

SUBMISSION

HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS OF CANADA

**SIR SANDFORD FLEMING PARK & MEMORIAL
TOWER**

HISTORICAL & CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

**Prepared for
HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY**

by

**Brian Cuthbertson
Clavus Research LLC (www.clavus.ca)
6464 Waegwoltic Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 2B4**

**John Zuck and Associates
Environmental Planning and Design
25 Battery Drive
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3P 2G9**

March 2003

CONTENTS

Biographical Sketch of Sandford Fleming.....	3
History of the Memorial Tower.....	8
History of Sir Sandford Fleming Park.....	18
Fleming Park Landscape.....	22
Sir Sandford Fleming Park as an Historical and Cultural Landscape of National Significance.....	27
Endnotes.....	29
Photographs of Interior Plaques.....	32

LIST OF FIGURES (Sections I to III)

Figure 1.	Sandford Fleming in 1845, the year he emigrated to Canada
Figure 2.	Flemings' "Three Penny Beaver" Canada's First Postage Stamp
Figure 3.	The Sandford Fleming Commemorative Issued 16 September 1977
Figure 4.	The Intercolonial Railway, 1876
Figure 5.	The Plaque to Sir Sandford Fleming at the entrance to the Dominion Observatory in Ottawa
Figure 6.	Commemorative stamp honouring Sir Sandford Fleming and Guglielmo Marconi
Figure 7.	Contemporary Photograph of Saint Mark's Campanile
Figure 8.	Drawing of tower in Ruskin
Figure 9.	Proposed Historical Tower at Northwest Arms Halifax
Figure 10.	Laying the corner stone of a memorial tower at the Northwest Arm, Oct. 2, 1908
Figure 11.	Plan of the Property of Sir Sandford Fleming K.C.M.G. on the Northwest Arm
Figure 12.	Winning Design for Memorial Tower by Dumaresq & Cobb of Halifax
Figure 13.	Post Card from Andrew Cobb Collection of Saint Mark's Square, c. 1904
Figure 14.	Post Card from Andrew Cobb Collection, c. 1904, with tower
Figure 15.	Bronze Lions, gift of the Royal Colonial Society
Figure 16.	Dedication of the Memorial Tower by Governor General His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught
Figure 17.	Map showing grants to Thomas Bridge and William McGranigan
Figure 18.	First map marked with the name Dingle, c. 1880s
Figure 19.	Post Card, c.1910, Boating North West Arm
Figure 20.	Boutlier's Boat Rental at Jollimore, c.1930s
Figure 21.	Newspaper caption: YET ANOTHER LINEUP has been added to Halifax's already lengthy list.
Figure 22.	1888 Military Map showing the Dingle

LIST OF PLANS AND PHOTOGRAPHS (Section IV)

Plan 1.	Shows the land of the 1908 donation, with later additions, that forms today Fleming Park
Photograph:	View of Fleming Park and the Memorial Tower from the Head of the North West Arm
Plan 2.	Shows Footpaths and Trails in Fleming Park

SECTION I

BIOGRAPICAL SKETCH SANDFORD FLEMING

Biographies of Sandford Fleming

In his biography for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Mario Creet remarked that Sandford Fleming has not been well served by historians.¹ At eighty years of age Fleming determined on putting his papers in order and to write an autobiography, but it proved too much for him. Instead, he engaged Lawrence J. Burpee, a young friend who was an Ottawa librarian and historian, to write his biography. It proved an unsatisfactory relationship that dragged on for eight years before publication in 1915. Although Fleming died without seeing the final version of *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder*, he vetted the manuscript to ensure it told the story as he wanted. As a result, it is highly laudatory and contains nothing that would detract from Fleming's view of his place in history. Burpee did, however, include a comprehensive bibliography of Fleming's writings.²

Hugh MacLean's *Man of Steel: The Story of Sir Sandford Fleming* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1969), is a well written, but fairly brief biography. Although again making no attempt at a critical overall assessment of Fleming or the controversies surrounding much of his public life, it is good at describing his undoubted achievements. A recent and credible attempt to come to grips with Fleming's extraordinarily varied interests, his engineering triumphs, and the swirling controversies that accompanied so much of what he achieved, is Lorne Green's *Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation Builder—Sandford Fleming* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993). Although Mario Creet in his *DCB* article considers that Green's work "does not overcome the defects" of Burpee's biography, it is certainly far superior to its predecessors in its handling of Fleming's role in the building of the Intercolonial Railway, surveys for the construction of a Pacific railway, his gaining of acceptance of universal standard time, and his promotion of a trans-Pacific telegraphic cable from Vancouver to New Zealand and Australia. It is, however, disconcerting

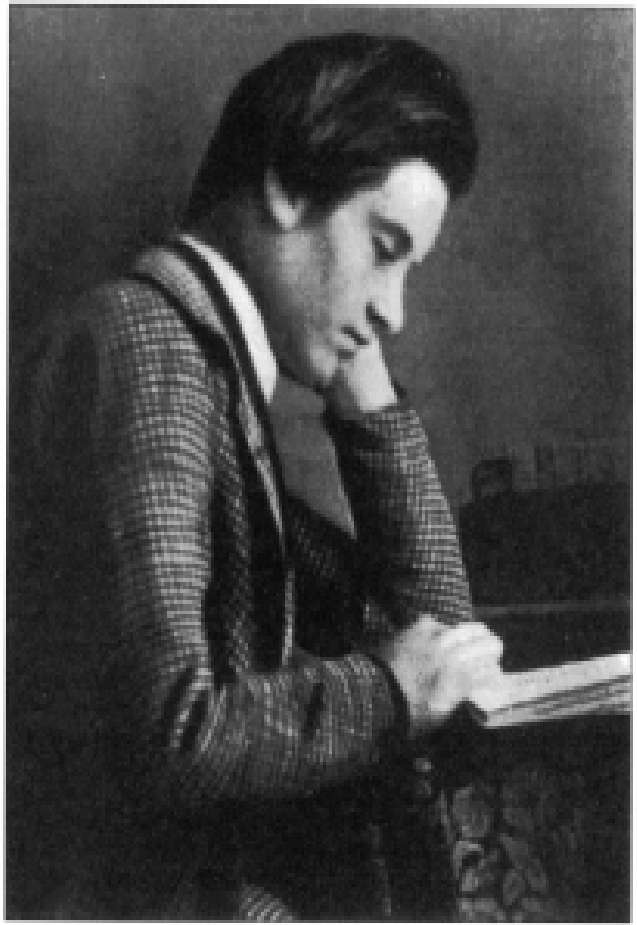


Figure 1. Sandford Fleming in 1845, the year he emigrated to Canada

that Green, in his brief discussion of the Memorial Tower, tells us it was erected to mark "the 150th anniversary of responsible government in Nova Scotia, and the first responsible government in Britain's overseas possessions".³ How Green could have mixed up the struggle for responsible government in the 1840s, with the gaining of representative government a century earlier, remains a mystery. Equally disconcerting is that Green has Fleming dying on 15 July, when, in fact, it was 22 July 1915.⁴ In fairness, writing a full biography of Sandford Fleming would be a daunting task, not only because of his involvement in such varied fields of endeavour, but also their sheer complexity.

What follows here is no more than a brief summary of Fleming's life and achievements with a deliberate emphasis on Halifax. In initiating and seeing through the construction of a memorial tower dedicated to representative government, Fleming was expressing his deeply held belief in Canada and its place

in the British Empire, as “the greatest secular agency for good in the world today”.⁵ This summary of Fleming’s life concludes with a note on Fleming as a Canadian Imperialist to provide historical context for the later history on the building of the Memorial Tower and the donation of Fleming Park.

Early Years

Born in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, in 1827, Sandford Fleming attended school in the town until age 14 when he became a pupil of the Scottish engineer and



Figure 2. Fleming’s “Three Penny Beaver” Canada’s First Postage Stamp

surveyor John Sang. After immigrating to Canada in 1845, he initially worked as a surveyor in Upper Canada. Although colour blind, Fleming designed Canada’s first postage stamp in 1851. His three penny stamp featured the beaver and thus he created one of Canada’s national

symbols. Canada Post recognized the importance of this stamp and its symbolism, when it issued a commemorative stamp on the 150th anniversary of Fleming’s birth. In these years Fleming became one of the founding members of the Canadian Institute, an early professional society of architects, surveyors and engineers.



Figure 3. The Sandford Fleming Commemorative Issued 16 September 1977

Fleming in Halifax

Starting in 1852, Fleming became involved in railway construction, which ten years later caused him to place before the government of the Province of Canada the “first thoroughly thought-out plan for building a Pacific railway”.⁶ When in late 1863, Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia agreed on a joint survey for a railway to link the Maritimes with Canada, Fleming was their unanimous choice to undertake the demanding task. During the negotiations there was a meeting of minds between Fleming and Premier Charles Tupper of Nova Scotia. Tupper was in desperate need of a competent chief engineer to

oversee railway construction in his province. Fleming accepted Tupper’s offer of the chief engineer’s position, which would be part-time, while he remained with the Intercolonial Railway Company. In the spring of 1864, Fleming arrived in Halifax with his family to take up residence on Brunswick Street (house still standing).

At the time of Fleming’s arrival in Halifax, Tupper was preparing for a conference in Charlottetown to discuss Maritime union. Fleming had become a forceful advocate for the union of the British North American colonies. He prevailed on Tupper to send an invitation to members of the Canadian Parliament to visit Halifax and present their case for a federal union. The resulting visit proved a great success and Tupper pronounced publicly his enthusiastic support for such a scheme.

Politically, Tupper was committed to completing an extension of the publicly owned Nova Scotia Railway from Truro to Pictou. Construction was falling behind schedule. Not only was Tupper facing a provincial election, but he also wanted the work completed by 1 July 1867, when the new Dominion Government would assume responsibility for operating the Nova Scotia Railway.

Fleming promised to complete the line for \$100,000 less than the original estimate. He drove the work forward using innovative methods, including the importing from the United States of two steam excavators to fill in ravines, instead erecting the more expensive bridges. Where bridges were necessary, he made them all of iron, the first such use in Canada. Another innovation was Fleming’s use of all steel rails. By stringing a telegraph line along the complete route, he greatly speeded communications. Such was the standard of workmanship, that a hundred years later parts of the drainage system and substructure put in place under Fleming’s supervision were still in use. To celebrate the Extension’s completion, Fleming arranged for a train to take 500 of his friends, many of them leading public men in the country, from Halifax to Pictou.⁷

With the completion of the Pictou Extension, Fleming could devote his full energies to construction of the Intercolonial Railway of which he became engineer-in-chief. As the case of the Pictou Extension, Fleming demonstrated his innovative brilliance,



Figure 4. *The Intercolonial Railway, 1876*

and unbending tenacity when opposed, in the construction of the Intercolonial. In particular, his insistence on the use stone and iron, instead of timber, for bridges, along with his pioneering use of soil sampling and prestressing of piers, proved farsighted. He saw the project to completion and the first through train from Halifax arrived in Quebec City on 6 July 1876.

In 1869 Fleming had decided to move his family to Ottawa so that he could better deal with the political pressures surrounding the Intercolonial's construction. He would, however, return to Halifax with his family nearly every summer to reside at a spacious house and estate he purchased in 1874, named "The Lodge" (still standing, though with a brick exterior, on Blenheim Terrace). It overlooked the North West Arm. Across from The Lodge, on the western side of the Arm, was the block of property on which later would arise the Memorial Tower and become the Sir Sandford Fleming Park in 1912. At The Lodge the Flemings entertained and enjoyed the company of visitors and inhabitants alike. Of Halifax's social pleasures, Fleming wrote:

But when to these recognized advantages [those of nature and climate] the social elements are added, it is held by common consent that there are few cities more attractive. And we remember the well-bred, travelled men many of whom also highly educated, to be met among the officers of the garrison and on board the ships at the station, with their efforts to return the hospitalities of the citizens, we must acknowledge that Halifax, in its social aspects, possesses features and a charm peculiar to itself.⁸

Canadian Pacific Railway

Among his close friends in Halifax was the minister of Saint Matthew's Presbyterian Church, the Reverend George Munro Grant. Grant accompanied Fleming on his initial survey for a route for the projected Canadian Pacific Railway. Grant's records of the journey, published as *Ocean to Ocean* in 1873, did much to convince Canadians of the need for the railway to the Pacific.

Universal Standard Time

Outside of Canada, Fleming is best known for his undoubted contribution to the adoption of the standard time zones system we use today. It replaced the practice of local time being determined astronomically, eliminating endless problems with train scheduling. In the case of the Intercolonial run from Halifax to Toronto, passengers had to change their watches at every stop, if they wished to know the local time, only to find when they arrived in Toronto, that the time there was an hour and five minutes behind the time in Halifax.⁹ With the sheer persistence of will that marked so many of his achievements, Fleming kept promoting the concept of universal standard time in technical papers and through such organizations as the American Society of Civil Engineers. Finally, in 1884, at an international conference in Washington, for which Fleming had prepared twenty-four recommendations, the delegates agreed that the prime meridian would be through Greenwich, because of its established use in England. This meant there was now a starting meridian (hence Greenwich Mean Time) from which the time zones could be measured.

Fleming's Many Contributions

The CPR was just one of Fleming's numerous directorships, which left him financially free to pursue his many interests and projects. His contributions to Canada, to the world and to the advancement of science were many and varied. Mario Crete, in his *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* article, notes that Fleming's "strength lay in his systematic use of institutions for his causes". The Canadian Institute, the Institution of Civil Engineers of Great Britain, the Royal Colonial Institute, the Royal Society of Canada, the Canadian Club, and others provided him with forums to pursue interests as diverse as railways, a trans-Pacific telegraphic cable, the Memorial Tower

in Halifax, and universal standard time. As chancellor of Queen's University from 1879 to his death, he made a major contribution to Queen's, especially in it becoming a secular institution with a heightened reputation for its science and engineering schools. During his life he received many honours, including a knighthood in 1897.

Death

In the summer of 1915 Fleming returned to Halifax to reside at the Dingle summer home he had built and given to his daughter Mary Ethel Critchley. In July he caught a cold, which turned into pneumonia. He died on 22 July. The flag atop the Memorial Tower was flown at half mast to mark his passing. Newspapers across the nation had obituaries lauding his achievements and contributions to Canada. His body was taken to Ottawa for burial, which proved to be one the largest funerals ever held in the nation's capital.

Fleming as a Canadian Imperialist

Surprisingly, Fleming's biographers give little attention to his strong imperial convictions. Although Lorne Green does provide some analysis of Fleming's view of Canada's place within the British Empire, Mario Creet makes no reference at all to this aspect of Fleming's life. Carl Berger in his *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914*, concluded that "imperialism was one form of Canadian nationalism".¹⁰ Fleming, like such other Canadian imperialists as his great friend the Reverend George Munro Grant, never saw any contradiction between loyalty and enthusiasm for Canada and their reverence and faith in the British Empire as a civilizing force in the world. In matters of imperial defence, Fleming was a supporter to the Navy League, formed to arouse Canadians for the need to contribute to British naval power. With Grant, Fleming became a strong supporter of the Imperial Federation League, which sought greater imperial unity. Fleming's major contribution to this cause was his successful efforts to have constructed a trans-Pacific cable in 1902, completing an All-Red or All-Empire telegraphic connection from Great Britain through Canada and across the Pacific to New Zealand and Australia. As a supporter

of the Imperial Federation League he proved sensitive to the fact that many French Canadians were opposed to its objectives. For Fleming, as the originator and chief advocate of a memorial tower to commemorate the 150th anniversary of representative government in Nova Scotia in 1758, it was as much an imperial as national commemoration. He regarded "Halifax as the constitutional birthplace of the British Empire".¹¹

Commemorations of Sandford Fleming

- In 1952, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board recognized Sir Sandford Fleming as a person of national historic significance. It recommended that a plaque to Fleming should be placed in the then Dominion Observatory, Experimental Farm, Ottawa.
- Sir Sandford Fleming College in Peterborough, Ontario.
- Buildings named after him at Queen's University and the University of Toronto.

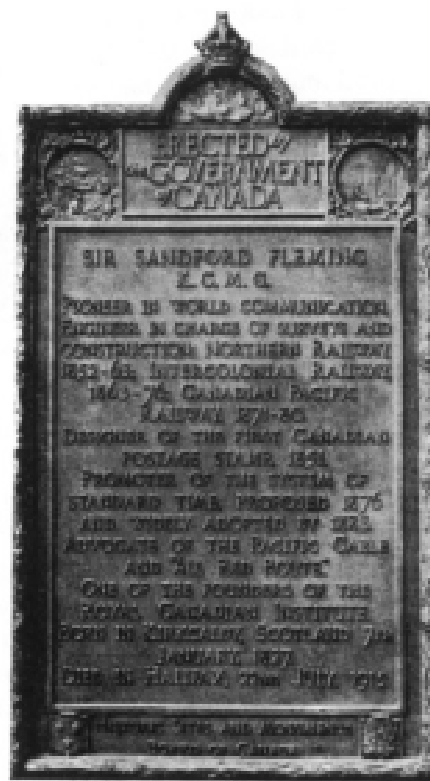


Figure 5. The Plaque to Sir Sandford Fleming at the entrance to the Dominion Observatory in Ottawa

On 31 October 2002, Canada Post issued a stamp to mark the centenaries of two milestones in the evolution of overseas communications. On that date in 1902 the commemorative envelope records that “Sir Sandford Fleming sent the first around-the-world telegram from and to Ottawa, via a globe-encircling network of deep-sea telegraph cables constituting the British Empire’s “All-Red Line”. The transmission took just one day. It was made possible by the completion of “Fleming’s brainchild, the 13,000-kilometre Pacific Cable originating at Bamfield, British Columbia.

The second milestone was on the following 15 December. On that date the first transatlantic message by wireless was sent from transmitting towers in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia to Poldhu, England, the culmination of years of work by Guglielmo Marconi.

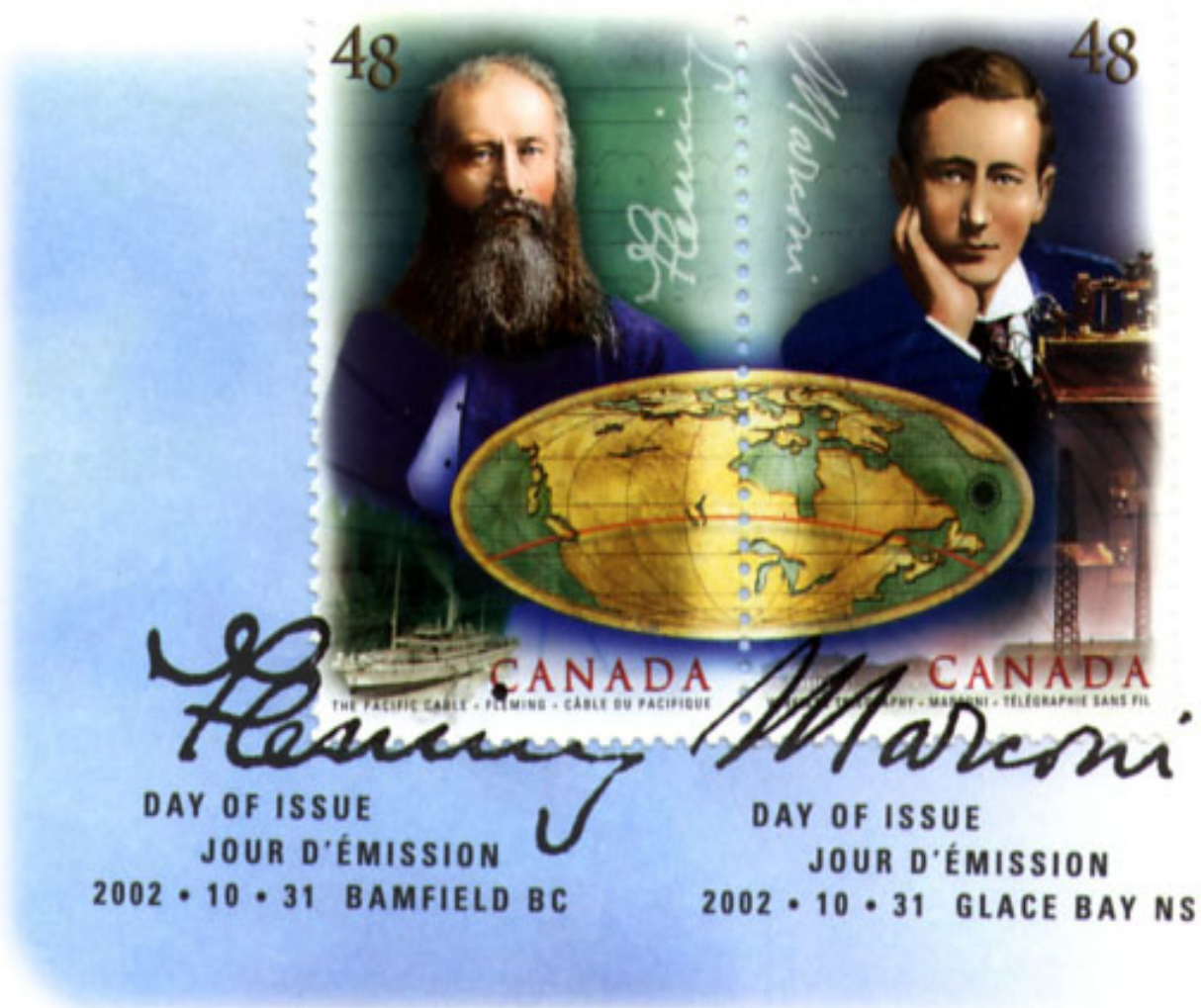


Figure 6. Commemorative stamp honouring Sir Sandford Fleming and Guglielmo Marconi, date of issue 31 October 2002

SECTION II

HISTORY OF THE MEMORIAL TOWER

Representative Government

The Memorial Tower on the North West Arm was erected to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the convening on 2 October 1758 of the first legislative assembly in Nova Scotia. When Governor Edward Cornwallis arrived at Chebucto Harbour with 2,546 settlers in June 1749 to establish Halifax, he had with him a commission and a set of instructions, which would lay the basis for a provincial constitution. Cornwallis' commission required the calling of an assembly for the enactment of laws, but the board of trade permitted the governor and his appointed council to act temporarily in a legislative capacity. As the New England mercantile community grew in importance in the fledgling town, so did agitation against government by an appointed governor and council and for the rights of Englishmen to have an elected assembly. In London, the board of trade began to have doubts about the validity of laws enacted by the governor and council. An opinion by the law officers of the Crown that laws could not be passed without an assembly confirmed the board of trade in its decision to instruct the then governor, Charles Lawrence, to proceed with the calling of an assembly. Lawrence, fearing dominance of any assembly by the New England merchants, "malevolent and ill designing men", delayed until peremptorily ordered to issue writs.¹²

On 20 May 1758, eight days before he left as a brigade commander with the great armada that sailed from Halifax to capture Fortress Louisbourg, Lawrence and his council promulgated regulations for Nova Scotia's first election. Those able to meet the property qualification probably did not exceed 200 electors in the town out of a population of around 3,000.¹³ These 200 could elect four Halifax town representatives and vote for sixteen members at large. Other than at Lunenburg, where fifty-eight eligible freeholders elected two for their township, there was likely no voting elsewhere in the province. With the exception of two from Lunenburg, all the newly elected members, who convened on 2 October 1758

for the opening session of the First Assembly, were Halifax residents. These were either holders of public offices or merchants. In constitutional terms, Nova Scotia had gained representative government, which meant henceforth the passage of all laws by the elected representatives of the people.

In British colonial constitutions, the assembly was one branch of government, consisting of a governor appointed by crown, a council also of crown appointees and an elected assembly. In constitutional theory it is referred to as a balanced constitution; in practice, for colonial British North America, the result was oligarchic rule through control of offices and patronage. From the 1830s in Nova Scotia, as in her sister colonies, the struggle for reform and the end of oligarchical rule culminated in the winning of responsible government in 1848. The old council became the modern executive council, or cabinet, responsible for its conduct to the assembly.

Sandford Fleming and his contemporaries were fully aware of the difference between representative government and responsible government, if later generations have tended to confuse the two. Fleming arrived in Montreal in April 1849 just after responsible government had been introduced. The Canadian Parliament (union of Lower and Upper Canada took place in 1841) had passed the controversial Rebellion Losses Bill. When Governor Lord Elgin signed the bill into law, riots broke out and the Parliament Building was set on fire. Fleming and three other men managed to save the portrait of Queen Victoria, located over the speaker's chair, from the flames.¹⁴ *Celebrating the Semi-Tercentenary of Representative Government and a Memorial Tower*

In March 1908 John Neville Armstrong, a member of the Nova Scotia legislative council, raised the question of what the provincial government intended for the 150th anniversary of representative government. Although Armstrong had asked a general question and not mentioned any provincial funding, when the leader of the government in the legislative council, Jason Mack, replied a month later to Armstrong's question, he simply stated that the provincial government had no intention of devoting any funds in respect of the 150th anniversary of the estab-

lishment of constitutional government in the province.¹⁵

A Harvard-educated barrister, Armstrong had “a reputation of being exceedingly well informed on public questions”.¹⁶ He had been reading Beamish Murdoch’s *History of Nova Scotia* on the events and correspondence leading up to the first assembly of 1758. Writing a century later, Murdoch, who had opposed in the 1840s the innovation of responsible government, had been in his *History* effusive in his praise of the “attention and care bestowed by the men of the day” on framing the constitutional provisions for representative government in Nova Scotia.¹⁷

Armstrong’s remarks about 1908 being the 150th anniversary of representative government seem to have been the first knowledge Fleming had of the anniversary. As well, Fleming been most impressed by the Tercentenary Celebration of the founding of Quebec in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain. Events he believed had been portrayed:

with such excellent unity of spirit, sympathetic good taste, and genuine patriotism, that all Canadians of whatever origin should now feel a new pride in the history of French Canada as a most important part of the early history of their own land.¹⁸

Sandford Fleming’s Offer

Around 1905 Fleming made an offer to Halifax respecting his land on the western side of the North West Arm (see Section III, History of Sir Sandford Fleming Park), but nothing came of this at the time. In the autumn of 1907, A.M. Bell, president of the Halifax Board of Trade, and the then mayor, Robert MacIlreith, met with Fleming in the mayor’s office. They discussed the acquisition by the city of the southern portion of Fleming’s land (included Fairy [Ferry] Cove with its cleared land, and Boutillier’s Point also cleared) on the Arm’s western side for a public park.¹⁹ Afterwards, MacIlreith discussed the idea with several prominent citizens and it met with “heartly approval”. Then, on 8 April of 1908, MacIlreith wrote Fleming, inviting him to state his conditions for donating the southern portion for public use, because:

The North West Arm has of recent years become probably the chief pleasure resort of our citizens, and it is eminently desirable that a portion of its shores should be kept open to the

use of the public, and for that purpose no portion is so well adapted as that proposed to be dedicated.²⁰

MacIlreith later noted that because the property was outside the city’s limits, provincial legislation might be necessary. As the present assembly session was due to end on 16 April, MacIlreith wrote Fleming, requesting that he reply by telegraph, confirming his concurrence to the proposition, which he did on 11 April. MacIlreith was away, so the deputy mayor convened a city council meeting to deal with Fleming’s offer. Halifax aldermen were agreed on the importance to the city of obtaining “the most beautiful portion of the Arm”, and that the proposed park would be “more than a pleasure resort and one of the essentials of the City”. Alderman Joseph Chisholm moved that the park be known as the “Sir Sandford Fleming Park”, which was adopted.²¹ The city solicitor immediately prepared legislation, which the assembly passed on the last day of the session.

An Act for the establishment of a Public Park for the City of Halifax on the western side of the North West Arm²² provided for three persons, nominated by Fleming, the mayor and three aldermen, to be a body corporate to receive and hold the property when donated by Fleming. This corporation had authority to make bye-laws for maintenance of good order and for improvements. By the act, the city of Halifax was bound to provide annually no less than \$750 to the corporation so that it could fulfill its responsibilities. The park was to known as the “Sir Sandford Fleming Park”.²³

Fleming now wrote Adam Crosby, who had succeeded MacIlreith as mayor, that he would be visiting Halifax shortly. He wished to confer with city authorities “on a matter of high importance”, the semi-tercentenary of the establishment of popular government in Nova Scotia and the British Empire, and the desirability of devising some way of “properly commemorating a historical fact in which the whole of Canada is so much interested, and in which Halifax was directly associated a hundred and fifty years ago”.²⁴ He concluded by suggesting the building of a memorial tower on the elevated point of land on the western shore of the North West Arm. Fleming also proposed that the public park envis-

aged in the act passed by the assembly could, as a result of his discussions with the city, could be inaugurated by laying the cornerstone for the tower.²⁵

Fleming now wrote Lieutenant Governor Duncan Fraser on 4 June 1908, detailing the historical importance of the semi-tercentenary “of which Nova Scotians may rightly claim the 150th anniversary of such an event as an occasion of which they may well be proud, and all must be agreed that it should be celebrated in a becoming manner”.²⁶ Fleming went on to advocate the erection of “an imposing edifice to be erected on some conspicuous spot”. In this letter he made a definite offer of land for a park as a contribution to the 150th anniversary:

I now formally offer the finest site on the whole of my property on the North West Arm for the erection of such a commemorative edifice, along with 70 or 80 acres of land, for the purpose of a park, for the use and enjoyment of the public forever.²⁷

After Fleming arrived in Halifax in June 1908, specifically to advocate the building of a memorial tower, he met on 23 June with Mayor Crosby and a few leading citizens. Among the group was the lieutenant governor, who was serving as honorary chairman of a citizens 150th Anniversary Committee, earlier formed with the mandate of finding a suitable way to celebrate the occasion.²⁸ To this meeting Fleming submitted his views on the significance of the first elected assembly “as a step of the very highest importance in the development of the British Empire”. For Fleming, the chief object was the erection of a memorial tower to commemorate in 1908 the 150th anniversary of this event, while the donation of land for a public park remained very much secondary. In an address to a public meeting later in June, Fleming spoke of the “monumental edifice” in the form of an Italian tower he had in mind.²⁹

Halifax City Aldermen visited Fleming’s property to view where he intended his memorial tower to be built. Fleming followed their visit with a letter to Mayor Crosby making it explicit that he expected the city to take the initiative. Council was not favourable. It passed a resolution that because “the events of which such monument [a memorial tower] would be commemorative are rather of a provincial and national character than peculiar to the city”, coun-

cil believed Fleming should look elsewhere for the necessary support.³⁰ Council did, however, appoint a committee to meet with Fleming to explore the costs of accepting his offer of a public park. As far as the memorial tower project was concerned, the best this committee could suggest was for Fleming to turn to the Citizens’ 150th Anniversary Committee.

Fleming’s letter to 150th Anniversary Committee’s secretary, J.A.Chisholm³¹ described in considerable detail what had transpired with the city. He sought the committee’s assistance in realizing his belief that a memorial tower (of which the estimated cost was \$15,000), or as he was now calling it, a “mural memorial”:

of a bygone life of Nova Scotia; a historical monument which would be hailed with a sense of pride by this young Canadian nation, and regarded with feelings of genuine satisfaction by the Mother Country and the whole sisterhood of British nations.³²

The 150th Anniversary Committee turned out to be unsympathetic to being involved in the erection of a memorial tower or to laying a cornerstone in 1908, which is what Fleming wanted. On 10 August, Fleming attended a meeting of the committee, then engaged in making the arrangements for placing a brass memorial plaque on a wall in Province House. They saw their mandate as confined to the brass plaque, though individually, apparently, there was support for Fleming’s project. He then wrote Lieutenant Governor Fraser again, with the purpose for bringing forward the grounds for Nova Scotia “taking the pioneer place historically in our federal system, and for regarding Halifax as the constitutional birthplace of the British Empire”.³³ In support, he included three papers of which the first was a brief essay on Nova Scotia and the Empire.

Nova Scotia and the Empire

For Fleming the most glorious period in British imperial history was the middle of the 18th century, the climax of the Anglo-French struggle, when “far and wide the foundations of an ideal world empire” were being laid. Although Fleming did not use the term, historians refer to the empire that arose after the loss of the American colonies as the Second British Empire, which it can argued had reached its zenith when Fleming was extolling its greatness. By

ignoring American colonial history, Fleming could claim for Nova Scotia the constitutional birthplace of the British Empire. One of the first steps to render the contemporary British Empire possible, or as Fleming expressed it “one of the essentials to its permanency” was “to extend to the people free civil government”.³⁴ Even before the fall of Fortress Louisbourg in 1758, “steps had been taken to establish parliamentary government in Nova Scotia”. In the development of history, Fleming believed, it occasionally turned out that an event of apparently no greater moment at the time, in the course of years proved to be “of imperishable importance”. The meeting of the first Nova Scotian assembly on 2 October 1758 had demonstrated this truth. To his paper on Nova Scotia and the Empire, Fleming attached a list of elective legislatures and the dates of their first assemblies within the British Empire, beginning with Nova Scotia, “the elder sister in the British Constitutional family”, and ending with Transvaal in South Africa. He concluded that:

The foregoing statement of facts goes to show that while historic Quebec has undoubted claims to be regarded as the birthplace of Canada, Nova Scotia has equal claims to be regarded as the cradle and Halifax as the constitutional birthplace of the Empire.³⁵

A Proposed Historical Tower

In Italy especially, from the 4th to 10th century, round bell towers, called campaniles, were built, usually beside or attached to a church. Generally plain in decoration, they had a few small, round-arched openings grouped near the top. Later Venetian campaniles, however, consisted of tall, slim, square-planned shafts, frequently tapered, rising to open belfries at the top. In the case of the most famous, the 324 foot (99-metre) high campanile in Saint Mark’s Square, the clock tower proper was of brick with a square belfry of stone. The lower portion was originally begun in the 10th century, with the belfry storey finally completed in its present form and formally inaugurated in 1499, though the upper section had to be rebuilt after an



Figure 7. Contemporary Photograph of Saint Mark’s Campanile

earthquake in 1511.³⁶

John Ruskin’s *The Stones of Venice*, published in 1851, with its celebration of Italian Gothic, greatly encouraged its use in Victorian Britain. In his writings, Ruskin held up Venetian architecture as an appropriate model for British emulation because medieval Venice, in its days of greatness, had been the preeminent maritime trading nation.³⁷ Whether or not Fleming had read Ruskin before he visited Venice as a member of the Canadian delegation attending the 1881 International Geographical Congress there, he certainly at some point came under Ruskin’s influence. As he wrote, presenting his idea for a historical tower:



Figure 8. Drawing of tower in Ruskin

If we allow ourselves to be influenced by Ruskin, on this side of the Atlantic, we may with advantage do likewise and imitate the Romans by determining to erect an architectural edifice somewhat on the lines of the celebrated Campanile at Venice... to commemorate the great anniversary... why should we not symbolize in stone, the history of Nova Scotia since it became the seat of representative government.³⁸

Fleming wanted a tower for which its “historical purpose” and allegorical design would be paramount. He wanted the architectural features of the tower to portray to the beholder its historical purpose. Probably for his meetings with city council and others, he drew a sketch of his proposed tower and had Horwood & Taylor Architects of Toronto, a firm which was also active in Halifax, create a more formal drawing.³⁹ Fleming saw the tower as being of “noble proportions” with the first course of masonry laid on bed rock of Nova Scotia granite to portray the beginning of representative government in 1758.⁴⁰ Because responsible government did not come until the 1840s, the next date of importance to Fleming, the first course of masonry would rise to well over half of the projected tower’s height, and would be characterized by massive simplicity. The next course of masonry would represent the period from respon-

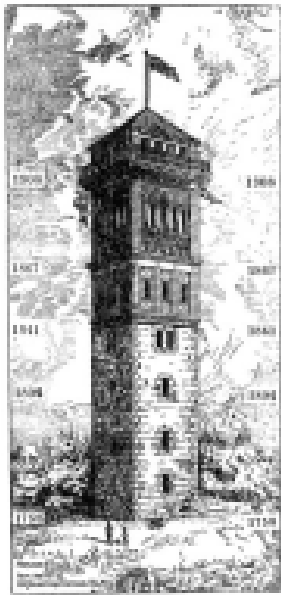


Figure 9. Proposed Historical Tower at Northwest Arms Halifax

sible government to Confederation, slightly more complex in design than the previous course. Far more complex would be the design for the final historical period from Confederation to 1908, the semi-tercentenary of representative government. Thus “each course of masonry upwards would have its meaning, and would be adorned by references to the names and deeds of distinguished men who have served their country”. In particular, he singled out Joseph Howe as an example of such a man—“one of the greatest which [sic] Canada ever produced”.⁴¹

In his *Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm*, John Regan provides a description of the proposed tower that must have come from Fleming:

When completed the proposed tower is to correspond with the glowing future promises this great Canadian Dominion. Toward the top the tower will be ornamented with windows of rich design, belvedere, cornice, parapet and observation cupola. The earlier sections of the memorial must be simple, in harmony with the rugged period in Canadian history when the golden west was unknown, and only the roar of the waterfall broke the savage stillness of the heart of the new continent. Rough native stone will be the building material for the base of the monument. A block of granite for a cornerstone typified the enduring principles of the British constitution transplanted on Canadian soil.⁴²

Fleming wanted the tower to “tell its tale” to the spectator in future years when present actors were forgotten. Above all, the tower should practically and unmistakably proclaim the spirit of the words:

This is a birthday tower, erected by a grateful people to inform the world that a new nation was born, and with its birth the old mother became a larger, nobler, more perfect than before.⁴³

His chosen site for the tower would allow it to

be seen from a long distance on every side, even far out in the Atlantic, while being conspicuous throughout the Arm. He believed that in a few years there would be great changes on the Arm with museums and other such building grouped around the tower. He hoped to see eventually a cable-ferry and street car service to the proposed new park.

Entrance of the Canadian Club

With the refusal of the city to forward his project, Fleming turned to the recently formed Canadian Club in Halifax, one of forty across Canada. In its constitution the Halifax club had as its objects “to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the history, literature, institutions, arts and resources of Canada”.⁴⁴ At a meeting with the club’s executive committee on 26 August 1908, Fleming submitted a draft of an appeal he had prepared, addressed to Nova Scotians the world over, asking for money to erect his proposed tower. He was prepared to contribute \$1000 himself.

As a result of this meeting, the executive appointed a sub-committee consisting of George S. Campbell, first president of the club, Dougald Macgillivray and Dr. C.F. Fraser. George Campbell was a leading Halifax merchant, who held numerous business directorships, including for many years that of Bank of Nova Scotia. Dougald Macgillivray had come from Ontario in 1906 to Halifax as Manager of the Halifax Branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Dr. Charles Frederick Fraser, blinded at age seven, had been Principal of the Nova Scotia School for the Blind since 1873. In 1915 he would be knighted for his services to the blind.

Matters now moved with commendable speed with the sub-committee reporting that Fleming was prepared to hand over a deed to his Arm property, in trust to the lieutenant governor, for the City of Halifax. He had requested the Canadian Club to raise the necessary funds for the construction of a tower. The club executive then resolved on 31 August:

that this Executive comply with the said request and undertake (subject to the approval of the Club in General Meeting) to use its best efforts to carry the project forward to a successful completion.⁴⁵

Laying the Cornerstone

As the Nova Scotia's First Assembly had initially met on 2nd of October 1758, this date in 1908 was selected for the laying of the cornerstone. J.W. Regan recorded the event, which he attended:

In the midst of a rain storm, in the presence of a handful of mackintoshed spectators [21 in all], surrounded by dripping foliage and under the canopy of a gray sky, an event of imperial significance transpired on the western shore of the famous Northwest Arm... a small clearing was made for the occasion just like what probably took place one hundred and fifty years previous when the hardy first settlers started their community and organized their pioneer assembly...⁴⁶



Figure 10. Sesquicentennial of the Establishment of Parliamentary Government in Nova Scotia: Laying the corner stone of a memorial tower at the Northwest Arm, Oct. 2, 1908. The Lieutenant Governor is standing on the granite stone; at his right is Sir Sandford Fleming, who donated the site of the tower and first suggested the memorial

Underneath the foundation stone was placed a copper box containing the following articles:

The *Halifax Herald*; The *Morning Chronicle*; the *Acadian Recorder*—of October 2nd [1908]
Nova Scotia Statutes, 1908
Debates of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, 1908
Halifax newspapers containing accounts of the unveiling of the tablet in Province House on 19 August
Pamphlet by Canadian Club in reference to the project
Sir Sandford Fleming's first pamphlet on the subject of the tower
Canadian Club Constitution

After J.A. Chisholm, as president, spoke on behalf of the Canadian Club, Fleming passed over to Lieutenant Governor Duncan Fraser the deed to the property. The deed provided for Fleming's property



Figure 11. Plan of the Property of Sir Sandford Fleming K.C.M.G. on the Northwest Arm, known as the Dingle Lands, 2nd October 1908

to be held in trust by the lieutenant governor until the completion of the tower, when he would transfer ownership to the city. As part of the ceremony, Fleming became a member of the Canadian Club (he was already a member of the Ottawa Canadian Club). He also spoke of the importance he attached to the tower as its value would not be confined to Halifax, to Nova Scotia, or to Canada; its influence would be far reaching throughout the British world.⁴⁷

Completing the Tower

Over the next two years the executive of the Canadian Club had to deal with choosing a final design, raising the necessary funds, and tendering a contract for the tower's construction. For the design, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada willingly took on the responsibility for a competition, including awarding medals for the first, second and third winning designs. In the summer of 1909, the R.A.I.C. forwarded the competition's results to the Canadian Club. After much discussion, involving three meetings, the executive decided to accept the design of Dumaresq & Cobb of Halifax.⁴⁸

Sidney Perry Dumaresq and Andrew Randall



Figure 12. Winning Design for Memorial Tower by Dumaresq & Cobb of Halifax

Cobb had been classmates at Acadia University. On graduation, Dumaresq immediately joined his father's architectural firm. Cobb went first to study architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and then to École des Beaux Arts in Paris, where he finished among the sixty successful candidates out of several hundred. Afterwards, he spent a year travelling in Italy; a record of his travels can be found in a post

card collection he made of Italian architecture.⁴⁹ While in Venice, Cobb would have visited Saint Mark's Square, but would not have seen its tower or campanile. It had collapsed in 1902, though it would be reconstructed exactly as it was by 1912.

In Cobb's postcard collection is a distant view of the tower, taken before the 1902 collapse. Another card shows St. Mark's Square without the tower, but a similar postcard has an image of a tower superimposed on the same view of the square. As



Figure 13. Post Card from Andrew Cobb Collection of Saint Mark's Square, c. 1904, and after the collapse of the tower

well, Cobb would have been familiar with Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* and seen his drawing. On his return to Halifax, Cobb joined in a practice with Dumaresq in 1909. They would remain partners for the next two years. According to Dumaresq, the "only

thing of importance done during that time was the Memorial Tower on the shore of the North West Arm",⁵⁰ which Cobb's Italian studies had fortuitously prepared him to undertake.

The executive committee was, however, concerned about the cost of Dumaresq & Cobb's design; it was modified to bring it into line with the committee's estimated

cost of \$15,000.⁵¹ The final design was more austere in its decoration than Fleming's sketch; instead of the first masonry course of the square tower shaft being granite, it was to be in the far less expensive native ironstone, with detailing in granite. Granite was used to create a massive front entrance to the tower's interior and a string course fifteen feet from ground level. Gone was any figurative chronological representation of historical periods as portrayed in Fleming's sketch; instead, the Cobb design conformed to the Italianate form of a belfry atop a massive tower shaft. Also, Cobb replaced the five archways on each of the four sides in the belfry, for which he used granite, with Palladian (or Venetian) archways and the detailing done in sandstone. He added four large overhanging balconies from which the surrounding countryside opened to view. The completed tower would be thirty feet wide at its base and rise 112 feet from the ground, 182 feet above sea level.

In 1913, the Royal Colonial Society (predecessor of the Royal Commonwealth Society) made a gift of two bronze lions for Memorial Tower. Ten feet in length, they were placed at the tower's base, "being intended to symbolize the vigilance and protection over the Empire which the Mother Country has exercised from the earliest days".⁵² They were modelled after the lions at the foot of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, that Sir Edwin Landseer, a noted painter and sculptor of animals, had completed in 1867. Those for the tower were made by Percy Bentham under the supervision of A. Bruce-Troy, a well known sculptor in the latter's London studio.⁵³

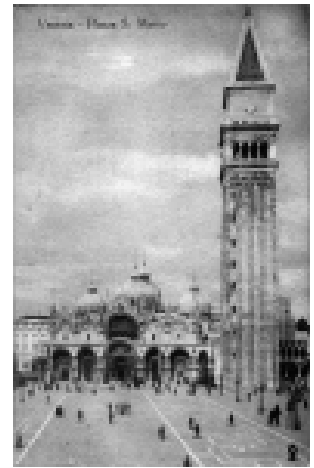


Figure 14. Post Card from Andrew Cobb Collection, c. 1904, with tower

From among the tenders submitted for the tower's construction, the executive committee chose that of S.M. Brookfield. Samuel Manners Brookfield had already a reputation as being the "Master Builder of Halifax and Nova Scotia".⁵⁴ At the same time, the executive committee appointed a building committee, which included Fleming. As club secretary, Dougald Macgillivray took on the task of raising funds. Contributions were invited from public bodies and individuals throughout the nation. On behalf of the Canadian Club efforts, Fleming composed an appeal, in which he referred to the relationship between the tercentenary celebration for the founding of Quebec and that of the "humble gathering of the nineteen representatives of the early settlers in Nova Scotia"; an event that Fleming, in a flight of what can only be described as historical fancy, believed it had proved "to be one of the most remarkable epochs in the development of civilization".⁵⁵ Members of the Canadian Club felt warranted in appealing to their fellow Canadian citizens to commemorate this "memorable epoch" and to symbolize the progress of the united Canadian people for a period of one hundred and fifty years. In this patriotic movement large contributions were not being solicited, because there were many reasons for preferring small sums. All Fleming's deeply patriotic feelings for the significance of the Memorial Tower to Canada and the Empire, written in spirited prose, were summed up in the APPEAL's concluding paragraph:

The contemplated Tower will stand out as a message from the past; it will be an object lesson to remind our youth of every coming generation how deeply indebted we are to the great Mother of Parliaments for our inherited blessings. The Tower to be erected as a national landmark will be a famous teacher of Canadian history. Its continual tendency will be to awaken and nourish not only local, likewise the widest patriotism; it will foster loyalty to that Empire which as a common heritage we call our own; it will inspire a feeling of admiration and attachment to that humanizing and civilizing force which has had no equal since the world be-



Figure 15. *Bronze Lions, gift of the Royal Colonial Society*

gan.⁵⁶

Such was the response to the appeal, that funds were available to begin construction in 1910. At this point, however, it became apparent that not only Canada, but also other parts of the Empire were interested. Fleming had already written to leading public men in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other countries within the Empire. Encouraged by the reception these letters received, the Canadian Club executive decided to send a *Circular Letter* to the governments and people of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa & Canada. It described how the Canadian Club of Halifax, in "a spirit of wide patriotism" had undertaken to erect a Memorial Tower for commemorating the origin of representative government in Nova Scotia. The proposed tower was not to be regarded as limited to any part of the Canadian Dominion, but to be considered as extending to all other self-governing overseas states of the Empire; in this light the *Circular* proclaimed that the "Memorial Tower will cease to be merely local or provincial, and become Inter-Imperial".⁵⁷

In widening the appeal to make the tower "Inter-Imperial", Fleming's original concept was completely abandoned for the interior (as well as the exterior) to reflect the tower's purpose of emphasising the historical progression from representative government, through responsible government and Confederation, to the 150th anniversary in 1908.

In its final form, the interior was divided into a lower chamber, an upper chamber, and an observation floor at the top with its four large overhanging balconies, which could be reached by a iron stairway. As in the Italian campaniles, natural light flows into the interior through a rising progression of small windows located on all four sides. Much effort went into the interior decoration by the use of beautifully sculptured panels done in every case in the native stone of the donors. Donors ranged from sister dominions like New Zealand, to the Canadian provinces, Canadian universities, and the chief cities of Great Britain. In the lower chamber was inserted an inscription plate in bronze describing the reasons for the tower's erection, the laying of the foundation stone on 2 October 1908, the role of Canadian Club, and Fleming's gift of 100 acres. Unquestionably, then and still, the most appealing tablet was that presented by the City



Figure 16. Dedication of the Memorial Tower by Governor General His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, 14 August 1912

of Bristol, a bronze reproduction in relief of Ernest Board's picture "The Departure of John and Sebastian Cabot from Bristol on their First Voyage of Discovery, 1497".⁵⁸

Completion of the tower in 1912 allowed for its dedication by Governor General His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught (youngest son of Queen Victoria) to take place on 14 August. Probably "never before in the history of the city was so large, so representative and so brilliant a company gathered together".⁵⁹ Among those attending were Sir George Reid, Australia's High Commissioner to Canada, Sir Francois Langelier, lieutenant governor of Quebec and the premier of that province, Sir Lomer Gouin. Leading a delegation from Bristol was the city's Lord Mayor, Sir Frank Wills, and for the Royal Colonial Institute, Dr. George Parkin. Nova Scotia's lieutenant governor, James Drummond MacGregor, presided. After numerous speeches, Fleming stepped forward and to "vociferous cheers" handed over the deeds to the mayor of Halifax, Frederick Bligh, giving title to the city for the Memorial Tower and Park. In doing so Fleming spoke of his "genuine satisfaction" because he had been able successfully to advocate the erection of the tower:

to commemorate the first meeting of an elective assembly in Nova Scotia in 1758—that event being, in fact, the planting of the germ of parliamentary rule in the overseas dominions of the empire. With much public spirit and true patriotism the Canadian Club of Halifax

has erected such a tower; the memorial edifice is enriched by many contributions from the over-sea dominions, and thus it stands unique among national and imperial monuments. It is to the Canadian Club of Halifax that the British people in both hemispheres are indebted for the erection of this emblem of gratitude from the daughter nations to the Motherland.⁶⁰

Dougald Macgillivray, now president of the Canadian Club of Halifax and one who had done so much to make the day possible, spoke on behalf of the club, remarking that he believed that:

The Tower will prove a national landmark. It will, we hope, awaken the widest patriotism. It will foster loyalty to the empire which as a common heritage we call our own, and which we are assured is the greatest secular agency for good in the world today.⁶¹

In the name of the Canadian Club of Halifax, MacGillivray then requested the lieutenant governor to invite "His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, to dedicate this Tower and Park to the purposes for which it has been intended". After brief remarks, Connaught concluded that:

Nova Scotia, the cradle of representative government beyond the seas, may look with pride on this Memorial Tower... which I now dedicate to the commemoration of the first representative parliament accorded by the Mother Country to any portion of the dominions beyond the seas.⁶²

Later in the day King George V sent his sincere thanks in response to a cable sent by Connaught informing His Majesty of his dedication of the Tower, and sending expressions of loyalty from those present at the ceremony. So ended the dedication of the Memorial Tower, first proposed by Fleming in the spring/summer of 1908.

To draw attention of the importance and the historical significance of the tower, the executive of the Canadian Club offered two prizes for poems dealing with the dedication. Over thirty poems were received for judging by committee, who selected six to be sent to Dr. W.J. Alexander, professor of English Literature at the University of Toronto. He awarded the first prize of \$60 to the Reverend Louis Alexander of Great Village, Colchester County, and the second prize of \$40 to Archibald MacMechan. Both

poems were printed in *The Halifax Memorial Tower*
by J.A. Chisholm.⁶³

The first verse of W.J. Alexander's winning poem
went:

Freedom doth greet this Royal throng to-day
In these Elysian haunts,—largess of one
Whom time has amply proved Britannia's son!
And when or Age or Love or Ease shall stay,
In years unborn, this pillar to survey
Its walls, long since, kind Liberty did rock
Her cradle by this old Atlantic bay.

SECTION III

HISTORY

SIR SANDFORD FLEMING PARK

*North West Arm: Early Grants and Uses*⁶⁴

From the initial settlement of Halifax in 1749, the North West Arm was valued for its fisheries and so lots were granted for landing and drying of fish. In 1771, Thomas Bridge obtained a 200 acre grant, which included lands that later would form part of Fleming Park. Similarly, in 1785 William McGranigan received a 200 acre grant, a portion of which would also become part of Fleming Park.



Figure 17. Map showing grants to Thomas Bridge and William McGranigan

Fleming's Estate on the Western Side of the North West Arm

Even before Fleming purchased "The Lodge" from William Duffus in 1874, he had started accumulating a large block of land on the western side of the North West Arm, more or less across the Arm from The Lodge. In part, he did so because the beauty of the Arm reminded him of his native Scotland (or so he said in later life) and in part for speculative purposes. A good portion of the lands came from the estate of a John Murphy. By far his most costly purchase, however, was for 50 acres owned by William Cunard (son of Samuel) near the "narrows", where the distance is only 600 feet shore to shore across the

Arm, and for which Fleming paid \$6000 in 1870. These and other purchases gave him a continuous block of land with a water frontage stretching over a mile from Melville Island Military Prison to Jollimore Village. What would become Fleming Park was formed from the southern portion of this block.

The Dingle Name Mystery

Fleming called his lands on the western side of

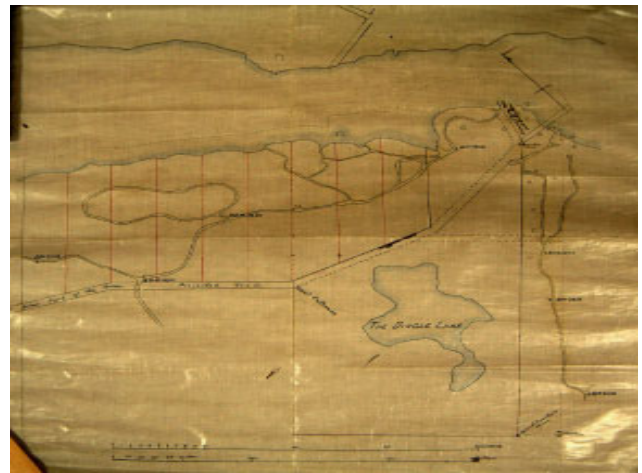


Figure 18. First map marked with the name Dingle, c. 1880s

the Arm, the Dingle. Dingle first appeared on a map, dated to the early 1880s, as the name of the lake, today called the Frog Pond. On another map, slightly later, and prepared by the Royal Engineers, in addition to naming the lake, Dingle appeared designating generally the high land where the Memorial Tower would be built. This name, however, was already in current use at the time Fleming was creating his estate.

Fleming told J.W. Regan that he did not know the origin of name Dingle, but thought it might be copied from a well-known district of that name in Ireland, near Bantry.⁶⁵ This was reference to the Peninsula and town of Dingle in Kerry. Dingle is an Anglicisation of the old Irish *An Daingean*. Dingle in Kerry is also often referred to in Irish as *Daingean Uí Chúis*, which means "O Chúis's Fort".⁶⁶ For some, an Irish connection seems possible in the belief that the land looks like a dingle, which it is incorrectly claimed in old Irish refers to a deep dell or hollow that is closely wooded.⁶⁷ However, this meaning of dingle does not derive from old Irish. It relates to dingle as an English word, dating from the 13th cen-

tury, though it does not appear in literary form until 17th century, when it means a “deep dell or hollow” and one that is “closely wooded or shaded with trees”. Robert Southey in his *Occasional Pieces* (v. Poems II, p.226) writes: “Seek some sequestered Dingle’s coolest shade”. In *Lady of the Lake* (III, i, 10) Sir Walter Scott speaks of “Both field and forest, dingle, cliff and dell, And solitary heath, the signal knew”.⁶⁸ By the 19th century dingle had to come to be related to the picturesque or visually pleasing. It could have been used in this sense to refer to Fleming’s lands on the western shore of the Arm.

Nearly all place and geographical names on the North West Arm, however, have connections to individuals. What is today Melville Island, began as Cowie’s, after Robert Cowie obtained a grant to it in 1752, only to become known as Kavanagh’s, when it later came into the possession of James Kavanagh. On the island’s purchase in 1804 to house prisoners of war, it became Melville Island in honour of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Cowie’s name has survived, however, in Cowie Hill. Williams Lake had been known as Letson’s, long after Robert Letson ceased operating his grist mill. Both Jollimore and Purcell’s Cove villages derive their names from early settlers.

This practice of names having a connection to individuals could be the origin for the Dingle name. In 1822, Richard Dingle, a miller by trade and a native of England, arrived via the United States in Halifax, as he said, for the benefit of his health.⁶⁹ Dingle succumbed to the urgings of those who encouraged him to purchase the grist mill (located in the area of the Saraguay Club), formerly owned and operated by Robert Letson, but now dead. Dingle purchased from the Letson family the grist mill and 450 acres. He mortgaged the lands to the merchant Charles Hill for £900.⁷⁰ He then set about putting the old mill in working order, importing the best systems from England. Through a servant’s negligence, however, the mill caught fire and burned. Dingle decided to rebuild and a public subscription was launched to assist, but he was unable to purchase the whole of the materials needed.⁷¹ He petitioned the Nova Scotia assembly, which obliged with a meagre £20.⁷² Still heavily in debt to Charles Hill, Dingle seems to have left Halifax in the spring of 1823. Although Richard

Dingle was present in Halifax less than a year, he became closely associated, and publicly so, with the North West Arm. Although his 450 acres did not include Dingle Lake, it remains possible its present name is associated with him. It would seem, therefore, that the name Dingle could derive from Richard Dingle, or from the 19th century’s literary use of the word in the picturesque sense.

Creating a Rustic Retreat

Over the years on his Dingle property, Fleming spent thousands of dollars removing unsightly obstacles, building summer and winter roads, laying pipes for a water supply, building a wharf and making other improvements.⁷³ He had erected two “look-out summer houses” probably similar to gazebos on the heights opposite Birchdale (on eastern Arm shore) and they were visited by many picnickers. One of the houses was known as the Dingle. Both houses, however, were destroyed; one by fire and the other by a gale.⁷⁴ Although many were desirous of obtaining portions of the property for residential purposes, Fleming refused to sell, though the value for the whole property was estimated at \$50,000.

From the beginning the public had the “freest access” to the Dingle, “landing and going where they pleased and doing pretty much as they pleased”.⁷⁵ For Fleming “it was a matter of great pleasure to him to see many of the citizens of Halifax innocently and healthfully enjoying themselves on his property”.⁷⁶ As the Arm became increasingly popular as a resort from the summer heat, family parties would spend all day on the Dingle grounds. Children by the score might be seen playing about on the beaches. For Fleming, however, a limit was reached when “rowdies” started coming with kegs of beer and taking possession of spots from where they abused passers-by. On Sundays, baseball games were played on a field near the cove and there was much resulting dis-



Figure 19. Post Card, c.1910, Boating North West Arm

order.⁷⁷ On occasion Fleming's own family were obliged to leave the grounds.⁷⁸ In 1900, Fleming imposed an admission charge of \$1.00. On Sundays police constables were stationed on the grounds. These difficulties may have caused Fleming to begin giving consideration to donating the southern part of his property as a public park, which he did on the completion of the Memorial Tower in 1910.

As a Public Park

Public use of Fleming Park increased consider-



Figure 20. Boutilier's Boat Rental at Jollimore, c.1930s

ably once Joe Boutilier began operating a ferry in the 1930s, from the bottom of Oakland Road on the peninsula side, to his boat and canoe rental establishment close to the Memorial Tower. As few people



Figure 21. Newspaper caption: YET ANOTHER LINEUP has been added to Halifax's already lengthy list. This picture was taken at Fleming Park in the afternoon of an extremely hot day. Visitors to The Dingle are standing in line waiting to buy soda pop, ice cream and hot dogs at one of the Armside canteens, c.1945.

had cars, on hot summer days hundreds would queue to take his ferry across to the park and its beaches. Boutilier kept his ferry service going into the 1950s. During the Second World War and afterwards, hundreds would line up at Ken's Canteen on the shore near the Memorial Tower to purchase soda pop, ice cream and hot dogs. For the thousands of servicemen in wartime Halifax, few places proved more popular. In the years since the war, pollution in the Arm had made swimming impossible, but Fleming Park has increasingly attracted those interested in natural habitats.

Later Additions to Fleming Park

It is likely that Fleming had constructed the cottage, which today is at 30 Dingle Road, after losing to fire and a gale the two summer look out buildings he had constructed. This cottage first appeared on a 1888 military map (see below). A 1½ storey wood framed structure, it has a hipped gable roof, the slope of which extends down to form the verandah roof. In this front slope is an attractive triangular dormer. Four round, straight columns, devoid of decoration or capitals, support the verandah. These columns frame three bays in the front facade, with a central entrance way and a window in either side bay. In general, the cottage is of the later Victorian period with little decoration, designed to be a rustic retreat for the Fleming family. Adjoining the cottage is a barn of ironstone with a gabled roof and rock-faced stone quoins. The gothic windows have brick surrounds. The board and batten used in the upper half was probably put on later to cover the stone.

At the time Fleming donated Fleming Park to Halifax City, he gave other lands in the immediate area to his children. To his daughter Mary Ethel, wife of Captain T.O. Critchley, he gave the cottage and barn. Later the Critchleys sold the lot and buildings. In 1948, the city purchased the land and buildings as an addition to the Park (see Plan 1). The city registered the barn in 1981 as a municipal heritage property and in 1985 also registered the nearby cottage. This cottage may have housed for some years the canteen in the park.

Another later addition to the Park came in 1966 when the city purchased St. Augustine's Chapel (see Plan 1). Fleming had donated the land for its construction in 1895.⁷⁹ In making the donation, he laid

down a series of conditions relating to the regular holding of divine service for a period of twenty years before it became the property of St. Luke's Parish. As the new chapel would be a church within St. Luke's Parish in south end Halifax, then pro-Cathedral for the Diocese of Nova Scotia, the donation went to St. Luke's. The first service was conducted on 27 September 1896. When the chapel was deeded to the city in 1966, the intention was to use it as an outdoor learning centre for children, but this did not take place. Finally, in 1976, the chapel became a centre for outdoor recreation and environmental education, a use that continues to this day.

Very much Victorian gothic in style, the chapel was built with rough ironstone found locally, as was the granite used for trimming. Within a high pitched wooden roof there was a belfry, for which the single bell came from the old fire station on Halifax's Spring Garden Road. In later years, the bell tower was relocated to the porch roof. The little bell sounded a distinctive call to parishioners for worship. It is said that the configuration of the land allowed the bell to heard up and down the whole length of the Arm. In 1985 the city registered the former chapel as municipal

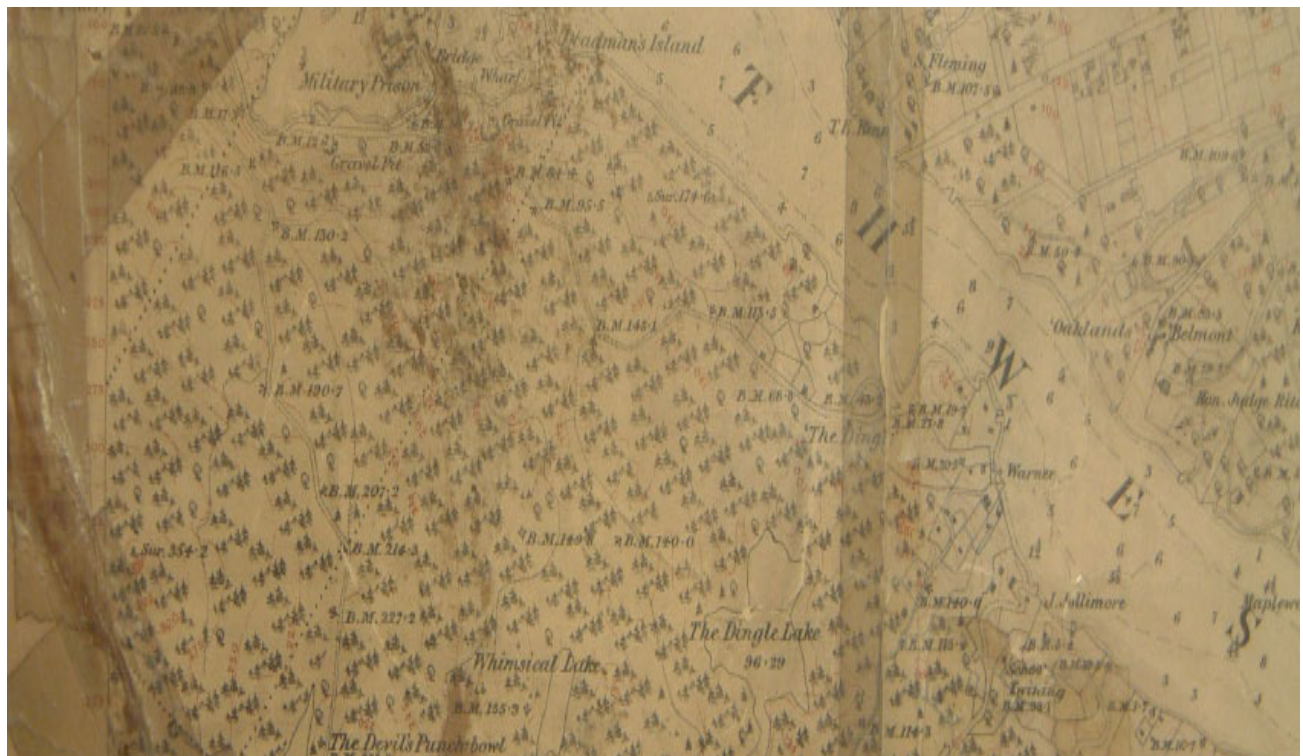


Figure 22. 1888 Military Map showing the Dingle

SECTION IV

FLEMING PARK LANDSCAPE

Land Base

In 1911, land donated by Sir Sandford Fleming became a City of Halifax park.⁸⁰ A major feature of the site would be a tower built to commemorate representative government in Canada and the British Empire.

Fleming donated only part of his property on the western side of the Northwest Arm. The land currently owned by the municipality includes the original donation and other parcels added later. The land that is now part of Fleming Park is still just a portion of the approximately 450 acre property at its largest extent (see Plan 1).

The Parks and Recreation Department of the Halifax Regional Municipality is interested in acquiring more land that was once part of the Fleming estate. This land abuts the northwestern end of the park; its acquisition would mean that the entire carriage drive was included in the park. It would also mean that, with the recent acquisition of easements across lands further to the northwest, the municipality had secured a route for the Northwest Arm Trail between Melville Cove and the Dingle Park.

The original donation of land was approximately 95 acres. The park now includes about 130 acres. In addition to the land area, there is a water lot associated with the Park.

Land Use Context

The land on the western side of the Northwest Arm was not part of Halifax when the park was donated to the City. The area was sparsely settled, with the village of Jollimore immediately to the southeast on the Arm, and the village of Spryfield to the west. Land to the northwest was owned by the War Department; this was the site of the Melville Island Prison.

The Northwest Arm was a popular area for recreational boaters; Fleming Park added a destination for park use. Access to the Park was mostly by water, but road access was possible, and there was even a plan to build an electric trolley line to the Park, a feature envisaged by Fleming.

Today, Fleming Park is part of the Halifax Regional Municipality and is nearly surrounded by residential development. The main exception is a parcel of municipally owned land to the southwest of the Park that remains undeveloped. Part of this land is zoned for park use, and there is interest in the neighbourhood in ensuring the use of this land as an open space connection to Williams Lake and to the Spryfield area. The Park and the Northwest Arm remain a popular recreation area for boaters, and the Park has one of the few boat launches available to the public.

Physical Description

Fleming Park has three general landscape types. There is a large, relatively flat, but rolling upland area; a relatively steep north-easterly slope to the Northwest Arm; and a small, flat, but rolling area along the water. The last area includes a small point of land where most of the parking and recreational facilities are located. This area includes the Memorial Tower, a canteen and washrooms, a boat-launch and wharf, and picnic facilities. The tower is visible as a landmark from anywhere on the Northwest Arm, and for a considerable distance into Halifax's outer harbour (see photo). The Frog Pond is a popular destination area. Access is easy, with parking provided from Purcells Cove Road. This parking gives easy access to the heavily used walking trails and to the Pond, a popular place for skating in winter. Trails extend throughout the park. HRM Parks and Recreation staff maintain the Park, including the trails. There are also many footpaths that are not marked or maintained as Park trails (see Plan 2).

Habitats

Fleming Park is underlain by granite and Halifax Slate. The slate has been altered, acquiring a blocky structure by contact with the granite, which intruded into the slate strata in a molten state. Both kinds of rock can be seen on site and have been used in structures, such as walls and buildings. The Northwest Arm represents a fault zone where the bedrock has been fractured and weakened. Over very long periods of time this material has been removed by geologic processes. The Northwest Arm is an ancient valley that has been filled by slowly rising sea level. Sea level continues to rise at a rate of about one

foot per 100 years.

The soil that has developed over the resistant granite and slate is thin, coarse-textured, and very stony, with many surface boulders. This soil is very well-drained, but not very fertile. Along the shore, this soil supports white spruce with fir, maple, and spruce trees. Away from the shore, the forest cover consists of a mixture of two kinds: hardwood stands including maple, oak, and birch; and mixed wood stands including spruce, fir, pine, maple, and birch trees. The site is largely forested. Exceptions include beaches, ponds, barrens, lawns, building sites, roads, and parking areas. The beaches are mostly erosional features, characterised by cobbles and boulders between high and low tide levels. Retaining walls have been built along much of the shoreline in the original park area to protect the shore against erosion. There is a sandy beach to the south-east of the memorial tower.

The Frog Pond is the major freshwater body in the park, but there is another small pond directly across Purcells Cove Road. Both of these ponds are shallow and have adjacent swampy areas that are treed. The Frog Pond has a watershed of a few hundred acres, including Whimsical Lake. Even with this sizeable area contributing runoff, the water level in the Frog Pond varies, dropping considerably in prolonged dry periods. The Frog Pond drains through a brook to the Arm, west of the Memorial Tower.

There are a couple of barren areas in the Park. The barrens are located in areas of exposed bedrock and very thin soils. Fire, c.1938, has also contributed to the development of the barrens, which are characterised by lichen and shrubs, including blueberries. The barrens in the park are beginning to support trees, principally spruce and pine, probably because fire has been controlled in recent years.

Much of the area in the vicinity of the Memorial Tower, a very small proportion of the park area, has been managed to introduce and maintain lawn in the Park. Trees and shrubs in the lawn area include introduced and ornamental species.

Site Integrity

A preliminary assessment of the site suggests that the integrity of its natural and cultural resources is quite intact. The major features of the original park

have been protected. In addition, the HRM has expanded the Park, and plans to acquire use of additional lands to protect the remaining principal features of the estate, most notably the carriage drive. Finally, the HRM intends to extend the park into the surrounding neighbourhoods, both through addition of parkland to the southwest and provision for extension of the Northwest Arm Trail.



Plan 1. Shows the land of the 1908 donation, with later additions, that forms today Fleming Park, and as a portion of Fleming's 450 acre property



View of Fleming Park and the Memorial Tower from the head of the North West Arm



Plan 2. Shows footpaths and trails in Fleming Park

SECTION V

SIR SANDFORD FLEMING PARK AS AN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Criteria for National Historic Significance

Advocating that the Sir Sandford Fleming Park be designated of national historic significance is consistent with HSMBC policies on cultural landscapes, parks and monuments. To be designated a place of national historic significance, a cultural landscape must be “explicitly and meaningfully” associated with a person deemed to be of national historic significance. For a park to be designated, according to HSMBC policy set out in November 1994, an association with such an individual is also one of the criteria. Fleming Park is closely associated with Sir Sandford Fleming, who the HSMBC declared a person of national historic importance in May 1950.

Sandford Fleming and the Creation of the Park

Although Fleming moved from Halifax to Ottawa in 1869, he continued to purchase property on the western side of the North West Arm. He expended considerable sums in creating what can be best described as a summer estate and would spend most summers in Halifax to the end of his life. By 1905, when he made his first offer to turn over part of this property to the citizens of Halifax, it had become public park in all but ownership. Fleming’s determination to have the 150th anniversary of representative government in Nova Scotia suitably commemorated caused him to renew his offer to Halifax; in fact, deeding nearly one hundred acres of his Arm property became a means to an end—gaining support for the construction of an “historical tower”.

Fleming saw his tower as an enduring and monumental way of teaching, commemorating and celebrating his strongly felt Canadian nationalism and Canada’s place, in what he sincerely believed, to be the greatest empire for good in human history. He envisaged his tower as a moral and noble triumph of

Canadian nationalism and imperial allegiance. It is worthy of note, that a half century after its demise, the empire of Fleming’s day is being seen in a new light. The recent founding of the British Empire museum in Bristol, England seems to be a harbinger of renewed interest, not only in the history of the empire, but also in “imperialists” like Fleming, who saw no contradiction between their nationalism and imperial loyalty; however much later generations might think it oxymoron. Fleming’s concept of his tower, which grew from being a local commemoration to one national significance, and then to embracing an imperial extension, illustrates well the thinking of such Canadian Imperialists as himself and George Monro Grant

A Monument of National Historic and Architectural Significance

The Memorial Tower remains an integral and a visually dominating feature of the Sir Sandford Fleming Park. In its 1959 recommendation for the inscription for Fleming, as a person of national historic significance, the HSMBC made no mention of him as the inspiration for the Memorial Tower. Although there is no full biography of Fleming, those who have written about him, either ignore entirely the Memorial Tower, or make only passing reference. Moreover, his biographers have shown little interest in his role as a leading Canadian Imperialist of his day.

In its June 1989 recommendation, relating to Monuments Which Themselves Have Commemorative Purpose, the Board declared it would only consider those monuments that “were intrinsically works of art or architecture of national historic and/or architectural significance”. In its policy on Parks, another of the Board’s criteria is the “importance of the architect... associated with it”. Andrew Cobb’s role in the design of the tower has already been discussed. After this, his first commission, Cobb went on to develop his own considerable practice. Studley Campus of Dalhousie University was largely built, starting in 1913, to his designs. Much influenced by the Garden City movement of city planning, Cobb designed and oversaw the construction in the early 1920s of Corner Brook, as a whole mill town for the Newfoundland Power & Paper Company. In Halifax es-

pecially, he designed numerous residences, noteworthy for their revealing woodwork and craftsmanship, reflecting the influence of the English Arts and Crafts movement. As an active member of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, his efforts on its behalf made him known across Canada. Andrew Cobb remains “the best-known and best-loved architect in Nova Scotian history”⁸¹

Expansion and Preservation

With the virtually exponential growth of the Halifax Regional Municipality, public spaces have become a critical part of regional planning. In a recent decades, Fleming Park has become nearly surrounded by residential development. Halifax City purchased parcels of land in the past as they became available, increasing the Park from its original 95 acres to 130 acres. Halifax Regional Municipality is interested in acquiring more lands that were part of Fleming’s original 450 acre estate. Of particular interest, is the land that includes the entire carriage drive, essential for the expansion of the North West Arm Trail. As well, Halifax Regional Municipality intends to expand the park into the surrounding neighbourhoods, through the addition of parkland to the southwest. Such acquisitions will provide added protection to the integrity of the Park’s natural and cultural resources, and help to secure its central place in the community.

Of the Memorial Tower itself, Halifax Regional Municipality has carried out major restoration on three sides; it has allocated funds for the fourth side in its budget for 2003-2004 (see accompanying letter). Once the tower’s exterior has been fully restored, work will be necessary on the interior plaques, which have suffered from water damage over the years.

Summary

As its name connotes, Fleming Park in its genesis was “explicitly and meaningfully” associated with Sir Sandford, unquestionably an individual of national historic significance. Although HSMBC has so designated him, and there is a plaque (see above Figure 5) in an Ottawa government building. If he was also recognized in Fleming Park, this would provide another and a highly public location for commemorating Sir Sandford Fleming. Parkland and Tower form

an integral whole, both closely associated with Fleming. Fleming remains a quintessential embodiment of that formative era of our rise to nationhood within the British Empire, and his Memorial Tower an authentic reflection of the spirit that brought it into existence.

ENDNOTES

¹. Mario Creet, Sir Sandford Fleming, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XI, pp. 359-62.

². Lawrence J. Burpee, *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder* (Oxford University Press, 1915), pp. 279-84. Burpee lists over 150 entries.

³. Lorne Green, *Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation Builder—Sandford Fleming* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), p. 180.

⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵. J.A. Chisholm, *Halifax Memorial Tower*, p. 52-53.

⁶. Mario Creet, Sir Sandford Fleming, p. 360.

⁷. *Acadian Recorder*, 3 June 1867.

⁸. Sandford Fleming, *England and Canada, A Summer Tour between Old and New Westminster with Historical Notes* (1884), p. 13.

⁹. Eaton, *Chief Engineer*, p. 57.

¹⁰. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in Canadian Nationalism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 259.

¹¹. Fleming to the Honourable D.C. Fraser, Halifax, 14 August 1908, *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor*, (Halifax: 19 August 1908), p. 4.

¹². J. Murray Beck, *Politics of Nova Scotia, Volume One 1770-1896* (Four East Publications: Tantallon, Nova Scotia, 1985), p. 22.

¹³. Brian Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1994), pp. 28-29.

¹⁴. For the event and Fleming's actions see Lawrence J. Burpee, *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁵. *Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 2nd session, 31st Parliament of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1908, 16 March and 16 April 1908.

¹⁶. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1908, p. 317.

¹⁷. Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. II (Halifax, 1865), pp. 326. For Murdoch's opposition to responsible government and his advocacy

of a mixed and balanced constitution, of which an elected assembly was a crucial pillar, see Philip Girard, "I will not pin my faith to his sleeve": Beamish Murdoch, Joseph Howe, Responsible Government Revisited", *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Journal*, vol. 4, 2001, pp. 48-69.

¹⁸. I, Nova Scotia and the Empire, *Letter to his Honour the Lieut-Governor*, p. 7.

¹⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 17. Fleming intended to retain the northern portion, which adjoined Longley's Melville Park property, and also the road passing Melville Island, which led to the entrance of Fleming's grounds, near which was Mr. Hutton's cottage, who was in charge of the property and "kept it in such splendid condition".

²⁰. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²¹. *The Halifax Herald*, 14 April 1908

²². Passed the 10th day of April, A.D., 1908, Chapter 71, 8 Edward. VII, *Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1908*.

²³. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁴. J.A. Chisholm, *The Halifax Memorial Tower* (published by the Canadian Club, Halifax, N.S., 1913), p. 16.

²⁵. *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor*, p. 27. Fleming quotes from his letter of 4 June, though the actual letter has not been found.

²⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 30

²⁷. Fleming describes this meeting in *ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

²⁸. Part of the address quoted in Lawrence J. Burpee, *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder* (Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 272.

²⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁰. A lawyer by profession, Joseph Andrew Chisholm would become mayor of Halifax, 1909-1911, and for many years be chief justice and receive a knighthood for his services to Nova Scotia. Among historians he is best known for his *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, first published in 1909.

³¹. Fleming to J.A. Chisholm, Ottawa, 1 July 1908, *ibid.*, pp. 20-31.

³². Fleming to the Honourable D.C. Fraser, Halifax, 14 August 1908, *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor*, pp. 1-31.

³³. Nova Scotia and the Empire, *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor*, p. 8.

³⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 10. In his list, Fleming did not include any of the British West Indies, which had representative governments earlier than Nova Scotia, because they were not, however, in the class of British colonies in which responsible government had been introduced. See *Circular Letter— with the compliments of The Canadian Club of Halifax addressed to The Governments and People of New Zealand, Australia, South Africa & Canada, accompanied by Pamphlet on The Beginning of the Empire*, Halifax, January 18th (hereafter, *Circular Letter*), to which was attached AN APPEAL from the Canadian Club for funds to erect the Memorial Tower and included the list with Fleming's explanation for excluding the West Indian Islands, p. 9.

³⁵. *Ibid.*, p. 10

³⁶. In 1902 the tower collapsed, but was completely rebuilt by 1912, using the original construction materials. In 1997, after half a millennium of chiming, the Venetian authorities decided on a major restoration of clock's workings. As well, the tower proper had been showing signs of instability, and modern fire and security alarms needed to be installed.

³⁷. John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, edited and abridged by J.G. Links (London: Collins, 1960). For Ruskin "Since first the dominion of men was asserted over the ocean, three thrones... Tyre, Venice and England" had been of a mark of beyond all others. The Third, England, had inherited their greatness, but if it forgot their example, Ruskin warned England "may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction", p. 1. Ruskin was read by hundreds of thousands in his day.

³⁸. "Historical Tower Suggested", *A Memorable National Epoch: Documents Issued by The Canadian Club of Halifax respecting Nova Scotia and the Empire* (Halifax, Sept 2nd, 1908). An abbreviated version, with the title A Memorial Tower Proposed, also appears in *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor*, August 19th, pp. 13-14 and in the *Circular Letter*, pp. 10-12.

³⁹. Horwood & Taylor was a Toronto architectural firm. E.C. Horwood had been the architect for the G.S. Campbell Residence on Halifax's Young Avenue in 1902 and would have been familiar with the planned site. I am indebted to Garry Shutlak of the Nova Scotia Archives for the information on

Horwood.

⁴⁰. "Historical Tower Suggested", p. 9. In this and other descriptions of the tower, Fleming uses language drawn from Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*. For Ruskin's description of the campanile in St. Mark's Square, see pages 97-98 and accompanied by his drawing of it.

⁴¹. "Historical Tower Suggested", p. 11.

⁴². John W. Regan, *Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm* (1908), p. 100.

⁴³. "Historical Tower Suggested", p. 10.

⁴⁴. Constitution of the Canadian Club of Halifax and Roll of Members, 2nd ed. 1908.

⁴⁵. J.A. Chisholm, *The Halifax Memorial Tower*, p. 22

⁴⁶. John W. Regan, *Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm* (1908), p. 99.

⁴⁷. A description of the cornerstone ceremony is in J.A. Chisholm, *The Halifax Memorial Tower*, pp. 21-33.

⁴⁸. The design submitted by Dumaresq & Cobb and selected by the executive of the Canadian Club appeared in *Nova Scotian & Weekly Chronicle*, 16 September 1910.

⁴⁹. The collection is held by the Sexton Library, DalTech. I am most grateful to Donna Richardson for making available the collection and for arranging the scanning of the post cards appearing in this text.

⁵⁰. Obituary of Cobb by S.P. Dumaresq, *Journal of the Royal Institute of Architecture in Canada*, June 1943, p. 94. Cobb died tragically in a car/bus collision on the highway from Halifax to Bedford. Shortly afterwards, Dumaresq and his obituary appeared in the Fall 1943 issue of the *Journal*.

⁵¹. J.A. Chisholm, *The Halifax Memorial Tower*, p. 34. A comparison of final design and that which appeared in *Nova Scotian & Weekly Chronicle* suggests only minor changes at least on the exterior.

⁵². *Echo*, 20 March 1913.

⁵³. *Ibid.*

⁵⁴. Maud Rosinski, *Architects of Nova Scotia: A Biographical Dictionary 1605-1950* (Province of Nova Scotia, 1994), p. 189.

⁵⁵. *Circular Letter*, AN APPEAL, p. 7. The usual meaning of "epoch" refers to a long period of time marked by some predominant characteristic or the beginning of a new or distinctive period. When

Fleming used the word (and he did often) in relation to representative government in Nova Scotia, it is latter meaning that would seem to be sense of his use of epoch.

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁷. *Circular Letter*, p. 2.

⁵⁸. The relief was executed at the Bristol Municipal School of Art by Ernest F. Fabian. Board's painting hangs in the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. A colour reproduction can be found in Brian Cuthbertson, *John Cabot & The Voyage of the Matthew* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1997), p. 38

⁵⁹. J.A. Chisholm, *Halifax Memorial Tower*, p. 42. For other description of events on that 14 August 1912, see

⁶⁰. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50

⁶¹. *Ibid.*, p. 52-53.

⁶². *Ibid.*, p. 54

⁶³. Chisholm also printed in an appendix poems by J.T. Burgess, entitled "A Pledge to Our Kin of Old"; by Lucy Creighton, "The Memorial Tower"; and by Blanche Bishop, "Memorial Tower". Bishop's poem was later published her *Acadia Chap-Book I Poems* (1929).

⁶⁴. Heather Watts, *Beyond the North West Arm: A Local History of Williams' Lake* (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1994), pp. 2-4. I am indebted to her history and his assistance for what follows.

⁶⁵. John W. Regan, *Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm* (1908), p. 97.

⁶⁶. Dr. Cyril Byrne, chair of Irish Studies, St. Mary's University, to Brian Cuthbertson, e-mail 3 October 2002.

⁶⁷. A Monument to Halifax's Early Settlers, *Spryfield News*, 8 September 1974.

⁶⁸. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (1971), vol. I, p. 731 under "Dingle".

⁶⁹. RG5, Series P, vol. 120, no. 36, 27 February 1823.

⁷⁰. Ledger of Charles Hill, MG3, vol. 164, p. 71, NSARM.

⁷¹. *Acadian Recorder*, 9 November 1822.

⁷². RG5, Series P, vol. 120, no. 36, 27 February 1823, NSARM.

⁷³. *Morning Chronicle*, 14 April 1908. See also *Letter to His Honour the Lieut-Governor: Nova Scotia and the Empire with other papers*, section III, A North

West Arm Park (Halifax, August 19th, 1908), p. 16.

⁷⁴. *The Halifax Herald*, 15 April 1908. The article was entitled "Sir Sandford Fleming's Regal Gift to the People of Halifax City: The Beauty Spot of the North West Arm is an Inheritance for Which all Halifax is Grateful. It Means Much to the People of the City, Especially Those of Moderate Means". It referred to Fleming offer of the property and city council's acceptance.

⁷⁵. *Ibid.*

⁷⁶. *The Halifax Herald*, 29 August 1900.

⁷⁷. *Morning Chronicle*, 15 April 1908.

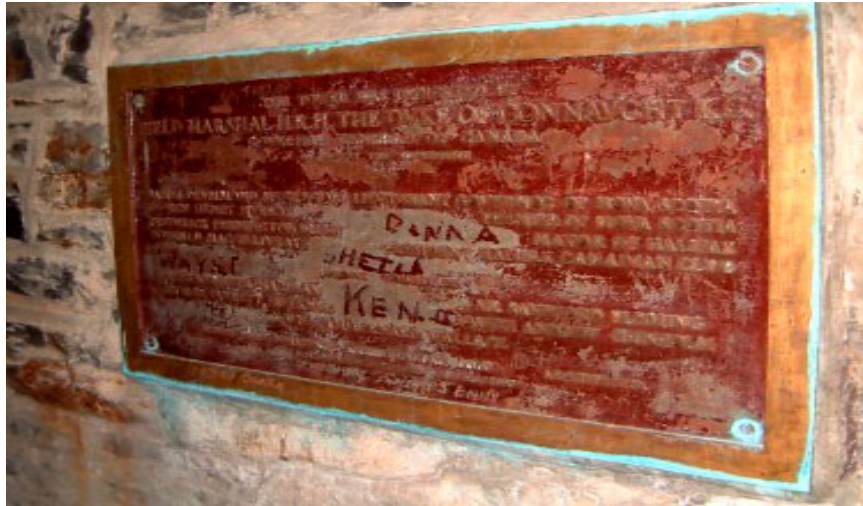
⁷⁸. *The Halifax Herald*, 26 August 1900.

⁷⁹. A typewritten copy of the deed in MG5, St. Augustine's Chapel, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Halifax. Information on the chapel is also available in the archives of the Mainland South Heritage Society.

⁸⁰. The full deed is reproduced in J.A. Chisholm, *The Halifax Memorial Tower*, As Appendix A, pp. 55-58.

⁸¹. Maud Rosinski, *Architects of Nova Scotia: A Biographical Dictionary 1605-1950* (Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs, 1994), p. 236. He died in a tragic car accident in 1943.

J.A. Chisholm in his *The Halifax Memorial Tower* in an appendix provides a list of contributors, which includes those sent tablet or plaques for installation in the interior of the Tower. The City of London, for example, sent a plaque with the arms of the city executed by a celebrated sculptor in stone from a Thames quarry. New Zealand presented its arms painted in heraldic colours on a fine block of native granite. The following photographs provide examples of the plaques that can be found in the Memorial Tower's interior.



Plaque 1. Dedication Plaque by Field Marshall, H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada



Plaque 2. Bronze Reproduction in Relief of Ernest Baord's Picture: The Departure of John and Sebastian Cabot from Bristol on their First Voyage of Discovery, presented by the City of Bristol



Plaque 3. John Cabot Commemorative Bronze Plaque



Plaque 4. Canadian Club Plaque



Plaque 5. New Zealand Plaque



Plaque 6. King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia



Plaque 7. McGill University