ward, a sort of waspish representative of the weekly press, against English and Blackadar, the proprietors of the *Acadian Recorder*. The case was of some interest: its merits were as follows:

Sometime in 1838, a person of the name of Duncan, arrived in Halifax. Shortly afterwards an article appeared in the Fredericton *Sentinel* of which Ward was the editor, describing the said Duncan as a swindler, and cautioning the public to be on their guard against him. Duncan saw the article and at once wrote an answer to it, which was inserted in the *Acadian Recorder*. The answer denied the charge made in the *Sentinel* and in strong terms declared Ward to be a swindler, cheat and prone to quarreling. On this the action was brought—damages laid at £1000.

The solicitor general of Nova Scotia—J. W. Johnston—who appeared for Ward, opened the case briefly to the jury. The alleged libel was read. Mr. Doyle, for the defendants, argued that the chief term in the libel, swindler, was not of itself actionable, unless used in connection with the trade or profession of the party to whom it was applied. The chief justice—Brenton Halliburton—overruled the objection. There was a difference, his lordship explained, between words spoken hastily, and words deliberately written. Not only was the charge of swindling libellous, but any moral charge, anything turning a party into contempt and ridicule, could be so construed.

James B. Uniacke also appeared for the defendants. He argued that the liberty of the press was of much consequence, and tended to prevent the growth of many evils. It was a peculiar feature of the case under consideration that the press sought to control the press. The plaintiff should not complain if words which he had used against another were thrown back on himself.

Witnesses were called to prove that Mr. Ward, while conducting, in Halifax, the *Free Press*—a publication of the twenties—was inclined to be quarrelsome and had become involved in several angry disputes. This evidence amounted to very little, and was taken no notice of by the court. As the plea was "not guilty" the defence of justification was not made.

The solicitor general addressed the court in no mincing words. The case had assumed a more serious aspect, he said, than when opened by the counsel for the defence arguing that the intention of parties was of consequence in alleged libels. The libel was a violent slander. It was not such a reply as an aggrieved party should have been allowed to publish. Persons might give opinions of others, without fear of legal consequences, as for example, when they were legally acting—such as a person giving a character of a servant, a relative or a commercial correspondent, stating opinions of a third party, a reporter furnishing proceedings of the house of parliament or courts of law. The case before the court was different. The publication of a libel by the plaintiff by no means privileged the defendants to publish another. It would have been an insult to plaintiff to have laid special damages. Who doubted that a man would be damaged in his feelings and family and daily avocation by such charges going abroad in a widely circulated paper?

The chief justice charged against the defendants in an address of considerable length. The jury (special) brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding the damages at £40, with expenses. The defendants, on their part, lashed the solicitor general with great fury. So far as the latter was concerned it took the printers several years to recover their equanimity in criticising his public conduct.

Mr. Doyle's law office was on Granville Street, at Cleveland's corner (Sackville and Granville streets, northeast cor-

ner). His partner was Mr. Twining—the same gentleman who, as his friend, accompanied him in the affair with editor Gossip, of the *Times*.

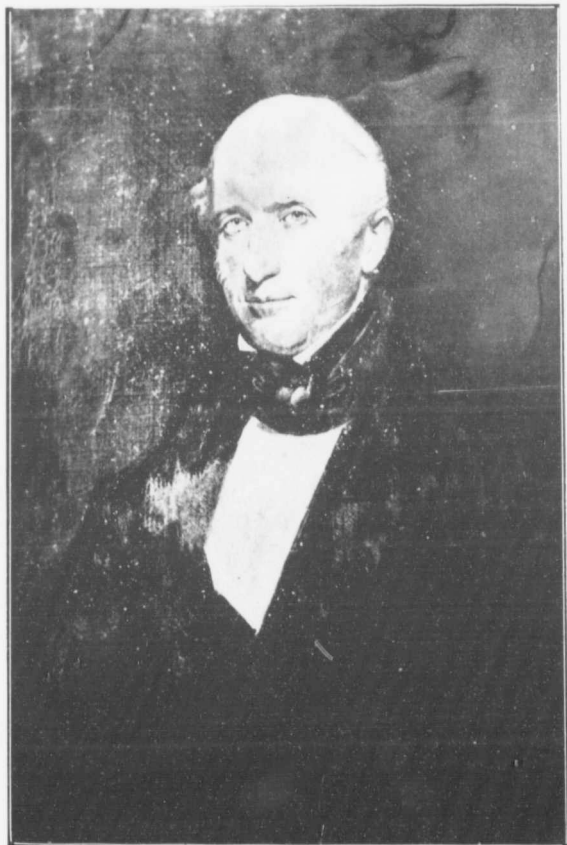
A feature of Doyle's public career, at this period, may be mentioned. Not long after Lord Falkland's assumption of the lieut.-governorship the House of Assembly was dissolved, and the members had to go back to their constituencies for re-election—Doyle among the number. Several candidates were in the field for the honor of representing Cape Breton Island. These were James B. Uniacke, Doyle, William Young, McKeagney and Martell. Doyle lost his seat and was out of parliament until 1843.

On the 6th of October, 1840, five of the old Council retired, thereby paving the way for a coalition government. The executive was composed of S. G. W. Archibald, J. B. Uniacke, Joseph Howe, J. W. Johnston and James McNab. Joining the coalition was viewed by the stalwart reformers as one of those peculiar errors of judgment which characterized Howe's career. It should be stated, however that Howe vigorously maintained that the end would certainly justify the means employed to reach it. William Young, for one, berated Howe for going into the coalition.

Doyle was without a seat in the new house, and although he did not approve of Howe's action with respect to stopping short in the main pursuit of the reforms, which the Liberal party had set out to accomplish, he still continued his friend. A very sad domestic affliction was experienced by Doyle in 1842. His wife died on the first of February of that year. The obituary notice reads as follows:

"On Monday last after a long and tedious illness, Sarah Ann, consort of L. O'Connor Doyle, Esq., and eldest daughter of the last Lieut. Driscoll, Royal Navy, aged 27 years."

As one of the representative Catholics of Halifax, Mr. Doyle took an active part in all movements which had for their pur-



THE HON. JAMES MacNAB, (1792-1871.)
(Late Colonel (1842) 1st Halifax Regiment.)

pose the advancement of his co-religionists in the community. In 1843 he presided at the annual dinner of the Irish Society. On this occasion twenty-six toasts were drunk, among which was one to the memory of the father of the Society, the late Honorable Richard John Uniacke, and another to the poet Thomas Moore.

The Society lost one of its past presidents in 1843, who had been on the role of membership in the eighteenth century. The late Hon. Michael Tobin was born in Halifax. He was educated here where neither means nor institutions of learning were so abundant as at his decease, and when Catholics especially were denied the same free access to the fountains of religion and literature which the more enlightened spirit of the present age affords.

Doyle's admiration for O'Connell grew in intensity. He was a most outspoken believer in repeal of the Union. He was a member of the branch association of Nova Scotia, and through his efforts large sums of money were remitted to aid the liberator in his struggle for justice for Ireland. Howe did not believe in repeal, and was forced by the opposition press to declare his position on this question. The Irishmen of Halifax who were his early friends and formed the nucleus of the early reform party often invited him to be present at their public meetings to advance the repeal movement. They respected his honest convictions and found no fault with his views on the question of repeal.

In 1844 Doyle acted as chairman at a repeal meeting in which the following resolutions were offered and carried: Resolved that the people of Ireland, having in vain made every effort to obtain equal justice and equal rights from the Imperial Parliament, the meeting is of the opinion that repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland is now the only measure by which the wrongs of that oppressed and misgoverned country can be redressed.

In the session of 1844 the government brought down a civil list bill which was attacked vigorously by the opposition. The measure, before it passed, was considerably shorn of its main features by a number of amendments in committee. The debates on the bill were carried on with much heat. Mr. Dodd (afterwards judge), replied to Howe. In the course of his speech he made some sneering remarks about the opposition which were warmly resented by Mr. Doyle, who said "The term was not original to the honorable and learned gentleman; it had been used on the floor of the house by one whose fame was not limited to the soil of which he was a native, and who did not apply the term to the honest intelligent constituents of the member for the county of Halifax, he applied it to other kinds of meetings which had now received the approval and protection of Lord Falkland's government; one of the members at least, who if they had submitted the bill before the committee in a manner consistent with the expression in the opening speech would not only be a wreck but blown off the surface, not by a side wind but a wind blown from all sides.

That gentleman spoke of the late Metcalf meeting which he (Mr. D.) admitted possessed a portion of the opulence and intelligence of the community, but when he heard it asserted that they were justified in their proceeding it became him to make some reply.

Hon. Mr. Dodd denied that he or the government had given any opinion respecting the meeting. He spoke of it, whether justified or not, as having a right to express views on political questions. Mr. Doyle said that he would not have spoken only for the eulogy which the hon. and learned member had paid to the meeting, and only that he seemed to throw the shield of government over the proceedings.

Mr. Dodd explained that he alluded to the meeting in reference to what the member for Halifax (Mr. Howe), had said on the subject, and stated that the government had nothing to do with the matter.

Mr. Doyle answered that he did not know what the member for the county of Halifax said on the subject. He was not responsible for the remarks of that gentleman; but the remarks of the member for Sydney had given him grounds to state the feeling of the Halifax constituency and of every constituency in the Province at the heinous charge made against them at that meeting. Old slang and slanders had been revived and a portion of the people had been denounced as little better than so many rebels. He heard members of the house speak of the meeting with indignation and the feeling was extensively participated in by a large majority of the people. To speak boastingly of loyalty was as out of place among a British people, as for a female to boast of virtue. It might be supposed that a parade would not be made on the subject, except parties were liable to suspicion. The member for Sydney described the member for the county of Halifax as having been the head of a party which had hunted up grievances. The member for Sydney might be justified in making the taunt because that party had defeated the government of which the hon. and learned gentleman was a member in a former House of Assembly. Whether the grievances were real or not, whether they were founded in error or not, the decisions of the British cabinet told the people of Nova Scotia that the result should be the present constitution of the province. If that government had not hunted up grievances, that gentleman and his colleagues would not now be embarrassed with the story of constitutional government. They would not be standing in self-defence saying to the house that if they should be defeated they would retire; they had been defeated repeatedly on former occasions—on the principle of he who fights and runs away may live to fight another day, which another day the house never saw.

The Johnston government, which resisted the final assaults of responsible government, appealed to the people in 1847. The election went against them. Mr. Johnston held on to power until the next meeting of the legislature.

The House met on the 22nd of January, 1848. On the election of Speaker the strength of each party was tested. William Young, Liberal, received 28 votes and the nominee of the late government 21.

The new government was composed of the following gentlemen; James Boyle Uniacke, leader of the government and Attorney-General, Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary and clerk of the Council, Hugh Bell, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, William F. DesBarres, solicitor general, Lawrence O'C. Doyle and G. R. Young.

The new government had to carry into effect the details of responsible government: the casual and territorial revenues, the appointment of judges and the payment of their salaries, the management of the postal service, the appointment of all civil servants and other matters relinquished by the Imperial government and assumed by the Provincial government.

The change involved considerable labour and made heavy demands on the patience of the executive, who had assumed a new responsibility, and transferred power from the hands of a few into many.

In all this shaping of government on the lines of absolute responsibility of the executive to the people, Doyle took a prominent part. He had striven for the object from the first days of his entering parliament with undeviating zeal, and the reward of his labours throughout all the fierce struggles of his undaunted youth seemed now to be at his hand.

On Thursday, December 7th, 1854, Hon. Attorney-General (Young) moved a resolution in reference to the Crimean war, and relief of the women and children who were left widows and orphans by the battle at Alma. The Hon. J. W. Johnston seconded the resolution. The Attorney-General in the course of his remarks said "Among these men, Sir, who are engaged in a

momentous war are some Nova Scotians, and it may be that hereafter we shall read with a thrill of pride as a matter of history that the colors of one regiment at least were led up by a Nova Scotian, who shed his blood on the field of Alma, mingled with that of the Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen who suffered to win that brilliant victory. L. O'Connor Doyle said: It may be rather a singular coincidence, sir, but it is quite likely that when representative of Her Majesty receives the address conveying the substance of the resolution just moved he may be occupying the same apartment in which the young officer was born, who has been spoken of as bearing the colors of a regiment on the heights of Alma, as His Excellency is at present sojourning in the late residence of Col. Bazalgette.

Captain Bazalgette the young officer Doyle referred to, went through the Crimean campaign, and afterwards that of the Indian Mutiny with distinguished credit. He came back in his old age married, and settled down in Halifax. His last camping ground is in Camp Hill cemetery where a plain marble head stone records his services to the empire.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle retired from the Uniacke Government in 1851. He continued to represent the township of Halifax until May 1855, when a general election took place. The Liberal convention met at Masonic Hall on the 30th April, 1855 for the purpose of nominating candidates. The honorable Attorney-General (Young) was in the chair and George A. Paw acted as secretary.

John Esson and William Annand were nominated to represent the county of Halifax, and Benjamin Wier and John Tobin the township of Halifax in the Liberal interest. The latter was nominated by Conrod West and Francis Munro of Portuguese Cove.

John Tobin who thus succeeded Doyle in the representation of Halifax city was the founder of the firm of John Tobin and

company, one of the largest wholesale grocers now doing business in the Maritime Provinces.

The last note we hear of Doyle in a public capacity is contained in the following card.

To the Electors of the Township of Halifax.

Gentlemen:—

Understanding from conversations with personal friends this morning that impressions have gone abroad that I am to be brought forward as a candidate for your suffrages as the ensuing election with my own assent, I now beg leave most distinctly to say that under no circumstance will I now come forward. I will say further that to all gentlemen nominated at the liberal meeting holden on Monday evening last, I will accord my most cheerful and earnest support.

I have the honor to remain with a grateful sense of past obligations,

Your obedient servant,

L. O'Connor Doyle.

Halifax May 2nd, 1855.

Mr. Doyle's fame rests in the popular imagination to a goodly extent on his wit and humour and on his fascinating manners. These qualities gave him peculiar influence in the society of his friends. His kindly temper endeared him to all who came within the sphere of his genial disposition. So long as these qualities were displayed in the sight of the community his fame was secure. So long as even the memory of these qualities lingered with the men who had known him there was a warm corner in their hearts for the gifted "Larry Doyle," who had so charmingly mellowed down the bitter asperities of the public life of his active days.

But when his contemporaries gradually died off—when two generations had passed away since his voice had been heard his reputation rested on mere tradition. Later political arrangements had been completed which threw more and more the local affairs of Nova Scotia into the background until the memories of the men who played such a signal part in the reform movement had become but faded reminiscences.

Laurence O'Connor Doyle in the late fifties of the last century removed to New York, where one of his sisters resided who had married a Mr. Burke, father of Mrs. Thomas Kenny, of Thornvale, North West Arm, Halifax. Mrs. Kenny's mother who was Mr. Burke's first wife was a Roosevelt.

Mr. Doyle died in New York.