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James K. Chapman

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JAMES K. CHAPMAN

# Henry Harvey Stuart (1873 - 1952): New Brunswick Reformer

Printer, reporter, columnist and editor, teacher and preacher, temperance worker, union organizer and socialist missionary, municipal and provincial politician, police magistrate and justice of the peace — Henry Harvey Stuart was all of these. His multifarious activities were dominated, however, by a single theme — the regeneration of society through education and social reform — and his union and political activities, which provide the focus of this paper, establish his claim to be considered New Brunswick's leading reformer for the first half of the twentieth century. Of course, New Brunswick has had a conservative reputation and has usually given short-shrift to would-be reformers. Yet Stuart's activities reveal that this province too shared in the collectivist responses to industrialization and unbridled capitalism which appeared in Great Britain and North America in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Stuart's early and vigorous espousals of socialism and the social gospel place him in the vanguard of individuals promoting such movements both in New Brunswick and in Canada as a whole. In his own province he shared the leadership of the single tax movement with Frank L. Potts of Saint John and played a prominent role in the growth of trade unionism and labor politics. Although it is not yet possible to assess definitively Stuart's influence in and upon each of these movements — no one has yet attempted their New Brunswick histories — an examination of his career provides a useful window from which to view them.

Henry Harvey Stuart was born 9 August 1873, in the parish of Northfield near North Minto, New Brunswick, the son of John Palmer Stuart of Canning, New Brunswick, and his first wife Margaret Craig of Harvey.<sup>1</sup> John Palmer Stuart was a school teacher, a minor poet, and a cousin of William Lloyd Garrison the abolitionist. He early instructed his son in natural history, English and Classical literature, and British, Canadian, American and world

1 Information respecting Stuart's ancestry and his early life are derived from a brief autobiographical sketch, found in the Stuart papers. These papers, lent to me by his sons Dr. Edwin Stuart and the late Professor Allan Palmer Stuart, consist of newspaper clippings, pamphlets, a few letters, long-hand minutes of meetings and miscellaneous items. They will be lodged in the Archives of the University of New Brunswick. In writing this paper, I have also had some resort to my own recollections of Stuart whom I knew as his pupil and later both socially and as a comrade in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in the late forties.

history. Stuart's wife died in 1875 and he was forced to board his son with the Albrights of Newcastle Stream (Creek), a Baptist family, where the literature consisted of the *Bible*, a Bible dictionary, *Gospel Temperance Magazines* from Britain, one or more of the Irish school books full of sacred history, poetry and philosophy, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Holy War*, and *Visions of Heaven and Hell*. All of these young Henry had read and studied by the time he was eight when his father married again, another Margaret Craig, his first wife's cousin. In 1887 the family moved from Red Rock, where they had lived since 1881, to Fredericton, but financial stringency prevented Henry Harvey, now fourteen, from attending high school. The following year he began an apprenticeship in *The Capital* printing office at \$1.25 a week for a ten hour day. He worked as a printer in various Fredericton printing shops until 1893 when he wrote Normal School entrance examinations and stood second in the province despite having been head of the family since his father's death two years before. He had, however, kept up his studies with Normal School in mind. Not only had his father and grandfather Stuart been teachers but a large number of his relatives.

While at Normal School Stuart edited the school paper, the *Normal Light*. He graduated with a second class license in June 1894, was re-examined successfully in the following year for a first class license and in 1896 for a superior license. For a year or two after 1897, and again in 1912, he studied law in his spare time. He had some success in the Law Examinations, but nevertheless dropped the subject. Apart from short courses in agriculture, physical education and manual training, for the purpose of qualifying for various supplementary teaching duties, this completed Stuart's "formal" education. But he read widely. He knew much history, literature, philosophy, theology and a good deal of law. He had direct knowledge of poverty and five years' experience at a skilled though badly paid trade. He had, moreover, energy, tenacity and zeal. In brief, he was amply qualified for the extraordinarily mixed career which he was to follow.

Stuart began his teaching career in 1894 with a term at Red Rock. During the next six years he taught at Benton, Carleton County, McAdam Junction, York County, Welshpool in Campobello, Fredericton Junction, Canterbury, and Port Elgin. This rapid transition from school to school was primarily due to desire to better his income. It was certainly not a reflection on his abilities as a teacher. He was dismissed on one occasion although not for lack of ability. In an article entitled "Socialism in Eastern Canada", written for the *Weekly People* (New York), 24 February 1906, Stuart noted that he had been dismissed from his position at Fredericton Junction in 1889 for "circulating the *Weekly People*, placing socialist books in the Sunday School Library, and talking socialism in public places."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1901

he became the principal of the superior school at Hopewell Hill, Albert County. He remained there until 1904, and then he moved to Harcourt, Kent County until 1906.<sup>3</sup> From the beginning he played a prominent role in the Teachers' Institute in whichever county he found himself. He spoke often, defining the teacher's role in the school and community, arguing the importance of history and geography, explaining how those subjects should be taught, demanding that pupils should have more optional subjects and that their education should bear a greater relationship to the occupational requirements of their communities. Above all, he insisted that there should be much greater equality of opportunity in education and that pupils should not be penalized because they happened to live in a poverty stricken community.<sup>4</sup> He was one of the earliest advocates of Parent-Teachers Associations. He later founded branches in Sunny Brae in 1921 and Petitcodiac in 1923 and they were the first in the province apart from those at St. Stephen and Milltown, which had been established some years earlier probably because those towns were more open to the influence of the United States where the Parent-Teachers movement was widespread.<sup>5</sup>

On Sunday Stuart taught Sunday School and preached, usually for the Methodist Church, of which, in 1900, he had become a licensed lay preacher, but sometimes in Presbyterian or Baptist churches. After church union took place in 1925 he was licensed by the United Church of Canada. In each community in which he served he attempted, usually successfully, to establish or to revive a local temperance society and served as its secretary. Only passing reference will be made in this article to Stuart's activities on behalf of the temperance movement. Yet his life-long commitment to it should be noted. His primary affiliation was with the Sons of Temperance of which he ultimately became Grand Scribe, but he had relationships with other groups from time to time. He was a total abstinence advocate, a prohibitionist who saw drink as both a moral and a social crime. He thus combined the earlier evangelical attitude to alcohol with that of the emerging social gospel movement. He early took the position, which he continued to maintain, that the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages should be undertaken by government at cost; with the profit motive thus removed only such amounts would be manufactured and sold as were required for medicinal and sacramental

3 For details of Stuart's teaching career, see the "Affadavit for Teacher's Pension", Stuart Papers.

4 See papers entitled, "History of the Public Schools", read before Carleton County Teachers' Institute, 19 December 1895, *The Carleton Sentinel*, 11 January 1896; "Some Ways of Improving Our School System", read before Northumberland County Teachers' Institute, December 1910; and Report of Resolutions Committee of the Northumberland County Teachers' Institute, 1910. Copies of all three are in the Stuart Papers.

5 See *Moncton Daily Times*, 1 October 1921 and account of meeting of Provincial Teachers Institute, June 1923, clipping, Stuart Papers.

purposes. Of this naive view he succeeded in convincing few beyond those with whom he had close connections in the Methodist Church.

Stuart's radical political philosophy evolved slowly and stemmed in large part from his religious training. He had been raised in Christian households and his earliest reading had been biblical. His father had been Congregationalist, the Albrights, Baptist, and his stepmother, Presbyterian. Although Stuart forsook his original Presbyterianism because of its emphasis upon predestinarianism and chose to follow the Arminian or Free Will Methodist line, he was open-minded concerning sectarian differences. His early reading of Bunyan's works, with their strictures on the sins of the flesh and spirit and emphasis upon honest toil and egalitarianism remained with him. He accepted the Sermon on the Mount as a prescription for life and was ultimately to preach that socialism was the Sermon on the Mount in practice.

What prompted Stuart's personal leap forward into what was, in the middle nineties, extreme radicalism? Was it a response to that amorphous evangelical movement known as the social gospel which, according to Richard Allen, began to grow in Canada during the last decade of the century?<sup>6</sup> In the nineties the social gospel was still in its infancy and had not yet matured as a movement. Apart from the presbyteries or conferences of the churches themselves, no organization existed to carry the message of social reform to hinterlands such as New Brunswick. In none of Stuart's writings does he acknowledge the influence of the external proponents of the new theology upon his adoption of a philosophy of radical reform. Yet he voiced the genuine language of the radical wing of the social gospel. As early as 1902 Stuart showed some impatience at the reluctance of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada to come to grips with the injustices of the capitalist system. In commenting to the editor of the Saint John *Globe* on the proceedings of the last General Conference, he noted that while "the representatives of the church are aware of the unequal and unjust industrial conditions that prevail . . . it does not appear that their idea of the proper remedy, was as clear . . . . Evidently the Conference was not altogether ready for the abolition of the wage system and the substitution for it of a co-operative system under which all property used by the public will be owned and operated by the public . . . . The church . . . is not yet prepared to advocate this, the only true solution of the social and industrial problem, but it is travelling rapidly in the right direction."<sup>7</sup> It is probably accurate to say that Stuart's Christianity led him to socialism and socialism to the social gospel, and that his "social passion" was as original, early and radical as that of his better known Canadian contemporaries, Bland, Ivens, Irvine and Woods-worth.

6 See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28* (Toronto, 1971), ch. I.

7 Saint John *Globe*, 21 October 1902.

The second major influence on the development of Stuart's political philosophy was Martin Butler with whom he developed a close friendship and association which lasted until Butler's death in 1915.<sup>8</sup> A native New Brunswicker of Loyalist descent, Butler was born in Kings County in 1858. He lived in various southern provincial villages until 1871, had almost no formal education, but somehow managed to learn to read and write. During his youth he read mainly poetry — Longfellow, Whittier, Moore — and at the age of fifteen became a regular correspondent for the Calais (Maine) *Times*. He also contributed to the *Journal* of St. Stephen, to the *Saint Croix Courier*, and to other papers in New Brunswick and Maine. In 1876 he lost an arm in a factory accident in Maine where he had gone five years earlier. Afterwards he became a peddler and poet, travelling from place to place in south-eastern Maine and south-western New Brunswick. In 1889 he published the first of two volumes of poetry. Establishing himself in Fredericton, he published the first issue of *Butler's Journal* on 26 July 1890. He produced and distributed the monthly entirely himself and it quickly achieved a circulation of one thousand. Although it fluctuated in size from four to sixteen pages and its circulation sometimes dropped to five hundred, it was to appear regularly until 1915.<sup>9</sup>

Butler, a Roman Catholic, was a simple, direct and friendly man, who bore his physical handicap and life-long poverty, if not without complaint, with little bitterness. His philosophy derived from personal experience and from conversations during his years as a peddler with the farmers and working men whose honest toil he admired and with whose problems he was familiar. He abhorred all aristocracy, all privilege, and all exploitation whether by states or capitalists. His editorials contained the foundations of a radical, if vague, reform program which proved attractive to young Stuart, then an underpaid printer.

Butler and Stuart became friends sometime between 1890 and 1892. They were kindred spirits. Coming from similar backgrounds, sharing poverty, a love for poetry and a dissatisfaction with "the system", it was inevitable in a small town such as Fredericton that they should be drawn together. There can be little doubt that Butler, fifteen years the elder, experienced, more widely travelled, and with strongly held and expressed ideas on the state of society, considerably influenced Stuart. Certainly, the themes of some of Stuart's early writings, indicate that he accepted some of Butler's attitudes and opinions. For example, the anti-imperialism which is evident in his poems on *Cuba* and *Paul Krueger*.<sup>10</sup> But, if at first Butler influenced Stuart, no more

8 For details of Butler's life see G. H. Allaby, "New Brunswick Prophets of Radicalism 1890-1914" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1972), ch. I.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

10 *Cuba* was published in *Butler's Journal*, September 1895 and the pro-Boer poem *Paul Krueger* in the *Hillsborough Gazette*, 24 April 1896.

than three or four years passed before Stuart began to have an impact upon Butler. Gerald Allaby has suggested that Stuart began to influence Butler's editorial policy as early as 1893 and 1894 when the emphasis shifted from "Canadian independence" to social and economic reform. Certainly by 1895, when Butler published a declaration entitled "What We Should Try to Bring About", which Stuart had written and which verged upon socialism, it is clear that the latter's wider reading, greater sophistication, and broader grasp of the complexities of society had triumphed over Butler's homely country journalism and grass roots populism.<sup>11</sup>

Stuart's progress to socialism took place without his being altogether aware of it. Not until 1897, when a stray copy of *An Appeal to Reason*, a socialist paper published in Girard, Kansas, fell into Stuart's hands, did he realize that he was a socialist.<sup>12</sup> He then adopted not only the name but the fundamental premise of socialism: public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. He came to regard the socialist cause as his primary concern. For the rest of his life he taught it in schools and Sunday schools, sometimes cautiously, sometimes not, preached it in church, explained it from public platforms on every conceivable occasion, wrote articles for Canadian and American papers defining it and showing its progress throughout the world. He drew inspiration from the reform and socialist papers to which he subscribed: *An Appeal to Reason*, *Citizen and Country* (published in Toronto, it later became *The Canadian Socialist* of Vancouver), *The Nebraska Independent*, *The Maine Socialist* of Bath, *The Voice* of Winnipeg and *Social Justice* of Toronto. He read with excitement and profit Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Co-operative Commonwealth*, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and *The Single Tax*, and the works of other late nineteenth-century utopian theorists and had the audacity to place copies of some of them in Sunday School libraries.<sup>13</sup>

In 1902 Stuart organized the first socialist party in New Brunswick, the Fredericton Socialist League with himself as president and Martin Butler, whom he converted to the cause, as secretary.<sup>14</sup> It affiliated as Branch No. 67 with the Canadian Socialist League, and in April 1905 as Fredericton

11 Allaby, "Prophets of Radicalism", pp. 31, 33.

12 According to an article, almost certainly based on information supplied by Stuart, in *Toronto Citizen and Country*, 28 June 1901, Stuart Papers.

13 In a letter to *Citizen and Country*, 21 October 1889, signed "A New Brunswick school teacher, who teaches and preaches socialism", Stuart enclosed \$5.20 for cloth bound copies of *Equality*, *Labor Co-partnership*, *Between Caesar and Jesus*, *Red Light*, *Looking Backward*, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, and *Caesar's Column* adding that "The books . . . are for a Sunday school library. I thus hope to spread socialism — which I am cautiously doing in my day school". Stuart Papers.

14 *The Canadian Socialist* (Vancouver), 16 August 1902.

Local No. 1 of the Socialist Party of Canada.<sup>15</sup> The identities of the members of the Fredericton Socialist League are not known and probably they never numbered more than twenty. Among them were several clergymen, who, like Stuart, saw socialism as applied Christianity.<sup>16</sup> In 1909 Stuart founded another small socialist group in Newcastle. It appears that at least four other branches existed in the province before the War. The branches at McAdam, Albert, Newcastle and Saint John were New Brunswick Locals 2, 3, 4, and 6 respectively, but no record of Local 5 has been found.<sup>17</sup> These, together with the Saint John Fabian Society, organized in 1901 by W. F. Hatheway and R. E. Codner, provided conservative New Brunswick with a small though vocal radical faction which helped to provide the impetus for later reform movements.<sup>18</sup>

Although Stuart looked with confidence to the ultimate triumph of socialism he knew that its victory could not be achieved easily or quickly. He believed that the working classes could be brought to socialism through education and through unionism for political, rather than industrial, action. Stuart looked to his own profession as the advanced guard and agency of the socialist revolution; but first teachers must be unionized. A union would not only bring about an increase in salaries and an improvement in the profession and its status, but would afford the teacher protection in teaching the truth as he saw it. In 1901, discussing and supporting a paper read by Edward A. Coleman on "Teachers' Unions and Salaries", Stuart declared:

Union is the order of the day in all civilized countries. The competitive system is fast breaking down. The greater capitalists have ceased to compete and have formed gigantic trusts. The trusts are fast becoming international. Labour unions are also overlapping national frontiers. Teachers should unite (1) for their individual benefit, (2) for the good of their fellows, and (3) with the ultimate view of bringing all unions and all labourers skilled and unskilled into the great International union to which more than seven million men of various nations already adhere.<sup>19</sup>

15 The Charter is in the Stuart Papers.

16 In a brief unsigned article published in the *Saint John Globe*, November 1903, Stuart Papers, Stuart mentions that several clergy "are active socialist workers."

17 Clippings from *Eastern Labor News*, 7 January 1911 and *Moncton Free Speech*, undated probably late 1908 and early 1909, Stuart Papers. The former report calls Stuart "the Maritime Organizer of the Socialist Party of Canada."

18 The Fabian Society evidently ceased to meet after late 1905, according to an article by Stuart entitled "Socialism in Eastern Canada", published in the *New York Weekly People*, 24 February 1906.

19 *The Daily Telegraph* (Saint John), 29 September 1902.



Whether any members of the Institute shared Stuart's ultimate aims is highly doubtful, but most were convinced that a union was desirable and passed by a majority of 39 to one, nine abstaining, a motion establishing a committee of five — including Stuart — to take steps to form a union.<sup>20</sup>

The case for one was strong, especially in rural districts where salary levels lagged appreciably behind those in the towns. Salaries were derived from two principal sources: the provincial government grant, which the Treasury paid directly to the teacher, and the local school board which received from the county fund a grant for every qualified teacher in the school and for the average number of pupils. Further sums for teachers' salaries might be raised by local boards imposing a poll tax and taxes on real and personal property. The Schools' Act did not require school boards to raise amounts for salaries additional to those provided by the province and county; many boards therefore eschewed poll and real and personal property taxes. Some managed to hire teachers for the government grant alone and were thus enabled to use the county fund for other school purposes. In such cases the school cost the district nothing or was even, perhaps, a revenue producer.<sup>21</sup>

During the twenty years before 1902 the average income (including the government grant) for first class male teachers rose from \$508.00 to \$510.00 and declined for second and third class from \$315.00 and \$225.00 to \$286.00 and \$220.00 respectively. For females the changes were \$338.00 to \$315.00 for first class, \$230.00 to \$232.00 for second, and \$185.00 to \$180.00 for third.<sup>22</sup> During the same period the cost of living increased appreciably. In most rural districts, which comprised the majority of the province's school districts, a teacher's pay was less than that of a clerk in a store. Teachers compounded their difficulties by underbidding each other for jobs in desirable locations.<sup>23</sup> Even then many teachers had trouble collecting what their school boards owed them. Consequently the profession suffered both a rapid turnover and a chronic shortage as teachers accepted other better paying jobs, or left New

20 *Ibid.* The other members of the committee were Edward A. Coleman of Fredericton Junction then teaching at Surrey, Albert County; W. M. Burns, a native of Westmorland County, principal at the school at Hillsborough and later principal of the Model School in Fredericton; and two female teachers, Marion Atkinson and Mary Smith. The work of forming the Union was done by Stuart, Coleman and Burns; the two women did not attend the committee meeting. Stuart to Josephine Lyman, editor of *Forum*, Fredericton, 25 March 1951, Stuart Papers.

21 This paragraph is based on Eric Duncan MacKenzie's "The Historical Development of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association 1902-1954" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1971).

22 See the paper entitled "Teachers' Salaries" by R. Ernest Estabrooks read before the meeting of the Provincial Teachers' Institute at Chatham, 2 June 1906. The manuscript is in the Stuart Papers.

23 MacKenzie, "The New Brunswick Teachers' Association", pp. 17, 30.

Brunswick to teach elsewhere, or as with many females, who made up the majority of teachers, married soon after entering the profession. Although the Department of Education for many years issued local licenses to unqualified persons it failed to make good the shortage. As late as 1906 school-houses in about one quarter of the districts were untenanted and many children were growing up without an opportunity for the most elementary education. Because neither the provincial government nor the voting public showed any desire to devote more money to education, the solution to the interlocking problems of low salaries and a shortage of teachers devolved upon the teachers themselves. The fact that conditions for both teachers and pupils were worse in rural than in urban districts may explain why the efforts in 1898 and 1899 of H. H. Hagerman of Fredericton to form a teachers' union failed, and why the teachers of rural Albert County in November, 1902, succeeded.<sup>24</sup>

The Albert County Teachers' Union elected W. M. Burns as president, and H. H. Stuart, secretary-treasurer. It contained eighty percent of the teachers in the county. At a meeting of the Institute at Surrey, Albert County, in June 1903, the Union changed its name to the New Brunswick Teachers' Union, "for mutual benefit and the furtherance of education". The members pledged themselves not to underbid any other teacher in salary and not to accept a salary lower than provided for in the following scale: Males, first class \$275.00, second class \$200.00; Females, first class \$150.00, second class \$130.00. During the next few months the executive sent circular letters containing application forms to teachers throughout the province and found the response encouraging. By mid-summer the union included every teacher in Albert County, many in Sunbury, and some in York, Westmorland, Kings, Queens, and St. John counties. In December, 1903, delegates from the counties met with the executive in Moncton, changed the name of the organization to The New Brunswick Teachers' Association, adopted a constitution, and passed a resolution opposing the granting of local licences. By June, 1904 the N.B.T.A. had enrolled five hundred teachers, or more than a quarter of all teachers in New Brunswick, and had representation from all but Charlotte, Restigouche, Madawaska and Gloucester counties.<sup>25</sup>

During the first five years of its existence the N.B.T.A. won increased salaries, larger government grants, and a commitment from the government, honored in 1910, to bring in a pension plan.<sup>26</sup> It did not abolish underbidding,

24 See *ibid.*, p. 24.

25 As Stuart was secretary-treasurer of the union under its various names from 1902 until 1908, the Stuart Papers contain the original longhand minutes, printed copies of the constitution, and circular letters sent by the executive, as well as many newspaper clippings on the subject.

26 MacKenzie, "The New Brunswick Teachers' Association," pp. 29-34.

although the practice diminished, and it did not secure the abolition of local and third class licenses. Throughout these years the burden of organization, publicity and correspondence fell on H. H. Stuart, who continued as secretary-treasurer until 1908. Until 1907 the N.B.T.A. remained strong, but declined rapidly thereafter. In January, 1908, its membership fell to 172 and for the next ten years the organization remained inactive, although a few of its local associations continued to function. Stuart himself ascribed the decline of the N.B.T.A. to the fact that a majority of its members became imbued with the idea that they had accomplished so much that they could rest from their labors.<sup>27</sup> He failed to acknowledge the importance to the union of his own presence. Within a year of his leaving the N.B.T.A. only one teacher in Albert County, the place of its birth, remained a member of the Union.

From 1910 until 1919, after temporarily leaving the teaching profession, Stuart returned to be the successful principal of the Douglastown Superior School. He took a prominent part in the Northumberland County Teachers' Institute of which he was secretary-treasurer. At its annual sessions he argued for the teaching of civics, recommended that manual training be made compulsory for boys and domestic science for girls, proposed elimination of local and third class licenses, that all schools be made graded schools, that consolidation of schools be made mandatory wherever possible, that special provision be made for backward pupils, and that the Factory Act, which allowed children "whose labor is necessary for the support of their parents or guardians" exemption from the Compulsory Education Act, be amended so that poor children not "be condemned to ignorance". He also asked that the teacher's position be made permanent, that houses be provided for teachers, that a more enlightened and equitable pension scheme be established, and that teachers revive their union in order to make their influence felt and bring about the reforms he had in mind.<sup>28</sup> On one occasion Inspector Mersereau in commenting on Stuart's proposals found that they "verged strongly on socialism" but that he could "find nothing wrong with them".<sup>29</sup> Partly as a result of Stuart's continuing pressure, the N.B.T.A. was reactivated in 1918 "along somewhat different lines dictated by a longer experience".<sup>30</sup> Before many years it became "the recognized spokesman for teachers in the

27 Editorial, *The Educational Review*, May 1924.

28 "Some Ways of Improving Our School System", read before 33rd annual session, Northumberland County Teachers' Institute, 1910 (*Newcastle Union Advocate*, 11 October 1910); Report of resolutions committee of 35th annual session, 1912 (*The North Shore Leader*, 18 October 1912); "The Teacher and the Reconstruction Period", read before 41st annual session on 10 October 1919 (clipping in Stuart Papers). See also "Manual Training Domestic Science and Civics", an address to the Town Improvement League, 10 February 1916 (*Union Advocate*, 16 February 1916).

29 *Union Advocate*, 11 October 1910.

30 Stuart's editorial, *Educational Review*, May 1924.

province".<sup>31</sup> In 1922 the N.B.T.A. paid tribute to Stuart's contribution to its existence and to education in New Brunswick by naming him as editor of the *Educational Review*, an office he filled with distinction until 1931.

Stuart's decision to abandon teaching from 1906 to 1910 occurred because of an offer to become editor of the Newcastle *Union Advocate*. Why H. B. Anslow, publisher of the newspaper, offered Stuart the position cannot be definitely stated. They had met at least as early as the semi-annual gathering of the Grand Division Sons of Temperance in Newcastle in May, 1905, when Anslow seconded Stuart's motion to set up a standing committee to explore, along with similar committees of other provincial temperance organizations, the possibility of political action. Both men served on the committee.<sup>32</sup> Anslow was a fervent Liberal. Stuart, failing a socialist candidate for whom to vote, supported Liberal candidates, especially if they were temperance men, and had gone so far as to work for a Liberal candidate in the provincial election in Albert County.<sup>33</sup> Stuart had, moreover, excellent qualifications for the editorship. He had intelligence and wide knowledge, experience in the printing trade, in editorial writing for *Butler's Journal*, and in writing reports and articles for various provincial and other papers. He also had three children and the post as editor offered a better salary than teaching.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps he also wished a platform from which he might hope to influence more people than he could as a teacher.

Stuart entered upon his new duties, which included bookkeeping and managing circulation, with customary vigour. With his first editorial, entitled "Socialism in Canada", he served notice that he had not changed his political philosophy for the sake of employment.<sup>35</sup> Having made his point, he pursued a reasonably uncontroversial editorial policy for some months and confined his missionary activities on behalf of the socialist movement to speech making and to writing articles for other papers. Possible out of consideration for his employer he signed the articles "Albany", a variation of the *nom de plume*, "Henri D'Albanie", which he had used occasionally before the turn of the century for articles and letters to editors. During these two and a half years he contributed to "The Brotherhood", the labor column of the Moncton *Daily Times*, to P. D. Ayer's *Eastern Labor News* of Moncton, and to the short-lived *Review and Labor News* of Fairville (Saint John), New Brunswick. These articles attempted to persuade union men that they could hope for

31 MacKenzie, "The New Brunswick Teachers' Association", p. 38.

32 Saint John *Daily Sun*, 18 May 1905.

33 Allaby, "Prophets of Radicalism", p. 62.

34 The contract with Anslow, a copy of which is in the Stuart Papers, gave Stuart a salary of \$650.00 annually. His salary as principal at Harcourt was probably \$550.00 including the government grant.

35 *Union Advocate*, 9 January 1906.

nothing from Liberal or Conservative governments despite such recent legislation as the Industrial Investigation Act, 1907, the so-called Lemieux Act. "The Government is owned body and soul by the big corporations", he wrote, "[and] there is no escape except by the path of independent political action."<sup>36</sup> Nor could labor hope to gain much by striking. "Industrial strikes are an evil — sometimes a necessary evil . . . but always an evil, . . . for a strike is civil war."<sup>37</sup> What was needed was a labor party in power. "The Ballot is in our hand; let us cease using it to perpetuate our slavery and cast it for the party which will bring us political industrial and social freedom".<sup>38</sup> He turned again to his favourite theme, "Socialism and Christianity", in a paper read before the Tenth District United Baptist Quarterly Meeting in March, 1907, stating that: "The Christian ideal is the life of service. So is the Socialist. Under present conditions of universal competition, the Golden Rule cannot be followed . . . Only Socialists can and do love their neighbours as themselves."<sup>39</sup>

During the course of 1907 Stuart also helped organize a branch of the Socialist Party of Canada in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, and lectured on socialism in Sydney. By the closing months of 1907 his editorials in the *Advocate* began to take on a stronger tone, recommending, for example, the abolition of the Senate and election deposits for candidates, and opposing military training for boys in the schools.<sup>40</sup> His articles began to appear regularly in the labor column of the *Moncton Times* and in 1908 he shared equal platform time in Moncton with Kier Hardie during the latter's Maritime tour. He found many opportunities to speak under union auspices and in response to an invitation from the Moncton Trades and Labor Council was the keynote speaker at a Labor Day Parade in 1909, the first held there since 1905. By this time he was being labelled the "Provincial Social Party Leader."<sup>41</sup> He had obviously concluded that the road to socialism in Canada lay through the labor movement and the creation of an Independent Labor Party.

Stuart ceased to be editor of *The Union Advocate* in April or May, 1909. In 1908 Stuart had allowed several issues of *Free Speech*, edited and published by Bruce McDougall of Moncton, to be printed by the *Advocate's* press. Late in that year several prominent Saint John politicians, including Premier Hazen, sued *Free Speech* for criminal libel. Although the case was not heard

36 *Daily Times*, 30 September 1908.

37 *Union Advocate*, 7 October 1908.

38 *Daily Times*, 10 December 1908.

39 *The Maritime Baptist*, 17 April 1907, Stuart Papers.

40 Allaby "Prophets of Radicalism", p. 64. Stuart nevertheless attended the six weeks Royal School of Instruction at Fredericton in the summer of 1910 and qualified for appointment as "Cadet Instructor". See Certificate of Military Instruction, Stuart Papers.

41 See *ibid.*, pp. 65-9.

until September, 1909, when it was decided for the plaintiffs, and although Stuart could claim that the *Advocate's* involvement was merely a business matter, the fact that he had written for *Free Speech* must have proved embarrassing to his own publisher.<sup>42</sup> Yet Stuart's parting with Anslow was evidently amicable. In July, 1909, Anslow offered him a position with the *Campbellton Graphic*, which he also owned, to "solicit subscriptions and jobwork, appoint Agents and Correspondents . . . and work in the office . . . when required." The contract was to remain in force until the end of the year but could be terminated by either party on 25th August.<sup>43</sup> From a financial viewpoint the contract was a good one for Stuart, but he would have had to be absent from home for long periods. Consequently, on 25 August 1909, he signed a contract with the school board to teach the advanced grades at Douglastown for \$350.00 a year plus a government grant of \$175.00.<sup>44</sup> But from time to time he would act as temporary editor of *The Union Advocate* and from 1916 to 1918 was again editor-in-chief, further testimony to his continuing friendship with Anslow.

Although teaching at Douglastown, Stuart continued to live in Newcastle. He spent more of his working life there than in any other community and it was there that four of his children were born. To the town's improvement and welfare he devoted much of his time throughout his dozen years as a citizen. His role as editor of the *Union Advocate* reinforced his natural interest in municipal affairs. As early as October, 1907 he found himself involved in a dispute over whether the town should grant James Beveridge twenty to thirty acres of land with shore rights, free water up to 200,000 gallons a day, water rights on brooks on the property, and exemption for twenty years from increases in property taxes over existing value, in return for building a paper-mill which would employ sixty men. The Board of Trade, of which Anslow was secretary and Stuart a member, and some members of the council wished to accept the proposal. Other prominent men in the community, including some of the largest employers, fearing increased taxes and possibly competition for labour and thus increased wages, opposed it. The question was settled in a general meeting of ratepayers, at which Stuart moved a resolution in favour of assisting Beveridge to the extent of \$5,000, "the town to reserve as stock the whole value of what assistance it renders the enterprise."<sup>45</sup> Although Donald Morrison, a member of the provincial legislature, seconded the resolution, a large majority voted against it. The stand which Stuart took on this issue would characterize his position on similar proposals in the future. Any enterprise asking public assistance of

42 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

43 Stuart's copy of contract, dated 22 July 1909, is in the Stuart Papers.

44 A copy of the contract with the Douglastown School Board is in the Stuart Papers.

45 *North Shore Leader*, 18 October 1907 and *Union Advocate*, 16 October 1907.

whatever level of government should be prepared to give the public stock equivalent to the value of the concessions. "Let us have all the industries we can get", he said. "Let us assist them as far as our finances will permit. But let nothing be given away for nothing."<sup>46</sup> He believed that if such a policy were mandatory and municipalities or provinces prevented from bidding against each other for industries, then industrialists would no longer seek the best deal and would establish their enterprises in the locations which offered the greatest natural advantage.<sup>47</sup> Although opposition to granting bonuses to industry was not new — the Union of New Brunswick municipalities had condemned the practice in 1907 — the idea of the community entering into a joint ownership relationship with private enterprise has a surprisingly modern flavour.

Stuart's belief in the principle of joint ownership helped to lead him directly into municipal politics. His feeling that assessment policy needed revision and that municipal government should be more democratic also led him in that direction. He first sought a council seat in 1908 but his campaign was hasty and ill-prepared. He offered again the following year on a platform which, besides the principle of joint ownership and high taxes on unimproved land, included making all responsible citizens eligible for election to any municipal office, substituting election for appointment of assessors and school trustees, and providing for a sinking fund to reduce the municipal debt.<sup>48</sup> He was not elected in 1909 or 1910 but succeeded in 1911. With the exception of 1914 Stuart held a seat on council until 1919.

Each year during his term he argued that assessments were inefficient and unfair, that taxation bore more heavily on the wage-earner and salaried man than upon others, and that it was unjust and undemocratic to insist that one had to own real estate to be eligible for the mayoralty or aldermanic offices.<sup>49</sup> His proposed reform of the municipal tax system was modelled closely on the single tax on land theory of Henry George which had an impact in various parts of Canada, particularly in British Columbia and Alberta a year or two

46 *North Shore Leader*, 18 October 1907.

47 *Ibid.*, 17 December 1913.

48 See Stuart's election "Cards" for 1909 and 1910, in the Stuart Papers.

49 See Stuart's election "Card", 4 April 1911; his address to Newcastle Town Council, 28 September 1911; his address entitled "Municipal Taxation", delivered at the Sixth Convention of the Union of the N. B. Municipalities, 12 October 1911 and published in *The Canadian Municipal Journal*, Vol. VII, XI (December, 1911); letter to editor, *The North Shore Leader*, 21 February 1913; pamphlet, *Taxation and Ownership of Property*, 18 February 1913; address to the electors of Newcastle, 10 April 1916. Copies of all these are in the Stuart Papers.

before the war when land prices were rising.<sup>50</sup> Like George, Stuart held that land alone should be taxed.

A man's income, if rightfully obtained, is the sum of his earnings and he has the right to the unmolested possession of the full product of his toil. A man's personal property represents his earnings, and, he alone is entitled to its possession and enjoyment. The land on the other hand being necessary to the support of all and not being produced by the labour of any, is rightfully the joint property of all and should therefore be made to pay the taxes of all. For the individual use — not ownership — of land the individual should pay the community whatever the community judges to be right.<sup>51</sup>

Again like Henry George, Stuart held that all improved property should be assessed "for the value put upon it by the owner when he wishes to sell" and that unimproved lands should be taxed "at a special rate so high that their owners would be compelled to put them to immediate use or abandon them to those who would."<sup>52</sup> There would be, he pointed out, at least two benefits to taxing land values only: a diminution in land speculation and simplification of assessing and collecting taxes.<sup>53</sup>

Stuart took his case to the electors of Newcastle, to the general public in speeches and articles, to the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities, and to the Maritime Board of Trade. He joined the Tax Reform League of Eastern Canada, of which he became the New Brunswick corresponding secretary, and the Canadian League for Taxation of Land Values of which W. M. Southam of Ottawa was president and T. A. Crerar of Winnipeg vice-president.<sup>54</sup> In the latter organization, along with P. D. Ayer, A. M. Belding and Frank L. Potts, the Saint John single-taxer, he formed the New Brunswick Committee.<sup>55</sup> But his successes were few and sometimes only temporary. He managed without much difficulty to persuade the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities in its sixth annual convention to accept a resolution calling upon the provincial legislature to give municipalities power to reduce

50 Pamphlet entitled "Municipal Taxation", a discussion by members of the nineteenth annual convention of the Maritime Board of Trade, 20 August 1913, reprinted from the *Union Advocate*, 3 September 1913.

51 H. H. Stuart, "Municipal Taxation", p. 477f.

52 *The Union Advocate*, 16 October 1907.

53 Stuart, "Municipal Taxation", *The Canadian Municipal Journal* (December, 1911), p. 478.

54 See his *New Brunswick Report to the Fourth Annual Convention of the Tax Reform League of Eastern Canada*, published as a pamphlet in 1913 for circulation in the Maritimes, Archives of the University of New Brunswick and Stuart Papers.

55 A copy of the prospectus of this organization, circa 1912, is contained in the Stuart Papers.



or abolish taxes on polls, improvements, personal property and income, and to raise revenues by land taxes with or without poll taxes or business licenses.<sup>56</sup> The Newcastle council accepted his resolution unanimously.<sup>57</sup> These victories proved hollow because the executive never placed the resolution before the legislature and the council reversed its decision the following year. Nor did taxation receive an airing in future conventions of the Union during Stuart's remaining time on the Newcastle Council. In 1913 he carried a motion in the Maritime Board of Trade calling on the provincial legislatures to establish commissions to examine the system of municipal taxation but no provincial government responded. He did persuade the Newcastle council to reduce the poll tax from ten dollars to five in 1913 and to appoint new assessors for a new and fairer assessment, but only one of the three assessors appointed would act and no new assessment took place until 1919.<sup>58</sup>

In council Stuart always spoke and voted against exemption of taxes on land and against fixed valuation at an unrealistically low figure. To strengthen his own hand in his attempts to get the council moving in the right direction he helped to organize the Town Improvement League and the Newcastle and Nelson Parishes Social Service Council and served as secretary-treasurer to the former.<sup>59</sup> But perhaps Stuart's greatest moral victory with respect to taxation occurred in 1914. In June the New Brunswick-Prince Edward Island Methodist Conference met at Chatham under the chairmanship of Dr. S. D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada. The Conference accepted a resolution sponsored by A. C. M. Lawson, a native of Queens County, a teacher, a Methodist layman, and a temperance worker, and Stuart, "urging the adoption of Tax Reform." There were objections raised to having the Conference discuss tax reform and Stuart had to defend the resolution vigorously. He was supported by others who expressed social gospel convictions. The Rev. M. E. Thomas asked: "What was the Church of Christ for if not to seek a solution for such difficulties? Why should it not speak out on this question and on many others, such as municipal ownership, etc.?" And the Rev. George Ross said that Stuart's resolutions brought "new ideas into this Conference . . . [and] . . . sought to cast out the real flies in the ointment of our social life". He felt it "time we began to realize the importance of such things and deal with them at our annual gatherings." Dr. Chown, an ardent though middle of the road social gospeller, added that every economic question had a moral basis and was "fit to be discussed in a religious assembly". In the end the resolution was adopted by a large majority.

56 *Union Advocate*, 18 October 1911.

57 *Eastern Labor News*, 7 October 1911.

58 Allaby, "Prophets of Radicalism", p. 77; *Union Advocate*, 12 April 1916.

59 *Union Advocate*, 24 May 1917 and 17 September 1918. The two groups merged in June 1919.

Interestingly, the Conference also adopted, without a negative vote, another resolution with the same sponsors, committing it "to the fundamental principle of socialism."<sup>60</sup>

With such successes behind him it is not surprising that Stuart gave even more attention to provincial politics. An election was called in New Brunswick for the late winter of 1917, an election which turned on the issue of conscription.<sup>61</sup> Stuart believed that more was and ought to be involved than simply the conscription of manpower. On nomination day in February, 1917, he placed before the eight Northumberland candidates for the provincial legislature the platform of the New Brunswick Federation of Labor, asking them to state their positions on each plank. Probably because Newcastle and district had no strong unions at the time, only five of the candidates attempted answers and only one of those gave a reasonably complete answer.<sup>62</sup> Three months later Stuart addressed the New Brunswick Federation of Labor calling for conscription of wealth as well as of men. He proposed that the Federal Government immediately take over all the means of production, distribution and exchange and warned that industrial union without political action would have little effect.<sup>63</sup> The following year, along with Councillor Thomas Parker of Blissfield Parish, a Methodist who had served as magistrate and county councillor and who for some four years published a newspaper, the *Gem Press*, in Doaktown, he began to form the Northumberland People's Union.

In January, 1918, Parker spoke at Newcastle advocating a union of farmers and other workmen "to stand up and fight for their rights." In April he spoke at Weaver's Siding and early in July organized a public meeting at Doaktown to which he invited Stuart as special speaker. Stuart began by observing that the popular will had long been thwarted and often rendered null and void by the skillful manoeuvres of an interested minority. He chose examples of which his audience of fifty farmers, woodsmen and small lumber operators had long been aware and from which they had suffered: the rape of the Crown Lands as governments failed to prevent cutting of undersized trees by the lessees, or to exact penalties or even to collect full stumpage; violations by the government of its own Act for facilitating the settlement of Crown Lands when it permitted lessees to proceed through orders-in-council to remove all merchantable timber including pulpwood within a year after the

60 *North Shore Leader*, 19 June 1914 and undated clipping (possibly from the *Advocate* the relevant issue of which is missing) in Stuart Papers. The latter is the fuller account.

61 For a detailed account of this election see Charles Ferris, "The New Brunswick Elections of 1917" (unpublished M.A. thesis, U.N.B., 1974).

62 *Union Advocate*, 22 February 1917.

63 Stuart, "Labor and Its Problems", printed address to the N. B. Federation of Labor, 14 May 1917, Stuart Papers and his address to the Newcastle Town Improvement League, 25 September 1917 in the *Union Advocate*, 27 September 1917.

would-be-farmer's grant was approved; the evils connected with assessment procedures under which "the smaller the property or income the nearer to par is the assessed value generally placed, the larger the property or income the farther from par". Finally he pointed out that the big lumber operators had persuaded the government at the last sitting of the legislature to leave woodcutters and stream drivers, who had no unions, uncovered by the Workmen's Compensation Act, whereas lumber-mill workers, with a union in Saint John, were covered by the Act. Why, he asked, all this "over-riding of law and common sense against the interest of the majority?" The obvious answer was "Lack of organization on the part of the common people; lack of legislators representing the common people's interest". What was needed, he concluded, was "thorough union between all the workers of the country. Let us get together, and educate, educate, educate; agitate, agitate, agitate; organize, organize, organize. The trusts and combines have shown us the way."<sup>64</sup>

The meeting resolved to establish a committee to draw up a constitution and bye-laws for a union of the electors of the parishes of Ludlow and Blissfield. Meetings addressed by Stuart, Parker and others followed in other Northumberland County communities during the next few months. Out of them emerged the Northumberland County People's Union. The Government in apparent reaction to the organization of the People's Union extended the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act to log-cutters and stream-drivers.<sup>65</sup> By early July, 1919, the Union claimed more than 170 members and Stuart became its honorary president, an office which he retained after removing to Westmorland County late that summer.<sup>66</sup> The People's Union was to provide the nucleus for and much of the stimulus to the successful campaign of Farmer-Labor candidates in Northumberland County in the provincial election of 1920.

Stuart made one final contribution to life on the Miramichi before leaving the district. Until 1919 no important industrial unions existed in the area. In August of that year waterfront and lumber-mill workers, caught between the high cost of living and at least a tacit agreement on the part of owners and operators to keep wages at the lowest possible level, went on strike despite the lack of a union to support them. Stuart, who for some years had represented the interests of Northumberland County workers in the New Brunswick Federation of Labor, persuaded the men to call in J. E. Tighe of Saint John,

64 See *Union Advocate*, 18 April and 9 July 1918.

65 In a speech to a mass meeting of working men in Newcastle, 26 March 1921, Stuart noted that "very soon after" the organization of the People's Union "the Government had brought log-cutters and drivers under the Workmen's Compensation Act". Clipping in Stuart Papers, probably from the *Advocate or Leader*.

66 Report of meeting of Northumberland County People's Union of 2 July 1919, Moncton *Daily Times*, 5 July 1919.

international vice-president of the Longshoremen's Association. A meeting took place on August 21 between Tighe, Stuart and J. S. Martin of Chatham, representing labour and a dozen and a half of the owners and operators, and agreement was reached giving the men recognition of their union and increased wages of about ten per cent for the remainder of the year. A mass meeting of workers followed that evening and the agreement was ratified, albeit with the reluctant consent of some who thought the increase insufficient. A decision was also taken to organize under the International Longshoremen's Association. Stuart advised the men that, since the agreement was to be effective only until the end of the year, they should accept the wage schedule offered. They had won the important point: recognition as a union. By late September the Miramichi branch of the Longshoremen's Union had 1,600 members of whom some 500 turned out to hear Stuart, Tighe, and others speak in the Opera House on the 28th. On that occasion Stuart urged political union in addition to economic union; only thus, he said, could workers control prices as well as wages. Whenever possible all elected legislators, municipal, provincial, or federal, should be labor representatives. In this movement Northumberland County should lead the way.<sup>67</sup>

Ironically in April, 1919, Stuart had lost his seat on the Newcastle Town Council, finishing at the bottom of the poll and had decided to seek new pastures. He accepted the principalship of the school at Sunny Brae, Westmorland County, probably because it offered a better salary than he was receiving at Douglastown, for he now had a family, four sons and two daughters, to support.<sup>68</sup> During the four years he was to spend in this Moncton suburb he played an important role in the deliberations of the New Brunswick Federation of Labor in which, at first, he continued to represent Northumberland County as a delegate of the Waterfront Workers of Miramichi and as district vice-president. Later he served the Westmorland County men as district vice-president. In the summer and early autumn of 1920 he strove to field a slate of Farmer-Labor candidates in Westmorland County for the October provincial election. During and after the election, he worked to found the Westmorland and the Northumberland Independent Labor Parties, to organize a provincial I.L.P., and to create a bond between the United Farmers and Labor.

Political action by farmers and union men in New Brunswick in the immediate post-war period was undoubtedly stimulated by similar activities in other parts of Canada; but it had local roots as well. The number of local unions had almost doubled in the Maritime Provinces during the first two decades of the twentieth century and the last year of the war had seen the

67 See *Union Advocate*, 12, 19, 26 August and 30 September 1919 and *North Shore Leader*, 3 October 1919.

68 A. S. McFarlane, secretary of the N.B.T.A., wrote to Stuart, 28 April 1919, saying "If you wish, I shall schedule Sunny Brae at \$1150." Stuart Papers.

founding of the United Farmers of New Brunswick, followed shortly by the establishment of the United Farmers of New Brunswick's co-operative firm, Maritime United Farmers Ltd.<sup>69</sup> Thus economic organizations existed in New Brunswick through which labor and farmers could respond to the stimulus to political action imparted by such activities further west and the dislocation which followed the war. In 1919, the year of the United Farmers of Ontario's triumph at the polls, T. W. Caldwell, president of the United Farmers of New Brunswick, won the federal by-election in Victoria-Carleton by a large majority, and in 1920 the *United Farmers' Guide* began publication in Moncton.<sup>70</sup> The founding of the farmers' movement in the Maritimes may well have been, as Wood has suggested, attributable to "rural depression and depopulation", but New Brunswick had long suffered from rural depopulation.<sup>71</sup> The United Farmers of New Brunswick had been well established before the on-set of the post-war agricultural depression in the summer of 1920, although undoubtedly the latter event stimulated them to greater participation in the provincial campaign in the autumn of 1920.<sup>72</sup> Food prices fell, but the cost of living remained high in relation to incomes and unemployment grew, particularly in the manufacturing and transportation fields. As both major divisions of the working class began to suffer, Stuart, who had long believed that farmers and labor had identical interests and should unite for political purposes, judged the time ripe to bring about such a union.

Although Stuart was trusted by the unions for his work on their behalf and was widely known among the farmers in the eastern counties on account of his teaching, preaching and temperance activities, his task was formidable. Farmers and labor regarded each other with distrust. The farmer tended to consider trade unions at least partly responsible for the high cost of things he had to buy, while the union man considered farmers as capitalists and as partial authors of high food prices. Stuart began his campaign in March, 1920, at the annual convention of the New Brunswick Federation of Labor, but had no success with his motion that the Federation endorse farmers' organizations

69 H. A. Logan, *Trade Unions in Canada* (Toronto, 1948), p. 78; W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), p. 102; L. A. Wood, *Farmers' Movements in Canada* (Toronto, 1924), p. 304.

70 It was soon driven by high printing costs to Gardenvale, Quebec. See *Educational Review*, June 1928.

71 Wood, *Farmers' Movements*, p. 301; R. Ernest Estabrooks noted in a paper entitled "Teachers' Salaries", read before the Provincial Teachers' Institute, 29 June 1906 (Stuart Papers), that "our farmers are leaving the fields their fathers tilled and are thronging the cities and towns". M. C. Urquhart and K. A. H. Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Cambridge-MacMillan, 1975), p. 21, indicate that migration per thousand native population of New Brunswick was minus 11 in the year 1881-91, minus 8 from 1891-1901, and minus 26 from 1901-11.

72 Anthony MacKenzie, "The Rise and Fall of the Farmer-Labor Party in Nova Scotia" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1969), p. 10.

and invite their co-operation with labor. The Federation preferred to act separately and called upon its executive to arrange a labor convention to organize an Independent Labor Party, but took no action to this end before the general provincial election of October 9.<sup>73</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1920 the pre-war Moncton Independent Labor Party underwent a revival. While living in Newcastle Stuart had helped to spark the rise of a radical element within unionized labor. Upon the basis which he had laid, P. D. Ayer, publisher of the *Eastern Labor News*, and J. C. Merrill, its editor, succeeded in 1911 in creating the Moncton Independent Labor Party.<sup>74</sup> Although as times improved after 1909 labor radicalism declined in favour of industrial action and the *Eastern Labor News* collapsed in 1914 through lack of union support, the Moncton I.L.P. continued to exist and after the War in alliance with the United Farmers enjoyed a brief success in Westmorland county. On the 23 September the party adopted a democratic socialist platform.<sup>75</sup> A few days later, on Stuart's motion, the name of the party was changed to the Westmorland County Independent Labor Party.<sup>76</sup> In the interval the United Farmers and Laborites had allied themselves in Westmorland County and the City of Moncton.<sup>77</sup> In Moncton their candidate was Laborite T. Clifford Ayer and in the county three United Farmers, A. C. Fawcett, Mathias Arseneau and Frank Riley, and H. H. Stuart for Labor. A day or two later the school board vetoed Stuart's candidacy.<sup>78</sup> The veteran Moncton Labor man P. D. Ayer replaced him, but his employer also forced him to withdraw. Finally, a few days before the election, J. A. Robinson, recording secretary for the I.L.P., became the Labor candidate on the county ticket.

Although Stuart had been compelled to withdraw his candidature he did not withdraw from the campaign and addressed meetings throughout the county, stressing the common interests of farmers and labor and the advantages of public ownership. Some of the meetings generated large audiences and despite having had candidates in the field for less than two weeks the Farmer-Labor ticket showed surprising strength.<sup>79</sup> A. C. Fawcett, a former Liberal, a dealer in farm produce, and a director of the Maritime United Farmers Ltd., of Sackville won election and became the United Farmer house

73 Fredericton *Daily Gleaner*, 10 March 1920.

74 Allaby, "Prophets of Radicalism", p. 67.

75 A printed copy of the platform is in the Stuart Papers.

76 Moncton *Daily Times*, 2 October 1920.

77 Clipping in Stuart Papers date-lined Moncton, 28 September 1920, probably from *Daily Times* but issue missing from file. The City of Moncton had become a separate constituency in 1909.

78 Moncton *Daily Times*, 30 September 1920.

79 See unidentified clipping, headed "Campaign Notes", dated by Stuart 6 October 1920, Stuart Papers.

leader and J. A. Robinson fell only a few votes short of election receiving 4445 votes, only 200 less than the lowest winner.<sup>80</sup> It is fair to assume that had Stuart, who was more widely known in the county than Robinson, continued as candidate he might well have been elected and the New Brunswick legislature would have had its first and only outright socialist member.<sup>81</sup> Certainly the house would have felt his presence. For Stuart such an opportunity was never to recur.

In the province the election resulted in the return of the Foster government with exactly half of the forty-eight seats. The Conservatives elected eleven, the United Farmers 9, Labor 2, Farmer-Labor 1 and there was one Independent who supported the government.<sup>82</sup> Both Labor M.L.A.'s came from Northumberland County, the only county besides Westmorland where the United Farmers and Labor had joined forces. In Northumberland, which did not have an I.L.P. until 1921, Labor had entered into official alliance with the United Farmers shortly before the October 1920 election and the Farmer-Labor ticket swept the board defeating all the government candidates including a cabinet minister.

After the election Stuart continued to foster the growth of the I.L.P. in other provincial centers and a province-wide alliance of United Farmers and Labor. In March, 1921, he helped to establish the Northumberland County I.L.P. which adopted the same platform as the Westmorland party.<sup>83</sup> He urged the Fredericton Trades and Labor Council, of which he had been an early member, to form a branch of the I.L.P. and to co-operate with the Farmers.<sup>84</sup> He developed a plan for a Farmer-Labor alliance under which both groups would field an equal number of candidates in provincial elections.<sup>85</sup> Late in 1920 and early in 1921 there appeared to be some hope that Farmers

80 Stuart, "Farmer and Labor Drawing Near", *The Union Worker* (Saint John), January 1921, Stuart Papers.

81 The two Labor candidates elected in Northumberland County, J. W. Vanderbeck and John S. Martin, the latter having acted with Stuart during the 1919 Newcastle strike, were good union men but probably not socialists. Although the *Canadian Annual Review* for 1920 lists Charles J. Morrissey with Martin as Independent Labor and Vanderbeck with F. A. Fowlie as Independent Liberal, I believe this to be an error. Morrissey was later (1926) elected as a Federal Liberal for Northumberland.

82 Stuart, "A Farmer-Labor Alliance for N.B.", *The Union Worker* (Saint John), December 1920, Stuart Papers. There is a discrepancy between Stuart's figures and the results quoted by the *Canadian Annual Review* for 1920 (p. 717) which gave the Conservatives 14 seats, United Farmers 6, Ind. Labor 2 and Ind. Liberal 2.

83 An unidentified clipping headed "New Political Party for Northumberland" and dated by Stuart March 1921, Stuart Papers, gives an account of the organizational meeting of 26 March.

84 See Fredericton *Daily Mail*, 4 August 1921.

85 Moncton *Daily Times*, 10 November 1920; Fredericton *Daily Mail*, 4 August 1921.

and Labor might continue to co-operate for political purposes. A joint meeting of United Farmer and Labor M.L.A.'s, United Farmer officials and agents, and representatives of the Westmorland I.L.P. took place on 30 November 1920, in Moncton. There Labor endorsed the Farmers' programme and the Farmers accepted most of the planks in the I.L.P.'s platform and, except for a proposal for the eight-hour day which they tabled, referred the remainder to their locals for consideration.<sup>86</sup> Stuart, who attended this meeting representing both the I.L.P. and the Sons of Temperance, doubtless had hard work to achieve this much agreement, but after mid-summer 1921 chances for a genuine and permanent understanding between Farmers and I.L.P. began to fade.

It would appear that the United Farmers have to accept responsibility for the deterioration in their relationship with Labor.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps with nine M.L.A.'s to Labor's two they felt themselves strong enough to "go it alone". Certainly they were less inclined to socialism and, at this point, to abolition of property qualifications for voting and holding office at the municipal level than the trade unionists.<sup>88</sup> As the federal election of 1921 approached, the United Farmers of Westmorland County proceeded to call a nominating convention and failed to inform the I.L.P. until too late to arrange a proper joint convention. All the I.L.P. could do was to send a delegation to the convention which entered two nominations, A. E. Trites, a wealthy resident of Salisbury, and H. H. Stuart, and chose the former as candidate by a vote of 95 to 49. Stuart then moved to make the choice unanimous and in reporting back to the I.L.P. urged that it overlook the lack of courtesy of the United Farmers and support Trites because the Farmers' platform conformed more closely to the I.L.P.'s than did those of the older parties, and because Trites, over his own signature, had subscribed to most of the I.L.P.'s platform. He carried a motion to endorse Trites' candidature.<sup>89</sup> It is not clear how wholeheartedly the I.L.P. supported Trites who met defeat in the election.<sup>90</sup>

Hopes for a new order were dashed when, in June 1921, the Farmer-Labor Government of Ontario fell and the ranks of both United Farmers and Labor

86 Stuart, "Farmers and Labor Drawing Near", *The Union Worker*, January 1921, Stuart Papers.

87 Stuart's address to the Fredericton Trades and Labor Council, 28 July 1921, printed in the *Daily Mail*, 4 August 1921, noted that the New Brunswick Federation of Labor at its last meeting had "endorsed a political alliance with the organized Farmers" by a vote of ten to one.

88 See Stuart, "Farmers and Labor Drawing Near", *The Union Worker*, January 1921, for a comparison of the platforms of the two parties.

89 Moncton *Daily Times*, 17, 20, 26 September 1921.

90 For a more detailed study of these events see A. Trueman, "The Federal Election of 1921 in New Brunswick" (unpublished M.A. thesis, U.N.B., 1975).



parties were decimated at the polls. In New Brunswick the trade unions and the Federation of Labor turned back to industrial and away from political action. At the 1922 Convention of the New Brunswick Federation of Labor, the last Stuart attended as a regular delegate, he got little response to his strong urging that labor display "energy and determination on the political as on the economic field" and cooperate with the organized farmer movement. The Federation was much more concerned to disapprove the Open Shop, the Ten Hour Day and a Twenty Per Cent Wage Reduction.<sup>91</sup> Labor M.L.A.'s gradually resumed their former party allegiances.<sup>92</sup> Neither the United Farmers nor Labor were to be a factor in the provincial election of 1925 and radical political activities did not resume until the birth of the C.C.F.

Stuart devoted a good deal of his time during the remainder of the twenties to the editorship of the quarterly *Educational Review*, to the work of the Teachers' Institute, and to the N.B.T.A. of whose executive he was a member. Eventually he succeeded in persuading the latter to affiliate with the Canadian Teachers' Association in June 1926 and on one or two occasions he represented the N.B.T.A. at the annual conference of the Canadian Teachers' Association. Meanwhile his retirement from teaching approached and he had to devote some thought to the size of his pension which would be based on the average salary of his last five years. It was probably this consideration which in part prompted him to acquire a grammar school license in 1926 after accepting the principalship of the Fredericton Junction Grammar School. Five years later the same motive likely prompted him to secure the principalship of Milltown High School, a job which paid \$1,875.00, the largest salary he ever received. His move to Milltown proved to be a mistake. He left under a cloud after one year. There is no record of the circumstances and perhaps one may accept the suggestion of a member of his family that, with the depression then well under way, he had been too outspoken, in school or out, on the evils of capitalism and the desirability of socialism to suit the school board. He had then to accept the principalship of Jacksonville Superior School near Woodstock at a salary of \$1,025.00 and, after a year, that of Gagetown Grammar School at \$1,200.00.<sup>93</sup> The latter was his last year in the profession; he retired at the end of June, 1933, and settled in Fredericton Junction.

In retirement Stuart remained as busy as ever, carrying on with his normal activities and filling the time left by the absence of teaching with new ones, such as the Children's Aid Society, the Protestant Orphans' Home, the

91 *Moncton Daily Times*, 15 February 1922.

92 The United Farmers maintained their integrity as a group until the 1925 provincial election (*Canadian Annual Review* for 1925, p. 422).

93 See Stuart's Affidavit for Pension, Stuart Papers.

Masons, the Orange Lodge, and helping to secure a community hospital and a regional high school for Fredericton Junction. In 1935 he received appointment as police and stipendiary magistrate, and filled the office with a quiet distinction to the satisfaction of his superiors and the community.<sup>94</sup> Ill-health forced his resignation in 1949. He was then gazetted a Justice of the Peace.<sup>95</sup> Until 1951 he occasionally served as a supply teacher. He found himself in considerable demand as a public speaker, as a chairman at political and social gatherings, and as a speech writer for local politicians of various political leanings. He, himself, remained true to his socialist faith and played an active part in the C.C.F. from its founding in 1933 until a few months before his death in 1952.

As elsewhere in Canada, the C.C.F. in New Brunswick was a response to the Depression. Throughout the good years of the late twenties small scattered pockets of socialists continued to advocate abolishing capitalism. These existed mostly within organized labor, especially in the eastern portion of the province with which Stuart had for so long had close contact. The I.L.P. never entirely disappeared in Moncton and even before the creation of the C.C.F., P. D. Ayer and J. A. Robinson founded a new socialist paper, *The Pilot*, to which Stuart became a contributor. The Saint John local of the Socialist Party of Canada also survived to become a charter member of the C.C.F. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in New Brunswick was thus based on the remnants of earlier movements. As in other parts of the country it drew support from "men and women brought up in Christian and humanitarian traditions, people who believed that society should provide every citizen with the opportunity for self-fulfilment, . . . teachers and preachers, technicians and housewives, clerks and small business men".<sup>96</sup> Stuart welcomed the birth of the C.C.F. Not only did it promise that union of farmers and labor, that co-operative commonwealth which he had long desired, but its founder and first leader, J. S. Woodsworth, was a friend of some years.<sup>97</sup> Stuart devoted himself to organizational and educational work on its behalf in the course of which he occupied a number of offices, including membership in provincial and maritime councils and, from 1943 until his death, the honorary presidency of the New Brunswick section.

Dissent is a necessary element in the proper functioning of democratic as it is of other societies. During H. H. Stuart's generation, his was the most

94 Official letter of appointment, 6 December 1935 and A. F. Goan, Secretary-Treasurer, municipality of Sunbury, to Stuart, 20 July 1949, Stuart Papers.

95 Official letter of appointment, 6 August 1949, Stuart Papers.

96 Grace MacInnis, *J. S. Woodsworth, A Man to Remember* (Toronto, 1953), p. 264.

97 Woodsworth had spoken in Newcastle in February 1910 to a meeting, which Stuart had helped to organize, of the Laymen's Missionary Movement (*Union Advocate*, 1 March 1910). About 1920 Stuart and Woodsworth met again and became friends.

prominent and widespread voice of dissent in the province of New Brunswick. His Christianity drove him to a life of service to the community. His membership in the teaching profession — the only profession in the province which tended, through the agencies of the Provincial Normal School and Provincial and County Teachers' Institute and the New Brunswick Teachers' Association, to pull together the different regions and ethnic groups — gave him the opportunity to attempt to unite the people of the province and provide them with a sense of identity. Stuart saw himself primarily as an educator and looked upon the dissemination of knowledge as the means by which the co-operative commonwealth — the Kingdom of God on earth — might be achieved. His speeches, lessons and sermons, his articles, columns and letters to editors, and his local, union and political activities, whatever their immediate objectives, were all directed to that ultimate end. He was not the only radical reformer of his day in the province, but he was unique amongst them. The others, the Ayers and Robinson in Moncton, Hatheway, Codner, and Potts in Saint John, were locally centered and urban. Stuart, as teacher and editor, moving from place to place, experienced both town and country life and acquired a deeper understanding of provincial conditions and a keener appreciation of the essential unity of all who worked by hand or brain.