

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART  
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS  
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

Your file - Votre référence

Our file - Notre référence

## NOTICE

**The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.**

**If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.**

**Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.**

**Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.**

## AVIS

**La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.**

**S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.**

**La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.**

**La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.**

**Canada**

**THE *BUSY EAST*: BOOSTING THE MARITIMES, 1910-1925**

by

**Stephen Burrige, B. A.**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and  
Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts**

**Department of History**

**Carleton University**

**Ottawa, Ontario**

**May 25, 1993.**

**© Copyright, 1993**

**Stephen Burrige**



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

Your file / Votre référence

Our file / Notre référence

**The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

ISBN 0-315-89770-8

**Canada**

Name Stephen Burridge

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

Mass Communication of The Busy East: Boosting the Maritimes, 1910-1925

**0708**

**U·M·I**

SUBJECT TERM

SUBJECT CODE

**Subject Categories**

**THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS**

- Architecture 0729
- Art History 0377
- Cinema 0900
- Dance 0378
- Fine Arts 0357
- Information Science 0723
- Journalism 0391
- Library Science 0399
- Mass Communications 0708
- Music 0413
- Speech Communication 0459
- Theater 0465

**EDUCATION**

- General 0515
- Administration 0514
- Adult and Continuing 0516
- Agricultural 0517
- Art 0273
- Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
- Business 0688
- Community College 0275
- Curriculum and Instruction 0727
- Early Childhood 0518
- Elementary 0524
- Finance 0277
- Guidance and Counseling 0519
- Health 0680
- Higher 0745
- History of 0520
- Home Economics 0278
- Industrial 0521
- Language and Literature 0279
- Mathematics 0280
- Music 0522
- Philosophy of 0998
- Physical 0523

- Psychology 0525
- Reading 0535
- Religious 0527
- Sciences 0714
- Secondary 0533
- Social Sciences 0534
- Sociology of 0340
- Special 0529
- Teacher Training 0530
- Technology 0710
- Tests and Measurements 0288
- Vocational 0747

**LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS**

- Language 0679
  - General 0289
  - Ancient 0290
  - Linguistics 0291
  - Modern 0291
- Literature 0401
  - General 0294
  - Classical 0295
  - Comparative 0297
  - Medieval 0298
  - Modern 0298
  - African 0316
  - American 0591
  - Asian 0305
  - Canadian (English) 0352
  - Canadian (French) 0355
  - English 0593
  - Germanic 0311
  - Latin American 0312
  - Middle Eastern 0315
  - Romance 0313
  - Slavic and East European 0314

**PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY**

- Philosophy 0422
  - Religion 0318
    - General 0321
    - Biblical Studies 0319
    - Clergy 0320
    - History of 0322
    - Philosophy of 0469

**SOCIAL SCIENCES**

- American Studies 0323
  - Anthropology 0324
    - Archaeology 0326
    - Cultural 0327
    - Physical 0327
  - Business Administration 0310
    - General 0272
    - Accounting 0770
    - Banking 0454
    - Management 0338
    - Marketing 0385
  - Canadian Studies 0501
    - Economics 0503
      - General 0505
      - Agricultural 0508
      - Commerce Business 0509
      - Finance 0510
      - History 0511
      - Labor 0358
      - Theory 0366
  - Folklore 0351
    - Geography 0351
    - Gerontology 0351
    - History 0351
      - General 0578

- Ancient 0579
- Medieval 0581
- Modern 0582
- Black 0328
- African 0331
- Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
- Canadian 0334
- European 0335
- Latin American 0336
- Middle Eastern 0333
- United States 0337
- History of Science 0585
- Law 0398
- Political Science 0615
  - General 0616
  - International Law and Relations 0617
  - Public Administration 0814
  - Recreation 0452
  - Social Work 0626
  - Sociology 0627
    - General 0938
    - Criminology and Penology 0631
    - Demography 0628
    - Ethnic and Racial Studies 0629
    - Individual and Family Studies 0630
    - Industrial and Labor Relations 0700
    - Public and Social Welfare 0344
    - Soc of Structure and Development 0709
    - Theory and Methods 0999
  - Transportation 0453
  - Urban and Regional Planning 0453
  - Women's Studies 0453

**THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING**

**BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES**

- Agriculture 0473
  - General 0285
  - Agronomy 0475
  - Animal Culture and Nutrition 0476
  - Animal Pathology 0359
  - Food Science and Technology 0478
  - Forestry and Wildlife 0479
  - Plant Culture 0480
  - Plant Pathology 0817
  - Plant Physiology 0777
  - Range Management 0746
  - Wood Technology 0306
- Biology 0287
  - General 0308
  - Anatomy 0309
  - Biostatistics 0379
  - Botany 0329
  - Cell 0353
  - Ecology 0369
  - Entomology 0793
  - Genetics 0410
  - Limnology 0307
  - Microbiology 0317
  - Molecular 0416
  - Neuroscience 0433
  - Oceanography 0821
  - Physiology 0778
  - Radiation 0472
  - Veterinary Science 0786
  - Zoology 0760
- Biophysics 0786
  - General 0760
  - Medical 0760

- Geodesy 0370
- Geology 0372
- Geophysics 0373
- Hydrology 0388
- Mineralogy 0411
- Paleobotany 0345
- Paleoecology 0426
- Paleontology 0418
- Paleozoology 0985
- Palynology 0427
- Physical Geography 0368
- Physical Oceanography 0415

**HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES**

- Environmental Sciences 0768
  - Health Sciences 0566
    - General 0300
    - Audiology 0992
    - Chemotherapy 0567
    - Dentistry 0350
    - Education 0769
    - Hospital Management 0758
    - Human Development 0982
    - Immunology 0564
    - Medicine and Surgery 0347
    - Mental Health 0569
    - Nursing 0570
    - Nutrition 0380
    - Obstetrics and Gynecology 0354
    - Occupational Health and Therapy 0381
    - Ophthalmology 0571
    - Pathology 0419
    - Pharmacology 0572
    - Pharmacy 0382
    - Physical Therapy 0573
    - Public Health 0574
    - Radiology 0575
    - Recreation 0575

- Speech Pathology 0460
- Toxicology 0383
- Home Economics 0386

**PHYSICAL SCIENCES**

- Pure Sciences 0485
  - Chemistry 0749
    - General 0486
    - Agricultural 0487
    - Analytical 0488
    - Biochemistry 0738
    - Inorganic 0490
    - Nuclear 0491
    - Organic 0494
    - Pharmaceutical 0495
    - Physical 0754
    - Polymer 0405
    - Radiation 0605
    - Mathematics 0986
      - General 0606
      - Acoustics 0608
      - Astronomy and Astrophysics 0748
      - Atmospheric Science 0607
      - Atomic 0798
      - Electronics and Electricity 0759
      - Elementary Particles and High Energy 0609
      - Fluid and Plasma 0610
      - Molecular 0752
      - Nuclear 0756
      - Optics 0611
      - Radiation 0463
      - Solid State 0346
    - Statistics 0984
- Applied Sciences 0346
  - Applied Mechanics 0984
  - Computer Science 0984

- Engineering 0537
  - General 0538
  - Aerospace 0539
  - Agricultural 0540
  - Automotive 0541
  - Biomedical 0542
  - Chemical 0543
  - Civil 0544
  - Electronics and Electrical 0348
  - Heat and Thermodynamics 0545
  - Hydraulic 0546
  - Industrial 0547
  - Marine 0794
  - Materials Science 0548
  - Mechanical 0743
  - Metalurgy 0551
  - Mining 0552
  - Nuclear 0549
  - Packaging 0765
  - Petroleum 0554
  - Sanitary and Municipal 0790
  - System Science 0428
  - Geotechnolgy 0796
  - Operations Research 0795
  - Plastics Technology 0994
  - Textile Technology 0994

**EARTH SCIENCES**

- Biogeochemistry 0425
- Geochemistry 0996



The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate  
Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"THE *BUSY EAST*: BOOSTING THE MARITIMES, 1910-1925"

submitted by

Stephen R. Burrige, B.A.,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

  
-----  
Thesis Supervisor

  
-----  
Chair, Department of History

Carleton University

8 July 1993

## PREFACE

This study examines the contents of *The Busy East of Canada* (hereinafter the *Busy East*), a monthly periodical published in New Brunswick and concerned with the Maritime provinces, from its founding in 1910 until 1925. The *Busy East* addressed itself particularly to the region's Boards of Trade. It advocated an activist approach to economic development at the local level. Local business leaders were encouraged to work toward growth and prosperity for their towns, through a strategy of energetic promotion and publicity and by actively influencing the policies of municipal governments. This aspect of the *Busy East's* editorial policy may be described as "boosterism," and is the focus of Chapter Two. At the same time, the *Busy East* also articulated a sense of regional grievance, and of regional solidarity against the federal government and other regions of Canada. This aspect of the *Busy East* is discussed in Chapter Three of this study under the name "regionalism." The two inter-related themes, boosterism and regionalism, were continually present in the pages of the *Busy East* throughout the period.

The fifteen-year period 1910-1925 was important in the economic history of the Maritime region. The region had experienced a period of relative prosperity during the Canada-wide "Laurier boom" of the first decade of the twentieth century, as a result of which manufacturing

enterprises in some parts of the region grew rapidly. By the 1920s, however, the Maritimes had entered a period of economic crisis and rapid deindustrialization, leading to the chronically weak, dependent status that has characterised the region's economy through most of the twentieth century. The contents of the *Busy East* document the responses of certain Maritimers to the gathering economic crisis, and their efforts to combat it.

The *Busy East* was founded in 1910, and this study begins with its first issue. The agitation associated with the Maritime Rights Movement, a political response of Maritime elites to the economic crisis, reached a climax in 1925. A major delegation went to Ottawa in February. The Liberal government of Prime Minister King was repudiated by Maritime voters in the general election held in October, in which Maritime Rights was a key issue. A federal royal commission was appointed to investigate the Maritime claims in early 1926, as a result of this pressure. 1925 also saw a bitter five-month strike by Cape Breton coal miners against the British Empire Steel Corporation, which forced the government of Nova Scotia to appoint a royal commission to investigate the industry. 1925 was thus a year in which different responses of Maritimers to economic crisis reached culminations, and is a suitable terminal date for this study.

Much of the "booster" content of the *Busy East* took the form of promotional material for specific towns, often provided by their boards of trade, civic officials, or local businessmen. Chapter Two of this study, after a more general discussion of boosterism, examines publicity for two such towns, Amherst, Nova Scotia, and Moncton, New Brunswick. These were selected because both were relatively industrialised communities which



were extensively publicised in the magazine.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .....	ii
ABSTRACT .....	vi
Chapter	
ONE INTRODUCTION .....	1
TWO BOOSTERISM AND THE <i>BUSY EAST</i> .....	19
THREE REGIONALISM AND THE <i>BUSY EAST</i> .....	62
FOUR CONCLUSION .....	110
WORKS CITED .....	118

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the contents of *The Busy East of Canada* from 1910 to 1925, and their relationship to the world of its readers during this period of economic crisis in the Maritime Provinces. *The Busy East*, published in several New Brunswick cities under a succession of owners and editors, was a business and promotional magazine serving the Maritimes.

The thesis begins by examining the changing character of the rhetoric of "boosterism" in the magazine, from facile overconfidence in the region's industrial future in the pre-1914 period to a much more cautious optimism by the mid-1920s. Promotional publicity for the communities of Amherst, Nova Scotia, and Moncton, New Brunswick, is examined in some detail, and analyzed against the backdrop of what is known, from recent research, of the contemporary reality in those communities. The thesis thus tries to measure the coincidence of rhetoric and reality, and suggests that by the early 1920s the initial boosterism of the *Busy East* had become difficult to maintain. An element of "regionalist" protest and concern with the relationship of the Maritimes to the rest of Canada, present in the magazine from the start, began to predominate.

The thesis therefore also discusses the development of regionalist rhetoric in the *Busy East*, tracing themes from the earlier period through the growth of organized agitation and the Maritime Rights movement in the 1920s.

**To my parents**

**Let us seek to cultivate the Maritime spirit -- boost our own community, our own province, our Maritime Provinces, until we realize, and make others realize, that Maritime people are determined to have their rightful place in the development of the vast resources of this great Dominion.**

**-- The *Busy East*, November, 1923.**

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Confederation, coming as it did at a time of economic transition, compounded the challenges facing Maritimers in the late nineteenth century. Integration into a new political environment, in the Canadian federal structure, and adaptation to the new railway-based industrial economy occurred virtually at the same time. The degree to which these challenges were successfully met remains debatable. However, there is no doubt that in the last third of the nineteenth century businessmen and politicians in the Maritimes did embrace the new economic world, building railways, investing in manufacturing enterprises, and, despite some serious dissatisfaction with the terms of Confederation, generally accepting and trying to make the best of their position in the new political order.

That position was a reasonably strong one. Maritime politicians occupied influential positions in the Canadian governments of the late nineteenth century. Samuel Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick served as finance minister in the 1878 cabinet of Sir John A. Macdonald, which introduced the economic measures known as the National Policy. In the 1880s and after, under the National Policy, considerable development of manufacturing occurred in the Maritimes.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the railway-

---

<sup>1</sup>T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910", *Acadiensis* 1, No. 2 (Spring 1972).

building that was an important part of the economic expansion of the period provided a market for the output of the Nova Scotia steel and coal industries and other products, such as railway cars, that were manufactured in the region<sup>2</sup>. The Intercolonial Railway, linking the Maritime provinces with central Canada, was constructed as part of the Confederation agreement, and operated as a public enterprise. It offered transportation at flexible rates to the region's shippers, and became known as the "People's Railway."<sup>3</sup> The management of the Intercolonial was under the direct political control of the federal government, and therefore susceptible to local political influence. Railways were also central to the economic strategies of the region's two principal ports, and pretenders to metropolitan status, Halifax and Saint John. Each aspired to be Canada's main winter port, handling the Dominion's trade during the months that the port of Montreal was closed by ice. Railway connections and freight rates to central Canada were critical to the success or failure of these strategies.

In the first years of the twentieth century, industrial development in the

---

<sup>2</sup>S. A. Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces*(Fredericton, 1984), pp. 29-30.

<sup>3</sup>Ken Cruikshank, "The People's Railway: The Intercolonial Railway and the Canadian Public Enterprise Experience", *Acadiensis* XVI, No. 1(Autumn 1986), 78-100, discusses the management of the Intercolonial. Its role in the economic development of the Maritimes is the specific subject of Cruikshank's "The Intercolonial Railway, Freight Rates, and the Maritime Economy", *Acadiensis* XXII, No. 1(Autumn 1992), 87-110. Cruikshank contests the view, set out in E. R. Forbes, "Misguided Symmetry: The Destruction of Regional Transportation Policy for the Maritimes", in David Bercuson, ed., *Canada and the Burden of Unity* (Toronto, 1977), that the Intercolonial's freight rate structure was a key factor in enabling Maritime manufacturers to compete successfully in Canadian markets.

Maritimes reached a peak.<sup>4</sup> Nova Scotia's steelmaking and related industries grew and flourished, the manufacturing town of Amherst, for example, saw its period of greatest growth<sup>5</sup>, and the Canada-wide economic boom of the Laurier period, based in part on railway-building and the populating of the prairie west, extended to the Maritime region. Industrialization in the Maritimes was spotty and partial, restricted primarily to Cape Breton and a number of towns along the main rail lines, and growth in the region lagged when compared to the larger, faster-expanding economy in central Canada.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, optimism as to the region's economic prospects was not uncommon among its inhabitants in 1910.

The First World War disrupted the course of economic events. It created booms in munitions manufacture and other war production in various communities, and a certain hectic prosperity. However, when the war had ended, the Maritime economy faltered, then fell into a prolonged slump. S. A. Saunders wrote in 1939, "...recovery from the acute post-war

---

<sup>4</sup>Saunders, pp. 31-33.

<sup>5</sup>I. Nolan Reilly, *The Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: A Study of Amherst, 1891-1925* (Ph. D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1982) dates Amherst's peak as an industrial centre at 1907, and the beginning of its "industrial decline" at 1908.

<sup>6</sup>Comparisons of Maritime rates of economic growth and industrial development with those of central Canada may be found in David Alexander, "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940", *Acadiensis* VIII, No. 1 (Autumn 1978), and Kris E. Inwood, "Maritime Industrialization From 1870 to 1910: A Review of the Evidence and Its Interpretation", *Acadiensis* XXI, No. 1 (Autumn 1991), which uses census data in an attempt to evaluate interpretations of the region's economic performance in the post-confederation period.



depression was long deferred, and the period of prosperity experienced in most parts of the Dominion has not yet arrived."<sup>7</sup> In the early 1920s, as the region's economic difficulties grew more severe, a political response, the Maritime Rights movement, developed.<sup>8</sup> It sought to reassert the lost influence of the Maritime region in the councils of the federal government and to obtain redress of particular regional grievances, in the hope that the Maritime economy would thereby be enabled to grow once more.

The *Busy East* began publication in June, 1910. It continued under that name until 1934, when it became the *Maritime Advocate and Busy East*. Its ultimate successor, the *Atlantic Advocate*, finally ceased publication early in 1992. Throughout this time, it remained primarily a promotional magazine for regional business.

The first issue was published by the H. M. McAlpine Directory Co., in Saint John. W. T. Guest was credited as Editor and Manager. Internal evidence suggests that ownership and editorial control went through a number of changes in the publication's early years. By January, 1911, the magazine's masthead proclaimed that it was "published monthly by The Busy East Publishing Co.", still in "St. John, N.B."<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Saunders, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup>Ernest R. Forbes, *The Maritimes Rights Movement, 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism*(Montreal, 1979).

<sup>9</sup>The modern convention of spelling out the name of "Saint John" did not exist at this time; in the *Busy East*, the city's name is consistently rendered as "St. John." In this study, the modern spelling is used, except in direct quotations.

The December, 1912 issue had "St. John" on the cover, but "Sussex" on the first page. This followed something of an editorial débâcle, when the October, 1912 issue was published containing an article, reprinted from the *Canadian Century*, entitled "Halifax or St. John -- Which?"<sup>10</sup> The article, written from a central Canadian perspective, urged that one of the two be selected as Canada's principal Atlantic winter port, and that the choice be made by experts, not politicians. It also provided some analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the two ports. The following month's issue contained, along with the announcement that the publication was now under new management, an outraged response from a Saint John official, and what amounted to an abject apology from the *Busy East*:

...The article was published at a time when the management of *Busy East* was in course of transfer and appeared under conditions which, we trust, will not be encountered again. The present editorial management was not then in control and the employee of "Busy East" who furnished the article is no longer in the employ of this paper.<sup>11</sup>

The July, 1913 issue announced a move to Moncton. It also published a statement of the magazine's "creed," essentially a simple regional patriotism, to be expressed by always according "first call" to

---

<sup>10</sup>Bryan Bellasis, "Halifax or St. John -- Which?", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 3 (October, 1912), p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>"St. John Conditions Misrepresented. Commissioner Schofield Points out Falacies[sic] in 'Halifax or St. John -- Which?' Article -- *Busy East* Regrets It's[sic] Publication", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 4 (November, 1912), pp. 23-24.

products produced within the region.<sup>12</sup> Moncton continued to be the the *Busy East's* base until the August, 1915 issue, the first to list Sackville, New Brunswick, as its place of publication. From then until after the end of the period under consideration, the *Busy East* was published from Sackville. The October, 1915 issue announced that C. H. Blakeny, a well known Moncton businessman, was now President of the Company and Managing Editor of the magazine. Blakeny sold the operation in 1916 to the Tribune Publishing Co. of Sackville.<sup>13</sup>

C. H. Blakeny, who owned and served as Managing Editor of the *Busy East* in 1915 and 1916, was a member of a family prominent in Moncton business circles, and was also active in public life. Some of the family's business interests are described in various issues of the *Busy East* dealing with Moncton. C. H. Blakeny himself went on to be mayor of Moncton, in 1921 and 1931; president of the Moncton Board of Trade, in 1927-28; and president of the Maritime Board of Trade, in 1932. He also acted as secretary of the Maritime Board of Trade for a time in 1925.<sup>14</sup>

While the *Busy East* strove to present itself as a promotional publication for all the Maritime provinces, the geographic balance of the communities promoted in the magazine was far from perfect. In the publication's early years in particular, there was a marked predominance of

---

<sup>12</sup>"Our Creed: Is It Yours?", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), cover.

<sup>13</sup>Phyllis Leblanc, *Moncton, 1870-1937: A Community in Transition* (Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988), p. 159.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*; "Annual Convention of Maritime Board of Trade," *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 3 (October, 1925), p. 14.

material on New Brunswick. Saint John and Moncton were generally well represented, as was Amherst, Nova Scotia, at least until the 1920s. Cape Breton communities were hardly "boosted" at all. Of course, the *Busy East* depended in part upon local boosters and boards of trade for its material, and the degree of interest displayed by the different communities in promoting themselves in the magazine varied considerably. One thing the communities most frequently publicised in the *Busy East* seem to have had in common was relative proximity to the magazine's editorial offices.

Much of the *Busy East's* original editorial matter was unsigned. Material was reprinted, as well, from a wide variety of publications, from the *Maritime Merchant* to *Maclean's*, as well as business magazines from across the continent, and local newspapers. Promotional material was also presumably supplied by local boards of trade, though, again, it is frequently not credited. In the magazine's special issues, devoted to particular communities, articles are sometimes credited to local clergymen and journalists, as well as municipal officials and board of trade representatives. Many also appear to have been written by members of the *Busy East* staff, with the assistance of local businessmen.

In 1913 and 1914, a number of significant pieces bore the byline of Edgar E. Kelley, "of the Busy East Staff."<sup>15</sup> The June, 1913 issue, devoted

---

<sup>15</sup>Edgar E. Kelley, "The Leaven of Progressiveness in the Canadian East," *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (September, 1913), p. 13; "Unprovoked and Awful Charges," *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 8 (March, 1914), p. 3; "Halifax - St. John: 'A Tale of Two Cities,' Wherein is Explained How Each Might Well Set an Example Worthy of the Emulation of the Other; and How Both Would Thereby Contribute Their Share Toward a Solid Maritime Front," *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 9 (April, 1914), p. 3.

to “boosting” Sackville, contained contributions from “C. C. Avard, M.A., Editor of the Sackville Tribune.” After 1916, and particularly in the 1920s, the *Busy East* published a number of signed contributions from Avard, then proprietor and editor of the magazine. In the 1920s, Avard participated actively in the discussions of the Maritime Board of Trade, which were fully reported in the *Busy East*, and was both President of the New Brunswick Tourist and Resources Association and Secretary Treasurer of the New Brunswick Fox Breeders Association. These organizations also were publicised in the *Busy East*.<sup>16</sup>

From time to time, the *Busy East* printed editorial statements setting forth the magazine’s philosophy, and its view of its role in the community. The first few issues proclaimed the arrival upon the Maritime scene of boosterism, on the western model, with the *Busy East* to be the main vehicle for promotional publicity. A major statement of the booster conception of the role of the press, and specifically of the *Busy East*, was set out in a paper by Edgar E. Kelley, presented at the 1913 convention of the Maritime Press Association and printed in the October, 1913 issue. This piece frankly called upon journalists to use their influence to promote the Maritimes:

---

<sup>16</sup>“Annual Report of the New Brunswick and Resources Association,” *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 12 (July, 1924), p. 5; C. C. Avard, M.A., “In and About a New Brunswick Fox Ranch,” *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 2 (September, 1925), p. 12.

...why can't we as self-appointed publicity agents, make the second decade of Canada's Century mark the beginning of the Maritime era? No one realizes better than do we ourselves the wonderfully[sic] power we sway individually as men and women who guide the pen.

Kelley denounced the "muckrakers" of U. S. journalism -- "Fortunately, we of Maritime Canada have not quite stooped to that level" -- and declared that

...towns and cities, counties and countries, demand wide-awake advertising as a prime essential to successful competition with their neighbors.<sup>17</sup>

The following month's issue carried an approving quotation from the Moncton *Transcript*, indicating that the *Busy East* was carrying out this mission successfully, at least in the view of the *Transcript's* writer:

It is really a creditable publication...It is breezy and varied in its contents; avoids controversial subjects, and keeps only one aim in view, that of advertising the merits of the natural, industrial and other resources of the Maritime Provinces.<sup>18</sup>

The April, 1916 issue carried another major statement, under the title, "The Aims and Purpose of the Busy East." This restated the magazine's promotional orientation, noting "...it is not the part of The Busy East to

---

<sup>17</sup>Kelley, "The Leaven of Progressiveness in the Canadian East," pp. 13, 15.

<sup>18</sup>"More Good Words," *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 4 (November, 1913), p. 22.

criticize; other publications can do that." There was, however, a somewhat different emphasis in this editorial than in earlier, similar statements; a stress on the importance of keeping up morale, the result, perhaps of the ongoing war:

The aim and purpose of The Busy East...is to hearten the discouraged one, to point the way to the tired and weary business man...In our effort we hope to have the support of Boards of Trade, of Town Councils and in fact of all the leaders of business thought in the Eastern Provinces.<sup>19</sup>

As usual, the *Busy East* retained a clear sense of the constituency for whom it sought to speak.

The magazine aspired to be more than simply a promotional publication. It advertised itself as "the only high class monthly magazine in the Maritime Provinces," and announced its intention of being "a home magazine as well as a business booster."<sup>20</sup> While the contents of the magazine continued to focus on the promotion of the Maritime region, with a marked business orientation, it also contained more general material, ranging from discussions of municipal government reform to long historical series on such subjects as "Our Lieutenant Governors," and reprinted pieces by W. O. Raymond on "Old Times in New Brunswick." In the 1920s, under C. C. Avard, the magazine gave close coverage to efforts by the

---

<sup>19</sup>"The Aims and Purpose of The Busy East," *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916), pp. 3-4.

<sup>20</sup>Advertisement, *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 12 (July, 1916), p. 4; "A Word About Ourselves," *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 1 (August, 1916), p. 4.

Maritime Board of Trade and others to deal with the region's economic difficulties. From 1920, the *Busy East* was the Maritime Board of Trade's "official organ," and Avard himself participated actively in the the organization. The *Busy East* also published such material as H. A. Cody's historical novel *The King's Arrow*, which was serialized in 1924 and 1925, and took its own stands on public affairs.

While the *Busy East's* essential character was firmly established in its first issue, there were changes over time. In the June, 1910 issue, promotional material, supplied by local New Brunswick boards of trade, publicised individual towns in conventional booster fashion, while editorials written by the *Busy East's* own writers provided publicity for the region as a whole. In these early years, municipal advertising as a development tool for local communities was repeatedly urged, for obviously interested reasons. The west, both as home of model boosters and "good, live" boards of trade, and as regional rival within Canada, was mentioned frequently.

The First World War did not change the fundamental orientation of the *Busy East*. The general policy remained, as described in the April, 1916 issue:

**Boost, boost, boost, and then boost. By this we do not mean the frothy boosting of the exploiter, who serves only his own purpose, but the boosting which is associated with merit and courage, the boosting that encourages and fosters every effort put forth to build up, to broaden, to develop, to strengthen, to stimulate and**



industrialize the eastern provinces.<sup>21</sup>

The *Busy East* initially predicted that the effects of the war on Canada would be "salutary," reasoning that

This is primarily an agricultural country, and the increased returns on all agricultural products shipped abroad will run into a very large sum of money, which will more than offset any loss from a reduction of the shipments of manufactured goods.<sup>22</sup>

This was a momentary dropping of the *Busy East's* usual preoccupation with the Maritimes. However, the effects of the war on the fortunes of Maritime business soon came to dominate the contents of the magazine. In November, 1914, for example, a report on the Humphrey Unshrinkable Underwear Company, of Moncton, noted that the outlook was "favorable for continued activity during the winter due in part to the large amount of underwear being bought for use overseas."<sup>23</sup> An ad for the same firm the following month urged, "Be Patriotic. You can serve Canada by using Made in Canada goods."<sup>24</sup> Towns that experienced war-time booms, such as New Glasgow with its munitions production, publicised themselves, with great expressions of optimism.<sup>25</sup> Expressions of rivalry

---

<sup>21</sup>"The Aims and Purpose of the *Busy East*", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916) p. 3.

<sup>22</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 2 (September, 1914), p. 17.

<sup>23</sup>"A Maritime Province Industry Doing Well", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 4 (November, 1914), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup>Advertisement for Humphrey's Unshrinkable Underwear, *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 5 (December, 1914), p. 24.

with other parts of Canada were muted. The booster emphasis on optimism intensified, as it was reinforced by the need to keep up morale. The booster rhetoric of the *Busy East* even made use of the example of the battlefield, urging that the people of the Maritimes emulate the Canadian troops in France, said to have prevailed because of their refusal to admit defeat.

In the same way the people of the Maritime Provinces can save the day for these provinces by the sea. They can stand up under their tribulations and smile, knowing that the end must be bright and the final outcome eminently satisfactory.<sup>26</sup>

As the war went on, considerable space was given to discussion of preparing for the post-war period. The *Busy East* took up the idea of shipbuilding as a possible major post-war manufacturing industry, and pursued it through a number of issues.<sup>27</sup> Other discussions of the potential problems and opportunities of the post-war period also appeared. Editorials

---

<sup>25</sup>John Doull, "New Glasgow in War Time", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916) p. 9; also editorial, "New Glasgow, the Coming Steel City", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 5 (December 1916.) Most of this issue is devoted to New Glasgow.

<sup>26</sup>"A Time to Get Ready," *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916), p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>"Retrospect, Prospect and Preparedness," *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 6 (January, 1917), p. 4; Joseph M. Tobin, "Shipbuilding, a World-Wide Necessity, a Patriotic Duty and a Provincial Opportunity: letters written to the Halifax Herald," *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 8 (March, 1917), p. 8; other editorials and articles in *Busy East* vol. 7, no. 10 (May, 1917); vol. 8, no. 4 (November, 1917); and vol. 8, no. 6 (January, 1918).

in the November, 1917 issue discussed "The Returned Soldier Problem" and "Immigration After the War." The January, 1918 issue included a piece on "Vocational Training For Returned Soldiers," written by the Principal of the Nova Scotia Technical College.<sup>28</sup> The emphasis on the national, and imperial, character of the war effort was maintained. Consistent with this, the *Busy East* editorialized following the disastrous Halifax explosion that "The rehabilitation and rebuilding of Halifax should be undertaken entirely by the Federal Government at Ottawa."<sup>29</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the war's end, discussion of strategies for "reconstruction" and economic development continued.<sup>30</sup> Labour relations came in for some discussion; but the unrest that characterised industrial relations in the Maritimes at this time was mentioned only in the vaguest terms, and by implication.<sup>31</sup> This is consistent with the "optimistic", promotional boosterism of the magazine.

The September, 1919, issue of the *Busy East* was almost entirely devoted to accounts of the first post-war annual meeting of the Maritime

---

<sup>28</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 8 (November, 1917), p. 3; and F. H. Sexton, "Vocational Training For Returned Soldiers", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 6 (January, 1918), p. 20.

<sup>29</sup>"The Halifax Disaster". *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 5 (December, 1917), p. 3.

<sup>30</sup>"After the War Problems", and Sir John Willison, "Reconstruction Problems", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 5 (December, 1918), pp. 3, 6-8; "Back To Mufti", "After War Trade", and Watson Griffin, "Possibilities For Industrial Development in the Maritime Provinces". *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 6 (January, 1919), pp. 3, 4, 16.

<sup>31</sup>"After War Trade". *op. cit.*: "Carry on!", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 7 (February, 1919), p. 4; "Capital and Labor(Editorial)", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 9 (April, 1919), pp. 3-4; E. A. Schofield, "How To Solve the Problem of the Present Unrest of Labor and Capital", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 11(June, 1919), p. 20.

Board of Trade. The agenda of this meeting, which was held at the initiative of the Moncton Board of Trade<sup>32</sup>, and in that city, was dominated by discussion of the changes recently implemented by the federal government in the management of the Intercolonial Railway. The Monctonians endeavored to get support for a return to the "Unit System of Management." What they sought was essentially a return to the Moncton-based regional management of the old Intercolonial. For the next few years, coverage of the activities of the Maritime Board of Trade was to be comprehensive, with the annual meetings in particular reported exhaustively. At the 1920 convention, held in Amherst, a resolution was passed naming the *Busy East* the "official organ of the Maritime Board of Trade."<sup>33</sup> C. C. Avard, proprietor and editor of the *Busy East*, participated actively in the Maritime Board's meetings, as reported in the magazine. At the 1922 annual meeting, Avard attempted to provoke the Board to action on a recurring issue, the appointment of a permanent Secretary, by producing \$50.00 toward the salary of such an officer, and challenging others present to come up with contributions of their own, rather than repeating past ineffectual appeals to the Maritime provincial governments to fund the position. The gesture does not seem to have been well received.<sup>34</sup>

As the economic crisis of the early 1920s continued, the *Busy East*

---

<sup>32</sup>Capt. J. E. Masters, "The Best Maritime Board Meeting I Ever Attended," Says Capt. J. E. Masters", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 19.

<sup>33</sup>Capt. J. E. Masters, "Review of the Amherst Convention", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 26.

<sup>34</sup>"The 1922 Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 3 (October, 1922), p. 3.

maintained a brave face of optimism, while urging self-reliance and united action, through the Maritime Board of Trade, by Maritime businessmen. As the Maritime Rights movement gathered momentum, it adopted the major points of the Maritime Board of Trade's agenda for redress of regional grievances. The *Busy East* reported on the progress of the agitation, and on the meetings of the different organizations through which it was expressed.

It also reported on and promoted other strategies for economic growth, notably the development of tourism. The *Busy East* carried full reports on the annual meetings of the New Brunswick Tourism and Resources Association, of which Avard was President for a time in the mid-1920s.<sup>35</sup> Publicity was held to be vital to the successful development of the tourist industry, which in one editorial was described as "...the avenue of untold wealth."

...What is the secret of this increased tourist traffic -- Advertising! Yes, that is the open-sesame which will unlock the gates of this lucrative business to the Maritimes.<sup>36</sup>

One enthusiastic report rather unrealistically pointed to the example of southern California:

---

<sup>35</sup>Reports on annual meetings of the New Brunswick Tourism and Resources Association may be found in *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 12(July, 1921), pp. 3, 10-20; vol. 13, no. 11-12 (June-July, 1923; "Special Tourist Number"); vol. 14, no. 12 (July, 1924), p. 5; and vol. 17, no. 1 (August, 1925), pp. 3, 5-10.

<sup>36</sup>"A Lucrative Business", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 11 (June, 1924), p. 3.

...twenty years ago Southern California had a small population and a very limited prosperity. Today she has a large permanent population and a tourist travel worth \$300,000,000 a year. Southern California has brought this change about by capitalizing her scenery and climate and developing her roads and attractions. Her achievement is one of the best examples of how immigration follows tourist travel."<sup>37</sup>

Visible in the promotion of tourism are many of the characteristics of boosterism: the hyperbolic advertising, the emphasis on growth, and the stress on economic success as being dependent on the personal qualities of people.

Another industry that was given attention was fox farming. Avard held an executive position with the New Brunswick Fox Breeders Association, as well.<sup>38</sup>

There was evident, as the 1920s went on, a distinct distrust of the intentions of the federal politicians, an unwillingness to put too much faith in the possibilities of the Maritime Rights agitation, a stress on the necessity of self-reliance, alongside the continuing support for the campaign.<sup>39</sup> This was entirely consistent with the stress on local action that was characteristic

---

<sup>37</sup>"Possibilities of the Tourist Traffic in the Maritimes As Source of Income", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 9 (April, 1924), p. 3.

<sup>38</sup>Various issues, esp. *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 2 (September, 1925; "New Brunswick Silver Fox Number").

<sup>39</sup>"The Real Panacea For Maritime Ills", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 7 (February, 1924), p. 4; "The Middle of the Road", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 7 (February, 1925), p. 4

of boosterism.

## CHAPTER TWO

### BOOSTERISM AND THE *BUSY EAST*

Boards of trade were influential institutions in the towns and cities of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada. Their membership typically included the leading merchants and businessmen of a community. Boards of trade worked to promote economic growth in their communities, and toward the reform of municipal government and the development of urban infrastructure. Their activities reflected both the "progressive" ideas prevalent in turn-of-the-century North America and a perhaps more fundamental preoccupation with the promotion of economic activity, with growth as the central criterion of a community's success.

A number of tactics were commonly employed by boards of trade in their efforts to promote economic growth. One was direct subscription by members in new business ventures. Less direct means of promoting new economic activity were implemented by municipal governments, which were often highly responsive to the recommendations of boards of trade. Many towns and cities offered tax exemptions, or advantageous rates on municipally distributed water and power, to potential investors in new industries. A similar tactic was the practice known as "bonusing," the offering of cash payments to entrepreneurs interested in setting up new



businesses in the community. Boards of trade were also active in lobbying higher levels of government for changes in policy favourable to the interests of local business, or for government investment in the community.<sup>1</sup>

Another, highly visible tool for the promotion of new economic activity was publicity. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Canadian boards of trade "poured forth a flood of promotional publicity,"<sup>2</sup> extolling the merits of their communities as sites for new enterprises. This publicity appeared in the form of paid advertising in various periodicals, as well as in promotional pamphlets published by boards of trade or by the communities themselves. The *Busy East* originated, in part, as a vehicle for such publicity. Its initial issue was made up largely of promotional material provided by the boards of trade of various New Brunswick towns and cities. An editorial<sup>3</sup> solicited more such material, which continued to make up an important part of the publication's contents throughout the period. In addition to carrying promotional articles, the *Busy East* in fact promoted this whole set of strategies, encouraging boards of trade to advertise their communities, and giving publicity to some energetic leaders of boards of trade.

By 1889, 76 boards of trade had been formed in municipalities in the Dominion of Canada. Of these, over half were in Ontario; only 10 had been formed in the Maritime provinces. Twenty years later, in 1910, another 50 boards of trade had been formed in the Maritimes.<sup>4</sup> It seems to have been

---

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development", *Urban History Review*, XII, No. 2 (October 1983), 83-86.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>3</sup>"What's the Busy East?", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 5.

this explosion of Board of Trade activity that the *Busy East*, when it began publication in 1910, sought to exploit.

The term "boosterism," as employed in the writing of Canadian urban history,

...is best defined as an ideology of growth adopted by local elites to guide their promotional activity. Boosters, therefore, are promoters who attempt to advance both their personal interest and the growth of their community. They attempt to find a consensus among members of the elite on development projects or strategies designed to increase the growth rate of a particular town or city.<sup>5</sup>

The concept has been used most extensively in writing on urban development in the prairie west by Alan F. J. Artibise and other historians who emphasize the importance of the activities of boosters in such development.<sup>6</sup> Artibise has noted the American origins of the term, and

---

<sup>4</sup>Bloomfield, *Urban History Review*, XII, No. 2 (October 1983), 80.

<sup>5</sup>Alan F. J. Artibise and Paul-André Linteau, *The Evolution of Urban Canada: An Analysis of Approaches and Interpretations* (Winnipeg: Report No. 4, The Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1984), p. 20.

<sup>6</sup>For example, the work of Artibise, including *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth* (Montreal, 1975), and *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1977), as well as a number of articles, such as "In Pursuit of Growth: Municipal Boosterism and Urban Development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871-1915", in Gilbert A. Stelter and Artibise, eds., *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa, 1982), and "Exploring the North American West: A Comparative Urban Perspective", in Stelter, ed., *Cities and*

acknowledged its role in earlier American urban historiography. In particular, he has cited Blaine A. Brownell's work on urban development in the American south.<sup>7</sup>

Characteristics of the prairie boosterism described by Artibise included

a desire to encourage growth at the expense of virtually all other considerations; a high degree of community spirit within the local elite combined with a high degree of distrust for competing elites in other centres; a scornful attitude toward organized labour, farmers, the poor, and anyone who did not support the growth ethic; a loose attachment to Social Darwinism; and a belief in the special role of local government in fostering urban growth.<sup>8</sup>

For Brownell and Artibise, boosterism was much more than "super salesmanship or mindless hoopla." The rhetoric of boosterism was, rather,

---

*Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspectives* (Toronto, 1990.) Other examples include articles in Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina, 1981), and various numbers of *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*. One example from the latter is Thomas C. Meredith, "Boosting in British Columbia: The Creation and Rise of Invermere", *UHR/RHU* XVI, No. 3 (February 1988).

<sup>7</sup>Specifically, Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge, 1975.) See Bruce M. Stave, "Urban History in Canada: A Conversation With A. F. J. Artibise", *Urban History Review* VIII, No. 3 (February 1980), 122-124; Artibise, "Exploring the North American West", p. 214 and note 14; and Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities", in Artibise, ed., *Town and City*, p. 231, note 7.

<sup>8</sup>Alan F. J. Artibise, "Continuity and Change: Elites and Prairie Urban Development, 1914-1950", in Artibise and Stetter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past*, p. 131.

the expression of an

**'ethos'...a general overarching conception of the city which stressed the desirability -- indeed, the necessity -- of both urban growth and social order in such a way that they would be mutually reinforcing.<sup>9</sup>**

**The rhetoric of boosterism stressed "optimism, friendliness, and a militant civic loyalty." The good booster, embodying these virtues, was contrasted with a stock figure, the "knocker," whose negative attitude and lack of "community spirit" might threaten the material growth and social cohesion within the city that boosters sought to promote.<sup>10</sup>**

**That the *Busy East* was an exponent of boosterism from the beginning is evident in its first issue, dated June, 1910. The publication was avowedly aimed at the urban population of the Maritimes, specifically the local business elites of the town and city boards of trade. Growth, it was implicit, should be the unquestioned goal of these organizations. The vital importance of community spirit was stressed. A writer declared:**

**It is the city where the people, no matter how weak they may be financially, pull together, standing shoulder to shoulder through thick and thin, that is just as certain to forge to the front as the sun is to raise [sic] in the morning. Likewise, it is the city where people are split and where there is bickering and petty politics that**

---

<sup>9</sup>Brownell, p. xix.

<sup>10</sup>Brownell, p. 137.

has a hard time keeping on the grade.<sup>11</sup>

The leading role of the local commercial class was affirmed:

Every city, when the final word is said, is just what the foresight, enterprise and energy of its businessmen make it.<sup>12</sup>

Publicity and promotion as tools for achieving growth were repeatedly emphasized. Spokesmen for local boards of trade were urged to emulate the style of Western boosters in their promotional literature:

...read the style of the western boomer when he starts to tell of his town, its prospects and what its future will be. A perusal of one of these articles will forever banish any idea of false modesty which you may possess. If you have a good thing in your town or vicinity, boost it for all it will stand -- boost it to the limit...<sup>13</sup>

The *Busy East* offered itself, in this inaugural issue, as a vehicle for such publicity. Promotion of the Maritime region was its stated *raison d'être*, and it was the boosters of the region's boards of trade that were expected to provide the promotional material. The first issue offered "...space, free, in The Busy East to boom your town" to local boards of trade, and the author noted that secretaries of New Brunswick boards of trade had

---

<sup>11</sup>W. E. Anderson, "Local Pride An Asset", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 8.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup>"To Our Correspondents", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 7.

agreed to provide monthly promotional articles on their towns.<sup>14</sup>

The *Busy East* did not, however, take the interest of these people for granted. The first issue contained the first of many pieces on the usefulness of advertising as a means of building up a community. In an item entitled "It Pays to Advertise," anecdotal evidence from Portland, Oregon, on the rise of property values in that city at the time of a publicity campaign was presented. The author asserted that this "shows in a striking way the efficacy of spending money for publicity purposes."<sup>15</sup>

That conventional character of booster rhetoric, "the knocker," made his first appearance in the *Busy East's* second issue. The context was not discussion of the development of a particular city, but rather of the Maritime region as a whole. This employment of the language and tactics of boosterism in promotion of the entire region, not just of particular towns and cities, was characteristic of the *Busy East*.

Our old friend -- the knocker -- will receive a nasty jolt on realizing that we of the Provinces can and are successfully shipping goods to the West. His stand in the past has been that Quebec and Ontario have done all the manufacturing for Canada...Freight is a mere bagatelle. <sup>16</sup>

In this case, the "knocker" refers to hypothetical persons who do not share the writer's inclination to make light of obstacles, such as the cost of

---

<sup>14</sup>"What's The Busy East?", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup>W. E. Anderson, "It Pays To Advertise", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 2 (July, 1910), p. 6.

shipping, that might inhibit the successful marketing of Maritime products in the west of Canada. In general, the “knocker” was simply the flip side of the booster. As a slogan printed in the *Busy East* put it, “Knockers are nothing but pessimistic boosters.”<sup>17</sup>

Optimism, whatever the circumstances, was a fundamental characteristic of booster rhetoric, indeed of the booster ethos. The precise nature of booster optimism was the subject of an editorial in the July, 1913, issue, that distinguished the booster both from the impractically optimistic dreamer, and, of course, from the pessimist. Between these undesirable extremes was “the red-blooded booster -- the man who backs a radiating optimism with a grand, good propensity for doing things.”<sup>18</sup> The booster was a man of action, a team player, at least, if not an entrepreneur.

The emphasis on optimism went through some changes as time passed. In war-time, the *Busy East* described itself as “the magazine of courage and optimism for the Maritime Provinces of Canada. It boosts; it never knocks.”<sup>19</sup> “Optimism,” and community spirit, the maintenance of morale and social cohesion, served a larger cause than local economic development in the midst of the war. By early 1918, this was unmistakable. An editorial headed “The Gospel of Optimism” counselled,

---

<sup>17</sup> *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 7 (February, 1914), p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> “Back Optimism With Initiative: A Truism”, *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> “The Aims and Purpose of The Busy East”, *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916), p. 3.

We must endeavor to have the right mental attitude in this titanic struggle of Might vs. Right. The power of mind over matter is well recognized by our scientists.<sup>20</sup>

This theme was continued in the economically depressed post-war period, when the *Busy East's* emphasis on maintaining an optimistic frame of mind, as a way of coping with the difficult economic times, was often supported by quotations from other, presumably credible sources that stressed the importance of morale in economic affairs.<sup>21</sup> C. C. Avard, the magazine's proprietor and editor, delivered an address to the Moncton Rotary Club, which was reprinted in the *Busy East*, on "Courage, Optimism, and Work," praising these qualities as vital to economic success.<sup>22</sup> The same note was still being sounded as 1923 began:

The open sesame of success lies in -- optimistic, purposeful labor, and to a great extent the secret of success during the coming year, 1923, lies within each of us: Let us turn the magic key.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>"The Gospel of Optimism", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 9 (April, 1918), p. 3.

<sup>21</sup>E.g. in "Courage, Caution and Confidence", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 5 (December, 1920), p. 3, and "Avoid the Pessimist", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 11 (June, 1921), p. 4. An expert often quoted by the *Busy East*, who emphasized the importance of psychological factors in the business cycle, was the "American statistician" Roger W. Babson. See "Courage, Caution and Confidence", op. cit.; "The Turn of the Tide!", *Busy East*, vol. 12, no. 8 (March, 1922), pp. 3-4; "Babson Says Business Out Of Shoals", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 2 (September, 1922), p. 4.

<sup>22</sup>C. C. Avard, "Courage, Optimism, and Work", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 8 (March, 1921), pp. 5-8.

<sup>23</sup>"1923 -- A Year of Promise", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 6 (January, 1923), pp. 3-4.



And the same theme continued to recur. In the August, 1924 issue, the booster formula for success was reiterated:

It is the community with real live boosters, who have faith and courage enough to put their financial resources in home industries, that grows and expands...<sup>24</sup>

Another aspect of the booster "optimism" of the *Busy East* was its tendency not to report negative news. Periods of recession or depression would be denied or ignored, readers exhorted to maintain a positive attitude, good news or positive predictions from any source reprinted with enthusiastic commentary. Labour disputes, of which the Maritime Provinces were not free in this period, were usually ignored as well. The *Busy East* was not "scornful" toward organized labour, in the manner of the prairie boosters described by Artibise. In its occasional discussions of industrial relations, it adopted a moderate attitude, conceding that labour had legitimate rights and was entitled to assert them. A letter putting a conservative view of the "labour question" was printed in January, 1914, and a labour spokesman invited to reply in the following issue.<sup>25</sup> A 1913 editorial noted the necessity of "a living wage" as a means of averting "vice" and various social ills.<sup>26</sup> In the post-war period, the *Busy East*

---

<sup>24</sup>"Let Us Help Ourselves", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 1 (August, 1924), p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Frank W. Williams, "The Labor Question From One Angle", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 6 (January, 1914), p. 21; and Colin McKay, "The Other Side of the Labour Question", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 7 (February, 1914), p. 11.

<sup>26</sup>"Society Is Working At The Wrong End", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July,

editorialized that the war had resulted in labour having been "set, as it were, on a pinnacle." In the period of post-war readjustment,

The danger...lies in going to extremes. On the one hand it would be utmost folly for Labor to adopt Bolshevist tactics; yet on the other hand Capital cannot prudently assume the dictatorial attitude of the old autocratic regime, without running the risk of being abolished altogether...Both Capital and Labor must manifest a spirit of toleration and co-operation.<sup>27</sup>

As noted previously, however, the *Busy East* preferred not to discuss the whole issue of labour relations. Its view of economic activity concentrated on the creativity of the capitalist and the necessity for hard work on the part of the clerk and salesman; the position and interests of the industrial worker were virtually ignored.

The magazine began in 1910 by promoting an essentially urban agenda. The boards of trade, to whom it looked as the main promoters of economic development for the region, were urban institutions. One way in which boards of trade exerted their influence was through the institutions of local government. These institutions themselves were being subjected to considerable examination and reform across North America during this period<sup>28</sup>, and the *Busy East* reported and commented upon the process in

---

1913), p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>"Capital and Labor (Editorial)", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 9 (April, 1919), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Canadian writing on municipal government reform in this period includes Paul

the Maritimes, on occasion.<sup>29</sup> The development strategy it continued to urge upon the boards of trade throughout the period included control of the institutions of local government by individuals who shared the booster ethos of the boards of trade. This was often the object, implicit or otherwise, of municipal government reform.<sup>30</sup>

The *Busy East*, though identifying itself with the boards of trade and the urban commercial classes of the region, disavowed any intention of being a "class" organ<sup>31</sup>. It promoted the region's agricultural resources, often with the evident goal of attracting immigrants, and its natural beauty and abundance of game, with the aim of attracting tourists. Except for occasional, usually unspecified "knockers," it refrained from negative

---

Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920", in Stelter and Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto, 1979); John C. Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920", in Stelter and Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City*; and James D. Anderson, "The Municipal Government Reform Movement in Western Canada, 1880-1920", in Stelter and Artibise, eds., *The Usable Urban Past*.

<sup>29</sup>"Commission Form of Government Is Proving Its Merit", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 8(March, 1914), p. 9; Thomas Adams, "A Plea For More Uniform and Expert Administration of Municipal Affairs", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 4 (November, 1916), p. 5; "Civic Government By A Town Manager" and "Woodstock Appoints A Town Manager", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 1 (August, 1919), pp. 5-10, among other examples.

<sup>30</sup>Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited", pp. 459, 464-5; D. A. Sutherland, "The Personnel and Policies of the Halifax Board of Trade, 1890-1914", in Lewis R. Fischer and Eric V. Sager, eds., *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development In Eastern Canada, 1820-1914* (St. John's, 1979), p. 216.

<sup>31</sup>E.g. advertisement, *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 5 (December, 1917), p. 4.

comment on Maritimers of any class, reserving its scorn for the federal government and Canadians from other regions, particularly the West.

The third issue began with a rhapsodic editorial on the power of boosterism:

“The Boost Flower, watered by the springs of prosperity, nurtured by the warm sunshine of success, swept by the steadily blowing gale of progress, and through the medium of *The Busy East*, is spreading broadcast its hopeful pollen of optimism and hustle in every city, town, and hamlet in the Maritime Provinces...The Boost Flower.... like many another good thing, is of Western origin, and is being transplanted here in the Provinces.”<sup>32</sup>

The same editorial noted that the “boost flower” was “transplanted from the United States” to the Canadian west.

The reference to the western provenance of the “Boost Flower” makes it clear that this editorialist, at least, felt that the *Busy East* was engaged in importing boosterism from the prairie west to the Maritimes. References to the role of booster publicity in promoting the rapid growth of the west were frequent in the magazine. The boosterism of the *Busy East*, however, differed from that of the west, as described by Artibise, in a number of ways. The most important of these differences may reasonably be attributed to the role of the publication as a regional vehicle for promotion. As such, it strove to mitigate the intensity of inter-urban rivalries, and, indeed, to encourage cooperation among the cities and towns of the region. In addition, it carried

---

<sup>32</sup>“Goin’ Some”. *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 3 (August, 1910), p. 6.

a considerable amount of promotional material that publicised the region as a whole, or one of the three provinces, rather than a particular city or town. The *Busy East* attempted to extend booster "community spirit" to the "community" of the whole Maritime region. The distrusted "competing elites" were those of central and western Canada. The boosterism of the *Busy East* had, from the beginning, a strongly regionalist flavour.

The *Busy East* provided a promotional vehicle for local boosters of Maritime towns and cities. Two communities that took advantage of the opportunity were Moncton, New Brunswick, and Amherst, Nova Scotia. Both were communities that mushroomed from small service centres following the arrival of railroads in the latter part of the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Moncton, in particular, owed much of its growth directly to the establishment of important facilities of the Intercolonial Railway in the city. Amherst, which was located on the main line of the I.C.R., experienced rapid development of manufacturing industry around the turn of the century. An important part of the business of its largest manufacturer, Rhodes-Curry & Co., was the manufacture of railway cars. Other major Amherst firms included Robb Engineering, which produced, among other things, industrial steam engines;

---

<sup>33</sup>For the industrialization of Amherst, see Reilly, and Del Muiise, "The Great Transformation: Changing the Face of Urban Nova Scotia, 1871-1921", *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 11, No. 2 (1991). Daniel Hickey, "Moncton, 1871-1913: Le commerce et l'industrie dans un carrefour ferroviaire", in Daniel Hickey, ed., *Moncton 1871-1929: Changements socio-economique dans une ville ferroviaire* (Moncton, 1990) discusses the effects of the railway on the Moncton economy. See also Leblanc.

the Amherst Boot & Shoe Co.; and the Hewson Woolen Mills. Both communities received a considerable amount of publicity in the *Busy East*; both were pointed to in the magazine's pages, at different times, as models of what boosterism might do for a community.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Maritime economy participated to a degree in the "Laurier boom," the period of economic expansion that accompanied the peopling of the prairie west. In particular, Moncton saw employment at the Intercolonial Railway facilities increase dramatically, particularly after the workshops were rebuilt following their destruction by fire in 1906.<sup>34</sup> The federal minister of railways and canals, from 1904 until his resignation in 1907, was H. R. Emmerson, whose constituency included Moncton. Emmerson was able to resist political pressure to relocate the shops after their destruction, and they were rebuilt in Moncton.<sup>35</sup> Amherst's manufacturing industries and population both had their greatest growth in the first decade of the century. The town's population nearly doubled between the censuses of 1901 and 1911, and investment and production increased much more dramatically.<sup>36</sup>

By 1913, however, the boom had finally ended across the country. A growing trend toward mergers and consolidation of industry in Canada had already affected Amherst, as Rhodes-Curry & Co. became part of Canadian

---

<sup>34</sup>Hickey, "Moncton, 1871-1913", 46.

<sup>35</sup>Leblanc, p. 77.

<sup>36</sup>Reilly, Tables I-IV, pp. 50-53.

Car & Foundry Co. in 1909. The period of full-tilt expansion of Canada's railways died with the boom.<sup>37</sup>

Amherst's first mention in the *Busy East* came in the magazine's second issue, dated July, 1910, the first issue to feature communities outside New Brunswick. The story was based on the "Old Home Week" celebrations held in Amherst that summer, and dwelt upon the great changes that had taken place in the town in recent years.

Take, for example, the absentee of about twenty years...From a restful country town, slowly awakening that he left, he will find a hustling and prosperous manufacturing centre, which even in the last ten years has increased over 6,000 in population...<sup>38</sup>

The article went on to list the various goods manufactured in Amherst, and to describe recent construction work making the town more accessible to water transportation. "Amherst is a sea-port," claimed the story, as the result of improvements to port facilities at the mouth of the LaPlanche River, accessible by rail from nearby Amherst. In addition, recent expenditures by the town on its local infrastructure were enumerated: \$70,000 on streets and sidewalks; over \$100,000 on the sewerage system; \$65,000 on new school buildings; \$20,000 on a hospital; and \$20,000 on "a Town Hall, fire stations and fire equipment."<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup>For the Canadian context, Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 198-203.

<sup>38</sup>"Amherst, N. S.". *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 2 (July, 1910), p. 13.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

Further statistics, on investment, output, and wages paid by the town's industries, were cited in an article in the September, 1910 issue. Booster rhetoric is much more obviously present in this piece, which was signed, "B. James Lawson, Secretary Publicity Committee of the Amherst Board of Trade":

What Amherst has done in the past ten years can and will be repeated in the next ten. A 15,000 population is looked forward to by the pessimist, while the optimist places the number at 20,000.<sup>40</sup>

This article again reviewed the advantages of the town, in such areas as power and transportation. It made a point to which Amherst boosters of this period often returned -- that Amherst's industries had been created by local people, "without bonus or exemption" from the local government.

...the secret of Amherst's great success has been its MEN -- men who saw a vision of a bigger busier Amherst, and by their pluck, push and perseverance have made the vision an actuality...<sup>41</sup>

(In fact, the Hewson Woolen Mills, "in addition to some special privileges," were granted a thirty-year exemption from taxation when they were

---

<sup>40</sup>B. James Lawson, "Busy Amherst, the Mecca of Industrial Enterprise", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 4 (September, 1910), p. 23. Similar optimistic population projections were to be found in a report commissioned by the Amherst Board of Trade and the town council: 16,000 by 1920, and 20,000 by 1925. See Reilly, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup>Lawson, "Busy Amherst, the Mecca of Industrial Enterprise", op. cit., p. 20.



established in 1902.)<sup>42</sup>

The April, 1911 issue contained a description, also written by Lawson, of the Amherst manufacturing facilities of the Canada Car & Foundry Co., Ltd. Lawson's article was replete with statistics on the capacities of the firm's rolling mills and foundries, and dwelt lovingly on the details of the operations of this, Amherst's flagship manufacturer.<sup>43</sup> The February and March, 1912 issues carried a two-part article again laying out the town's advantages, from a tax rate that would "appeal to every prospective manufacture or investor," and recently upgraded municipal infrastructure and educational facilities, to access to natural resources in the vicinity, all carefully described. This article also quoted the views of ex-mayor Nathaniel Curry, one of the elite of local manufacturing capitalists, and former president of Rhodes-Curry. Curry opined that "prospects were never brighter than at present," and that "One very good reason for taking this optimistic view is the great development work being undertaken by the Canadian railways..." He also predicted, "The population of Amherst ought to increase very rapidly and may even double again in the next ten years."<sup>44</sup>

Promotional pieces by B. J. Lawson continued to appear. Lawson described the activities of local manufacturers and gave details of

---

<sup>42</sup>Reilly, p. 40.

<sup>43</sup>B. J. Lawson, "Canada Car & Foundry Co., Limited", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 10 (April, 1911), pp. 27-29.

<sup>44</sup>"Facts About 'Busy Amherst'", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 8 (February, 1912), and vol. 2, no. 9 (March, 1912). Curry quoted p. 19 of March, 1912, issue. A pamphlet of the same title, not consulted for this study, was published "circa 1914," according to Reilly, p. 334 (Bibliography.)

investments by various levels of government in the town's infrastructure.<sup>45</sup> He again made, with apparent pride, the questionable assertion that "...among all the great industries of 'Busy Amherst' not one receives help from the Corporation."<sup>46</sup> One article was illustrated with a photograph of Nathaniel Curry, the great local capitalist, "recently appointed to the Senate."<sup>47</sup>

By December, 1912, it was reported that Amherst was preparing to apply for a charter as a city at the next sitting of the provincial legislature.<sup>48</sup> Details of this effort were provided by Lawson in the following issue. As described by him, it was a model of booster activity, with local businessmen organized in voluntary associations contributing their time toward advancing the community's interests.<sup>49</sup> A further picture of such activity was painted in the March, 1913 issue. Lawson reiterated that the industrial growth of the town was due not to bonuses or other such expedients, but rather to

...the fearless, progressive policy fostered and nourished by the sterling quality of citizenship, which is peculiarly characteristic of the business men of Amherst.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup>B. James Lawson, "Busy Amherst Items", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 1 (July, 1912), p. 10.

<sup>46</sup>B. J. Lawson, "Busy Amherst", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 10 (April, 1912), p. 7.

<sup>47</sup>B. James Lawson, "Busy Amherst Items", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 5 (December, 1912), p. 16.

<sup>48</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 5 (December, 1912), p. 25.

<sup>49</sup>B. J. Lawson, "Why Amherst Will Become A City", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 6 (January, 1913), pp. 17-18.

<sup>50</sup>B. J. Lawson, "The Spirit That Makes Amherst Succeed", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no.

As one example, he cited the transfer to Amherst from Kentville of the Nova Scotia Carriage & Motor Works. According to Lawson,

...the proposition was placed before Amherst men, they in a business like manner looked into it, called a meeting of the citizens and in a whirlwind campaign the amount was subscribed.<sup>51</sup>

A second example of the same sort was the creation of the Amherst Piano Co., Limited. Again, "...in less than 24 hours the necessary capital was subscribed."<sup>52</sup> The emphasis on the speed with which capital was said to have been raised for these projects seems designed to impress the reader with the decisiveness and entrepreneurial confidence of the Amherst businessmen.<sup>53</sup>

The impression conveyed by these articles, through the end of the Canadian boom in 1913, is of overweening confidence in the entrepreneurial capacities of Amherst's businessmen, and in the prospects for the town's continued growth.

Amherst, by this time, had come to "embody the region's industrial success."<sup>54</sup> For the *Busy East*, the town served as a model case of the

---

8 (March, 1913), p. 42.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>A similar enthusiasm seems to have greeted the proposal for the establishment of the Hewson Woolen Mills in 1902; again, the necessary capital was subscribed in one day. Reilly, p. 35.

booster development strategy in action, the perfect example of what local initiative and business acumen, applied to the task of building up a community (that is, developing manufacturing industry, increasing population, and putting in place modern infrastructure), might achieve. J. Nolan Reilly's discussion of Amherst's industrialization says that "Collaboration among local entrepreneurs...was such a consistent practice that most industries could accurately be described as community joint ventures."<sup>55</sup> Reilly also notes that a "cohesive" group, made up of the principal local capitalists, dominated the town council throughout the 1890s and well into the first decade of the twentieth century, and that they also made use of the Amherst Board of Trade to promote their interests, particularly by influencing local and federal politicians.<sup>56</sup> The identification of the community's interest with their own, and use of the community's institutions to promote investment in infrastructure, as well as to promote their interests in other ways, as described by Reilly, is all perfectly consistent with the booster development model promoted by the *Busy East*. Amherst was the region's great industrial success story; it was to be expected that the magazine should hold it up as an example for the emulation of other communities.

---

<sup>54</sup>Muise, *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 11, No. 2 (1991), 11.

<sup>55</sup>Reilly, p. 33.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 33-40. Leo Doyle, *Politics, Policy Making, and the Role of Local Elites: The Amherst Board of Trade and the Formation of Transportation Policy for the Maritimes, 1906-1918* (M.A. research essay, Carleton University, 1991) includes a detailed examination of the Amherst Board of Trade's efforts to influence the policies of the Intercolonial Railway.

This did happen. When the Nova Scotia Natural Gas Company Limited, with headquarters in Amherst, was incorporated, the *Busy East* claimed to see this as

a remarkably significant move. Amherst, in the Vanguard of Twentieth Century progress sees a good thing in natural gas. It means cheap power for her; and cheap power means more industries.<sup>57</sup>

This was consistent with the magazine's editorial enthusiasm for Moncton's natural gas, but also illustrates its view of Amherst's model "progressiveness,"<sup>58</sup> of the town's exemplary, forward-looking modernity. Later that same year, an editorial went much further in exhorting Maritime communities to emulate the behaviour of Amherst's businessmen:

Look at little Amherst! Doesn't little Amherst make you feel ashamed of yourself! -- always ready with moral and financial aid for infant undertakings; talking Amherst and the Canadian East morning, noon, and night!

We all need more of the spirit that built 'The Busy Town.'<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup>"Unlimited Resources Must Remain So". *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913).

<sup>58</sup>In one piece of promotional literature on Amherst printed in the *Busy East* ("Facts About Busy Amherst", March, 1912, p. 19), the presence in the town of modern urban infrastructure, hotels, churches, theatre, was cited as evidence of its "General progressiveness".

<sup>59</sup>"The Time Has Come For Action!". *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 4 (November, 1913), p. 8.

An article on Moncton was among the pieces on New Brunswick cities and towns in the first issue of the *Busy East*. Its main theme was the potential of the Albert County natural gas wells near Moncton, in the process of being developed by "English capitalists." The "cheap power" supplied by natural gas would, it was predicted, bring about an "industrial boom," and make Moncton "the manufacturing centre of the Lower Provinces."<sup>60</sup> The next issue continued on this theme, making the potential of the oil and gas industry the subject of flights of booster rhetoric.

The leaven is working in Moncton. The idea of being a railway centre has in the past seemed to be sufficient for many of the town. The developments of the Maritime Oilfields Company have infused new life into all lines of trade...It is not a question of what Moncton may be, but, what Moncton shall be, that is now joining in harmony all classes, who are united in the work of boosting Moncton.<sup>61</sup>

The same issue contained a detailed description of the field operations and business arrangements of the company engaged in exploiting the oil and gas near Moncton.<sup>62</sup> Though couched in the language of boosterism (e.g., number three well "was the well that gave the death blow to the knocker"), this article contained a great deal of detailed information.

The *Busy East* continued to be "optimistic" about the implications of

---

<sup>60</sup>"Moncton, N. B.", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 24.

<sup>61</sup>"The Awakening of Moncton", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 2 (July, 1910), p. 5.

<sup>62</sup>"Moncton, N. B.", *Ibid.*, pp. 20-29.

the Albert County natural gas wells for a number of years. In the event, while a considerable amount of money was invested in their development, and they did provide reasonably "cheap power," and perhaps attracted some manufacturing investment, they never came close to matching the importance of the Intercolonial, and later the Canadian National Railways, to the economy of Moncton.<sup>63</sup>

A more conservative balance seemed to have been restored in the *Busy East's* next look at Moncton, which appeared in the December, 1911 issue.<sup>64</sup> This article, however, appears designed to attract immigrants interested in agriculture rather than industrial investment. Much of it discussed the quality of nearby farmland. Mention of the benefits expected to accrue to Moncton from the development of natural gas was relegated to the third paragraph, after discussion of the city's importance as a railway centre.

Five months later, in the May, 1912 issue, a story claimed,

Cheap power has attracted to Moncton the Maritime Hat and Cap Co. for nine years established in Truro, the oldest Hat and Cap factory in the Maritime Provinces...

The article reported progress in the development of the natural gas wells, and in the distribution and use of the gas for power in Moncton.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Leblanc, in her survey of Moncton's economic history, devotes approximately half a page to the whole development, and does not discuss it in detail at all.

<sup>64</sup>"Moncton the Maritime Railway Hub", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 6 (December, 1911), p. 31.

Further optimistic reports on the future of the natural gas development appeared in the June, 1912 issue.<sup>66</sup>

In the November, 1912 issue, an item appeared that discussed business in Moncton without, for a change, promoting the natural gas project. The development reported was the new Humphery [sic]<sup>67</sup> Unshrinkable Underwear Co. This firm was to be the subject of numerous reports over the following few years.

The January, 1913 issue, contained an item, signed "H. D. B.", urging Moncton to publicise itself, booster fashion.

...a city with a double railway centre, a harbour, a central location, such as Moncton possesses needs a huge publicity campaign to further its industrial development which more or less depends on the influx of new capital.

The 'Busy East'...desires to lend a helping hand to Moncton or any other town in the East...<sup>68</sup>

As if in response to this broad hint, the March, 1913 issue contained a large number of articles promoting every aspect of the city, with the slogan, "Eastern Canada's Gas and Power City," prominently displayed. The

---

<sup>65</sup>S. L. T. Harrison, article on Moncton, *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 11 (May, 1912), p. 24.

<sup>66</sup>"Natural Gas For Power", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 12 (June, 1912), p. 23; and "Natural Gas For St. John", *ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>67</sup>"Industrial Activity in the Maritime Provinces", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 4 (November, 1912), p. 20. (The mis-spelling of "Humphrey" occurs throughout the item.)

<sup>68</sup>"Moncton, N. B.", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 6 (January, 1913), pp. 10-11



magazine contained articles on Moncton's industries, its wholesale and retail houses. "Moncton's Young Men's Christain [sic] Association," "The Military and Social Life of Moncton," and a variety of other social and business-related subjects. The role of the Intercolonial was not downplayed, but related to the natural gas development, as it was noted that the railway, with 2,500 employees and a very large payroll, was also the largest individual consumer of natural gas. The city's up-to-date infrastructure, its "twenty miles of concrete sidewalks," its municipally-owned waterworks, were described. But, "best of all Moncton is today the centre of the largest gas and oil fields in Canada."<sup>69</sup> Examples of use of the natural gas for power by various industrial enterprises, such as the Dominion Textile cotton factory and the I. C. R. shops, were given. A separate news item noted that the Moncton City Council, in a recent special meeting, had authorized the Mayor to offer "special inducemants" to new industries. And one of the issue's articles stated, "The relationship between capital and labor are[sic] of the most cordial character and strikes and lockouts are unknown."<sup>70</sup>

All in all, the material on Moncton in this issue, presumably supplied by local boosters (its provenance is not clear from the magazine itself) seems a reasonably effective example of booster publicity. On the editorial page, however, was a further admonition:

The progress of Moncton cannot be held up by the few men

<sup>69</sup>"The Moncton of To-Day", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 8 (March, 1913), p. 10.

<sup>70</sup>"The Cost and Use of Natural Gas In Moncton", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 8 (March, 1913). p. 13.

who...imagine the East is asleep because they are themselves... Moncton has the best kind of opportunities. and resources, but unless it looks around and takes the trouble to bring it's[sic] opportunities to the attention of those who are in a position to take advantage of them, it will not get much business except by accident.<sup>71</sup>

In the May, 1913, issue, reports from Moncton give the impression of a city in the grip of a sort of booster-mania. A "Commercial Club" had been formed, it was announced, to advertise the city's advantages, and also to "take an interest in" new manufacturing enterprises. The first item of its "purpose and creed" was "To boost Moncton in every legitimate way." P. Crandall, a local photographer, had returned from a visit to Medicine Hat with "...a bottle of 'Boosteene'...guaranteed to drive away the blues and produce an optimistic spirit." At a public meeting,

In twenty minutes half the capital necessary for the capitalization and incorporation of the Maritime Hat & Cap Co. was subscribed...<sup>72</sup>

In succeeding months, reports from Moncton continued to publicise the city council's investment in urban infrastructure and the ongoing development of the natural gas wells. The June, 1913 issue reported that

---

<sup>71</sup>"Does Moncton Mean Progress?". *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 8 (March, 1913), p. 28d.

<sup>72</sup>"Moncton, the Gas City, Means Business", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 10 (May, 1913), p. 12.

the city council was "...taking up the matter of street lighting, and will have the city made more attractive by the addition of a 'white way.'"<sup>73</sup> The "cheap power" derived from natural gas was cited as a major incentive for manufacturing enterprises to set up shop, but other advantages were enumerated as well. A report on the Humphrey Unshrinkable Underwear Co., reprinted from the Halifax "Merchant," noted the availability of inexpensive power generated from natural gas, then added, "Another advantage found at Moncton is the plentiful supply of intelligent female labour..."<sup>74</sup> The Commercial Club placed an advertisement in the December, 1913 issue, in which "Cheapest Power" was listed, along with location, transportation facilities, "Abundance of Labor," and "Special Inducements Offered to Large Manufacturers," as an incentive to manufacturers to locate in Moncton.<sup>75</sup>

The May, 1914 issue carried a report of a statement made by an official of the company involved in exploiting the natural gas wells, attempting to reassure the public that the supply of gas was reliable.

Though it is true that the conditions so far as the supply of our Company is concerned, based upon the development of the field, are not such as to be altogether satisfactory, yet these are conditions, which are not infrequent at the commencement of such enterprises and outlay, but we believe the natural conditions are

---

<sup>73</sup>"Moncton, Canada's Natural Power City", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 11 (June, 1913), p. 22.

<sup>74</sup>"Comments By the Halifax 'Merchant' on a Moncton Industry", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 3 (October, 1913), p. 33.

<sup>75</sup>Advertisement, *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 5 (December, 1913), p. 17.

such that ultimately the development will be satisfactory, not only to our Company but to the general public.<sup>76</sup>

Though this was not the first hint to be published in the *Busy East* that the Albert County natural gas fields might not, in fact, be boundless<sup>77</sup>, it did mark quite a change from the unrestrained optimism of earlier discussion of the natural gas development. Moncton boosters continued, however, to use the availability of natural gas in their promotional material.<sup>78</sup>

In this pre-war period, the boosterism of the *Busy East* was at its most strident. It sometimes seemed to espouse the idea that economic growth was a matter of will, of the right "spirit;" that if the businessmen of a community could just be fired by the right combination of civic patriotism and optimism, and were to set about publicising their community, and recognizing and reaching out for the entrepreneurial opportunities that would inevitably result, that the community would grow and prosper. The example of Amherst seemed to prove this.

In reality, there were factors at work besides the optimism and community-mindedness of Maritime businessmen, or even their

---

<sup>76</sup>"Has Confidence in Natural Gas Fields", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 9 (May, 1914), p. 15.

<sup>77</sup>Such a hint was given in "Unlimited Resources Must Remain So," *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), balanced rather uneasily by the same article's professed optimism about Amherst's interest in the natural gas.

<sup>78</sup>E.g., in an advertisement in *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 1 (August, 1914), p. 28, in which gas is referred to as "Fuel That Mines Itself."

entrepreneurial ability. As noted above, a marked trend toward the consolidation of Canadian industry was having the effect of transferring control of manufacturing industries that had originated in Maritime communities out of the hands of the local capitalists who might have been expected to have the interests of the community in mind. In the case of Nathaniel Curry of Amherst, who did retain an important voice in the direction of Canada Car, whatever commitment he retained to the development of the town turned out not to be enough to ensure the future of the firm's Amherst manufacturing facility.<sup>79</sup> Curry himself left Amherst, its board of trade, and civic office, for the world of central Canadian big business. The optimism he had voiced, that Amherst would continue to ride an indefinitely continuing railway-based boom, proved not to have been realistically founded.

The *Busy East's* efforts to incite the region's boards of trade to adopt a booster development strategy did result in a considerable amount of publicity being published in the magazine. The Board of Trade of Amherst, the model of booster success, made use of the *Busy East* to trumpet its prosperity and the perspicacity of its entrepreneurial elite, while also advertising its general "progressiveness," in the evident belief that investment would be attracted to such a dynamic, forward-looking industrial community. Moncton appears to have required more of a push. There is something odd about the "cheap power" theme, and the promotional

---

<sup>79</sup>For Curry's expanding interests, see Reilly, pp. 71-78, 86-88.

publicity that relegated Moncton's traditional strength as a centrally located railway centre to second place, in favour of its relatively transient natural gas boom. There is also something peculiar about the way the *Busy East* appeared to nudge Moncton businessmen into promoting their community, booster-style. Internal evidence from the *Busy East* is insufficient to justify further comment.

What one can say is that both Moncton and Amherst were the subjects of "boosting" campaigns in the *Busy East*, Amherst's based on its great success as a manufacturing centre, and Moncton's largely on natural gas development. In both communities, businessmen, through boards of trade, Commercial Clubs, and other voluntary associations, did get together to attempt to "boost" their communities, in the manner advocated by the magazine.

The pre-war hype for "Busy Amherst" would not be seen again. For most of the wartime period, mentions of Amherst were decidedly sober in tone, primarily factual news articles concerning particular Amherst firms. A number of stories reported at intervals on the reorganization of the Hewson Pure Wool Textiles Limited, which eventually resumed operations, under the control of the Truro-based Stanfield interests, as the Amherst Woolen Mills.<sup>80</sup> A piece in the February, 1915, issue, reprinted from the Amherst

---

<sup>80</sup>"Purchase \$60,000 Hewson Securities", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 6 (January, 1915), p. 34; "Hewson Woolen Plant Sold", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 5 (December, 1915), p. 26; "Hewson Pure Wool Textile Company", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 8 (March, 1916), p. 16; N. S. Sanford, "It Is Still 'Busy Amherst'", *Busy East*, vol.

*News*, attempted to look on the bright side of a rather bleak economic picture.

Although the Car Works are not busy, yet the fact should not be overlooked that this concern has at present on its payroll about four hundred men, which in itself would represent a fairly large industry if operating in another town. The International Engineering works have had rather hard sledding for two or three years, but the heads of that concern are decidedly optimistic with regard to the future...

There is no reason why the citizens of Amherst should be down-hearted for the outlook for the future...There will undoubtedly be some unemployment for the next few months. There will also be homes to which help will have to be extended...<sup>81</sup>

In a small note, the September, 1915 issue reprinted another report from the same source, noting that while

...there may not be as much business, as during the boom period two or three years ago,...it will be more satisfactory because people as a whole have learned to be more prudent in the management of their affairs.

The same article reported that the employment situation was now such that "...Amherst will not be up against the relief situation that confronted the town so severely last winter."<sup>82</sup> A similar story appeared in the November, 1915

---

8. no. 10 (May, 1918), p. 9; Reilly, pp. 81-84.

<sup>81</sup>"Work Shops in Amherst Picking Up", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 7 (February, 1915), p. 18. International Engineering was the successor company to Robb Engineering.

issue:

The number of men employed this winter will be considerably in extent[sic] of those on the payrolls during the cold weather of last year, and the poorer families will have a far easier time to make ends meet in the coming cold season.<sup>83</sup>

Other wartime articles on Amherst briefly reported munitions and other contracts won by local firms, and continued successful operation by the Amherst Boot & Shoe Company. A rather long article on this firm appeared in January, 1918.<sup>84</sup>

Finally, in May, 1918, an article appeared in the *Busy East* that discussed the fortunes of the town of Amherst as a whole. Referring to the town's nickname in its boom period, the article was entitled, "It Is Still 'Busy Amherst'." In the article, the causes of the boom, and of its end, were analyzed:

...when Canada prospered through her western immigration and her immense railway development, so did Amherst expand to correspond... when this period of world-wide depression struck Canada with unexpected force in 1913, Amherst immediately felt this tremor in every one of its industrial nerves.

---

<sup>82</sup>"Amherst Business", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 2 (September, 1915), p. 20.

<sup>83</sup>"Conditions Better in Amherst", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 4 (November, 1915), p. 22.

<sup>84</sup>"The Making of Boots and Shoes", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 6 (January, 1918), pp. 5-19.



However,

A city set on a hill cannot be hid; a community with even a few live industrial patriots can never die...the people have many reasons for deeper loyalty and for a re-awakening of that booster spirit that placed 'Busy Amherst' on the map a few years ago.<sup>85</sup>

Moncton's pre-war publicity had never displayed the pretensions to industrial leadership apparent in Amherst's. Pre-war booster publicity had focussed to a great degree on the availability of cheap power obtained from natural gas. Wartime promotional material in the *Busy East* stressed the continuing prosperity of a number of manufacturers, notably Humphrey Unshrinkable Underwear (which became Atlantic Underwear)<sup>86</sup>, New Brunswick Wire Fence Co.<sup>87</sup>, and J. A. Marven Co.<sup>88</sup> While the city's natural gas remained an asset that was usually mentioned in promotional material, it was no longer central to the publicity. The companies involved in

---

<sup>85</sup>N. S. Sanford, "It Is Still 'Busy Amherst'", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 10 (May, 1918) . pp. 7, 9-11.

<sup>86</sup>"A Maritime Province Industry Doing Well", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 4 (November, 1914), p. 10; "Humphreys Unshrinkable Underwear Company Still Forging Ahead", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 9 (April, 1915), p. 19; mention in "Random Maritime Notes" section, *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 11 (June, 1915), p. 28; "A Great Showing", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 7 (February, 1916), p. 33.

<sup>87</sup>Article on New Brunswick Wire Fence Co. Ltd., *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 11 (June, 1916), p. 85.

<sup>88</sup>Item on J. A. Marven, Limited, *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 10 (May, 1916), p. 18; "Prospectus of J. A. Marven, Limited", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 2 (September, 1916), pp. 43-4.

exploiting the resource were reorganized in 1915; the reorganization meeting was reported, and financial information provided.<sup>89</sup> A major article in 1916, reprinted from the *Maritime Merchant*, reported a dozen Moncton manufacturers working at full capacity, and noted that the railway was the "great central feature in the business life of Moncton," generating a good deal of economic activity.<sup>90</sup> Another reprinted piece on Moncton, this one from the *Financial Post*, also discussed the city's manufacturers without emphasizing natural gas. It did note that "Many of the factories employ girls almost entirely and there is plenty of female help to draw from among the French Canadians."<sup>91</sup>

The May, 1918, issue which contained "It Is Still 'Busy Amherst'," also carried a brief notice that the next issue would be a special number on Moncton, "the gas city of Eastern Canada."<sup>92</sup> The Moncton number led off with a piece by former *Busy East* proprietor C. H. Blakeny, on "Moncton Past and Present." It was a fairly typical "special number" of the magazine, including articles on the city's churches and schools; a piece on the development of its infrastructure, written by the City Clerk and Treasurer; and a visionary piece on "Moncton City and Its Future," written by John T. Hawke, Editor and Proprietor of the Moncton *Transcript*. Hawke described the

---

<sup>89</sup>"Reorganization", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 4 (November, 1915), p. 22.

<sup>90</sup>"Why Business Is Good In Moncton", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 9 (April, 1916), pp. 15-16.

<sup>91</sup>Item on Moncton in "Random Maritime Notes", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 2 (September, 1916), p. 37.

<sup>92</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 10 (May, 1918), p. 4.

importance of the city's railway facilities, then went on to discuss natural gas:

The gas is piped to Moncton town, and has stimulated its growth as a residential town as well as encouraged a group of small industries. Unfortunately the war has discouraged the investment by British capitalists at the present moment of the large sums of capital necessary for an adequate development, but sufficient development is, however, maintained to assure the city of Moncton a satisfactory supply of this most valuable of fuel and cheap power for very many years to come.<sup>93</sup>

As well as these general pieces, the issue contained descriptions of many of the city's businesses, including the principal manufacturers, as well as various retailers. A special prominence was given to F. W. Sumner, the Moncton businessman serving as New Brunswick's Agent General in London. "A Moncton issue of the *Busy East* with no reference to the Sumner Company would be like Shakespeare's Hamlet with Hamlet left out."<sup>94</sup>

In the aftermath of the pre-war expansion and depression, Amherst's publicists appear to have lain low for a time. Most wartime references to Amherst in the *Busy East* were sober in tone, and seem to reflect a somewhat chastened attitude. A few manufacturers, such as Amherst Boot and Shoe, continued to publicize their success, but the exuberant promotion of "Busy Amherst" that marked the 1911-1913 period was entirely missing.

---

<sup>93</sup>John T. Hawke, "Moncton City and its Future", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 11 (June, 1918), p. 28.

<sup>94</sup>"A Commercial Enterprise of Outstanding Importance", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 11 (June, 1918), p. 51.

Finally, in 1918, "Busy Amherst" boosterism tentatively asserted itself again. Moncton, which had neither grown nor crashed as spectacularly as Amherst, anchored as it was by its railways, moderated the booster rhetoric stressing its oil and gas resources in its promotional publicity, without much changing the substance of the incentives it offered prospective investors. Its promoters were able to point, through the wartime period, to a number of successful manufacturing enterprises operating in the city, many of which took advantage of the relatively low-cost natural gas power available there. The city's main advantages, which its publicists did not fail to point out, were its location and its major role in the Maritime railway system (i.e. the I.C.R., later known as Canadian Government Railways). The availability of Acadian labour and low-cost power were lesser points. The natural gas of the area remained a selling point, but relatively responsible publicists, such as Hawke, left it as a symbol of indefinite promise for the future. The almost hysterical boosterism of 1913 was gone from both communities' publicity, never to return. However, the accepted verities of the booster ethos remained in place.

In the post-war period, Amherst's economy quickly resumed its crisis condition.<sup>95</sup> The town's promotional publicity attempted to deny this, resuming the boosterism of the pre-war boom times, though in a less overheated style. An article written by the Deputy Town Clerk of Amherst, which appeared in the December, 1919 issue of the *Busy East*, asserted

---

<sup>95</sup>Reilly, pp. 96-103.

that "While some slight depressions may be looked for during the re-adjustment period," the town's prospects in general were bright. The same article made the claim that

Even during the most unsettled times of strife between labor and capital Amherst has been particularly free from troubles of this nature...This is due probably to the splendid democratic type of practically all of the employers of the Town and the moderate patriotic attitude of the intelligent employees.<sup>96</sup>

This certainly is in conflict with the findings of Reilly, who researched industrial relations in Amherst at this period thoroughly.<sup>97</sup> In May, 1919 there was a general strike of Amherst's industrial workers. The Deputy Town Clerk's statement appears to be an example of booster optimism: denial of unpleasant reality, in the name of civic patriotism.

Norman S. Sanford of Amherst addressed the 1920 annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade on the subject of optimism:

When we speak of optimism in Amherst...we mean the long viewed optimism that has the faith to believe such conditions are only temporary and backed by a courage to hold on till better conditions appear in sight. This is the Amherst optimism that I have stated has been justified by the experience of the past and which now with clear-eyed faith looks beyond a possible temporary period of marking time to a career of abounding prosperity again.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup>R. D Crawford, "Amherst, A Thriving Industrial Town With City Ambitions", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 5 (December, 1919), pp. 33-34.

<sup>97</sup>Reilly; also Nolan Reilly, "The General Strike in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1919", *Acadiensis* IX, No. 2 (Spring 1980.)

While this meeting's main thrust was the assertion of a developing regionalist agenda, stressing Maritime Board President Hance J. Logan's promotion of Maritime union and the continuing indignation over the management of the former Intercolonial Railway, various Amherst figures present also spoke on local subjects. It was noted that Rhodes-Curry, the woodworking and contracting subsidiary of the Canadian Car and Foundry Co., was now again independent and Nova Scotia-based, and also that the town had lately been "paying particular attention to the social welfare of the town...", investing, for example, in a new addition to the local hospital.<sup>99</sup>

The February, 1921 *Busy East* contained a remarkable article reprinted from the *Amherst News* -- "A Brief History of Industrial Developments in Amherst," a speech delivered to the Commercial Club of Amherst by D. W. Robb, of Robb Engineering, one of the firms that had built "Busy Amherst" around the turn of the century. This piece was not booster publicity, as such, but rather an anecdotal history of the town's industrial development. The unusual degree of self-consciousness and community commitment shown by the mere fact of such an address is consistent with Reilly's description of Robb<sup>100</sup>, and shows again that in the case of Amherst

---

<sup>98</sup>Norman S. Sanford, "Why Amherst is Optimistic", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 27

<sup>99</sup>"The Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade (Minutes of the Meeting Held at Amherst on September 29-30, 1920)", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 7.

<sup>100</sup>Reilly, pp. 250-251.

the booster ideal of the community-oriented capitalist was not utterly without foundation. As far as the *Busy East* was concerned, the article might have served as a eulogy for the booster promotion of Amherst, for between its appearance and the end of 1925, the only pieces concerning the town to appear in the magazine were small business news items on some of the local firms.<sup>101</sup>

The first post-war mention of Moncton in the *Busy East* came in the September, 1919 issue, in the report on the first post-war annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, called at the initiative of the Moncton Board of Trade and held in Moncton. Mayor Hanford Price gave a conventional booster welcoming address, speaking proudly of the large amount of recent private investment in building in his city, and also of the forthcoming arrival from Toronto of six hundred employees of the T. Eaton Co., to staff its new mail order establishment.<sup>102</sup> The main business of the meeting, so far as the Monctonians were concerned, was not boosterism, but rather the mobilization of a regional response to the threat to the long-time motor of their economy. The federal government's decision to rationalize and de-

---

<sup>101</sup>"Amherst Boot and Shoe Co. is Again Operating All Departments", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 12 (July, 1921), p. 28; "Robb Engineering Works Have Several Large Orders", "Rhodes Curry To Build \$145,000 Sussex School", and "Amherst Pianos Gets Order For Six Car Loads", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 2 (September, 1922), pp. 7, 31; "Rhodes, Curry Lowest Bidders For New C.P.R. Station At Fredericton", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 11-12 (June-July, 1923), p. 17; "Robb Plant Busy", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 4 (November-December, 1925), p. 27..

<sup>102</sup>"The 21st Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 9.

politicize the management of its railway systems by integrating the old I. C. R. into a new, Toronto-based management structure, had roused the local business community. The Moncton Board of Trade had done what it could to lobby the politicians against the changes, and now was seeking allies in the regional business community.

Moncton's promotional efforts continued, however, and the city was able to advertise an impressive level of prosperity in its publicity in the *Busy East*. In an article that appeared over the name of the City Clerk in the December, 1919 issue, the statistics quoted by the Mayor in his welcoming address were given further exposure.<sup>103</sup> The following month, Moncton was cited as "the shining example" of "Progress in New Brunswick."<sup>104</sup> The same issue carried a report on the annual banquet of the J. A. Marven Co., evidently an impressive example of paternalistic hospitality.<sup>105</sup> The February issue carried a story on "The Moncton Boom," by a Saint John native who recommended that his city adopt the "real booster spirit" that was causing Moncton to be so widely talked of.

Travelling men along the North Shore talk of Moncton; you hear it in Sackville and Amherst and the expression most frequently heard is to the effect that it is the busiest, most lively town in the

---

<sup>103</sup>M. J. S. Magee, "The Year 1919 Was The Busiest in the History of Moncton", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 5 (December, 1919), p. 58.

<sup>104</sup>"Evidences of Progress in New Brunswick", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 6 (January, 1920), p. 26.

<sup>105</sup>"The Marven Banquet Was a Great Success", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 6 (January, 1919), p. 28.



maritime provinces.<sup>106</sup>

The December, 1920 issue reprinted a booklet on the Maritimes prepared for a delegation of American newspaper editors. In the material on Moncton, the city's supply of cheap power and fuel from the Albert County wells was mentioned as "another factor in contributing to its importance..."<sup>107</sup> An article from the *Montreal Gazette* was reprinted in the January, 1921 *Busy East*. Essentially a promotional piece on Albert County's mineral resources, it credited Moncton entrepreneur Matthew Lodge with the initiative that had caused the wells to be developed. "To this is attributable the growth in the last few years of the city of Moncton."<sup>108</sup>

At the 1923 meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, J. E. Masters of Moncton, the organization's President, noted that Moncton manufacturers were generally doing well.<sup>109</sup> The September, 1924 issue reprinted a profile of Matthew Lodge from the *Moncton Transcript*, on the occasion of his appointment to the Board of Directors of the C. N. R. The April-May, 1925 issue was a special Albert County number, which naturally gave some space to the gas and oil fields.<sup>110</sup> And the June, 1925 issue reported the

---

<sup>106</sup>"The Moncton Boom", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 7 (February, 1920), p. 27.

<sup>107</sup>"The Provinces By The Sea", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 5 (December, 1920), p. 7.

<sup>108</sup>"Oil Shale Deposits of New Brunswick", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 6 (January, 1921), p. 14.

<sup>109</sup>"The 1923 Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 3 (October, 1923), p. 8.

<sup>110</sup>A. S. Bishop. "Albert County Gas and Oil Fields", *Busy East*, vol. 15, nos. 9,10

pending opening of an abattoir and meat packing plant by the Swift Canadian Company, which the author predicted would be “a tremendous stimulus to the farming industry in this part of the country.”<sup>111</sup>

Moncton's post-war promotional advertising in the *Busy East* was not extensive, after the flurry flaunting its prosperity around 1920. Its board of trade took the lead, quite naturally, in organizing the regional protest against the changes made to the administration of railways, particularly Moncton's loss of head office status. However, Moncton seems to have survived the regional economic downturn better than other communities, and specifically Amherst, due largely to its position as a rail and distribution centre. Like Amherst, however, it did not place much booster promotional publicity in the *Busy East* in the 1920s.

The magazine continued to uphold the booster ethos, despite the economic downturn of the post-war period. However, with Amherst, the shining example of a town “built up” into a prosperous manufacturing community, fallen, like most of the rest of the region, on hard times, the optimism of the pre-war period was never recaptured. In an effort to cope with the hard times, the *Busy East* lent its support to a growing movement of regionalist protest.

---

(April-May, 1925), p. 23.

<sup>111</sup>“New Abattoir and Packing Plant will be Tremendous Stimulus to Stock-Raising”, *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 11(June, 1925), p. 29.

## CHAPTER THREE

### REGIONALISM AND THE *BUSY EAST*

"Regionalism" is a somewhat problematic term, meaning different things to different people in different contexts. The leading historian of Maritime regionalism is Ernest R. Forbes, for whom "regionalism is a subjective concept. When people of a more or less definite locality believe that they share distinctive economic, cultural, or political interests, they form a human region."<sup>1</sup> He has discussed "the emergence of a new regional consciousness at the turn of the century"<sup>2</sup> in the Maritime provinces, and has described it as being, in part, a manifestation of the continent-wide "progressive" movement.<sup>3</sup> Progressives sought to implement reforms to public institutions that would lead to efficient, disinterested administration, on the model of private business, free from the taint of political corruption. Progressivism was expressed in many forms, some of them, arguably, inimical to regional interests.<sup>4</sup> Others, such as boosterism, were generally

---

<sup>1</sup>Ernest R. Forbes, *Aspects of Maritime Regionalism, 1867-1927* (Ottawa: C.H.A. booklet No. 36, 1983), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>There is a large literature on North American progressivism. Of particular note are Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York, 1955), and Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Re-interpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York, 1963).

<sup>4</sup>Doyle, pp. 2-3, notes, for example, that progressive ideas of efficient administration formed part of the "ideological context" in which criticisms of the

compatible with the expression of a Maritime regionalism. The progressive push for administrative reform took its most plainly regionalist form in the development of regional institutions, and the drive for administrative and legislative union of the Maritime provinces, on the grounds that separate administrative and political apparatuses were simply inefficient. This case was made more than once in the *Busy East*. In broad terms, progressivism's reformist impulse underlay the agenda of political activists across turn-of-the-century North America, and influenced both boosterism and Maritime regionalism.

Maritime regionalism after the turn of the twentieth century seems to have been, more specifically, a defensive response to the changing balance of population and political influence within Canada. The population of the prairie west was growing rapidly, and this growth was observed with interest and apprehension from the Maritimes.<sup>5</sup> The *Busy East* often printed claims that the growth of the west, and the failure of the Maritimes to keep pace, was in fact partly the result of discriminatory federal immigration policies. As the relative size of the region's population, compared both to the Dominion as a whole and to the west, diminished, the influence of Maritime politicians in the Dominion parliament correspondingly waned, a development of which Maritimers were intensely aware. Forbes has argued that the combination of rivalry with other regions, notably the west, with Intercolonial Railway's policies were made.

<sup>5</sup>The relation of the Maritimes and the prairie west in this period is discussed in detail in Ernest R. Forbes, "Never the Twain Did Meet: Prairie-Maritime Relations, 1910-1927", *Canadian Historical Review*, LIX, No. 1(1978).

consciousness of growing political weakness, led, in the circumstances of economic crisis in the 1920s, to a climactic expression of regionalism, the Maritime Rights movement.

If, as Forbes wrote, "Maritime regionalism was a state of mind,"<sup>6</sup> regionalism is also "above all," as Paul Rutherford has noted, "a species of rhetoric and must be understood within this context."<sup>7</sup> The language of boosterism in the *Busy East* is surrounded and often permeated with regionalist rhetoric. The two are not always completely compatible. The booster frame of mind, as described by Artibise, focussed on the promotion of the booster's own city; larger loyalties were downplayed, and strong rivalries with boosters of other urban communities were common.<sup>8</sup> Such an interurban rivalry, between the competing ports of Saint John and Halifax, had in fact been the cause of a major disruption of the Maritime Board of Trade, shortly before the founding of the *Busy East*.<sup>9</sup> The *Busy East* attempted, usually with success, to avoid seeming to take sides in this, the most virulent rivalry between Maritime centres, and repeatedly stressed the importance of maintaining a united front for the good of the region as a whole.

---

<sup>6</sup>Forbes, *Aspects of Maritime Regionalism*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup>Paul A. Rutherford, "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-96", *Canadian Historical Review*, LII, No. 3 (September, 1971).

<sup>8</sup>Alan F. J. Artibise, "Continuity and Change: Elites and Prairie Urban Development, 1914-1950", in Artibise and Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past*(Toronto, 1979) p. 131.

<sup>9</sup>Forbes, *Aspects of Maritime Regionalism*, p. 13.

Expressions of regionalism in the *Busy East* changed character and emphasis, particularly in the post-war period. The calls for regional solidarity and for redress of alleged injustices suffered by the region, particularly at the hands of the federal government, became much more urgent. In response to the economic crisis into which the Maritimes entered shortly after the war, many of the groups to and for whom the *Busy East* spoke, including urban Boards of Trade and particularly the Maritime Board of Trade, mobilized in a major, perhaps desperate, effort to bring regional grievances and demands to the attention of the federal government and of the country as a whole.<sup>10</sup> The *Busy East* reported the activities of the Maritime Board of Trade and related organizations frequently and with considerable thoroughness. It also, however, from time to time commented critically on these activities, and developed certain lines of regionalist protest and criticism on its own. While a strong supporter of the Maritime Board of Trade, and in fact the "official organ" of the organization, the magazine retained its own voice. In the early 1920s, the regionalist rhetoric in the *Busy East* became more strident and insistent, as its boosterism grew more muted and less confident. Boosterism, however, remained fundamental to the magazine's editorial position.

From the beginning, the *Busy East* was an aggressively regionalist publication, in the sense that its editorials made it quite clear that the magazine existed to serve and promote the interests of the Maritimes and

---

<sup>10</sup>Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement*.

Maritime businessmen, in competition with other regions. The boosterism of the *Busy East* had, as has been noted, a distinctly regionalist quality, with the scope of the booster emphasis on community spirit and unity extended from the individual town or city to the entire region. A slogan that appeared in each issue was "The Magazine With Faith in the Future of the Maritime Provinces."

A number of important regionalist themes are apparent in the *Busy East's* editorial contents, beginning in its earliest issues. Two of these, which were closely connected, were the magazine's concern with the failure of the Maritime population to grow at a rate comparable to other regions of the country, and its somewhat contradictory attitude toward the west of Canada.

The *Busy East* openly proclaimed the fact that in promoting boosterism, it was urging Maritimers to emulate the rapidly growing prairie west. It attributed the spectacular growth of the west in the first decade of the century in large part to the boosterism of its urban businessmen, and looked to this growth as a model for the Maritimes.

However the relation of the Maritimes to the west in the material that appeared in the *Busy East* was fraught with contradictions.<sup>11</sup> There was a strong element of rivalry in the magazine's attitude toward the west, along with the desire to emulate the growth of the more recently settled region. The west's growth was admired and envied, its boosterism and "optimism" held up as exemplary. At the same time, the magazine sought to combat the

---

<sup>11</sup>Forbes, *Canadian Historical Review*, LIX, No. 1(1978).

apparent attractiveness of the west to Maritime young people, and denounced the alleged favouritism of the federal government in immigration policy, and its failure to promote the Maritimes as a destination for European immigrants.

The preoccupation with population derived from an appreciation of the changing demographic realities of Canada, and their political implications. Each census showed the extent to which the growth of the population of the Maritimes trailed behind that of other regions of the country, particularly the west; and these figures were then reflected in the redistribution of Parliamentary seats, in which the Maritimes invariably lost representation, while the west gained. Thus the booster preoccupation with growth had in the case of the Maritimes an added rationale. The relationship was made explicit in an editorial in the February, 1912 issue of the *Busy East*.

Two things are especially necessary at the time, one is a steady growth of local enthusiasm to stimulate local development and counteract the tendency of our people to go West. The other is a vigorous and united effort to attract capital and settlers leading to the development of new industries and the growth of population without which continued progress would be impossible.<sup>12</sup>

At the height of the proud, pre-First World War promotional campaign for "Busy Amherst" in the pages of the *Busy East*, Amherst publicist B. J. Lawson paid what was no doubt intended as a graceful compliment to this

---

<sup>12</sup>"Forward", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 8 (February, 1912), p. 17.



aspect of the work of the magazine:

To 'The Busy East' magazine, Amherst, as well as all other sections of the Maritime Provinces are indebted, and they have taken advanced step [sic] in turning the eyes of intending settlers from the call of the West to the call of the East, and there is no doubt but that in the next few years the Maritime Provinces will come into their own.<sup>13</sup>

The concern with population, and its relation to the economic and political position of the Maritime provinces within Confederation, was already apparent in the inaugural, June, 1910 issue of the *Busy East*. A stated goal of the publication was, by publicising the Maritimes, to "put before the moneyed immigrant our great advantages," and thereby help "stem the flood of western immigration."<sup>14</sup>

These related themes of concern with the failure of the population of the Maritimes to grow, and of rivalry with the rapidly growing prairie west, continued to be present in the *Busy East*. The July, 1910 issue expanded on the need for advertising to bring more immigrants to the Maritimes, noting that in Britain, "Everywhere is to be seen literature on the West...Let the east, at least, catch a reflection of the bright light of publicity now shining on the West."<sup>15</sup> In the February, 1911 issue, an article on King's College stated

---

<sup>13</sup>B. J. Lawson, "Why Amherst Will Become a City", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 6 (January, 1913), p. 18.

<sup>14</sup>"What's the Busy East?". *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 2 (July, 1910), p. 6

that "To arrest some of the stream of emigration that flows daily into the great West" was one of "the aims in which King's seeks to co-operate."<sup>16</sup>

The problem was addressed in an editorial the following month, which focussed on New Brunswick. The editorial included what amounted to a cry of protest, that might easily have been extended to the region as a whole:

For the past quarter century New Brunswick has been the recruiting ground for Western Canada and the United States...What percentage of the immigration of Canada, which is advertised for and financed by the Government of Canada does New Brunswick get? Not a fraction!

The editorial urged the province's boards of trade to get together and "Boost New Brunswick," with better promotional advertising, as an appropriate response.<sup>17</sup>

An example of an effort to combat the outmigration of young people appeared in the May, 1911 issue, in the form of an article comprising anecdotes of people who had returned, disillusioned, to New Brunswick from the west. The article warned, "It would be well for the New Brunswicker who feels the western fever coming on to take such cases into consideration."<sup>18</sup> Another attack on the west appeared in the August, 1911

---

<sup>16</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 8 (February, 1911), p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>"Come Together New Brunswick Boards of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 9 (March, 1911), pp. 5-6.

<sup>18</sup>"New Brunswick's Prodigal Sons", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 11 (May, 1911), p.

issue, in which an editorial claimed,

**In most Western cities the possibilities of the present have been exhausted, and the inhabitants have begun to draw upon their future for their support...Thousands of new citizens arriving annually are led to invest in real estate in anticipation of the expected rise in value...in most cases the land is sold for more than it will be worth a decade hence.<sup>19</sup>**

**In the November, 1911 issue, the population problem was stated plainly in an article on "The Census."**

**Let us face the issue squarely. We appear to be not only missing our share of the new settlers who are annually seeking homes in the Dominion but are losing a considerable portion of the natural increase of our present population.**

**The piece attributed this, booster fashion, to "apathy and lack of interest" in the "unexcelled opportunities" to be found in the region.<sup>20</sup>**

**The March, 1912 issue reported on a "New Brunswick Immigration Conference," involving "Representatives of Boards of Trade and Other Institutions" in Fredericton. An address to this conference by an American expert was also reprinted in this issue.<sup>21</sup> The participants continued to look**

---

9.

<sup>19</sup>"Mortgaging the Future", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 2 (August, 1911), p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>"The Census", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 5 (November, 1911), p. 12.

<sup>21</sup>"New Brunswick Immigration Conference" and "A Land Settlement Policy For New Brunswick", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 9 (March, 1912), pp. 1, 2-8.

to immigration from Europe as a source of population growth.

The July and August, 1912 issues mentioned an ongoing grievance, considered to aggravate the problem of outmigration: the "harvest excursions." Maritimers went west by rail to work on the prairie harvest each year, and many, apparently, stayed. The August, 1912 *Busy East* noted,

...the harvest excursions seem to have made a smaller drain this year than usual, and if we develop more industries and offer greater inducements at home the lure of the west will be less effective.<sup>22</sup>

Again, the development of a successful Maritime industrial economy was suggested as a means of dealing with the population problem.

In the shorter term, however, those concerned with the loss of population to the west could only protest. The September, 1913 *Busy East* reported a resolution of the Saint John Board of Trade against the "harvest excursions," which noted that train fares back to the Maritimes were "much higher" than those going the other way, "...making it easy for people to leave but more difficult to return..."<sup>23</sup> This was not the last such protest printed in the *Busy East*.<sup>24</sup>

The December, 1912 issue contained another call to young men of

---

<sup>22</sup>"East and West", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 2 (August, 1912), p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (September, 1913), p.21.

<sup>24</sup>The issue was raised by Prince Edward Island representatives at the 1920 annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, as reported in *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), pp. 12-14.

the Maritimes to remain home, and help build up their home provinces.

Throughout the Maritime Provinces the awakening note of progress has sounded. Whilst western Canada was rapidly developing and being built up by the immigration she was receiving from many different lands, she, in order to make a greater Canada, drew on the best blood of her Eastern Provinces to leaven her upbuilding.<sup>25</sup>

It was now time, the article continued, for these young men to stay home, and participate in the "upbuilding" of the Maritimes. The same issue contained a "Message to Young Men of Nova Scotia," from G. H. Murray, Premier of that province, also urging the young men to remain home.<sup>26</sup>

In the January, 1913 issue, Premier Matheson of Prince Edward Island touched on the same theme:

Much of the best blood of the Maritime Provinces has gone to Western Canada...And if the attention of successive Canadian Governments may be thought to have been too exclusively devoted to the central and western sections of the Dominion, it must be confessed that the people of the East have been too unmindful of their own rich and varied resources and golden opportunities.<sup>27</sup>

The *Busy East's* publicity was avowedly designed to attract

---

<sup>25</sup>"The Reveille", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 5 (December, 1912), p. 20.

<sup>26</sup>G. H. Murray, "Message To Young Men of Nova Scotia", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 5 (December, 1912), p. 21.

<sup>27</sup>"The Garden of the Gulf and Its Relation to the Dominion By Premier Matheson, Charlottetown, P. E. I.", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 6 (January, 1913), p. 4.

immigrants, discourage outmigration, and build up an industrial economy, all with the aim of promoting growth, both of the regional economy and of the population.

Comparisons of the Maritimes with the west were frequent, usually with the more or less obvious intent of discouraging outmigration. The Maritimes generally were demonstrated to have the brighter future. In the April, 1913 issue, an article claimed that construction activity was currently greater in the Maritimes than in the west.<sup>28</sup> The same issue printed

Opportunities in the East vs. the West: a Paper Read in Debate by Miss Leonia M. McMillan at the Truro Normal School, Showing the Interest the Young People of the Maritime Provinces are Taking in Their Progress.<sup>29</sup>

The July, 1913 issue drew a contrast between economic conditions in the west, said to be depressed, and the better conditions claimed to exist in the Maritimes. "The Canadian West is overcrowded... 'Come East, young man'; and 'Stay East, young man,' are twin advices worth acting upon."<sup>30</sup> This issue also contained "A Concrete Example," an anecdote of a young man who had come back from the west.<sup>31</sup> More whimsically, another piece, reprinted from the *Amherst News*, noted that "Alberta and British

---

<sup>28</sup>"Building East and West", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 9 (April, 1913), p. 9.

<sup>29</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 9 (April, 1913), p. 13.

<sup>30</sup>"Relief in the East", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 6.

<sup>31</sup>"A Concrete Example", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 8.

Columbia may look more attractive to Nova Scotians," but, according to recent scientific data, Nova Scotia received more sunlight in the course of a year than those provinces. The moral drawn was "Let us catch a little of the optimistic spirit and boom and boost Nova Scotia."<sup>32</sup> The same issue, however, in praising the practical optimism of the "red-blooded booster," repeated the recurring point, "The great Canadian west has been built up on that sound bed-rock; the splendid Canadian East must emulate a glowing example."<sup>33</sup>

The rivalry with western Canada reached a new level of rhetorical combativeness in the March, 1914 issue, in which Edgar E. Kelley of the *Busy East* took issue with unspecified remarks published in the western *Canadian Grain Growers Guide*. With reference to the economic downturn of 1913, Kelley alleged,

A new country, and one made a slaughter house for get-rich-quick men, land sharks, and fly-by-night sperulators, the Canadian West was hit severely...

The Maritime Provinces, with their solid business institutions and commonsense business methods, came through that depression with colors flying.<sup>34</sup>

During the First World War, expressions of rivalry with the west were

---

<sup>32</sup>"Sunshine in Nova Scotia". *Busy East*, vol.3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 8.

<sup>33</sup>"Back Optimism With Initiative: A Truism", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 7.

<sup>34</sup>Edgar E. Kelley, "Unprovoked and Awful Charges", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 8 (March, 1914), p. 3.

fewer and more restrained, the expression of such ideas perhaps not being considered compatible with the united effort necessary in time of war. They were still to be found occasionally in the pages of the *Busy East*, however. The August, 1915 issue contained praise of the magazine from "one of the most progressive men of Eastern Nova Scotia," who called the magazine,

...the type of newspaper that has built the great West...British capitalists with hundreds of thousands of dollars have been landing at our doors in Halifax and St. John and have gone West to invest it instead of looking over the ground in the Maritime Provinces.<sup>35</sup>

And the Mayor of Summerside, in his speech welcoming delegates to the 1915 annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade

...stated that the Maritime Provinces were less affected by the war than other parts of Canada, especially in the west, where the conditions there should be a lesson to our men contemplating leaving these provinces. Young man, stay east, was his advice.<sup>36</sup>

A prominent aspect of the booster ethos promoted by the *Busy East* was its emphasis on community spirit and unity. Besides stressing the

---

<sup>35</sup>"What One of the Most Progressive Men of Eastern Nova Scotia Says about the *Busy East* Magazine", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 1 (August, 1915), p. 27.

<sup>36</sup>"Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 2 (September, 1915), p. 3.



importance of these qualities to the promotion of growth in a town or city, the *Busy East* also advocated region-wide community spirit and unity. This promotion of regional unity and solidarity was another important regionalist theme. It took a number of forms, from advocacy of a vague "Maritime spirit" to support for full legislative and administrative union of the three Maritime provinces.

In the November, 1911 issue, which also contained a somewhat sombre discussion of the implications of the results of the most recent Canadian census, the *Busy East* proposed "Maritime Union" as a possible solution to the problem of "How to preserve these Provinces in their present potential position in the councils of the Dominion," in view of their "decennially decreasing number of members" in Parliament. An article in the same issue discussed the possibility.<sup>37</sup> The idea was again raised in the January, 1912 issue,<sup>38</sup> but not again until April, 1914, when an editorial from the Montreal *Daily Mail*, calling for legislative union, was reprinted with sympathetic comments.<sup>39</sup>

Toward the end of the First World War, the *Busy East* began to promote the idea of Maritime union more assiduously. The August, 1917 issue contained a piece entitled, "Maritime Union Would Be Beneficial,"

---

<sup>37</sup>"Maritime Union", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 5 (November, 1911), p. 12; and Reginald V. Harris, Esq., "Suggested Union of Maritime Provinces", *Busy East*, vol.2, no. 5 (November, 1911), pp. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup>"Maritime Union Advocated", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 7 (January, 1912), p. 10.

<sup>39</sup>"Where There's Smoke", in "Random Maritime Notes, *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 9 (April, 1914), p. 18.

which asserted, "Acadia should never have been separated into provinces."<sup>40</sup> In March, 1918, the magazine printed an article on the subject by J. B. M. Baxter, of New Brunswick.<sup>41</sup> Two months later, the May, 1918 issue reprinted a long speech to the Moncton Canadian Club by Hance J. Logan, of Amherst, which consisted mainly of arguments in favour of full Maritime union.<sup>42</sup> An editorial in the July, 1918 issue suggested that "when Maritime Union takes place," a suitable name for the new, united province would be "Acadie."<sup>43</sup> Again, the following month, the magazine ran a signed piece on the subject<sup>44</sup>, as well as an enthusiastic editorial promoting Maritime union, on the occasion of a meeting of the premiers of the three Maritime provinces.<sup>45</sup>

This campaign continued in the war's immediate aftermath. The February, 1919 *Busy East* reprinted a speech to the Halifax Rotary Club by Mr. F. A. Dykeman. Dykeman first made the argument that, historically, the existing three Maritime provinces were not the result of careful planning. Rather,

---

<sup>40</sup>"Maritime Union Would Be Beneficial", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 1 (August, 1917), p. 27.

<sup>41</sup>J. B. M. Baxter, "Maritime Union", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 8 (March, 1918), pp. 11-12.

<sup>42</sup>H. J. Logan, "The Maritime Provinces, Now and After the War", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 10 (May, 1918), p. 12.

<sup>43</sup>"A Good Name For the United Provinces", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 12 (July, 1918), p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Capt. Joseph Read, M. P., "The Question of Maritime Union", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 1 (August, 1918), p. 5.

<sup>45</sup>"A Splendid Idea", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 1 (August, 1918), p. 3.

...one is led to the conclusion that their coming into existence was like Topsy, 'they just grewed', without definite policies, plans, or conceptions of ultimate results. At all events, the Imperial Government of the time of which we are speaking can make no claims of constructing on broad and enduring lines.

He went on to lay out the no doubt familiar figures of population and representation in Parliament, comparing the west and the Maritimes.

...we are losing our strength in the Dominion House, and unless our forces are united there is no doubt that we will continue to lose...

At the present time we are simply hewers of wood and drawers of water. Our manufacturing industries are not keeping pace with those of the central provinces...If we ever expect to attain the position that our geographical position entitles us to, we must be united in the effort.<sup>46</sup>

The same issue contained an editorial, again promoting Maritime Union and suggesting "Acadie" as the new province's name.<sup>47</sup>

A resolution in favour of Maritime union was among those adopted by the Maritime Board of Trade at its initial postwar meeting, which elected Hance J. Logan, at that time an enthusiastic proponent of the idea, as President.

---

<sup>46</sup>F. A. Dykeman. "Maritime Union", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 7 (February, 1919), p. 6.

<sup>47</sup>"Acadie, the Proper Name", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 7 (February, 1919), p. 4.

When not advocating full Maritime Union, the *Busy East* consistently sought to promote lesser, more practical forms of united Maritime effort. An obstacle to unity of purpose among Maritime communities was the continuing rivalry between Halifax and Saint John, based on their competition to serve as winter port for Canada. This rivalry had resulted in the disruption of the Maritime Board of Trade in the years immediately prior to the founding of the *Busy East*.<sup>48</sup> As mentioned above,<sup>49</sup> the *Busy East* committed a *faux pas* in its October, 1912, issue, when it reprinted an article from a central Canadian periodical analyzing the competing claims of the rival ports. The April, 1914 issue of the magazine contained an article by Edgar E. Kelley urging the cities to co-operate, for the good of the entire region, including themselves. He denounced their rivalry in strong terms:

A rivalry arising out of pure, sheer, sectional jealousy; A rivalry in which, in a sense, both ends are often played against the middle, to the lasting detriment of the entire Canadian East.<sup>50</sup>

As well as urging Maritime cities to set aside their rivalries, the *Busy East* urged cooperation among the various institutions of the three provinces. In its March, 1916 issue, the magazine printed an address to the

---

<sup>48</sup>Ernest R. Forbes, *Aspects of Maritime Regionalism*, p. 13.

<sup>49</sup>See p. 5.

<sup>50</sup>Edgar E. Kelley, "Halifax - St. John: 'A Tale of Two Cities,' Wherein is Explained How Each Might Well Set an Example Worthy of the Emulation of the Other, and How Both Would Thereby Contribute Their Share Toward a Solid Maritime Front", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 9 (April, 1914), p. 3.

Moncton Canadian Club, by a Dalhousie University academic, advocating a single university to serve the Maritimes.<sup>51</sup> Later that year, in a special "Maritime Educational Number," the *Busy East* urged loyalty to local institutions, in good booster fashion ("Give Maritime Schools and Colleges First Call"), and also called for a united Maritime educational system, as a precursor to full Maritime union.

The Maritime Provinces should have one educational system...Both maritime and educational union will come sooner or later...The *Busy East* will strive to do its little part in bringing about the eminently sensible and much to be desired end.<sup>52</sup>

In the following year, when the government of Nova Scotia passed a Workmen's Compensation Act, the *Busy East* greeted the prospect of the establishment of new administrative machinery as "A Chance For New Brunswick and Nova Scotia To Get Together." The magazine suggested that New Brunswick should pass an identical act, and that the two could then be "administered in both provinces by one central Board or Commission."<sup>53</sup>

A rather basic aspect of the regional solidarity promoted by the *Busy East* was its advocacy of buying from manufacturers and suppliers within

---

<sup>51</sup>Dr. Stanley Mackenzie, "Science and the War", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 8 (March, 1916), pp. 5-7.

<sup>52</sup>"Give Maritime Schools and Colleges First Call", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 1 (August, 1916), pp. 3-4.

<sup>53</sup>"A Chance For New Brunswick and Nova Scotia To Get Together", *Busy East*, vol. 8, no. 1 (August, 1917), p. 4.

the region, expressed in the slogan, "Give Maritime Goods First Call." In the magazine's first year, it mounted a campaign against mail-order houses from outside the region, mainly Ontario, on behalf of local retailers. The September, 1910 issue carried several pieces on this theme, including an editorial entitled "Mail Order Evil."<sup>54</sup> The campaign continued the following month, in a strongly worded editorial:

The situation as stated before, lays [*sic*] wholly with the individual shopper, to improve his east, to have it more progressive or to send his family away from home, to destroy the value of his property, to send these provinces by the sea into oblivion. Think it over and see if your loyalty to the Maritime Provinces, your eastern heritage, would not prompt a little effort on each and every citizen's part to encourage home trade.<sup>55</sup>

This campaign, as such, did not continue; the evil of outside mail-order firms was not much discussed after these two issues. However, the *Busy East* always stressed the importance of buying Maritime goods and services when the occasion arose. A statement of the magazine's "creed," in July, 1913, included the vow,

Anything produced in Maritime Canada, the result of Maritime brain and skill, shall always be accorded first call from us. In so living, saying, thinking and doing we shall contribute our share toward kindling the beacon-fires of Opportunity on the commercial and industrial peaks and pinnacles of these Provinces by the

---

<sup>54</sup>"Mail Order Evil", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 4 (September, 1910), p. 8; other articles pp. 39, 42.

<sup>55</sup>"Trade At Home", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 4 (October, 1910), p. 8.

Sea.<sup>56</sup>

An article on the same theme, which, however, touched on the *Busy East's* own business, was reprinted from the *Amherst News* in October, 1913. It noted that the *Canadian Grocer*, of Toronto, had recently published a report of the annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade.

The report as published by the *Canadian Grocer*, is accepted by the Maritime Board as the official minutes of the doings of that body and we understand that the publisher receives a fair remuneration for the taking of and the publishing of the reports.

The article went on to express surprise that the Maritime Board would have such an agreement with a Toronto publication, rather than the *Maritime Merchant*, of Halifax, or the *Busy East*.<sup>57</sup>

The Maritime regionalism espoused by the *Busy East* encompassed more than a stress on regional unity, formal or otherwise; it also included a highly developed historical sense. This included a strong sense of the terms of the "bargain" made among the provinces at the time of Confederation, which served as the basis for arguments such as those asserted in the 1920s by the Maritime Rights movement. The *Busy East* more than once printed such arguments. It also carried various other material on the region's history, including series on colonial Lieutenant-Governors, Indian

---

<sup>56</sup>"Our Creed: Is It Yours?", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (July, 1913), p. 1.

<sup>57</sup>"Why Not Home Printing", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 3 (October, 1913), p. 15.

legends, and colourful figures from the region's past, like Brook Watson. Such pieces clearly had little or no direct bearing on the economic affairs of the day, but presumably responded to an interest among Maritimers in their past.

During the latter part of the First World War, the *Busy East* printed a number of articles that brought some historical perspective to bear upon the problems of post-war economic development that were beginning to be considered. In January, 1917, an editorial asserted that "The lesson of the past history of our provinces has been one of unpreparedness." It warned that, while the regional economy was performing well in wartime, this state of affairs would not necessarily continue after the war.

After the war old conditions will largely obtain in the west and all over Canada and the Maritime Provinces must make a new move in order to continue on the way they have started into the forefront of Canadian affairs. If we lay on our oars now, the same conditions as governed wooden shipbuilding will once more come into place and we will find ourselves left behind in a world of altered circumstances.<sup>58</sup>

The editorial suggested shipbuilding as a possible Maritime industry of the future, a suggestion which was promoted in the magazine more or less enthusiastically for some time following. The May, 1917 issue contained a number of pieces advocating the idea, as well as "Sketches of Early

---

<sup>58</sup>"Retrospect, Prospect, and Preparedness", *Busy East*, vol. 7, no. 10 (January, 1917), pp. 3-4.



Maritime Shipbuilding, Particularly in Nova Scotia," reprinted from the *Halifax Chronicle and Herald*, which seemed to lend a certain sanction of tradition to the "new move" being proposed.

Another regionalist theme, which made its first appearance in the June, 1910 *Busy East*, was that of Maritime capital being invested outside the region, and hence being lost, in a sense, to the regional economy. In the inaugural issue, an editorial lamented the alleged failure of local capitalists to recognize good investment opportunities at home:

Our kick is, that local capitalists are passing by these chances every day, and have passed them by with such regularity that foreign capitalists look upon our awaiting investors, as the culmination to a huge joke, who have shown a lack of business acumen over which a coming generation will wax wrothy [*sic*] and say things about those men who sold their birthright 'for a mess of pottage.'<sup>59</sup>

This comment was directed more toward the encouragement of good, booster community-oriented capitalism than to discussion of a problem of loss of capital from the region. The problem of capital leaving the region as a result of Maritimers investing their money elsewhere was taken up more seriously in the April, 1912 issue, again in the context of an exhortation to Maritimers to invest locally :

\_\_\_\_\_  
"None will ever know how much hard-earned money was lost in

<sup>59</sup>"Lost Chances", *Busy East*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 1910), p. 7.

these investments, but the sum must have been enormous...During all these years home industries have languished for lack of needed working capital."

The article pointed to Amherst as the one exception to this dismal record.<sup>60</sup>

The *Busy East* gave considerable publicity over the years to the activities of a number of regional business organizations and pressure groups, some of them ephemeral, others, like the Maritime Board of Trade, relatively stable and long-lived. The November, 1913 issue, in response to the results of a recent conference in Ottawa, at which the Maritimes "failed to receive full justice at the hands of the rest of this Dominion,"<sup>61</sup> announced the formation of a Maritime Publicity Association, whose goals were to be

First, to inculcate in the minds of our own people a fuller faith in their home...Second, to impress upon those near and far beyond our borders the fact that in the future is going to centre in and about the Canadian East a development of a magnitude that will not be denied.

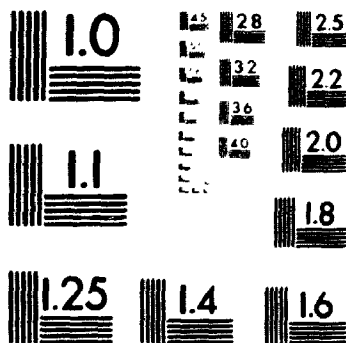
The editorial fulminated that "the Maritime Provinces have been neglected, and sadly neglected," and "In Union there is strength."<sup>62</sup> It seems

---

<sup>60</sup>"Home Investment", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 10 (April, 1912), p. 13.

<sup>61</sup>A reference to Maritime claims for adjustment of the subsidies paid them by the federal government, because of the redistribution of federal lands to other provinces. The Maritime provincial governments made a joint presentation to the federal government in Ottawa on this issue in January, 1913. See Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement*, pp. 17-21.

2 of /de 2



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART  
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS  
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

designed as a call to arms, in booster terms, a rhetorical summons to respond to the injustices suffered by the Maritime region at the hands of Canadian federalism by means of a campaign of promotional publicity. However, after this initial editorial the organization disappeared rapidly from sight in the magazine.

Just after the beginning of the First World War, the *Busy East* announced a meeting to be held in Amherst of "the representative business men of the Maritime Provinces, comprising delegates from boards of trade, leading manufacturers and representatives in general of the business and commercial interests of the Maritime Provinces."<sup>63</sup> Prime Minister Borden was to be in attendance. At this meeting, it was decided to form a "Maritime Forward League," to promote Maritime interests. (Borden's speech dealt primarily with the war, and was not directly related to the foundation of this organization.)<sup>64</sup> In the February, 1915 issue of the *Busy East*, R. E. Armstrong of Saint John wrote enthusiastically of the event:

To sum up the result of the Maritime Forward Convention, it was a splendid success as a business stimulant and was marked by an enthusiasm that was really contagious. Even though no more had been accomplished than the bringing of the Maritime leaders of thought together, it was productive of the very best results.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>"The Time Has Come For Action!", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 4 (November, 1913), p. 7.

<sup>63</sup>"Maritime Business Men Get Together", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 5 (December, 1914), p. 28.

<sup>64</sup>"Maritime Forward Movement Meeting Held in Amherst", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 6 (January, 1915), pp. 3-6.

It seems likely that Armstrong's assessment was near the mark, in that what was accomplished was primarily an improvement of morale among the businessmen present at the meeting. The Maritime Forward League was mentioned again in the March, 1915 issue of the *Busy East*<sup>66</sup>, but after that faded from sight.

In the aftermath of the war, economic recovery failed to materialize, and Maritime regionalism entered a new phase. The actions of the Borden government, particularly with regard to the management of the government-owned railways, and their freight rates, seemed to indicate that the loss of Maritime influence in the federal government had reached a point where the government was indifferent to the needs and interests of the region. Over the next few years, businessmen of the region came together in a number of organizations, both to bring these needs and interests to the attention of the federal government and Canadian public opinion and to take whatever other united action seemed appropriate to promote economic development. The *Busy East* publicised the activities of a number of such groups. The agendas of regional protest and advocacy to which they gave their support included all of the regionalist themes whose appearances in the pre-war and wartime *Busy East* have been traced above. In the hard times of the

---

<sup>65</sup>R. E. Armstrong, "The Maritime Forward Movement", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 7 (February, 1915), pp. 15-16.

<sup>66</sup>"Maritime Forward Movement Making Progress", in "Random Maritime Notes", *Busy East*, vol. 5, no. 8 (March, 1915), p. 27.

post-war period, these themes were developed and promoted with a new sense of urgency.

By far the most important of these organizations in the eyes of the *Busy East*, and one with which the magazine had a particularly close relationship, was the Maritime Board of Trade, a group that already had a considerable, somewhat turbulent history by the time of its post-war "revival." This history was reviewed at the organization's 1919 annual meeting, its first since 1915, by E. A. Saunders of the Halifax Board of Trade. Saunders quoted from the 1894 Annual Report of the Halifax body -- "The western interests of this Dominion are increasing. We find in the matter of representation that we decrease." -- and cited its recommendation that the boards of trade of the region unite, in order to strengthen the hand of Maritime MPs in defending the region's interests in Ottawa. He noted that the Maritime Board had been founded in Halifax the following year, and skated delicately around the Halifax-Saint John feud that had disrupted the organization in 1908-1909: "...a subject considered by some present as 'sectional', caused a break in the attendance for several years later."<sup>67</sup>

The *Busy East's* first mention of the Maritime Board of Trade was in its issue of September, 1911, in which it cited with approval "a strong speech in defence of the press of the Maritime Provinces" made at the 1911 meeting of the organization, held in Moncton.<sup>68</sup> There is no other mention of the

---

<sup>67</sup>"Mr. E. A. Saunders, Secretary of Halifax Board of Trade, Traces History of Maritime Board.", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 22.

<sup>68</sup>"Maritime Board Upholds Press", *Busy East*, vol. 2, no. 3 (September, 1911), p. 7.

Maritime Board of Trade in this issue; the reference seems to have been quoted simply as a testimonial to the importance of the press. Two years later, in 1913, the *Busy East* reported the Maritime Board's new slate of officers<sup>69</sup>, and in the following month reprinted the article cited above from the *Amherst News*, commenting on the fact that the reports on the organization's annual meetings were printed by the *Canadian Grocer*, of Toronto.<sup>70</sup> In 1914, there was a bare announcement of the Maritime Board's annual meeting.<sup>71</sup> In 1915, however, there was a full report of the annual meeting, held that year in Summerside, P. E. I. There is no internal evidence of any business arrangement having been made between the *Busy East* and the Maritime Board of Trade; however, from 1915, the magazine gave full, indeed often exhaustive, coverage to the organization's activities, particularly its annual meetings.

This 1915 annual meeting was the last to be held until 1919. No delegates were present from either Saint John or Halifax. According to the secretary's report,

The former gave as a reason business conditions; Halifax pleaded lack of interest and threatened to withdraw if there was not more energy shown and more real work done between board meetings.

---

<sup>69</sup>"New Maritime Board of Trade Officers", *Busy East*, vol. 3, no. 12 (September, 1913), p. 25.

<sup>70</sup>"Why Not Home Printing", *Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 3 (October, 1913), p. 15. See pp. 81-82.

<sup>71</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 4, no. 11 (July, 1914), p. 23.

At this meeting, the president gave a speech including "an optimistic review of the business conditions and prospects of the Maritime Provinces." In addition,

He urged more union among business men, the giving of preference to local products and the inauguration of a publicity campaign through the local boards of trade with the invaluable assistance of the press.

The Board also passed a number of specific resolutions, on issues including the tariff, freight rates, and trade with Cuba, among others.<sup>72</sup>

The generalities of the president's speech were clearly completely compatible with the boosterism of the *Busy East*. All of the items he mentioned in the passage quoted were among those repeatedly urged by the magazine.

The Maritime Board of Trade did not meet again during the war, and it was not mentioned again in the magazine until the war was nearly over. An editorial in the August, 1918 issue advocated its revival.<sup>73</sup>

The organization's first post-war meeting was held in Moncton, in 1919. The meeting was announced in the August, 1919 *Busy East*, with great fanfare. The first subheading in the article announcing the meeting was "Union Is Strength." Thirteen "Subjects for Discussion" were listed, of which the first

---

<sup>72</sup>"Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 6, no. 2 (September, 1915), p. 3.

<sup>73</sup>"Maritime Board of Trade Should Be Revived", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 1 (August, 1918), p. 3.



was "Maritime Union." As noted above, Maritime union was also being heavily promoted by the *Busy East* at this time. Other subjects to be discussed included "Unit System of Management of Canadian National Railways, with headquarters for Eastern Unit in the Maritime Provinces," "Development of National Ports on the Atlantic Coast," and "The Decreasing Representation of the Maritime Provinces in the Dominion House of Commons." After listing the subjects to be discussed, the article continued,

Something...should be done to attract immigration to these provinces, and to keep the young people at home, instead of bidding them go West, where conditions for some years are bound to be very uncertain...The West and its products have been advertized by the Government all over the earth...

Let us all boost the Maritime Board of Trade!<sup>74</sup>

The *Busy East's* announcement of the forthcoming meeting of the revived Maritime Board of Trade and of the meeting's agenda illustrate the extent to which the various strands of the magazine's regionalism, present since it began publication, were united in the programme of the Maritime Board of Trade. Many of these items represented a "laundry list" of the concerns of the different urban boards of trade of the region, whose unofficial spokesman the *Busy East* had always been. The "National Ports"

---

<sup>74</sup>"Revival of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 1 (August, 1919), pp. 3-4. Some of the same text had appeared two months earlier, in "Project To Revive Maritime Board of Trade", under "Random Maritime Notes", *Busy East*, vol. 9, no. 11 (June, 1919), p. 27.

item, for example, was proposed by the Saint John Board of Trade, in cooperation with its St. Stephen counterpart.

The one major new item, concerning the management of the Canadian National Railways, was a pressing concern to the Moncton Board of Trade in particular. The extremely full report of the proceedings of the 1919 annual meeting, which appeared in the September issue of the *Busy East*, included an account by J. E. Masters of the Moncton Board of the fruitless efforts of that body to lobby the federal government to reverse the decision transferring the management of the former Intercolonial Railway to Toronto. According to Masters, it was the failure of all these efforts that had led to the calling of the meeting of the Maritime Board, in Moncton. It was he who moved the resolution opposing the decision, which called it "...a breach in the spirit of the contract of Confederation."<sup>75</sup> Masters spoke lyrically of the Maritime virtues of the old Intercolonial:

Large vision and steadfastness of purpose were assets bountifully bestowed upon the people who lacked numbers. They were a determined people, into whose nostrils breathed the Salt Airs from the Atlantic Ocean, and so they kept at work. First, a magnificent Road Bed, and then good equipment, and after that, falling off of deficits.<sup>76</sup>

The rail issue was a major preoccupation of the Maritime Board and a

---

<sup>75</sup>"The 21st Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 11.

<sup>76</sup>"The Best Maritime Board Meeting I Ever Attended,' Says Capt. J. E. Masters". *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 19.

central issue of the developing Maritime Rights movement over the next few years, and received considerable attention in the pages of the *Busy East*.

The speeches of those present at this meeting, as reported in the *Busy East*, touched on all the familiar themes of regionalist rhetoric, but with a degree of radicalism not previously seen in the magazine. Hance J. Logan, of Amherst, was elected President of the organization. His speeches were the most strongly worded to be reported in the *Busy East*. "The upper provinces have stolen the heritage of the Maritime Provinces for fifty years," he declared amid enthusiastic murmurs of applause," at one point in the proceedings.<sup>77</sup> His main address was a rather fligid one, in which he promoted Maritime union and, in an unusual departure, from which he quickly backtracked, hinted at the possibility of an eventual secessionist movement if the legitimate demands of the Maritimes were not met.

...I am fearful, if conditions continue to go from bad to worse, the time may come when the people of these Maritime Provinces seek a severance from the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, and the West...Let us demand greater assistance from the Federal Authorities, seek closer co-operation with the rest of the Dominion, and in one big new Atlantic province take our place in the Canadian sun.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup>"The 21st Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 29.

<sup>78</sup>"Maritime Provinces Get Together - A Stirring Message From H. J. Logan, K. C., President of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), pp. 13-14.

Logan also departed from the Maritime regionalists' fascination with the prairie west, noting that "In the west the people may have some sympathy for the Maritime Provinces but in Toronto they have absolutely none."<sup>79</sup>

The magazine printed assessments of the meeting by various delegates, as well. The Secretary of the Saint John Board of Trade called Maritime union

...an absolute political necessity. More and more central and western Canada is gaining ascendancy in Dominion affairs, more and more the Maritime Provinces are weakening in this respect.<sup>80</sup>

Another Saint John delegate referred to a strong feeling throughout the region that "...the spirit as well as the letter of the Act of Confederation should be lived up to," and recalled the misgivings of some Maritimers at the time of Confederation, which now seemed to have proven well-founded.<sup>81</sup>

A staple of the rhetoric, in fact, was that the Confederation agreement had not been lived up to. This historical argument was much in evidence at this meeting, and throughout the next few years, with specific reference to the former Intercolonial Railway, the claim of Saint John and Halifax to the country's port traffic, and other issues.

By giving exhaustive coverage to the annual meetings of the Maritime

---

<sup>79</sup>"The 21st Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 29.

<sup>80</sup>R. E. Armstrong, "Impressions of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 15.

<sup>81</sup>M. E. Agar, quoted in "The 21st Annual Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 22.

Board of Trade, the *Busy East* both solidified its position with the Board, and gave wide distribution to regionalist rhetoric, such as that quoted, which was entirely consistent with the magazine's own positions. The unity of voice and purpose which it had frequently advocated seemed embodied in the organization. The boosterism of the *Busy East* was being subsumed in its regionalism, in the desperate climate of the times.

It is only by united effort and with the three provinces speaking with one voice, that the Maritimes can hope to secure their rights at Ottawa...Of course, the principle advocated by the *Busy East* is to 'boost' -- if you can't boost, don't knock; yet there is a limit to endurance, and the Maritimes cannot allow themselves to be ridden over roughshod by the Western Provinces.<sup>82</sup>

The 1920 annual meeting, held in Amherst, was reported as thoroughly as the 1919 one. The same sort of rhetoric was heard, though the emphasis was somewhat different: there was much more discussion of the increased freight rates<sup>83</sup>, and their pernicious effects. Hance J. Logan was re-elected President, and in his address again made the point that the understanding that the Intercolonial would be built and operated "not as a commercial enterprise, but as a political necessity" had been part of the

---

<sup>82</sup>"The Maritime Board of Trade". *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 2 (September, 1920), p. 4.

<sup>83</sup>One reason the issue was not thoroughly discussed at the 1919 meeting was that the Bathurst delegate, who had prepared the resolution on freight rates, was not able to attend the meeting. See T. Williams, Secretary, Maritime Board of Trade, *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1919), p. 21.

Confederation bargain.<sup>84</sup> Another subject that was raised was the need for a permanent, salaried secretary, so that the organization's work might be effectively carried on between annual meetings. The *Busy East* immediately became an enthusiastic supporter of this idea.<sup>85</sup> The Secretary of the Saint John Board of Trade, in his comments on the meeting, agreed that a permanent secretary was a necessity if the organization was to be credible and effective.

The Maritime Board of Trade...will never appeal to hard headed business men, and will never get the support that it should receive, unless it can demonstrate that its abilities extend beyond the sphere of publicity into the realm of real action.

The world is becoming intensely practical these days. Glorified language has lost its pull. Results are what is looked for.<sup>86</sup>

Gone were the days when a campaign of booster promotional publicity might have been considered "real action."

It was at this 1920 meeting that the *Busy East* was recognized as the "official organ" of the Maritime Board of Trade. J. E. Masters of Moncton wrote in the *Busy East*, following the meeting,

---

<sup>84</sup>"The Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade (Minutes of the Meeting Held at Amherst on September 29-30, 1920)", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 10.

<sup>85</sup>"Shall There Be a Permanent Secretary For the Maritime Board of Trade?", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), pp. 3-4.

<sup>86</sup>R. E. Armstrong, "Impressions, Possibilities, and Needs", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 21.

One of the very pleasing features of this meeting was the resolution recognizing "The Busy East" as the official organ of the Maritime Board of Trade, with a promise to do all possible to advance its interests and to assure its very efficient and painstaking Editor how much they appreciated his many efforts in placing the Maritime Provinces before the reading Public.<sup>87</sup>

The alliance of the *Busy East* with the Maritime Board of Trade, and its support of the Board as the single united voice of the region, was evident in the May, 1921 issue of the magazine. It discussed a proposed new organization, which arose from a meeting in Moncton attended by representatives of a wide variety of groups interested in economic development:

...Nova Scotia and New Brunswick governments, Maritime Board of Trade, various individual boards of trade, United Farmers of New Brunswick, Maritime Stock Breeders' Association, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Departments of Immigration, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Departments of Agriculture, Nova Scotia Shippers' Association, Maritime Division of the Manufacturers' Association, etc.<sup>88</sup>

Besides discussing a number of development issues, including the need for increased immigration to the Maritimes, participants at the conference also

---

<sup>87</sup>Capt. J. E. Masters, "Review of Amherst Convention", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 4 (November, 1920), p. 26.

<sup>88</sup>"The Proposed Maritime Development Association", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 10 (May, 1921), p. 3.

proposed the creation of a "Maritime Development Association." The *Busy East* printed the prospectus and goals of this organization, but its editorial stance was not encouraging

...it is questionable whether this is a step in the right direction. Why could not these matters have been dealt with by the Maritime Board of Trade?

This is a time when co-operation is needed more than ever before, and it looks as though the new organization should be merged in the Maritime Board of Trade. Then with the new impetus afforded by the infusion of fresh life and energy into the Maritime Board of Trade, the goal in view should be obtained.<sup>89</sup>

The June issue, while noting that "...it is not the policy of the *Busy East* to knock any organization that stands for the welfare and progress of the Maritime Provinces," repeated the same stand. A letter from J. E. Masters supporting this position was also printed.<sup>90</sup>

The meeting that had called for the formation of the Maritime Development Association had also asserted the special status of the Intercolonial Railway, and called for a delegation to be sent to Ottawa to argue the case. An impressive delegation did indeed meet with the federal cabinet on June 1. The *Busy East* reprinted the *Halifax Chronicle's* account of the meeting.<sup>91</sup> It also reprinted editorial reaction from

---

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>90</sup>"Too Much Machinery", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 11 (June, 1921), p. 3.

<sup>91</sup>"The Visit of Maritime Delegation to Ottawa", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 11 (June, 1921), pp. 5-7. See Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement*, pp. 78-79.



newspapers in Saint John and Halifax, and the Toronto-based magazine *Saturday Night*, all of which supported the Maritime position.<sup>92</sup>

The *Busy East*, always aloof from politics, continued to support the Maritime Board of Trade as the appropriate vehicle for united regional promotional work. This support was again acknowledged at the 1921 annual meeting of the Board, held in Charlottetown, which was, again, very thoroughly reported. The status of the old Intercolonial and other transportation issues were discussed.<sup>93</sup> A sore point remained the lack of a permanent secretary to carry on the organization's work year-round.<sup>94</sup>

At the 1922 meeting, the lack of a permanent secretary was again discussed. The *Busy East*, in the person of editor/proprietor C. C. Avard, seems to have lost patience with the recurring problem.

Our criticism of the recent meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade and for that matter of all previous meetings that we have attended is that everyone seems to be disposed to talk hours if need be concerning the pressing problems of the Maritime Provinces yet when it comes to putting up money to carry on the work it is a case of letting the provincial governments do it...At the recent meeting the President of The Busy East offered to donate \$50.00 towards the expenses of a permanent secretary for one year provided the delegates at the recent convention would then and there pledge

<sup>92</sup>"The Maritime Delegation", *Busy East*, vol. 11, no. 11 (June, 1921), p. 3.

<sup>93</sup>"The 1921 Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade (Held in Charlottetown, P. E. I., September, 14-15, 1921.)", *Busy East*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October, 1921), pp. 4-25; Capt. J. E. Masters, "A Spirit of Optimism and Knowledge", *Busy East*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October, 1921), p. 31; other articles in this issue.

<sup>94</sup>"The Maritime Board of Trade Still Functions", *Busy East*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October, 1921), p. 3.

\$1000.00.<sup>95</sup>

Such pledges were not forthcoming.

The *Busy East's* evident unwillingness to depend on governments or politicians, and preference for the Maritime Board of Trade, an association of community-spirited businessmen, as a vehicle for regional promotion and development work, was of course entirely consistent with the regionalist boosterism that had marked its editorial policy from the beginning.

At the 1922 meeting, J. E. Masters of Moncton was elected president, and again expressed appreciation of the work of the *Busy East*, the organization's "official organ."<sup>96</sup>

The January, 1923 issue reprinted an editorial from the Halifax *Herald*, urging provincial governments to support the Maritime Board of Trade financially.<sup>97</sup> The activities of the president of the Board in leading efforts to influence the policies of the C. N. R. were publicised in the March, 1923 issue.<sup>98</sup>

At the 1923 annual meeting, Avard spoke on tourism, presenting what Masters, the retiring President, called "...a very valuable address, showing

---

<sup>95</sup>"The 1922 Meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 3 (October, 1922), p. 3.

<sup>96</sup>"Stirring Words From the New President", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 3 (October, 1922), p. 15.

<sup>97</sup>"Support Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 6 (January, 1923), p. 4.

<sup>98</sup>"Ask For Conference With C. N. R. Board", and "Sir Henry Thornton Will Receive Maritime Delegation At Montreal in April", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 8 (March, 1923), pp. 17, 18.

very clearly the wonderful benefits to be derived from this great feature in the world's business activities."<sup>99</sup> The dedication of the *Busy East* to publicising the activities of the Maritime Board of Trade continued. The coverage of the annual meeting was full and complete. In the following issue, the magazine reprinted material written by H. S. Congdon of the Dartmouth Board of Trade, and published in pamphlet form by the Maritime Board. This pamphlet made a strong case for "The Right of the Maritime Ports to the Trans-Atlantic Trade of Canada," based on commitments allegedly made at the time of Confederation. The argument was supported with quotations from Confederation-era politicians. The pamphlet asserted that Halifax would be "as big as Boston", "...had the Confederation pact been honestly carried into effect."<sup>100</sup> The *Busy East* supported this case strongly, commenting editorially, "All the pledges made to the Maritime Provinces at the time of Confederation have by no means been fulfilled."<sup>101</sup>

In the October-November, 1924 issue, which contained its report on that year's annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, the *Busy East* ran an editorial on the organization's problems, of which it identified three: the need for a larger number of local Boards to be affiliated<sup>102</sup>; the

---

<sup>99</sup>Capt. J. E. Masters, "A Thoughtful Review of the Halifax Meeting", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 3 (October, 1923), pp. 32-33.

<sup>100</sup>"The Right of the Maritime Ports to the Trans-Atlantic Trade of Canada (Reprinted from a pamphlet issued by the Maritime Board of Trade)", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 4 (November, 1923), p. 12.

<sup>101</sup>"Charity Begins At Home", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 4 (November, 1923), p. 4.

<sup>102</sup>One local Board of Trade that was not affiliated with the Maritime Board at this time was that of Halifax, a fact that came in for some discussion at this meeting.

continuing need for a permanent secretary; and the need for more action, in place of talk.<sup>103</sup>

At this meeting, Premier Armstrong of Nova Scotia addressed the delegates on Maritime Rights, stressing the need to define those "rights" carefully, if they were to be seriously asserted and defended.<sup>104</sup> Hance J. Logan injected a radical note into the proceedings, stating "...he had lived long enough in Ottawa to learn that anything for the Maritime Provinces must be obtained by force."<sup>105</sup> The Maritime Board declared itself "squarely behind" the establishment of another new organization, to be called the Maritime Development Association. The conception was that the new organization would have "... the definite purpose and the machinery to get results." The Maritime Board, meanwhile would act in "an advisory capacity."<sup>106</sup> This organization began with great energy and hopes, as reported in the January, 1925 *Busy East*, planning major studies of the region's economic situation.

This January, 1925 issue gave details of the Development

---

"Maritime Board of Trade Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting Held in Kentville, Nova Scotia, September 16th and 17th, 1924", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 3-4 (October-November, 1924), p. 15.

<sup>103</sup>"The Maritime Board of Trade and Its Problems", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 3-4 (October-November, 1924), p. 3.

<sup>104</sup>"Maritime Board of Trade Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting Held in Kentville, Nova Scotia, September 16th and 17th, 1924", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 3-4 (October-November, 1924), pp. 17-18.

<sup>105</sup>*ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*, p.5.

Association's founding meeting, at which its President again stressed that the association was "absolutely an auxiliary of the Maritime Board of Trade and working in conjunction with the Maritime Board of Trade."<sup>107</sup> The problem of financing the organization was raised, but not resolved. The same issue reprinted a letter to the federal Minister of Finance requesting assistance, outlining the region's peculiar economic plight, and pointing out the new organization's apolitical character.<sup>108</sup> C. C. Avard of the *Busy East*, as reported in the magazine,

...suggested that the Government be asked to put up dollar for dollar with the amount obtained by public subscription.

'We have got to stop talk, talk, talk, and get out and do something,' said Mr. Avard. He was prepared to put up his share immediately.<sup>109</sup>

However, at the next annual meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, the only mention of this organization reported in the *Busy East* was a terse sentence in the president's address:

The Canadian Maritime Provinces Development Association, which was organized through the efforts of some of our officers has, I regret to say, not met with the success we had hoped for.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup>"Maritime Development Association Will Sponsor Diagnosis of Economic Difficulties", *Busy East*, vol.15, no. 6 (January, 1925), p. 13.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>110</sup>"Annual Convention of Maritime Board of Trade", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 3 (October, 1925), p. 14.

This meeting, held in Charlottetown, repeated the familiar Maritime case on railway management, freight rates, the use of Maritime ports (as opposed to Portland, Maine) for foreign trade, and compensation for extra territories granted to other provinces. The President, in his address took credit on behalf of the Board for the appointment of an expert on freight rates, to help make the Maritime case:

...this Board of Trade has been fortunate in securing, with the financial assistance of the three Maritime Governments, Mr. F. C. Cornell, Freight Traffic Expert of Montreal to prepare a brief on behalf of the Maritime Provinces, for representation before the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada.

He was also able to report that a Maritime Economic Conference had been held in July "under the auspices of this Board."<sup>111</sup> (This conference, too, had been reported in the *Busy East*.<sup>112</sup>)

As an institutional vehicle for the sort of regionalism advocated by the *Busy East*, the Maritime Board of Trade was less than a complete success, as Avard's evident frustration with the organization makes clear. While the views of the Maritime Board were in nearly complete accord with those of the *Busy East*, and the resolutions passed at its annual meetings perfectly

---

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>112</sup> "Maritime Governments Asked to Provide Money For Freight Rate Expert", *Busy East*, vol. 16, no. 12 (July, 1925), p. 7.

reflected the magazine's world-view, its influence on governments, and its power to influence economic events, were limited. As the regional voice of those Boards of Trade of the Maritime region who chose to be affiliated with it, it could articulate a consensus, and make representations to government. But it could do little more. Efforts to build a more substantial organization repeatedly failed for lack of money, and it is not clear what more such an organization could have achieved even if funding had materialized. The *Busy East* was a natural ally and publicist for the Maritime Board of Trade, but there were clearly limits to what publicity could do.

The efforts to bring the region's grievances to the attention of the federal government of Canada, in which the Maritime Board of Trade was active and to which the *Busy East* gave considerable publicity, were part of the larger Maritime Rights movement. The arguments that the "Confederation pact" had not been lived up to, and that the "rights" of the Maritime provinces under that "pact" had not been respected, applied particularly to transportation issues: the fate of the Intercolonial Railway; freight rates; the status of the Maritime ports, particularly Saint John and Halifax, as handlers of the import and export traffic of Canada when ice closed the St. Lawrence; and Prince Edward Island's peculiar transport requirements. Another "right" in question concerned financial compensation for lands distributed to other provinces earlier in the century. The agitation over these issues developed from, and absorbed, many of the regionalist themes and arguments that had been present in the Maritimes for many years, amply documented in the *Busy East*: the concern with the loss of

political influence in Ottawa; the rivalry with the west; the regional historical consciousness; the need for unity, if not actual political union, among Maritimers. The *Busy East* participated in the Maritime Rights agitation by publicising it, and perhaps by attempting to keep regionalist energies from being diffused, through its support of the Maritime Board of Trade as a single, unified vehicle for regional action.

However, the Maritime Rights movement in its various manifestations did not absorb all the regionalist energies of the *Busy East*, nor was all its regionalist rhetoric devoted to the promotion and publicising of the Maritime Board of Trade. Many of the themes from the pre-war and wartime periods, discussed above, were continued in the 1920s.

While the magazine continued to emphasize the need for regional cooperation, its campaign for full Maritime union seems to have ended before Hance J. Logan's two terms as president of the Maritime Board of Trade were completed.<sup>113</sup>

The concern with population, in its dual aspects of outmigration and immigration, continued in the 1920s. The February, 1922 issue reprinted a piece entitled, "Come East, Young Man!" from the *Halifax Chronicle*.<sup>114</sup> A piece by a Nova Scotia government minister, in the August, 1923 issue,

---

<sup>113</sup>The subject was discussed twice in 1920: J. B. M. Baxter, "Reasons For Maritime Union", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 6 (January, 1920), p. 17; and "A Practical Step Toward Maritime Union" and "A Conference to Discuss Maritime Union Will Be Held Shortly", in "Random Maritime Notes", *Busy East*, vol. 10, no. 9 (April, 1920), pp. 4, 26.

<sup>114</sup>"Come East, Young Man!" by Rev. J. A. MacGlashan, in *The Halifax Chronicle*, *Busy East*, vol. 12, no. 7 (February, 1922), pp. 13-17.



spoke of the need for the Maritime provinces to cooperate to attract immigrants, noting that "The West...no longer have the advantage of virgin soil..."<sup>115</sup> An editorial in the same issue said, "These provinces for business reasons need a strong new stream of immigration. It is needed to fill the places of those who have left."<sup>116</sup> More realistically, perhaps, an address to the Commercial Club of Halifax, by one F. H. Kitto, F. R. G. S., reprinted in the December, 1924 issue, contained the lines,

If immigration you must have, then see to it that a high standard is maintained. The natural increase of your own people is the best source of greater population, and the all important problem confronting you is that of retaining it.<sup>117</sup>

In the September, 1922 issue of the *Busy East*, the most dramatic typeface used in the publication's first fifteen years screamed from the editorial page:

*Busy East* herewith makes what it regards as *the most important announcement* it has ever made to its readers...*Busy East* believes that *the germ of business torpor* and other causes of

---

<sup>115</sup>Maritime Co-Operation (By Mr. W. B. MacCoy, Secretary of Industries and Immigration for the Province of Nova Scotia)", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 1 (August, 1923), p. 10.

<sup>116</sup>"Immigration For the Maritimes", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 1 (August, 1923), p. 4.

<sup>117</sup>F. H. Kitto, F. R. G. S., "Natural Resources Development in Nova Scotia", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 5 (December, 1924), p.5.

complaint *has been isolated*...

Busy East shall reveal to the people why it is that the prosperity which by every right and reason should be ours, has been seized by others, and why our progress will continue to be unsatisfactory unless we get together and by united action attend to the development of our own community.<sup>118</sup>

All this related to the serial publication of a book entitled *Money Monopoly vs. The Community Dollar*, by W. L. Baker. The work was a detailed account of the workings and regulation of the Canadian banking system, and of the author's unsuccessful attempt to start a chartered bank. Its title suggests that the book alleged that a closed banking system existed, which prevented capital being available to communities needing it -- perhaps explaining the apparent failure of the community-oriented capitalism at the heart of the booster development strategy to function as expected. The fact that the "money monopolists" were not, on the whole, Maritimers makes this theory, perhaps, an expression of regional protest, and links it to the theme of concern with Maritime investment outside the region, rather than at home, occasionally expressed in the *Busy East* in the pre-war period.

The *Busy East's* regionalism retained its booster quality, its belief in self-help and free enterprise, and in the efficacy of publicity as a development tool. Hence, the focus of Maritime Rights on obtaining concessions from the federal government by political means was

---

<sup>118</sup>"Redeem Our Position. A Call to Every Maritime Province Business Man", *Busy East*, vol. 13, no. 2 (September, 1922), p. 3.

supplemented in the *Busy East* by other regionalist rhetoric, and Maritime Rights was occasionally referred to in a somewhat negative manner. For example, the February, 1924 issue, reprinted an item from the *Maritime Merchant*, which commented, "...it will pay Maritime people far better to quit talking so much about Maritime rights and get right down to the fundamental things."<sup>119</sup> The August, 1924 issue made much the same point, reverting to the booster recipe for economic growth:

The same principle of courage and confidence, which makes for individual success, applies equally so in regard to community welfare and progress. It is the community with real live boosters, who have faith and courage enough to put their financial resources in home industries, that grows and expands. And it is also the duty of citizens to show their loyalty by patronizing Home Industries.

As some of our prominent public men have very pertinently pointed out, the Maritime Provinces can get more by helping themselves than by looking to Ottawa for 'Maritime Rights'...<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup>"The Real Panacea For Maritime Ills", *Busy East*, vol. 14, no. 7 (February, 1924), p. 4.

<sup>120</sup>"Let Us Help Ourselves", *Busy East*, vol. 15, no. 1 (August, 1924), p. 4.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

The contents of the *Busy East* reflected the views and priorities of the urban commercial class it sought to serve. The similarity of its views to those enunciated by the Maritime Board of Trade, even before the establishment of an official connection, and the approval of local newspapers, sometimes cited in the magazine, illustrate this. The *Busy East*, however, was of course only one magazine, whose proprietors and editorial staff inevitably had their own interests. This study has been restricted mainly to the contents of the magazine. Internal evidence as to the authorship of many of the pieces it printed, as well as the proprietorship of the publication in its early days, is generally absent. Such information might be important in setting the editorial content of the *Busy East* in context. The magazine cannot be taken as representative of the opinions of any group on any particular issue, except perhaps when acting in its capacity as "official organ" of the Maritime Board of Trade. Bearing all this in mind, however, the clearly expressed aspiration of the *Busy East* to serve as a platform and spokesman for the region's boards of trade and similar groups, and its success in this role, as evidenced by the amount of promotional publicity and advertising it attracted as well as by its relationship with the Maritime Board of Trade, make it a generally credible source of information as to opinion among businessmen and board of trade members in the Maritimes.

The influence of the members of these groups in local government, and the role of "boosters" in the development of towns and cities, are outside the scope of this study. They have been amply documented, however, in studies of the prairie west, and elsewhere in Canada, by Artibise and others. Studies have also shown the existence of a similar pattern in the Maritimes.<sup>1</sup>

The *Busy East* of the 1910-1913 period was a product of the "Laurier boom." It was eager to promote the participation of the Maritimes in the national industrial expansion. It urged the region's boards of trade to emulate the example of the prairie west and of booming, "Busy" Amherst by becoming activist organizations, aggressively working to publicise their communities and to promote investment in local industry and infrastructure. By such means, the booster goal of growth would be achieved, and the Maritime region prevented from declining in stature and influence in Canada. Regionalist rhetoric was present in the magazine from the start, and the necessity for growth, central to the booster ethos, was explicitly linked to the regionalist concern for the position of the Maritimes within Canada.

During the First World War, the magazine printed publicity for the towns whose industries profited from the conflict, as well as more thoughtful pieces on post-war development. Concern for growth and for the Maritime

---

<sup>1</sup>D. A. Sutherland, *The Enterprising Canadians*(St. John's, 1979); Catherine A. Johnson, "The Search for Industry in Newcastle, New Brunswick, 1899-1914", *Acadiensis*, XIII, No. 1 (Autumn, 1983).

region's economic welfare were secondary issues in wartime, and could not be promoted with quite the same fervour as in the pre-war period. The *Busy East* remained committed to the same values and strategy as before, however, and remained hopeful that industrial prosperity might be achieved.

In the post-war period, the continuing economic depression and the disregard of Board of Trade representations by the federal government in its consolidation of railway administration and rationalization of freight rates gave new urgency to the regionalist agenda of the revived Maritime Board of Trade. The balance of the *Busy East's* regionalist boosterism shifted, with regionalism tending to predominate, as the Maritime Rights movement developed. As boards of trade and other organizations lobbied politicians and railroad executives, and Maritime Rights became a political issue, the *Busy East's* boosterism, though somewhat changed from its early period, continued to inform the promotional material it printed alongside its coverage of the regionalist agitation.

The thrust of the promotional publicity published in the magazine changed. Instead of seeking to attract manufacturing investment and immigrants, advertisements and promotional articles concentrated more on the aspects of the Maritimes that might make them attractive to tourists. Instead of trying to attract manufacturing industry to towns by publicising existing industry, the magazine often sought to take advantage of the undeveloped character of much of the region by using this very aspect of the regional reality to attract tourists.

The idea of tourism as a major industry was not present in the pre-war or wartime *Busy East*. This emphasis was perfectly consistent with the booster practice of enthusiastically advertising whatever advantages a community might have, in hopes of attracting entrepreneurial interest in their exploitation. C. C. Avard was President of the New Brunswick Tourism and Resources Association for a time; what his other connections with the tourist industry might have been are not apparent from the contents of the *Busy East*.

Tourism, in fact, was sometimes promoted as the foundation of a development strategy in its own right, as in the editorial cited above that pointed to the example of southern California as one from which the Maritimes might profitably learn.<sup>2</sup>

The essentials of the booster ethos -- the stress on community spirit, optimism, and the importance of promotional publicity -- remained intact in the *Busy East* of the early 1920s. The experience of the region over the years since the magazine's founding, however, had dampened its enthusiasm for the development strategy advocated so strongly in the first few years of its existence. While the magazine continued to call upon local businessmen to have faith in their communities, and invest in local industries, the predictions of industrial glory and mushroom growth made so freely in the halcyon days of the pre-war boom were obviously absent. The *Busy East* continued to predict a return to prosperity; but it no longer

---

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. 17.

confidently predicted a future along the lines of the Amherst of its brief boom period, of bustling, expanding manufacturing towns.

Something, evidently, had gone wrong with the booster development strategy. Amherst, its great success story, had stopped growing, as the town's manufacturing industries, mostly no longer in the hands of local entrepreneurs, declined rapidly. The great play given W. L. Baker's book, *Money Monopoly vs. the Community Dollar*, in 1923, suggests that the *Busy East* was looking for explanations for the failure of its model to work, and thought it had found a convincing one in Baker's attack on the banking system. The regionalist protest of the 1920s, supported by the *Busy East*, was also in part based on the feeling that actions of the federal government had undercut the capacity of Maritime communities to implement such economic strategies.

The Maritime Rights agitation led eventually to the appointment of a Royal Commission on Maritime Claims, in the spring of 1926, under the chairmanship of Sir Andrew Rae Duncan, who had recently chaired a Nova Scotia royal commission that investigated the province's coal industry. The commission's report was released late in 1926. The December, 1926 issue of the *Busy East* was almost entirely devoted to publishing the report, in full. Editorially, the magazine commented on the report's Maritime reception:

The consensus of opinion among Maritime business men seems to be that the Duncan Report strikes the nail on the head, in revealing the fact that the Maritime Provinces have just grievances,



and that their complaints are well-founded. There also appears to be a feeling that if the Federal Parliament carry out the recommendations of the Duncan Commission, then the disabilities under which the Maritimes are suffering will be relieved to a great extent

The thing is to get the Duncan Report put over....

What is needed in the Maritimes, in order to get our rights and to bring about a period of prosperity, is co-operation, irrespective of party politics.<sup>3</sup>

This is representative of the magazine's response to the Duncan commission's report. It stressed the need for a cooperative, non-partisan effort to get the report's recommendations adopted by the government. In the same issue, it reprinted statements by Premier E. N. Rhodes of Nova Scotia and Colonel E. C. Phinney, who as Nova Scotia's counsel had presented the province's case to the commission, as well as brief excerpts from remarks by New Brunswick Conservative Premier J. B. M. Baxter and Liberal federal cabinet minister P. J. Veniot.<sup>4</sup>

The *Busy East* continued to report, and support, a consensus in favour of the report. In the January, 1927 issue, it printed another statement by Premier Rhodes, this one defending the Maritime position on freight rates against editorial attacks in "several leading Canadian publications."

The Dominion Government is not asked to subsidize freight rates, as is wrongly claimed, but only to reassume obligations in respect thereto which were borne by the whole of Canada before

---

<sup>3</sup>"The Duncan Report". *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 5 (December, 1926), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>*Busy East*, vol. 17 no. 5 (December, 1926), pp. 34-35.

1912.<sup>5</sup>

The same issue printed a second defence of the report's recommendations against "certain newspapers in Central and Western Canada," by the President of the P. E. I. Associated Boards of Trade.<sup>6</sup>

Enthusiasm for the report's recommendations was reported from local boards of trade.<sup>7</sup> The *Busy East* reported their activities, and awaited Parliamentary action to implement the recommendations. It remained cautiously optimistic about the likely effects, should they be implemented:

While the putting into effect of the Duncan Report recommendations may not be a panacea for all Maritime ills, the general feeling is that it will afford the Maritimes some measure of relief from injustices that have existed for many years.<sup>8</sup>

In the event, somewhat modified versions of some of the recommendations were enacted that spring. Ernest R. Forbes has argued that in making these modifications, the King government in fact "changed Duncan's program for Maritime rehabilitation into a program for Maritime pacification -- a pacification to be achieved with the fewest possible

---

<sup>5</sup>"What the Duncan Report Actually Means With Regard to So-Called Subsidized Freight Rates for the Maritime Shippers - Statement issued by Premier E. N. Rhodes of Nova Scotia", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 6 (January, 1927), p. 15.

<sup>6</sup>"President of P. E. I. Associated Boards Answers Critics", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 6 (January, 1927), p. 18.

<sup>7</sup>E.g., "Dawn of New Prosperity Era for Maritimes", in "Random Maritime Notes", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 6 (January, 1927), p. 28.

<sup>8</sup>"The Centre of Interest", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 7 (February, 1927), p. 3.

concessions."<sup>9</sup> The reaction of the *Busy East*, in common with Boards of Trade and newspapers across the region, was to accept the substantial concessions made in the areas of freight rates, harbours, and financial subsidies to the provinces as the best that could be obtained, an acceptable culmination to the Maritime Rights agitation.

The June, 1927, issue of the magazine, editorializing on the upcoming Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, displayed a somewhat grudging acceptance of the position of the Maritimes in the country, and a continuing commitment to booster "optimism":

In order for the Maritime Provinces to progress, our citizens must show enthusiasm. The fact that Maritime claims have received attention at Ottawa, and at least some measure of redress for our grievances provided, should encourage us to get out of the Slough of Despond and begin climbing toward the heights....

...Whether or not we think Confederation has proved beneficial to these Maritime Provinces, our lot has been cast for us as a part of this Great Dominion for weal or woe, and we must abide by that decision...<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Forbes. *The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927*, p. 176.

<sup>10</sup>"Let's Be Enthusiastic!", *Busy East*, vol. 17, no. 11 (June, 1927), p. 3.

## WORKS CITED

### Primary Sources

*The Busy East of Canada*, volumes 1-17. Saint John, Sussex, Moncton, Sackville. 1910-1927.

### Secondary Sources

#### Unpublished

Doyle, Leo Blaise, *Politics, Policy Making, and the Role of Local Elites: The Amherst Board of Trade and the Formation of Transportation Policy for the Maritimes*, M.A. research essay, Carleton University, 1991.

Leblanc, Phyllis E., *Moncton, 1870-1937: A Community in Transition*, Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988.

Reilly, J. Nolan, *The Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: A Study of Amherst, 1891-1925*, Ph. D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983.

#### Published

Acheson, T. W., "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes", *Acadiensis* I, No. 2 (Spring 1972).

Alexander, David, "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940", *Acadiensis* VIII, No. 1 (Autumn 1978).

Anderson, James D., "The Municipal Government Reform Movement in Western Canada, 1880-1920", in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds., *The Usable Urban Past* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979).

Artibise, Alan F. J., "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities", in

Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Continuity and Change: Elites and Prairie Urban Development, 1914-1950", in Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Exploring the North American West: A Comparative Urban Perspective", in Stelter, ed., *Cities and Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspectives* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1990).

\_\_\_\_\_. "In Pursuit of Growth: Municipal Boosterism and Urban Development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871-1915", in Artibise and Stelter, eds., *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1977).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981).

Artibise, Alan F. J., and Paul-André Linteau, *The Evolution of Urban Canada: An Analysis of Approaches and Interpretations* (Winnipeg: Report No. 4, The Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1984).

Bloomfield, Elizabeth, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development", *Urban History Review*, XII, No. 2 (October 1983).

Brown, Robert Craig, and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

Brownell, Blaine A., *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975.)

Cruikshank, Ken, "The Intercolonial Railway, Freight Rates, and the Maritime Economy", *Acadiensis* XXII, No. 1 (Autumn 1992).

\_\_\_\_\_. "The People's Railway: The Intercolonial Railway and the Canadian Public Enterprise Experience", *Acadiensis* XVI, No. 1 (Autumn 1986).

Forbes, Ernest R., *Aspects of Maritime Regionalism, 1867-1927* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 36, 1983).

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Misguided Symmetry: The Destruction of Regional Transportation Policy for the Maritimes", in David Bercuson, ed., *Canada and the Burden of Unity* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Never the Twain Did Meet: Prairie-Maritime Relations, 1910-1927", *Canadian Historical Review*, LX, No. 1 (1978).

Hickey, Daniel, "Moncton, 1871-1913: Le commerce et l'industrie dans un carrefour ferroviaire", in Daniel Hickey, ed, *Moncton 1871-1929: Changements socio-economique dans une ville ferroviaire* (Moncton: Les Editions d'Acadie, 1990).

Hofstadter, Richard, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

Inwood, Kris, "Maritime Industrialization From 1870 to 1910: A Review of the Evidence and Its Interpretation", *Acadiensis* XXI, No. 1 (Autumn 1991).

Johnson, Catherine A., "The Search For Industry in Newcastle, New Brunswick, 1899-1914", *Acadiensis* XII, No. 1 (Autumn 1983).

Kolko, Gabriel, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

Meredith, Thomas C., "Boosting in British Columbia: The Creation and Rise of Invermere", *Urban History Review* XVI, No. 3 (February, 1988).

Muise, Del, "The Great Transformation: Changing the Urban Face of Nova Scotia, 1871-1921", *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (1991).

Reilly, Nolan, "The General Strike in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1919", *Acadiensis* IX, No. 2 (Spring, 1980).

Rutherford, Paul, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920", in Stelter and Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979).

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-96", *Canadian Historical Review*, LII, No. 3 (September 1971).

Saunders, S. A., *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1984).

Stave, Bruce, "Urban History in Canada: A Conversation With A. F. J. Artibise", *Urban History Review* VIII, No. 3 (February 1980).

Sutherland, D. A., "The Personnel and Policies of the Halifax Board of Trade, 1890-1914", in Lewis R. Fischer and Eric W. Sager, eds., *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979).

Weaver, John C., "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920", in Stelter and Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979).

**END**

**1 9-07-94**

**FIN**