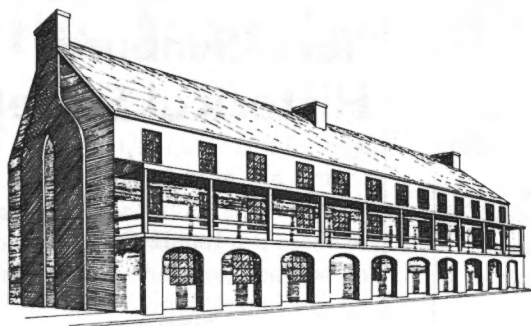




The Officers' Quarterly

A PUBLICATION OF THE YORK-SUNBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

Volume 13, Number 4 and Volume 14, Number 1

Special Double Issue



IN THIS ISSUE:

- *Glimpses of the Past*
- *Fredericton's Early Days*
- *Farming the Forest*



The Officers' Quarterly

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This is the official publication of the York-Sunbury Historical Society, Inc., Officers' Square, Queen Street, P.O. Box 1312, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, E3B 5C8. Telephone: (506) 455-6041.

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The York-Sunbury Historical Society, Inc. is a non-profit organization founded in 1932 and incorporated in 1934, with the aim "to gather and preserve objects and traditions of historical interest in the region of central New Brunswick, and to read and publish papers dealing with the same."

Individual memberships are \$30 per year and \$50 for two years (which includes *The Officers' Quarterly*). Student membership is \$10. A life membership is \$250. Corporations, individuals, and organizations may also become sustaining members.

Editorial Committee:

Carolyn Atkinson
Katrina DeWitt
Antoinette Duplessis
Helen Hutchison
Koral LaVorgna
Eleanor MacDougall
Brent Wilson

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FRONT COVER

A collage of photos from "Glimpses of the Past." From left to right: Arianna Saunders, Hannah Ingraham, Juliana Ewing and Joseph Risteen.

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Museum Summer Hours (1 JUNE - 30 SEPTEMBER)

Monday to Saturday
10:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.
Sunday
12:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.



Letter from the Editors

The organization of the staff of *The Officers' Quarterly* is once again undergoing change. In order to redistribute the workload and bring more members into the challenge of producing the *Quarterly*, we have reorganized ourselves into an Editorial Committee. The present membership includes Carolyn Atkinson, Katrina DeWitt, Antoinette Duplessiss, Helen Hutchison, Koral LaVorgna, Eleanor MacDougall and Brent Wilson. If you would like to join the group or make recommendations for future publications, please let us know.

Some members of the Historical Society may be surprised to learn that the Museum is not the only collection that the Society has amassed over the years. We have also assembled a very rich archival collection that is presently housed at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. The vastness of this collection can be readily seen by perusing the impressive finding aid and index for the collection. Prepared in 1982 by the Provincial Archives using funds granted by the federal government to the Historical Society, the guide was "presented to the research public with the hope that the writing of New Brunswick history will be tangibly aided." Copies of the finding aid can be found at the Museum and the Provincial Archives.

As the general introduction to the guide explains:

The York-Sunbury Historical Society provided a much needed and valuable service in collecting and preserving historical material before the Provincial Archives was created. The bulk of the collection was transferred to the Archives in 1968 for conservation and storage purposes, and to allow researchers continuous access to the Collection.

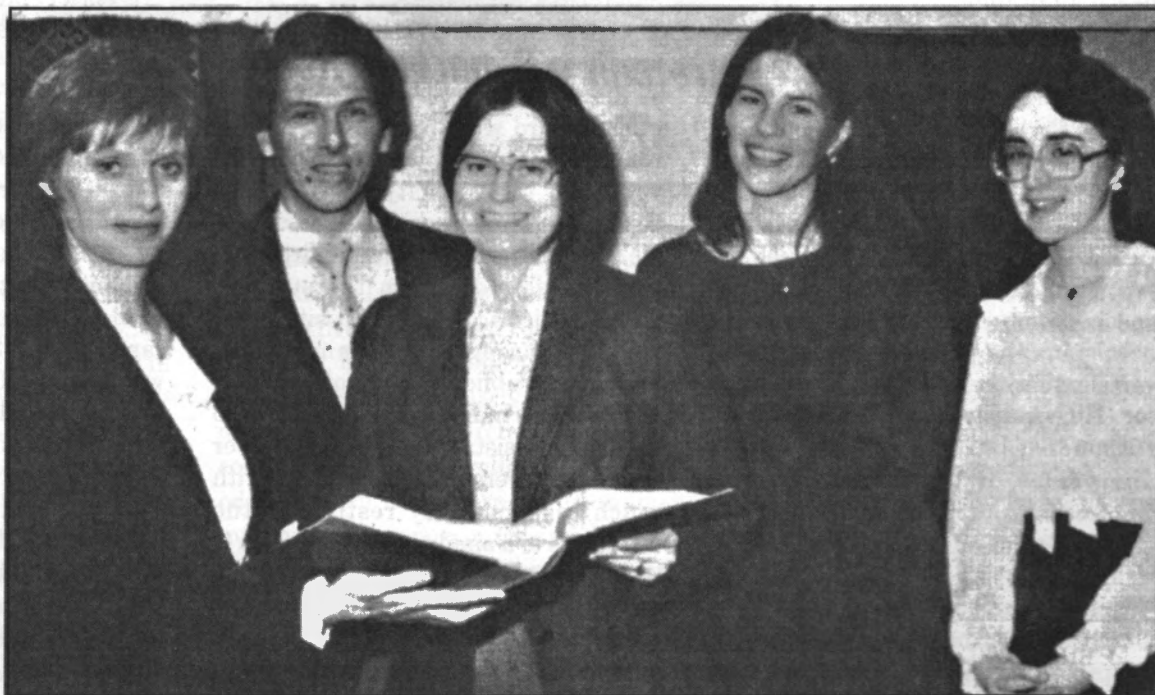
This diverse collection includes a variety of sources, comprising some 65 manuscript series dating from 1761 to the present. They include the records of the Historical Society itself, such personal collections as the Lilian Maxwell Papers and the Burpee Family Papers, and numerous official documents and records, including deeds, warrants and certificates that are of interest to a range of researchers including both local historians and genealogists. The entire collection measures 10 metres.

An important part of the collection are the lectures and addresses that have been

presented to the Society through the years by dozens of past members. Currently, they number some 160 papers, dating from the earliest days of the Society.

As part of the 65th Anniversary celebrations it was decided to publish a representative selection of these early lectures in a special double issue of the *Quarterly*. As our readers will discover they include papers of subjects ranging from the earliest aboriginal peoples through the Acadian and Loyalist periods to the recent past. They are written by such notable historians as Professor Stewart MacNutt, the focus of this issue's *Garrison Ghosts*, Lilian Maxwell, and our new Patron, Dr. Ivan H. Crowell.

For many years now the archival collection of the Historical Society has been a valuable resource for researchers interested in the early history of central New Brunswick. We hope the collection will continue to grow so that future researchers studying more contemporary times will also find the collection equally valuable. ☺



December 1982 photo of the official presentation of the finding aid for the Historical Society's archival collection. From left to right are: Marion Beyea, Provincial Archivist; Dale Cogswell, Project Supervisor; Dr. Elizabeth McGahan, Society President; Diana Moore and Patricia Tozer, Project Cataloguers.

President's Perspective ... by Helen Hutchison

[ed. The following is based on the York-Sunbury Historical Society President's Report for the Year 1997 delivered at the Annual General Meeting on 27 January 1998.]

As our 65th year as a corporation came to a close, I realized more than ever the tremendous effort volunteers must have put forth throughout those 65 years and the commitment that will be required to continue into the future.

Although my first thought was to speak of our successes, I want the members to have a full view of the organization. I think many of our successes can be seen in the individual reports that will be given here tonight. I want to talk to you about some of the struggles.

We all started the year with enthusiasm. We began with the April opening of the Ross Drug exhibit, followed by a lovely summer exhibit and opening, children's day camps, a full slate of programs, another year producing a top-quality *Officers' Quarterly*, educational programs, and so on. But underneath all of that....

On June 15th, the Administrator/Education Officer resigned to pursue other employment. The Curator carried on with the support of a number of summer staff, but he too resigned on August 15th. For a short period, we operated with temporary summer staff only. The Board agreed that salaries and job descriptions needed to be addressed. A special committee was charged with developing the job description and advertising for the new position of Director. Sixty-five well-qualified applicants responded, but the committee was unanimous in selecting Antoinette Duplessis. Antoinette comes with experience in museum operations, an M.A. in History from UNB, as well as a Masters in Museum Studies from the University of Toronto. We are very happy to have her work with us. She has exhibited spirit and enthusiasm as she assumed her new role. Antoinette will be very involved in the coordination of all Society activities and will offer

her support as needed. As Antoinette was unable to train with previous staff on any aspect of Society or Museum operations, it became very clear the absolute necessity for improved documentation, procedures, and an understanding of the specific roles of staff and volunteers. We found ourselves struggling for the answers.

The confusion with multiple staff changeovers was compounded by the resignation of the Treasurer in May, lack of support for the newly installed accounting software, and data transfer incompatibility prevented us from obtaining full financial information until the fall. We are finally progressing towards an improved administration although there is a great deal more to do. Lynda Savoie graciously accepted the Treasurer's position in July. For those of you who may not have met her, Lynda is a Chartered Accountant with an interest in history and valuable experience that will be a great asset to the Society. Maureen Hood has also joined the staff in August to support Antoinette in record keeping and administrative matters.

There were times in 1997 when we operated with very limited staff as well as limited volunteers. Many members of the Board were relatively new and we were unable to find an experienced volunteer for publicity or programs. Carolyn Atkinson continued to organize programs until a new Chairperson could be found and in the summer Barbara Bird accepted the position and began planning our fall and winter activities. Publicity, on the other hand, became the mandate of anyone who could offer assistance. Many of the other committees were committees of one with much responsibility resting on the shoulders of a single individual. This is an area for development for the Society. Many people are willing to participate, but feel they do not have the expertise in Society and Museum operations well enough to chair committees. It is important that we as a Board of Directors ensure that next year is always considered.

When it became clear through our discussions that the Society had not agreed upon a strategic direction for the future, many Directors contributed considerable time to the assembly of a planning document that will form the basis of next year's and future year's work. This document will serve to guide the activities of both staff and volunteers in an agreed direction allowing the Society to harness its very limited resources. This is especially important in light of the current study being conducted by many levels of government on the future possibilities for the Military Compound. Our plan is not entirely finished, but the basis is there. If anyone here tonight is interested in a "Draft" copy, they are available. Your comments are welcome.

Over the years, we have developed high expectations of our organization, yet our resources are severely limited. It may become increasingly difficult to offer all existing programs if funding is not secure. As you may know, the City of Fredericton has reduced our funding 10% each year for the past two years. The Society must be very organized and efficient if we are to be successful in the future.

So, as we end this year, I wonder about the past sixty-four years. Were they all like 1997? And, it is for this reason that I want to thank the 1997 Board of Directors for their strong attendance at monthly meetings and their commitment to provide expertise and good judgement in matters of importance to the Society. I also thank, wholeheartedly, all who donated precious time and energy to this Society so we can continue to grow and prosper. Thank you to the editors of *The Officers' Quarterly*, the Board of Directors, Committee Chairs, Committee Members, staff, volunteers, and many past presidents who were called upon many times for advice. Finally, I would like to thank you the members for your support of the York-Sunbury Historical Society. ♣

The Museum in Focus ... by Antoinette Duplessis

When most people hear the word museum, they automatically picture a building which houses a collection of objects or artwork on display for the public. The base of all museums, with the exception of some children's museums, is in fact the collection. The modern museum has in essence changed very little from the first museums, in that they provide a site to display a collection. Some museum collections are privately owned, such as that belonging to the York-Sunbury Historical Society, while the government holds others in trust for us. Collecting seems to be an important part of the human experience. Indeed, museums are not the only places where one can find collections. We need only look in our own homes for such phenomenon. My sister's Star Wars collection and father's camera collection have filled my family's home to the brim. But how and when did people begin displaying collections? Why are collections and collecting important to us? This issue, and the next several *Officers' Quarterlies*, will feature a series of articles which present a collector's (Katrina DeWitt) thoughts and research on collecting, and information on particular collections. This article is an introduction to Mrs. DeWitt's forthcoming columns.

Human beings have been collecting objects for thousands of years. Collections of objects have even been found in Paleolithic burials. While there is no evidence to suggest that the museum as it is known today developed in such early times, it is evident that groups and individuals have often collected objects of religious, magical, aesthetic or historic value. Individuals often use objects, consciously or unconsciously, to construct their identities. Collections give the collector social distinction, power, prestige and status.

Though there were no museums as

we know them today, the Greeks and Romans did possess public collections of objects. Greek temples contained paintings and statues, while Romans proudly displayed the booty from their conquests. Paintings and calligraphs also hung in the Imperial Palaces of China in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

In earlier times, the Latin word *museum* and Greek *mouseion*, meaning "seat of the muses," referred to a philosophical institution, not to a building with special collections. In the 15th cen-

Museums are the churches of collectors. Speaking in whispers, groups of visitors wander as an act of faith from one museum gallery to another.

(Maurice Rheims 1959)

tury, the word museum was used to describe specific collections, such as that belonging to Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, European collections of valuable objects were normally the property of royalty or the Church. These early collections contained religious relics or oddities such as unicorn horns, mummies, giant's bones or human skulls and were known as cabinets of curiosities or simply cabinets. The general public were never allowed to view these collections. That was a treat reserved only for the closest friends of the collector. It was not until 1685, when Elias Ashmole's collection at the University

of Oxford was opened under the name of the *Ashmolean Museum*, that collections were displayed in a format that we might recognize as a museum. The use of the term 'museum' to describe a building which housed a collection gained ground following the establishment of the Ashmolean Museum.

By the end of the 18th century, the museum phenomenon had spread to other parts of the world. In 1773, the Charleston Library Society of South Carolina founded a museum to promote the better understanding of agriculture and herbal medicine in the area. Between 1780 and 1800 "for members only" cabinets of curiosities began to fade away and were gradually replaced with more public museums. Museum owners began to realize the source of revenue in opening their doors to the public. One important early institution in the United States, the Peale Museum, was founded privately in Philadelphia in 1786 by Charles Wilson Peale. This was one of the first American museums to appeal to both the general public and scholars. Peale offered guidebooks, lectures, scientific demonstrations and evening concerts.

Museums sprang up later in British North America than in the United States. In Quebec, priests collected objects related to their teaching and religious work as early as the 1700s. In the early 1800s, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec initiated Society collections, which have been the impetus for many museums since that time. Cabinets of curiosity were also common in Canada. In 1817 a businessman, Valentine Merchant, displayed his private collection in a club in St. John's, NFLD. Our very own Saint John, however, boasts the first museum in Canada. Dr. Abraham Gesner opened his collections as a public museum in 1842 on Carleton Street. He was forced

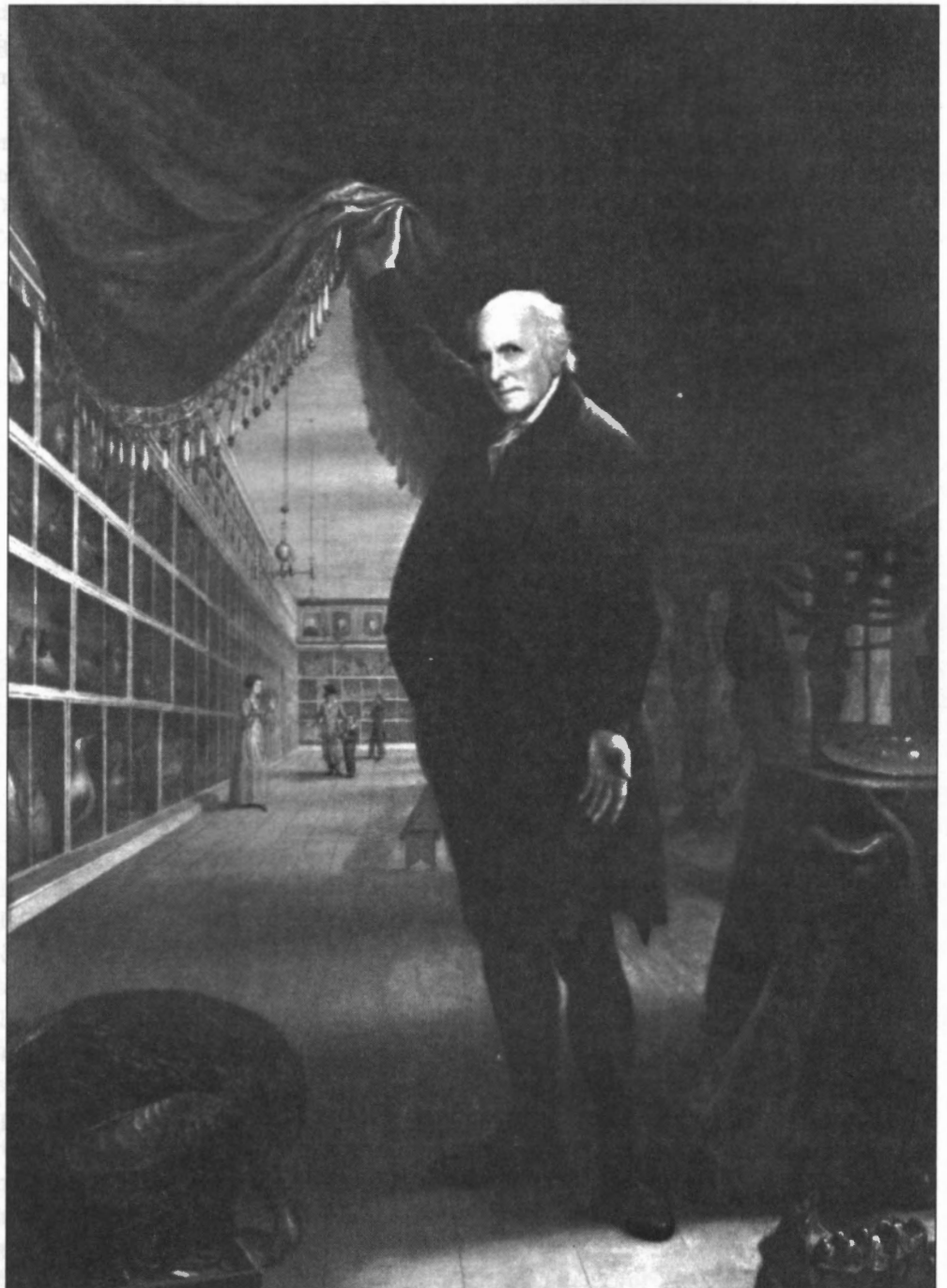
to close his museum in 1846 due to financial difficulty but his collection was saved and was passed to the local Mechanic's Institute. In 1862 the National History Society of New Brunswick took over responsibility for the collection, which formed the primary collection of the New Brunswick Museum, opened in 1931. The Redpath Museum, commissioned in 1880 and located on the McGill University campus in Montreal, has the distinction of being Canada's first building specifically designed to be a museum. Today, the Redpath has the second largest collection of Egyptian antiquities in Canada.

Museums in Canada, similar to those in the rest of the world, evolved out of rarely viewed private collections. There are approximately 2400 museums in Canada today, the majority of which were established after 1945. The York-Sunbury Museum is part of this long tradition of museums, of displaying artifacts which intrigue, excite and produce animated whispering in hallways.

For those of you interested in finding out more about the fascinating history of museums you may wish to start with Lynn Teather's "Museum-making in Canada (to 1972)" *Muse*, (Summer/Fall 1992), Edward P. Alexander's *Museum's in Motion, An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* or William T. Alderson's *Mermaids, Mummies and Mastodons; the Emergence of the American Museum*.

As the new Director of the York-Sunbury Historical Society and Museum, I am pleased to make my first contribution to *The Officers' Quarterly*. For the past several years I have studied museology at the University of Toronto

and very much enjoyed learning about this exciting field. I have studied not only the history of museums but also their total operation and intend to share my interests and excitement for my work with you through a regular column in the *Quarterly*.



The Artist in His Museum, 1822, Charles Wilson Peale, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Feature Article . . .

Glimpses of the Past

On 19 October 1995 four members of the York-Sunbury Historical Society (Carolyn Atkinson, Diane Taylor Myles, Katrina De Witt and Dorothy Vaughan), presented to the Society an evening programme entitled "Glimpses of the Past." The presentations, made in period costumes, were based on excerpts from the diaries of four prominent Frederictonians. Collectively, they offer a unique first-hand glimpse of the history of the area from the loyalist settlement to the early twentieth century. We are pleased to publish the texts of the presentations for the first time in this issue.



Hannah Ingraham, 1772-1869:

Her Reminiscences . . . by Carolyn Atkinson

On a hillside overlooking the St. John River and in sight of what was once Bear Island, a moss-covered tombstone with hand pointing heavenward and engraved "GOD IS LOVE", marks the resting place of Hannah Ingraham. Recorded on the stone are the words: "SHE CAME TO THIS COUNTRY IN 1783". In November when we visited her grave site, a cold wind blew and the strong oaks nearby scattered their leaves over her burial spot. A fitting tribute, we thought, to this woman who as a young girl, with her family, had the strength and spirit to face their first cold November in their new land and survive the many bitter winters which followed.

Hannah lived to be 97 years of age. She was born in 1772 in King's District, Albany County, New York, the daughter of Benjamin and Jerusha Ingraham. When she was four years old, her Loyalist father joined the King's American Regiment to fight in the Revolutionary War. When the war ended, he was forced to leave what was once his farm and moved his family to St. Annes (now Fredericton) which was then part of Nova Scotia. Benjamin Ingraham farmed in the area which is now Forest Hill and daily many of us pass over the area where Hannah roamed as a young girl.

In later years, after the death of her father and mother, she moved with her brother Ira to Queensbury, York County, where she was deeply devoted to the care of his family. It was here that

she recalled events in her life which were recorded by either the Rector of the Parish of Queensbury, Henry Tippet, or by his wife.

"The Narrative of Hannah Ingraham, Loyalist"

1776 to 1783. My father lived at New Concord, twenty miles from Albany. We had a comfortable farm, plenty of cows and sheep, but then the war began and he (her father) joined the regulars, they (the rebels) took it all away and sold the things, ploughs and all, and my mother was forced to pay rent for her own farm. What father had sown they took away but what mother raised after she paid rent they let her keep. They took away all our cows and sheep, only letting her have one heifer and four sheep.

Uncle had given me a sheep and when he found we were like to lose all he took it away and kept it for me.

Little John, my brother, had a pet lamb, and he went to the committee men and spoke up and said: "Won't you let me have my lamb?" He was a little fellow four years old so they let him have it.

My father was in the army seven years. They took grandfather prisoner and sent him on board a prison ship. Mother rode fifty miles on horseback in one day when she heard of it, to see him and to take him some money to buy comforts. He had a paralytic stroke when he was there and never recovered. Poor grandfather.

My father was taken prisoner once but he escaped. The girl who was sent to take him his supper one night told him she would leave the door unfastened and he got off to the woods but was wandering most two months before he found the army again. Mother was four years without hearing of or from father, whether he was alive or dead; anyone would be hanged right up if they were caught bringing letters.

Oh! those were terrible times.

At last there was talk of peace and a neighbour got a letter from her husband, and one inside for my mother, to tell her father was coming home.

1783. He came home on September 13. It was Friday, and said we were to go to Nova Scotia, that a ship was ready to take us there, so we made all haste to get ready. Killed the cow, sold the beef and a neighbour took home the tallow and made us a good parcel of candles, and put plenty of beeswax in them to make them hard and good. Uncle came down and threshed our wheat, twenty bushels, and grandmother came and made bags for the wheat and we packed up a tub of butter, a tub of pickles, and a good store of potatoes.

Then on Tuesday, suddenly the house was surrounded by rebels, and father was taken prisoner and carried away. Uncle went forward and promised those who had taken him, that if he might come home, he would answer for his being forthcoming the next morning. But, no, and I cried and cried that night. When morning came, they said he was free to go.

We had five wagon loads carried down the Hudson in a sloop and then we went on board the transport that was to bring us to Saint John.

I was just eleven years old when we left our farm to come here. It was the last transport of the season and had on board all those who could not come sooner. The first transports had come in May so the people had all the summer before them to get settled.

This was the last of September. We had a bad storm in the Bay of Fundy but some Frenchmen came off in a canoe and helped us (piloted us I suppose).

There were no deaths on board but several babies were born. It was a sad sick time after we landed in Saint John. We had to live in tents, the government gave them to us, and rations too. It was just at the first snow then, and the melting snow and the rain would soak up into our beds as we lay. Mother got so chilled and developed rheumatism and was never well afterwards.

We came up the river at last in a schooner, and were nine days getting to St. Annes near what is now Salamanca. They called it Salamanca after the battle of that name because the colonists had such a hard battle with the trees when they were clearing the land. It was two months from the day we left our home in Concord until we reached St. Annes.

We were brought as far as Mougerville in a schooner but we had to get the rest of the way, twelve miles, walking or any way we could, because the schooner could not get past the Oromocto shoals.

How did we get to our lots? This way.

Captain Clements hired a row boat from a man at Oromocto for three shillings a day, for three days, and he sent up his folks and their goods the first day. We did not know how long they would be, but they got there and back the same night, so he told us to get ready. We were ready, goods and all by sunrise, so we started. There were plenty of single men ready to row us for their passage up the river but the man who had let the boat hollered after us (he was riding along the shore on horseback) to bring back the boat, he could get nine shillings a day for her, but the men rowed on and did not mind his words, so he went away. You see Captain Clements had hired the boat for three days and paid for it so we had a right to it for this was only the second day. (Captain Clements was our nearest neighbour after we got to St. Annes.)

At last we got to our land, pitched our tent and the boat went back for more. When the boat got back to Oromocto, the schooner was gone, had landed the last of the passengers.

There was a poor widow with four children waiting to come but none of the men there had the courage to put her on board the boat, or even to go in it themselves though we had the right to use it another day for it was paid for. That poor woman had to sleep in a barn until the ice covered the river and then some of the neighbours took a hand sled and hauled her up to St. Annes, twelve miles. There

were no roads then you see and the river was the only way of travelling.

We lived in a tent at St. Annes until father got a house ready. He went up through our lot till he found a nice fresh spring of water. He stooped down and pulled away the fallen leaves that were thick over it and tasted it. It was very good so there he built his house.

We all had rations given us by the government, flour, butter and pork. Tools were given to the men also.

One morning when we awoke, we found the snow lying deep on the ground all round us and then father came wading through it and told us the house was ready and not to stop to light a fire, and not to mind the weather, but follow his tracks through the trees, for the trees were so many we soon lost sight of him going up the hill. It was snowing fast, and oh, so cold.

Father carried a chest and we all took something and followed him up the hill, through the trees, to see our gable end. There was no floor laid, no windows, no chimney, no door, but we had a roof at least.

A good fire was blazing and mother had a big loaf of bread and she boiled a kettle of water and put a good piece of butter in a pewter bowl. We toasted the bread and all sat around the bowl and ate our breakfast that morning, and mother said: "Thank God we are no longer in dread of having shots fired through our house, this is the sweetest meal I have tasted for many a day."

It was not long before father got a good floor down of split cedar logs, a floor overhead to make a bedroom and a chimney built. Who built this chimney? There were no mills then, no bricks, nothing but wood. Our chimney was made of stones for the back and a kind of mud mortar. The front and sides were just sticks and mud. They took care to plaster mud all up the inside of the chimney. Captain Clements came in one day to see father and he said, "Why Ingraham, you've got a chimney up before me."

There was a neighbour, a single man, had asked to live with us that winter and he made the chimney and helped father in all his work. He made shingles in the woods too and would bring them home a bunch at a time.

1784/1785.

Another man came and wanted to live with us and he knew how to thatch and he made a barrack for old Chief Justice

Ludlow and he was so pleased. You see we had raised some rye so we had good straw for thatching.

I'll tell you what they mean by a barrack. It was in place of a barn for they had no way of making barns then, no mills, no boards, this is how they made it. They put up four poles for the corners and made a roof of thatch that would slide up and down on the poles like a lid. They put the hay in and let the lid down close and that kept the hay tight and dry. They made a floor out of doors to thresh wheat on.

We soon got things planted the first spring. They would grow so easy. One bushel of wheat yielded thirty, the ground was all so new you see. We had brought wheat and beans and seeds with us and we could sell anything we had for money down. Many people wanted the things we had and father was always getting jobs of work to do for the gentry that soon followed the loyalists. There was the Chief Justice and the Governor and Parson Cooke and his family and we sold them cream and butter; they were glad to get the things and we were glad to sell them for it kept us in money to buy groceries.

I went to school the first winter up at St. Annes on snowshoes. The next winter I hauled my brother on a hand sled. This is why. My brother John had chopped his toe off when cutting wood with father, he was a big boy then. Our house was not much more than a hut, only one room and little Ira then was just waddling alone and was always meddling (as children will) and used to touch his brother's lame toe. Father said if I would haul John to school he would give me another quarter's schooling and I did it. But it was hard work through the deep snow and once it was so cold that the poor boy got his toe frozen before he reached school and that put back the healing. Mother had to poultice it and it was a bad piece of work for him.

Captain Clements lived on the next lot to us and when his boys overtook me they always helped me haul and do did Jared Hagerman's grandmother's eldest boy, but that was not very often.

There was no church or clergyman at St. Annes when we first came and only two houses; one where the government house was and one near where the church green now is. All the space between which is now the town, was covered with raspberry bushes and my brother John and I used to run down there as hard as we could when we had time to pick berries and we were proud when we got a pint to take to mother

for she had been used to plenty of fruit before she came here.

All the trees at the "Point" as it was called, that is the flat piece of ground where Fredericton stands, had been cut down and the place settled by Scotch people long before, but the Indians had killed them all and burned up their houses and when we came it was all grown up with raspberries and such like.

Father had the first cow that was in the place. He bought it for ten guineas of the old inhabitants down at Mougerville. (They mostly moved away when the Loyalists came but not all). The cow was so poor and starved looking when he bought her that she could hardly walk home. You see Mougerville is mostly under water at the freshet season and they have to stage up their cattle on scaffolds in the barns and they do so still. Well, the poor creature was so tired when father got her home that she lay down and he would not make her get up to tie her that night, so next morning she was lost and father looked and wandered all day searching for her; he had put on her a cow bell and once he thought he heard a tinkle but at the same moment a man near started to sharpen a whip saw and that noise killed all other sounds. Five days father was searching for that cow and at last he found her with the other cattle at the Government House. There were no other cows but theirs and the Government House folks wondered where the cow had come from, knowing that no one had any round them; they had milked her so she had not gone dry but she had such a cut on her jaw, like an axe had hit her but the other cows licked it and it got better.

The next one who bought a cow was Captain Clements. He lived close by at the river first but after a while he moved to the other side of the river. We all went to help him move, helping to carry a chair or basket to the boat but when they went to drive the cow they found she had a large gash in her haunch, was bleeding fast and they saw they must kill her for she would soon bleed to death; it was a clean cut with smooth edges, such as a dagger or dirk would make, not like a hurt from trees or

an accident. There was an ill-tempered jealous man among us who owned just such a dirk, and no one else had and folks thought he must have done it for envy. He went away soon after and no one was sorry for him to go.

As father knew how to cut up meat, Captain Clements got him to make the cow into nice joints of beef; that was the first beef I ever roasted for they gave father a good haunch for pay. I had a hard piece of work cooking it in a Dutch oven. There



Hannah Ingraham in 1860

were no stoves then.

1786. Parson Cooke came over to baptize my little brother Ira and dined with us. He lived over the river at St. Marys. There were many people settled there. Loyalist soldiers had grants of land up the Nashwaak and Madam Keswick and in Douglas.

Parson Cooke held services in the King's provision warehouse close by the church green, till the church was ready. They began building it pretty soon, in two

years I think and my brother John and I saw the first burying there ever was in the graveyard. It was a soldier, an officer. We heard the drums beating while we were picking berries there and we ran to see it. In front of the King's provision warehouse, there was always a sentry on guard, walking up and down with his bayonet fixed.

There were plenty of Indians coming to sell furs in those days. I've counted forty canoes going up the river all at one time. They used to come ashore to sell their furs to Peter Fraser and folks say he used to cheat them. He would put his fist on the scale and say it weighed a pound. One day when I was all alone in the house except the baby, I saw a big Indian coming up the hill to the door. I was terribly afraid at first for I knew he would perhaps stay all day and eat up everything in the house, so I ran to the cradle and caught up the baby and wrapped him in a quilt and went to the door just as the Indian got there, so I said, "Have you had the smallpox?" hushing the baby all the while and he darted away as if he had been shot and we had no Indians all that summer; they all went away directly. They are afraid of smallpox for Indians mostly die if they get it.

May 23, 1795. One day Parson Cooke came over to a funeral. It was in May, freshet time and the water was high and the wind began to blow and we wanted him to stay until next day, but he said they would be waiting for him, so he and his son, a big boy, started to paddle over home. The next day, someone saw a straw hat floating, his son's hat, and then the canoe bottom up, so they knew they were drowned, and it was more than a week before they found the bodies floating down the river. Oh, it was a terrible grief. We all loved him so. There's many a one named Cooke, after him.

Acknowledgements

Taken from a typed script of "The Narrative of Hannah Ingraham, Loyalist," located at the University of New Brunswick Library Archives.

Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.
York-Sunbury Historical Society



Arianna Margaretta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders:

... by Diane Taylor Myles

Arianna Margaretta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders was the wife of Virginian Loyalist and plantation owner John Saunders. A law student at the outbreak of the American Revolution, Saunders joined the Queen's Loyal Virginia Regiment as a Captain in November of 1775. The regiment was later incorporated into the Queen's American Rangers, and still later, became known as the Queen's Rangers.

Despite his family's long standing interest in Princess Anne County, Virginia, Saunders did not accept the principles espoused by the local committees and aligned himself with the British. Like thousands of others, he joined the refugees who were forced to flee after serving in Loyalist troops throughout the American Revolution.

John Saunders went to London late in 1783 and, at the age of 30, resumed his law studies. He courted and married Arianna Margaretta Jekyll, daughter of the Maryland Loyalist James Chalmers, before returning to New Brunswick and securing several thousand acres of land. A significant portion of his holdings occupied the area locally known as the Barony on the south side of the Saint John River between Fredericton and Woodstock. His town residence was at 752 King Street in Fredericton.

Various sources make reference to the life and accomplishments of John Saunders. The following excerpts deal not with John Saunders, but rather, with Arianna Margaretta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders: her dedication as a wife and mother, her attention to careful and wise spending, her clear intent to manage her own affairs, and her role in society as the wife of a provincial dignitary.

Arianna Margaretta remained in England with her parents to await the birth of their first child while her husband John Saunders established himself in New Brunswick. An excerpt from a letter written by her father James Chalmers to his son-in-law John Saunders in Fredericton sets the scene:

November 30, 1790

Dear Sir:

...I have now the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Saunders was most happily delivered of a daughter on Friday last the 26th inst. between the hours of 2 & 3 in the afternoon.

Mrs. Saunders had for some time enjoyed good health to which the news of your arrival and your letter no doubt contributed much.

This letter could not possibly contain all the Beauties & perfections already ascribed to your Daughter. Indeed I admit that the child is healthy well formed & peaceable but I am supposed to be of very vulgar comprehension in seeing no more particularly as Doctor Underwood has unasked declared She was the most beautiful child he had seen.

Mrs. Saunders has a good appetite and gains strength daily. We are now daily expecting the pleasure of hearing from you by the *Rashleigh* in which Ship Mrs. Saunders will sail. I hope she will not sail before the latter end of March....

Mrs. Saunders reads your letter more than once every day so that there is no danger of her adhering to its true meaning.

Since your Daughter's appearance I have scarcely seen Mrs. C [Arianna Margaretta's mother] so intent she is on nursing it. I do not imagine she will very readily permit her to take it from Chelsea.

The next letter is written by Arianna Margaretta while she is still in England. She writes to her husband John Saunders in New Brunswick:

March 22, 1791

I had the inexpressible pleasure of receiving My Dear Saunders' letters and a lock of his Dear hair by Thompson and Reid's ship, and I shall execute all his orders as nearly as possible. I have shipped on board the *African Queen* the trees you desired, with a small box containing some garden brackens, fernery, Birks pamphlet, newspapers and some odd things to fill up the box.

My anxiety to be with My Dear Saunders as soon as possible would have induced me to have taken my passage on board this ship had Mr. Cramons been more explicit with regard to the time of her sailing and as I have waited so long, my father thinks I had better take my passage on board the *Earl of Mansfield* which appears the most eligible for reasons which I shall communicate to My Dear Saunders when we meet...

I am happy to find the climate agrees so well with My Dear Saunders. As to myself I am sure I shall think it a happy country when I shall again reside under the same roof with My Dear Affectionate husband from whom I have been so long separated and without whom I cannot be happy even tho my dear little girl

smiles and coos and by a thousand little endearing ways seems to convey me how much joy do I anticipate when I conceive the delight My Dear Saunders will feel when he beholds this dear little picture of himself which, with the blessing of God, I hope will be soon.

Make my most affectionate compliments to our worthy Brother and tell him how much I am obliged to him for his attention to My beloved Saunders [refers to another Virginia Loyalist, Colonel Jacob Ellegood, brother-in-law and guardian of John Saunders and whose home was at the Barony]....

Now My Dear Saunders God bless you and if my prayers are heard in heaven, I shall find you the same affectionate husband I parted from in August last. Adieu Dearest Saunders and believe me to be

your affectionate wife
M Saunders

March 22 . 91
Chelsea

The next excerpt indicates that Arianna Margaretta has been following her husband's directions in procuring certain articles to ship to Fredericton and that there was some hesitation on her part with regard to the purchase of a stove:

Chelsea

April 7, 1791

My Dear Husband,

In my two last letters, I informed you, I intended taking my passage on the *Earl of Mansfield*. I have been busied all the week, making the necessary preparations for my passage; I expect to go on board some time this week; I shall be tolerably well and accommodated; and if my dear Child continues healthy, the pleasing Idea of so soon embracing My Dear Saunders, will prevent my feeling the unpleasant situation to which I must submit for a few weeks, and alleviate the distress of parting with my friends. I have procured everything My Dear Saunders requested except the iron stove; which is so little used here, that I cannot have one without having it made on purpose, and then it will cost ten guineas; besides I am told, it will alter the insurance of your house, and if My Beloved Saunders is deserving of having it, My father will procure it hereafter.

It is clear that Arianna Margaretta has a mind of her own and her letter indicates that although she holds her husband's guardian and financial manager in high

esteem, she fully intends to manage her own affairs:

I hope my Brother the Colonel [again referring to Jacob Ellegood] will not leave you before I arrive, I have heard great commentations on his management in domestic affairs, but with all due submission to your continued judgement, I am very desirous of managing my own family affairs, and hope very soon to have it in my power to plague My Dear saucy Saunders. I must conclude as My Father is in great haste to take my letter to the post office.

Your doating and affectionate wife

M. Saunders

Arianna Margareta Jekyll Chalmers and her baby Margareta arrived safely in Fredericton. Lawrence's *The Judges of New Brunswick and their Times* describes a January 1795 Government House ball given by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Carleton and attended by John and Arianna Margareta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders:

The ball was opened a little after eight o'clock by Mrs. Saunders and Michael Cooke, Esquire. The dancing continued with sprightliness until 12 o'clock when the company were conducted to the banqueting room to partake of a sumptuous repast, as remarkable for its elegance as for its rarity and delicacy of its viands. Having refreshed themselves, the company returned to the ball room and recommenced dancing, and a little after three o'clock began to retire, highly pleased and gratified with the festivity, hospitality and splendour of the evening's enter-tainment....Mrs. Saunders, wife of Judge Saunders, was in Court Uniform, a rich dress, the body and train of ermine satin, with a cape trimmed in Vandyke points richly embroidered in silver; an elegant gold muslin petticoat, with a sash of the same, falling across the body from the left shoulder and fastened on the right side with a bow of gold muslin and white satin ribbons in a fanciful manner; an epaulet of gold and silver bullion suspended from the shoulder by a beautiful button of embroidered foil; brilliant pendulum ear rings in gold, the cape of white crepe with a blue crepe bandeau, which projected over the hair and with a very pleasing

effect. The cape was trimmed with blonde lace and ornamented with a fashionable fancy bouquet de plume and gold wheat. Her hair was dressed in light curls and a bouquet of jessamine and carnation.

The Michael Cooke referred to in the letter, and who began the dancing with Mrs. Saunders, was the son of Rev. Samuel Cooke, Rector of Fredericton. Michael drowned soon after at the age of 31 while trying unsuccessfully to save the life of his father. The two were returning home to the



Arianna Margareta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders
(New Brunswick Museum Collection)

Nashwaaksis side of the river when a sudden squall upset their canoe and they were both drowned. Again in *Judges*, at an 1806 ball in Fredericton at Province Hall, [the building which preceded the present Legislative Assembly Building], this time commemorating the victory of Nelson at Trafalgar, Arianna Margareta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders is described playing a role in the societal life of the city.

The company was collected before 9 o'clock when the dancing commenced in two sets of 20 couples each, the first led off by the President of the Province and Mrs. Hunter; the second by Major-General Hunter, with Mrs. Saunders. The dancing continued until 1 o'clock when the supper room was opened, to which the company were conducted down the great staircase in the hall illuminated by a magnificent chandelier of 60 lights and resounding with martial music. The decorations were splendid....

About 3 o'clock the dance was resumed and continued in the most animated and exhilarating style until nearly five when the company broke up, highly gratified with the superb and magnificent celebration of the victory of Nelson, the immortal naval hero.

Hon. John Saunders, Chief Justice died at his residence in Fredericton, May 24, 1834 in the 80th year of his age. In the Old Burying Ground at Fredericton, New Brunswick, a massive monument with an extensive description attests to the esteem in which he was held. It was "Erected the 24th Nov., 1837 by his affectionate widow, A.M.J. Saunders." Arianna Margareta's own memorial forms the last two lines of the lengthy epitaph:

Also in memory of Arianna Margareta Jekyll, wife of the Hon. Chief Justice Saunders and daughter of Colonel Chalmers, born 1768, died 1845.

Note

The author is indebted to the Harriet Irving Library Archives Special Collections Section at the University of New Brunswick for the use of the letters found among the *Saunders Papers*. The author has a special interest in the life and times of Arianna Margareta Jekyll Chalmers Saunders. The plaque on the front of her home at 752 King Street reads:

Saunders House 1796

This cottage was the town residence of Virginian Loyalist John Saunders, who became Chief Justice of New Brunswick in 1822.



Readings from Juliana Ewing's Fredericton Letters, 1867-1869 . . . by Katrina A. De Witt - Oct. 19, 1995

What was life like in Fredericton in the 1860's? Juliana Horatia Ewing (1841 - 1885) paints a picture of a busy, thriving, and bustling town of some 6000 persons in her letters to her English family. Her concerns were similar to those which we now experience. She also endured slow mail delivery, high costs of living, and very cold weather. It was a time when decent housing was scarce in Fredericton and good domestic help also was at a premium. Doesn't all this sound familiar?

Juliana and her husband arrived in Fredericton on the steamship *David Weston*. Alexander Ewing described the newlyweds' initial reactions:

"On the evening of our arrival at Fredericton, New Brunswick, which stands on the River Saint John, we strolled down, out of the principal street, and wandered on the river shore, we stopped to rest opposite to a large old house, then in the hands of workmen. There was only the road between this house and the river, and, on the banks, one or two old willows. We said we should like to make our first home in some such spot. Ere many weeks were over, we were established in that very house where we spent the first year, or more, of our time in Fredericton. We called it 'Reka Dom,' THE RIVER HOUSE."

Juliana wrote charming descriptions of her exciting sleigh rides and adventurous canoeing expeditions on the Saint John River. In another letter from Juliana to her Aunt Mary, February 9, 1867, she describes a notable sleigh ride in Fredericton.

"Some things about the winter here are very charming. The sleigh-drives for one. The individual who gives the sleigh-drive, (the other day it was His Excellency the Govr!) goes first, & wherever he goes all the other sleighs must follow. We hired a jolly little sleigh for the occasion. The horse went capitally & it was great fun. There were about 26 sleighs, with red plumes & jingling bells to the horses, & I never enjoyed anything much more. Creeping over snow between dark pine trees that nearly met over our heads, or flying full speed across the river - which is now a level plain of snow with roads marked by fir trees stuck into the ice - it was charming."

Canoeing and picnicking were favourite summer pastimes. Juliana confirms

this in a letter to her mother dated August 29, 1868.

"Monday 31 Such a lovely day! As Mrs. Medley said to me this morning as we came out of church, 'It is a splendid climate! We have so few dull days. So many clear bright ones!' Did I tell you of our latest picnic? We had a charming day. I did a little sketching, & we came home by moonlight - 14 canoes lashed together. We were in the middle so Rex & Capt P. were idle except that Rex 'conducted' the singing with a paddle! We had a good many comic songs & some part singing . . . The most interesting to me was a song sung by Gabriel the Indian - a curious, wild, monotonous, plaintive affair, but wonderfully in keeping with the motion of the canoes & the splash of the water in the moonlight."

She wrote about things that deeply interested her. While her husband spent his time parading and doing the things that British officers did, her formal domain was her Church and her home. She never expressed political views in her writing because, as a Victorian woman and an Officer's lady, that would have been considered highly improper. But she kept her eyes wide open.

She became good friends with Bishop Medley and his wife Margaret. Both Juliana and her husband participated in many Fredericton Church activities and Bishop and Mrs. Medley, it appears, grew very fond of the Ewings. In a letter on August 17, 1867, Juliana writes of the Medleys by saying:

"Now I must tell you all our news. First, about the Episcopal Family!!! You know that they have been away for six weeks & we met them first at Government House. Since then they have certainly done their best to make up for lost time, in the way of kindness & it is not the least of many blessings of my home here to have such very kind people about one as our neighbours in general are - & such unusually good intellectual & friendly friends as the Medleys. He is quite a curiosity. . . He is awfully fond of music & composes chants, etc. He seems a fluent Hebrew scholar, & is certainly as I told you one of the ablest preachers I ever heard. . . [Mrs. Medley] is almost as great a character as he is - & as nice - & in a way as clever. She is a great gardener & a botanist - & lithographs a little - & seems generally clever - & well educated. But besides - she has nursed in English & foreign hospitals for 20 years."

Juliana Ewing was born at Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, England on August 3, 1841 as the second daughter of Reverend Alfred Gatty and his wife Margaret. Both parents were well educated. Her mother was a writer and editor of *Aunt Judy's Magazine*. This was a publication for children that was very popular in Canada, the United States and England. Juliana, quite predictably, became a major contributor to the publication. "Aunt Judy", in fact, was the name given to Juliana Ewing by her younger sisters because Juliana loved to read and to tell them stories in their nursery. Juliana Horatia Ewing was a young woman of 26 when she came to Canada in 1867.

She lived in Fredericton with her husband, Captain Alexander Ewing from June 1867 to September 1869. They lived first at what once had been the *Golden Ball Inn* on Waterloo Row and later moved to a smaller house on George Street beside the 'old' Rectory. Her husband, 'Rex', was posted to the Headquarters, 1st Battalion, of Her Majesty's 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment, Fredericton. Juliana was very much the epitome of Victorian women. She was humble, poised, conservative, religious, and skilled in sewing, sketching and water colouring. No great beauty, she also was in delicate health during her time here. One friend, Bishop Medley, referred to her as 'the little body with a mighty heart.'

Her first experiences in Fredericton must have been traumatic. Married only three weeks, she immediately was confronted with establishing a household; buying furniture, renting a home, obtaining unfamiliar food, and acquiring reliable domestic help. This couple was socially outgoing and they quickly became involved in community activities such as theatrical productions, community choirs, and a host of other Church events.

One of her special interests was plants and gardening. She appeared to have a passion for growing flowers and vegetables. She told her Aunt Mary, in a letter dated February 9, 1868, that "I long to be at my garden! For in the short summer we have - everything grows & rushes into flower & fruit at tropical pace." Juliana, in another letter dated August 23, 1868, describes her kitchen garden.

"[W]here the 'Squash' whose strong shoots & tendrils, & splendidly formal handsome leaves seem resolutely determined to outgrow everything, are creeping on like a tide!"

Again, on September 18, 1868, she says,

"It was cold! And last night a frost has burnt my Squash (my poor grand luxuriant squash in all its pride - a squash rampant!) - my cucumber - and my tomatoes - Rex & I dragged in the fuschias last night after we came from the ball, so they are safe."

It is this picture of the details of everyday life in nineteenth century life which is so interesting. Juliana not only recorded her observations in letters sent back to her English family but she also drew numerous sketches and watercolours. Life in the colonies was a subject of interest for the English and it was not uncommon for travellers abroad to purchase or to sketch pictures of the landscapes and the people of the Canadian frontier. Beadwork and basketwork from the Micmac and Maliseet craftswomen also often were sent as souvenirs of the Canadian experience. Juliana was impressed enough to send her mother a basket from the St. Mary's Reserve. She also 'ran up' two red velvet tobacco bags and decorated them with two strips of Maliseet coloured beadwork.

She was self educated. Juliana neither attended school nor had a governess. She nevertheless, with her mother's guidance, acquired a taste for learning from an early age. Her drawing skills also were self taught. It was not until later in her life that she took formal art instruction. Her method of learning to

sketch was in copying such masters as Turner and Constable and she became highly proficient in emulating those various styles. Her sister, Horatia, described Juliana's work as excellent 'facsimiles' of the originals.

Her first submissions from Canada for *Aunt Judy's Magazine* were 'An Idyl of the Wood' and 'The Three Christmas Trees.' Her sister remarks that, "In these tales, the experiences of her voyage and fresh surroundings, became apparent." And, when you read the 'Three Christmas Trees,' it is obvious that Fredericton, a distant

colonial town with neat, parallel streets, is the setting.

She had a great love for animals and while in Fredericton, she kept 'Hector,' a snow-white, pink-nosed bulldog for a friend on leave. Juliana even returned to England with a once abandoned local black Retriever and gave him the name 'Trouvé.' She sketched both of these dogs and they appeared in some of her stories. Both Rex and Juliana deeply missed their dog 'Trotus' who was left behind in England. He was old and was unlikely to survive the voyage to Canada. But she had found a new love in Canada! She tells a sister in a letter dated September 29, 1867:

"Tell the Mum, I have fallen head over ears in love with another dog. Oh! bless his nose! (Rex says he is jealous) His name is Hector. He is a white pure bulldog. His face is more broad & round - & delicious & ferociously good natured - affectionately ogreish (sic) - than you can imagine. The moment I saw him I hugged him & kissed his benevolent bump & he didn't even growl!"

The 'Fredericton Letters' of Juliana Ewing are charming descriptions by a charming woman.

Those who are interested should consult: *Canada Home: Juliana Horatia Ewing's Fredericton Letters, 1867 - 1869*, edited by Margaret Howard Blom and Thomas E. Blom, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1983; Horatia K.F. Gatty, *Juliana Horatia Ewing and Her Books*, E. & J. B. Young & Co., New York, 1885; and Donna McDonald, *Illustrated News: Juliana Horatia Ewing's Canadian Pictures, 1867 - 1869*, Dundurn Press and the New Brunswick Museum, Toronto, 1985.



Juliana Ewing



Joseph Campbell Risteen . . . by Dorothy Vaughan

Joseph Campbell Risteen was born in Fredericton in 1830, his childhood being spent in Jacksonville, Carleton County, on the family farm. As a teenager he served his apprenticeship in Fredericton in the trade known as "Carpentry and Joinery". In 1853 he moved to Boston and had a small plant there where

he acquired much knowledge of machinery and methods, including the use of steam power not yet in vogue here. He returned to Fredericton in 1861 after the outbreak of the Civil War. While personally he received a warm welcome, his plan for a factory in Fredericton first met with a very cool reception. The factory was

believed a fire menace and use of steam power was considered "utter absurdity". Receiving little encouragement and definite opposition, he then moved to the family farm in Jacksonville and built homes in the neighborhood. In 1870 he again returned to Fredericton and after having two modest factories, in 1873 the final

location in the old stone Dibblee residence, corner of Queen and Smythe St. was opened for business. He had excellent craftsmen. Seats and inside finishing for churches was a branch of the business all through the years. No matter what the denomination, nor how low a price had been quoted, he always gave the church a gift, usually of collection plates made of Birds-eye maple, beautifully lathe turned by skillful hands. Business prospered, and the quality of the work is evident from the fact that in 1876 he was appointed delegate to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. He took for an exhibit an office composed of panels of our native woods, one panel from a tree on the Jacksonville farm. By request, it went to the Edinburgh Exhibition and afterwards to Germany, the latter request by letter was duly received although the only address was "Risteen, New Brunswick".

THE LOYALIST

My paternal grandfather (also named Joseph Risteen) was living in Philadelphia at the time of the revolt of the British Colonies in 1776. When I was about nine years old my Grandmother told me of his leaving home as follows – Being suspected by both the contestants in the struggle, he felt constrained to leave home. He was closely watched by the American Officers as he mounted his horse and rode slowly down to where two roads came together – one led to the American camp and the other to that of the British. Being quite a respectful distance in advance of the officers, who were also mounted, he applied spurs to his horse and rode towards the British camp. At a convenient point he left the horse, concealing himself in a heavy growth of wheat where he could watch his pursuers in the vain attempt to find him. During the night he made further progress and reached the British camp, thence to a vessel leaving his property and home for a new country and finally arrived at the Province of Nova Scotia after many adventures. At Shelbourne he married Catherine Sparling whose family were Loyalists from New York. They raised a family of six sons and four daughters, the youngest son, Jacob, was my father, born 1804. Jacob Risteen moved to Fredericton in 1826, married Eliza Brown, aged 17 in 1829 the granddaughter of Captain Tamerlane Campbell, one of the soldiers with the Royal Highlanders under General Guy Carleton at the siege of Quebec by Americans – 1775-76. They first lived in a house on the corner

of King and Regent Street. Jacob Risteen was a wheelwright and had a shop on Queen Street. Jacob exchanged this property with his brother John for 200 acres of land at Jacksonville, Carleton County. Taking his young wife and infant son Joseph with him, he commenced chopping and clearing his farm, having but little else in property but heroic courage and sublime faith in ultimate success. He had no assistance except that of his young, devoted wife. They lived in a small log house for two and a half years while clearing and planting several acres and building their house.

When I was fourteen my father Jacob died at the early age of forty-four with what the doctor classed as "dyspepsia" but I believe was over-work. After trying to run the farm for my mother and the children (the youngest was two), it became an impossible job and my mother decided to rent the farm and move back to Fredericton where our relatives were and I could take an apprenticeship.

SCHOOL DAYS (CARLETON COUNTY SCHOOL)

Summer of 1837 sister Adelaide and I began going to school. During my school days between 1837 and 1842 I never saw steel pens – all writing was done by pens made from goose or turkey quill feathers, dropped or pulled from their wings. Each pupil supplied the quills and our master making them into pens and sharpening them, and 'set the copy' running all the way from single stroke to fine hand-and some good writing was made! I recall Elizabeth Harper's as the best in the school. Our schools at this period were not graded. Pupils were from 6 to 20 years of age with but one teacher to look after young and old. In summer he would have 25 or more and in the winter about 50. There was no recess! While in general our teacher used rods of hazel or alder, which we boys cut for him at his orders, when they were used up his flat ruler of about 15" came into use. Hands must be held out to receive anywhere from one to four or even six slaps, just according to the gravity of the offence against the rules of the school. The only time I fell under the masters rod was once for chewing gum = "one slap".

HOME LIFE

Father and Mother were devoted and consistent Disciples of Christ and labored hard to impress their children with the great need of living good lives. Among my earliest recollection they always had 'Fam-

ily Prayers" after morning meal and also before retiring to rest, Father reading a chapter and they both making impromptu prayers, also any friend or neighbors who happened to be there. I have the bible my Mother gave me on my 21st birthday, April 16, 1851. I know their prayers and consistent life kept me from the many ways of sin and folly that far too many young people indulge in to their "Eternal Ruin". My earliest remembrance of Father and Mother is that they sang the old hymns in which I joined. We had very few books, we had the Bible, Methodist Hymn book, Baptist hymn book, School reader and arithmetic book. After my first year in school, when I was seven I could only go to school in the winter as Father needed me to help him on the farm. I studied my reader and arithmetic book, working all the sums up to and including 'cube root'.

MY FIRST COIN

In the summer of 1838 Mr. Israel Fellows, a friend of Father's from Nova Scotia, came to visit us – coming on horse back and remaining overnight. On leaving in the morning Mr. Fellows asked me to "cut a switch" and meet him a short distance from the house. On my presenting it to him he threw down an English half crown, worth now 62 cents and before I could recover from my surprise he was gone. That was the first coin ever had in my own possession and with it I bought a text book called English Spelling Book which I still have although having hard usage. I prize it very much, even after 64 years in service.¹

MOVING OF TROOPS

I think it was 1837 of that winter, father was away from home with his team moving the "Troops" up the River. The moving of the English Forces through New Brunswick was due to the Rebellion started in "Upper Canada" – now called Ontario – under Papineaus leadership – more of which you can learn from History. This rebellion assumed quite a serious aspect before any movement made for its suppression. It being winter, navigation on the Saint Lawrence was closed hence compelled to go via this method. One company was started each day, probably from Saint John, and provision made at regular appointed places for resting at night, hence a company leaving in the morning for the next stage – their place would be occupied on the same evening by another until all had passed through.

Father that winter had a pair of horses nearly white and good travellers. He took

the lead and kept it to the end of the journey of the double teams which was at Lake Tamiscouta.

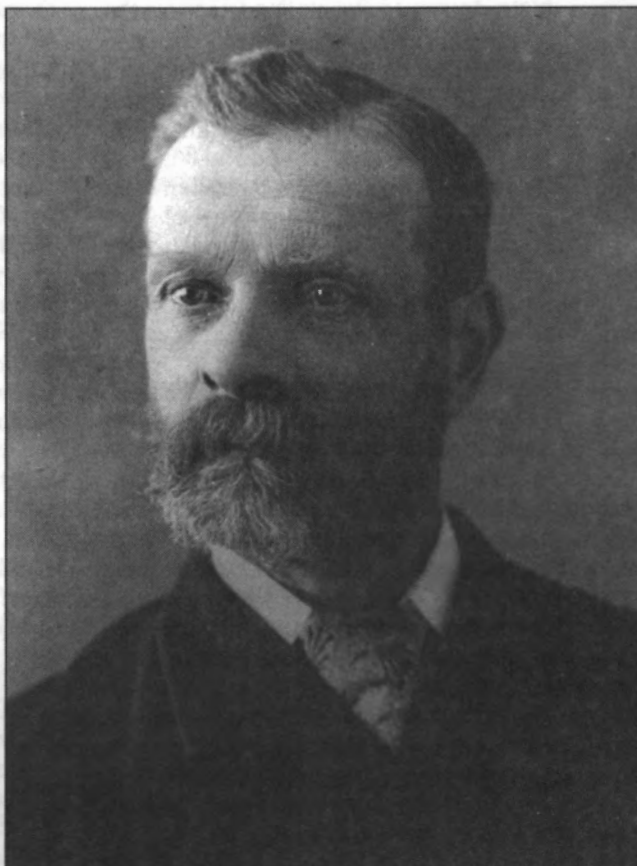
AN 1840 TRIP TO FREDERICTON

The greatest event of my life up until the age of 10 was in the winter of 1840. That winter my father took my cousin, John Risteen and I with him by horse and sleigh for a visit to his parents in Fredericton. The first night we stopped at Eel River on the east side of the river. On the second night we put up at Mr. Bent's in the Parish of Queensbury. We arrived in Fredericton about noon on the following day. My uncle, Phillip Risteen then lived nearly opposite the Methodist Church on Carleton Street in one of the Stewart houses. The greatest attraction for me was the regiment of soldiers (about 600) and their fine band. It was the first time we boys had heard a band or had seen a parade. They were marching to the old Episcopal Church which was then standing right beside where our fine Cathedral is now. Afterwards, on the completion of the Cathedral, the old church was moved, about 1853. On Sunday, in company with my cousin, we followed the soldiers inside. (I was 10 and John was 11 years of age). We went up the aisle, but no one offered to give us a seat. We crossed over at the reading desk or altar to the opposite aisle and thence to the outside. In after years I have wondered what the pew-holders thought of our adventure. The memory of that trip to Fredericton will never fade from me while conscious! Saint Anne's stone church was dedicated in March 1847.

Evidently his experience of having to leave a church, unwanted, stuck in his memory as he said. The following account was also written by him. He mentions no names, but I think it was himself and his cousin John who were working in Boston and returned to Fredericton for a visit. Here are the words he wrote:

The following incident which happened many years ago gives you some idea of the manner in which strangers are treated by some so-called Christian bodies when they enter to join in the worship of Christ. In a certain town, which I won't mention, a "Yankee" entered on Sabbath - there were no ushers because none were required. All who wor-

shipped there knew where their pew was located and no others were expected, nor desired, each pew-holder keeping his door closed against any one intruding! Our subject walked up the aisle to the altar - then crossing over, went down the other aisle to the door - looking up a suitable block of wood, returned with it and walking near the altar sat down on the block. Presently another stranger entered and wended his way up to the man sitting on the block, who, graciously and insistently offered his seat - then turned towards the door pre-



Joseph Campbell Risteen, about 1890

sumably with the intention of securing another block for himself, but immediately several pew doors were opened and seats offered!

FATHER HARDING

A very peculiar and notable person! Just where he came from or where he went I never knew! I think it was in the summer of 1845 that one day he called at our home. (This was at the family home in Jacksonville). I remember it was during the forenoon. He always travelled by horse and saddle, the common method at that date. He arrived at the house and getting off the horse he 'kneeled down' directly in our door yard, and uttered a short prayer, then informed Mother "That the Spirit led

him to our house - that he was riding along the 4th tier road and on coming to our by-road he let the horse have the rein to go as he pleased". He stayed a couple of days. He had long white hair, long white beard and mustache. Many statements were made of his actions, but he was welcomed generally because all believed he was a very good man. In those days everybody shaved clean or in part. No one allowed their mustache to grow, hence he was a object of curiosity! Some simple-minded people thought he might be John the Baptist, still remaining on the earth.

MOVING TO FREDERICTON - 1846

It was during that Fall-1846, (I was 16) at high water that the steamboat "Reindeer", built and owned by Thomas Pickard, engine and boat designed by Benjamin Tibbits to work with both high and low pressure steam, reached Woodstock. It was the first steamboat I ever saw. The water having fallen, Mother engaged a common flat tow-boat to move the family effects, including at that time our dear old Grandmother Brown. I can well remember that October morning of our having assistance of some friends in the removal and getting placed on that boat at Upper Woodstock. Our passage was very slow - just drifting - we arrived that first night at the Meductic Falls and hauled up for the night - the women and children securing shelter in a nearby farm house. The next day we got to Lawrence Point seven miles above Fredericton. The day following, we arrived at our destination and moved into a house on King Street, secured for us by mother's sister Rebecca.

It had been arranged that I was to go with the late R.P. Winter to learn the trade of carpenter and builder. I took the only opportunity that was left to secure any additional schooling. It was with Mr. J.G. Lorimer-three months ending early in March 1847. The school building stood about where now is the office of Messrs. B.W. Hoegg on Northumberland and next to the residence of Franklin McCausland. There were about 50 in attendance that term, among then Mr. Quinn the grocer and Mrs. Jos. Vandine.

APPRENTICESHIP

In 1848, at the age of 18, I was apprenticed to a Mr. Richard Winter, Westmorland Street, to learn the carpentry trade. The custom in those days was for the apprentices to board with their employers and receive certain amount yearly for clothing. I received the 1st year \$26.00 – 2nd year \$40.00 – 3rd year \$48.00 – 4th year \$56.00. These wages would not be considered liberal in these days. During the 4 years I did not lose over one week and made that good after April 1, 1851. In those days we began work at 6 A.M., Breakfast at 8, resume work at 9 – 12 to 1 for dinner, 5 to 6 for tea, quitting at 8 P.M. making 11 hours labor. During short daylight each had a candle at his bench. Oftimes we worked until 9 o'clock, being thus a pretty long day, but it kept us out of mischief. The late Judge L. A. Wilmot came in the shop one day and inquired of my employer if "Risteen" could sing? Mr. Winters said "I don't know, I never heard him make any attempt". Mr. Wilmot then said, "Some of that name could" – and why not let him attend A.P. Miller's singing class? That remark resulted in my becoming one of a class of probably 40 or more. I did not expect to profit much, but to meet others and to get clear of night work! I soon became interested and made some progress. A number of us were taken into the Methodist choir. I went to New York to work in 1853 and soon found a Methodist church on 4th street and became a member of its choir. This and practice on a flute helped my loneliness. I was seldom absent. When I move to Worcester and attended the Methodist body there I was soon asked to assist in the choir. I returned to Fredericton in 1861, and soon after was asked to assist the late Ely Perkins in starting a choir to have in readiness to handle the music at the dedication of the new F. B. Church, corner of York and Brunswick. It passed off very well. Ely was a fine leader, had charge of the Kirk choir for a long time.

THE FIRST STEAM WHISTLE

[J.C.R. was 18 years of age when this event occurred.]

It was in the Fall of 1848 (or 9) that the first steam whistle was heard in this section. A few years previously a small steamboat called "The Madawaska" was built above Grand Falls. Not proving profitable [that sounds natural for N.B.] the boat was hauled out and around the Falls to the basin below, thence to Fredericton. While being repaired, there was placed on it the aforesaid steam whistle. I was, with

others, building a house on the old Springhill road above the Rainsford estate. On our way home we heard that whistle, and, being our first experience with a steam whistle, the noise seemed unearthly! It was the cause of fright to everybody, all the way from Fredericton down the river to Saint John. There were many guesses as to what the noise was. Mr. Barker on Sunbury Street, thought that some wild animal had entered the sewer in the street. The late Honourable W.H. Odell came galloping into town on horseback to learn the cause of the noise. He met Elias Yerxa who informed him what it was, but the Honourable Mr. Odell was so incredulous that he spoke sharply, saying "Do you know who I am?" Mr. Yerxa calmly repeated his explanation. Our local papers were full of incidents, many very humorous, of that eventful night. The whole of Indiantown was out to meet the boat upon its arrival after midnight, such was the uproar caused by the first steam whistle!"

FREDERICTON'S GREATEST FIRE

Early in November – the 11th – 1850, the greatest fire Fredericton had yet experienced occurred early in the afternoon. It had a very small beginning, which I will try to explain as nearly as possible. There was a house on Carleton quite near the old Methodist Church to which a shed was attached and a small barn. A man was cutting wood in the yard and it was said went into the barn to have a 'smoke', afterward resuming his work. Very soon a fire developed and before anything could be done the blaze had caught the side of the Church and soon was at the top of the spire, when, aided by brisk wind, the sparks and cinders spread the conflagration to several other points below. I remember seeing the organ removed to the old Cemetery. The fire made a sweep of nearly four blocks and shortly after came a fall of four inches of snow. I remember it was a dismal and dreary sight. The military then stationed here were very efficient in the assistance they gave both in caring for the goods placed under their protection and also in fighting the fire. I can remember seeing Officers Square about covered with the stock removed from the stores and smaller shops, with the sentries pacing their rounds and giving protection to the goods. Up to about 1868, English soldiers were stationed here and after gun-fire, nine o'clock, part of the very efficient band consisting of fife and drum, would assemble near the corner of Queen and Regent Streets and give a most delightful half hour concert. Needless to say they were well

patronized every fair summer's night until inclement weather prevented.

FREDERICTON'S FIRST FIRE DEPARTMENT

In early times in our city every householder was required to have one or more leather fire buckets and bring them to the scent of the fire under pain of fines. About 1850 or '51 I joined the Company attached to No. 1 engine, with many others, possibly 30 or 40, of whom I recall only William Cooper and myself that are now living. (Written in 1903) Our dress uniform was white pants, blue frock jacket, glazed hat with a gold band around the hat instead of ribbon, with the Figure "t" on front of the band. While this uniform looked neat and tidy, it was not suitable for real service. Our Cptain was John Moore who taught school in a building near the curling rink on Brunswick Street. The river was the source of water. If the fire was too far from the river, one tub at the river side would supply water to the second tub to throw on the fire. A bucket brigade would be formed of two rows of men facing each other, each having a leather bucket – one line to pass empty buckets to the river – those filled passed up the line to the engine. It was surprising how fast water could be moved in this manner. It used a lot of men but you could not get clear of the duty except by going to jail.

THE BURNING OF OUR SECOND EXHIBITION BUILDING

In the year 1864 the first Exhibition Palace was built here, which was a beautiful and artistic building, and the Provincial Exhibition was held that fall and others followed, as also the building used for other purposes, including the military who had troops housed. After the latter were withdrawn the property was not carefully looked after, result was that it was destroyed by fire in 1877 whether accidentally or wilfully. I doubt if generally known. The next building was more plain, but well adapted for holding of Exhibitions. I think it was erected in 1879, one or more fairs had been held and also used for other purposes. I recall that it was in that building where our Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne and his wife-Her Royal Highness "Princess Louise" held their reception when paying our city a visit. They arrived and departed by boat and while here were guests at Government House. Our streets and public buildings were beautifully illuminated and draped with flag and bunting. This building was also destroyed a few years after the building

of it about 1882. It was proved to be the work of Fire Fiends. I think they were arrested and punished. One evening about midnight we were awakened by the fierce roaring of the fire. The whole heavens were lighted up, some wind blew from the south - result was that it literally "rained Fire" and in the direction of our factory the sky literally full of "burning brands" molten glass, pieces of blazing boards 10 "to 20" long one of which alighted on our lumber shed and started a blaze which I soon put out. I was much alarmed, having no one to assist for a while except a new watchman just from the "old land" who knew but little about the premises. Thus while the storm of fire-works looked very dangerous for all the upper section of the town, it was prevented only by each one watching their own property. No further damage occurred but it was a night long to be remembered by all those who were eye witness.

PUTTING THE HIGH STEEPLE ON THE HIGH TOWER ON OUR CHURCH

The new Methodist Church was commenced in the Summer of 1851, getting the materials and foundation ready. In 1852 the building was set up and completed for dedication on the 19th of December 1852. The high steeple was built inside the tower, thence raised to its lofty position. I recall very clearly that raising. Later I placed the sittings for the choir in the end gallery and where the first (old) organ was placed. (That's the present back gallery)". I belonged to the choir at the time. Rev. Mr. Churchill was our pastor.

EARLY CANDLE LIGHT

In my childhood days all religious "Social Services" and "Prayer meetings" were announced as 'At the hour of Early Candle Light'. Our people thought nothing of driving four to five miles on a cold winter's night to meet in such service, perhaps to them no more trouble than nowadays (1902) for some to walk a few city blocks to hear fine music and preaching in our finely-lighted and modern churches. Tallow candles were used almost exclusively in the country - at least until 1850.

1867 - YEAR OF BIRTH OF CANADA

(Written at the Family Farm)

JULY 1st, 1867: A fine day, Quite a little stir in Woodstock in honour of the birthday of the New Dominion. Throughout this

Province and all the rest embraced in the act of Union, the day was generally observed and celebrated, to some extent. The Act is now done, and Union - on paper - has been accomplished. We hope for the best results to arise from it. Many think otherwise. Time alone can tell, and for that we must wait patiently. The Cabinet for the General Government is said to be formed. Messrs. Tilley and Mitchell are the representatives of N. B., whether with office or not is not known as yet. Rumor says H. C. Connell will offer for this County to go to Ottawa. I suppose elections will be holden here soon to fill all vacancies also in the General Parliament.

SALVATION ARMY From 1886 Diary

Sept. 18th Saturday: In the evening went down town as usual - Good many people out. Salvation Army Barracks opened to the public for the first. Hope they accomplish much good.

Sept. 19th Sunday: Up in usual season, attended church twice. Mr Dobson preached. I attended the army meeting in the afternoon. The children went in the evening as I had promised them.

Sept. 20th Monday: Salvation Army folks had a grand supper and all night of prayer continuing up to 5 A.M. this morning. Early to rest tonight!

SEMI CENTENNIAL JUBILEE EXERCISES OF FTON METHODIST CHURCH (December 30, 1902)

From Diary of 1902

Tues. Dec. 30, 1902: Another beautiful day, quite mild and fine. After breakfast I went to our Church and with assistance had the tables all placed ready for the Tea tonight. In the evening we attended the Tea. It was given 'free to all'. The bill of fare included roast turkey and chicken, cold boiled ham, mashed potatoes, corn, green peas, jellies, creams, cakes, sandwiches and other gastronomic delights, served in a manner which elicited the highest praise for the efficient staff of waiters as well as waitresses. They served between five and six hundred adults from 14 years of age upwards. The younger children had their own Jubilee supper the next day when three or four hundred were present. It was very inspiring to see so large a company and well filled tables, beautifully set. We heard

some speeches, then music by Hanlons Orchestra and a collection was taken in aid of church debt. Hanlons famous orchestra of eight pieces, from a position on the platform, rendered an admirable program during the progress of the meal, contributing much to the pleasure of the occasion. A hearty vote of thanks was tendered the orchestra for their services, which had been given gratuitously.

Wed. Dec. 31: I have been at the church to witness the children at their special tea. The year is closing - I am one year nearer the end of this life. This evening I have some duties at the Church and will attend the usual Watch night service, which for me may be my last. Just now, I am grateful for continuous good health.

[He was 72 at this time and lived to be 87, dying in 1917. He probably thought because he was over "Three score years and ten" that he might be called anytime.]

FROM THE FINAL ENTRY IN "SOME GLIMPSE OF THE PAST"

[In closing, I would like to present a few sentences from the final entry in his writings.]

As I look on my past life I cannot reproach myself with idleness or frivolity, and feel that even if my life was again open to me, I would follow similar occupation or business, avoiding any mistake, so far as possible, that is now evident and thus be hopeful of better success. While here in the flesh, I always had high esteem and respect for all who endeavored to live good lives. While young the prayers of my father and mother followed me almost daily and continued all through my life, and no doubt their influence kept me from going so far astray. I was a pretty faithful attendant at "Gods House" and I am thankful I was spurred for better service later in life in the fall of 1895 when the Lord sent to our city Messrs. Cropley and Hunter to stir the people up to their duty. Whatever there has been wrong in my life, I feel sure and know God will forgive and forget even as Christ has promised to forgive all who look to Him through faith and earnestly seek for forgiveness. *

Notes

1. JCR was eight years old when he bought this book, which the author now has.

Special Feature

(All Archival Lectures reproduced from the author's original typed script.
Grammar and terminology maintained - Pages 18-34)

Fredericton's Early Days . . . by W. Stewart MacNutt

[ed. The following was a radio address given on behalf of the York-Subury Historical Society on 25 November 1959.]

Fredericton's history really commences a little over two hundred years ago when the French and English were struggling for the control of the North American continent. This wide stretch of the central St. John, lined by low plains of interval land extending back to high hills on each side and joined by several tributaries, had for several centuries been an important meeting place for the Indians of the region. In 1745, after Louisburg had fallen to the English, the French from Quebec commenced to make greater use of the St. John as a means of communication with the Atlantic seaboard during the winter season. They founded here a mission station and a supply depot that became known as St. Anne's.

During the great Seven Year's War, St. Anne's experienced the ruthless quality of the frontier warfare that prevailed in that conflict. New England troops, operating from Fort Frederick at the mouth of the river, burnt one hundred dwellings, killed the cattle of the settlers, and captured the few Frenchmen who survived the encounter and did not succeed in escaping to the woods. This was in February, 1759. The leader in this foray was Moses Hazen, later a major-general in the rebel army of 1775. He was a cousin of William Hazen, the New Englander who deserves to be remembered as the founder of Saint John.

In the first years of the British rule that followed, English settlement commenced on the St. John but only below St. Anne's. It was the land at Maudslayi that first drew any considerable volume of immigration from New England, the only source from which population could come at this time. Even after twenty years of British control there were only twelve hundred English-speaking people along the whole river from Saint John to St. Anne's. The country was still in a wilderness state. Documents of the time indicate pretty clearly that the Malecites of the river valley still constituted a peril. Grudgingly they would tolerate English settlement below St. Anne's but not above it. The actual ground on which Fredericton now

stands was known, in a loose kind of way, as Mercure's Plantation, since it was occupied and tilled, without title, by Louis Mercure, an Acadian who later performed distinguished service for the British in the revolutionary war by conveying intelligence between Quebec and Halifax.

The effective founding of a town on this fertile strip of central New Brunswick did not come until after the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists in 1783. In the latter part of this year a small party of these unfortunate refugees landed in the lower part of what is today the City of Fredericton, the precise spot being marked by a large boulder surmounted by a plaque. Among officers of the British Army at this time there was a determination to do honour to Frederic, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, the second son of George III, who was extremely popular owing to his efforts to improve pay and allowances and who held his episcopal sinecure in Germany as a mark of grace from his royal father. For a short time the region of what is today the City was known as Osnaburgh.

In November of 1784 there arrived Thomas Carleton, the first governor of New Brunswick. He wished to establish, as soon as possible, a capital site for the new province at a place from which the colonization of the unoccupied north could be effectively prosecuted. He considered Oromocto where the British had maintained a small post during the late years of the Revolutionary War, but Edward Winslow and others pointed out to him what they considered to be the superior advantages of St. Anne's. In the spring of 1785, it became known that the capital would be located here and in the autumn the formal establishment of the town of Fredericton took place. In November of this year, Frederic, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, visited Berlin to be married and the King granted to him the more imposing title of Frederic, Duke of York and Albany. Almost simultaneously Osnaburgh in New Brunswick became Fredericton in the county of York.

The next few years witnessed a rapid growth as officers and men of the disbanded army and other loyal refugees settled on the banks of the St. John about Fredericton and along the tributary riv-

ers nearby. Many abandoned the tasks they commenced but the majority remained. The provincial legislature first met in Fredericton in 1787. The movement of so many people into what was virtually an unbroken forest was in large part financed by the British Government. Loyalist leaders believed that New Brunswick could become the centre of a new British Empire in North America that was just beginning to take some semblance of meaning. The men who founded Fredericton had staked everything they possessed on loyalty to the Crown and had lost. Long after the great issues of the revolutionary war had been settled the measure of their devotion to George III was poignantly illustrated by the purchase in 1821, the year following the King's death, of the celebrated portraits by Reynolds that adorn our legislative chamber.

So long as British bounty nourished the growth of New Brunswick, Fredericton prospered but this came to an abrupt conclusion in 1793 when another great war against France broke out. The dreams of a prosperity that would put the revolted American colonies in the shade disappeared quickly and Fredericton, instead of becoming a busy emporium for the occupation of the north, became a sleepy, provincial town, chiefly distinguished for its pastoral beauties, its sheepcotes and white washed cottages. In 1792 Thomas Carleton had two regiments of the line under his command in the province, one of which was largely occupied in patrolling the precincts of his gubernatorial mansion near St. Anne's point. In the next year they were gone and the government was going in for farming on a grand scale, as, indeed, were most of the leading officials of the province. His plan for fortifying Fredericton and making of it a great military centre no longer seemed plausible.

In great contrast to the bustling commercialism of Saint John "the metropolis of New Brunswick", as Fredericton was rather jocularly called in its early years, relapsed into a tranquillity that was seldom disturbed except for the frequency of its fires, the annual meeting of the legislature and the springtime emergence of hundreds of lumberjacks from the forest upriver. Writers of the nineteenth century

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almost invariably describe it as a place that seemed to be a trifle removed from the world, a town of simple though respectable colonial homes, the dwelling-place of learned jurists and erudite clergymen, a centre of academic repose and poetic effervescence, a market town closely in harmony with the rural delights that surrounded it. Especially in Saint John it was known as "the Celestial City".

In its effort to preserve the memories of the past that has in such large part made up what we are the York-Sunbury Historical Society has recently moved to new and more commodious quarters. One of Fredericton's most distinctive buildings, the Officers' Barracks, standing in the heart of the City, has been acquired from the provincial government as a museum. Work of restoration, designed to make the building a replica of what it was when it was constructed in 1851, is now in progress and the exhibits of the Society are being prepared for exhibition to the public. Here will be seen innumerable articles that were familiar in the lives of our ancestors. Less



Fredericton from Peabody's Creek, Nashwaaksis in 1865

familiar but more exciting is the famous Coleman Frog of Killarney Lake whose prodigious proportions have aroused wonder in distant lands and who in his lifetime, according to authenticated reports, quaffed the whiskey that was offered to him by generous tourists. Here are the pistols that were employed in the famous Street-Wetmore duel on Maryland Hill in 1821, reminiscent of a day when young

lawyers, fresh from an altercation in court, resorted to a form of settlement that was fashionable though highly illegal. Colonial Fredericton was an interesting place. The profuse sampling of objects that are vivid reminders of a rich and storied past, presently to be offered by the York-Sunbury Society, should be received with approval by a grateful public.



Indians at the Heart of New Brunswick . . . by Lilian M.B. Maxwell

The Indians of New Brunswick belong to two distinct tribes, the Micmac and the Maliseets which differ in language and mode of life. The Micmac live in villages along the coast while the tendency of the Maliseets is to move about upon the rivers in the interior. Both tribes have always been friendly.

The Maliseet tribe, to which the St. John River Indians belong, is a branch of the Penobscot Indians who belong to the Abenaki race of New England. It was always the custom for the youngest tribe to move eastward.

Of the Abenaki tribe, Montague Chamberlain of Boston, formerly of St. John and an authority of Indians wrote: "They were organized on the same general plan common to most of the North American tribes, the old men forming a council which is

presided over by the chief or Sakum (sachem) who was elected by the people at large. The members of the council were not elected but were appointed by the chief. The council discussed tribal affairs but neither made nor enforced laws. They had no laws. Crime was almost unknown to them but when it occurred was punished by vote of the Council. The children were carefully trained by the old women of the village. The young women did not mingle with the young men and were not allowed to marry until about 24 when the parents arranged a suitable match. They had many gods, sometimes good, sometimes evil. They believed in a future life but not in a future punishment. Before being degraded by white man's influence, the Abenaki were highly moral. They were honest, truthful and just, hospitable to a fault and unswerv-

ing in fidelity to their friends. Married women were rarely inconstant and maidens never unchaste. They were revengeful and tortured their victims but more from superstition than from inhumanity. Their reserve is proverbial but is due to their extreme bashfulness, their dread of ridicule and their respect for those they deem their superiors.

A note written on the margin of the Von Velden map of the Restigouche River (N.B. C.L. Off.) made in 1786 before the country was settled reads: "The Mickmax occupy this river. The French converted them to Christianity. Mass is celebrated four to six times per annum in a small log church where they attend with great devotion. They have gardens and raise pumpkins, maize, etc."

The Indians were Christianized by the

French but the coming of the white race caused deterioration through the introduction of alcohol but chiefly through the constant offering of bribes and bestowal of gifts by the warring white factions from the time of the earliest explorers down to the coming of the Loyalists in 1783, when from the number of the whites the Indian danger ceased. With the fighting nations, the most powerful weapon was an Indian ally. Through the French and English wars, vast sums were spent by the French Governor at Quebec and the English at Halifax and New England for provisions, munitions and gifts to the Indians. Even the priests resorted to the same influence. Father Le Loutre wrote in his autobiography, "Necklaces were sent first to the Indians of the River St. John to induce them to break the treaty which they had with the English. After a time, a number of Indians from the River St. John arrived." (Webster) All through the War of the Revolution it was the same. Subjected to this demoralizing cross-fire for 300 years the Indians found themselves after the arrival of our New England ancestors in needy circumstances.

The Indians of this region came to the St. John river from the west by way of Eel River and settled at the end of the route at Meductic where they made their headquarters until the first invasion of the Iroquois (Chamberlain). They then moved down the river to the islands above the present "Spring Hill", a circumspect position over looked on either side of the river by Spring Hill and Currie's Mountain where look-outs could be posted. Chamberlain relates that they settled on the large island just above Spring Hill called it Hekpahak (now Savage Island) and built their village there. This village was enclosed by a palisade; a high fence of posts driven into the ground and fastened together at the top with withes. Against this fence were two flat-roofed buildings, a council house and a 40 foot long building for festival ceremonies. Within the enclosure also were the conical shaped wigwams made of birch bark with an opening at top for the smoke.

Edward Jack in the "Acadiensis" related that the Indian Gab. Acquin told him this island was called "Old Town" and was the summer home of the Indians, where the wigwams formed a circle with a space for dancing in the centre. Gab related how at one time when the dance was on an old woman rushed into the centre saying "There is trouble, there is trouble!" She

said a band of Mohawks were hiding behind Currie's Mountain waiting for dark to descend upon them. The dance kept on, the warriors gradually dropping out leaving their places to old men and women. A mark of identification was agreed on by the braves and they hid in the bush. The dance was continued through the night by the wearied Indians and at intervals a Mohawk head was thrown into the centre. Thus all the Mohawk party was dispatched with the exception of a few who were sent back to their tribe minus ears and nose. Gab also said that on Sugar Island, the large island below the mouth of the Keswick, there used to be a race-track around the edge where youths tried their speed and where as a boy he had seen traces of the track.

Chamberlain stated that the village of Aukpaque on the shore above Spring Hill did not appear until after the French came to St. Anne Point after 1700. If so, the statement which the Indians of French Village and Devon make, namely that the Indian chapel was on Savage Island is probably true. The first Indian chapel was erected at Meductic in 1717 and was presented with a bell and other gifts by Louis XIV of France. When the Indians moved to Savage Island called Heganak or Auk-pack they took the French King's gifts and the Priest Father Bailly burned the church at Meductic to prevent desecration. The Indians now show a burying ground at the centre of Savage Island beside which probably stood the second church - the church the Indians burned in 1763 when the English, wishing to keep the French out of Acadia, refused them a priest. In 1777, Col. John Allen the American instigator of a war stayed at Auk-pack in the priest's house beside the chapel. This chapel had probably been erected at the mainland village at the place now called Chapel Field, and was probably the "old chapel" which is spoken of as one of the government memorials as the place where in 1786 the Loyalist officers met and drew lots for the island lots. Through all the changes, the Indians clung to their church bell though at one time the priest took it to the church at the Indian village of Madawaska but the Auk-paque Indians stole it and brought it back again. This bell was destroyed in the fire which burned the church at French Village in 1904. The Indians moved to the latter village in 1794 after they sold Auk-paque. However, the church at French Village, the Chapel of St. Anne, still contains treasures, namely a large old

leather-bound book printed in 1603, a miseale presented by the Ursulines of Quebec to the Jesuit Germain, one of the first missionaries north of the Bay of Fundy, and also the parish register made by Abbe Bailly in 1767. Savage Island and Auk-paque were bought from the Indians by the Loyalist Col. Isaac Allen. He built his first house at the lower end of the island. It was standing when my father was a boy.

Another spot of historic interest is the hill below Fredericton occupied at present by the Government Experiment Farm. The Indian name for the hill is Meediowdekek meaning green-to-the-waters-edge. On this hill, a number of stone arrow-heads and spear heads have been found. The granddaughter of old Gab Acquin, Mrs. Sapier Sapier says a great battle was once fought there. Another story by the same woman is of a battle in the lumbering days of the last century between 100 stream drivers with peevy handles and 50 Indians with war clubs fought at French Village. The Indians won.

That the Indians have been in this vicinity for a long time is proved by a discovery made by C. Taylor, our assistant curator. He, when a small boy helping other small boys bury a dead calf in the old Indian grave-yard above Government House, came upon a root-bound skeleton buried in a sitting posture with a stone on the lap, the manner of burial in use before the coming of the white race.

It is written in the N.B Historical Society Notes, I do not know on what authority, that in the 17th century many of the Indians at Meductic died of a plague and the bodies were brought down by canoe to be buried on the first island in the Nashwaak river opposite this city.

ON THE NASHWAAK

Later at the close of the 18th century, great camps of savages gathered about Governor Villebon's Fort at the mouth of the Nashwaak, Micmacs from the Miramichi and Beaubasin, braves of the Penobscot, Maliseets of the St. John, to be led by French officers by way of the St. John River's western tributaries to make raids on the settlements of New England.

Truce was called to these Indian wars when in 1725, 45 chiefs (including Francis Xavier of Auk-paque) representative of all the eastern Indians were gathered at Boston. After a month of feasting at the English expense, a truce was signed be-

tween the Indians and English and two years later three chiefs and twenty-six warriors from Meductic went to Halifax and took the Oath of Allegiance. Again in 1749, the St. John River Indians went to Halifax to make submission.

In 1759, when Acadia for the last time came under British rule, the Indians automatically became subject of the Crown. Up to this time, the Indians had been cared for, taught and influenced by the French priests. Consequently, through the century and a half struggle for Acadia, their sympathies had been with the French, many of whom, when exiled, they had given shelter. Following the fall of Quebec in 1759, however, a delegation of the St. John River Indians went to Colonel Arbuthnot at Fort Frederick at the mouth of the river to offer their assurance of allegiance and accompanied him to Halifax. There they signed a treaty and promised to remain neutral if war should again arise. They were rewarded with a gift of 4 acres at St. Anne's Point which included the burial ground and the site of the burned French church, the site of the present Government House, and five miles above at Auk-paque, four acres for a church, and 500 acres of woodland, also the island opposite

called Savage or Indian Island. This is probably the reason why the Indians two years later drove the first New England settlers from St. Anne's Point down to what is now Maugerville.

In that same year, 1762, Charles Morris, Surveyor General of N.S., wrote "the island opposite Auk-paque called Indian or Savage was the place where the Maliseets held their annual Council when all differences and disputes were settled and hunting grounds allotted to each family before they began their summer hunt".

In 1765, when the Government of Halifax laid out Sunbury Township, which extended along the river from Mill Creek (now Fraser's Mill) to what is now Longe Creek, they exempted for the Indians "500 acres including a church and burying ground at Auk-paque and four acres for a burying ground at St. Anne's Point and the island commonly called Indian". The Loyalist Heddon Grant of 1786 gave 4 acres for an Indian burying ground at the site of what is now Government House but after that the Indian claim was apparently allowed to lapse.

The Indians were naturally in sympathy with the defeated Catholic French and in 1765 threatened to take the war-path

saying their hunting privileges had been taken from them but they were held in check by the wise and tactful Michael Franklin, Indian Agent, and Deputy James White.

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, the new American Congress authorized Washington to call forth and engage the Indians of Nova Scotia, of the Penobscot River and of the St. John to take up the hatchet and fight against the English. Colonel John Allen was appointed by Congress as Agent over these eastern Indians. In 1777, a delegation from the St. John River under Pierre Tomah, whose descendants live at French Village, accepted Washington's invitation and journeyed to his head-quarters where they were sumptuously entertained. They promised Washington 600 warriors and carried back a personal letter from him to the Indians of the St. John River.

The same year Colonel John Allen, the American, took up residence at Auk-paque and was made a member of the tribe but Allen and the Indians, 480 of them, were chased by a body of troops under Major Studholme and Colonel Franklin who had come up the river in two warships. Allen and the Indians fled from Auk-paque to



Native Wigwams at Fredericton

Meductic and then by way of Eel River to Machias on the seacoast.

The following year the Indians returned their English flag to Major Studholme at the mouth of the river with a letter, dictated by Allen, declaring their intention of joining the Revolution which "their Father and the King of France had favored". One enthusiast changed his name to Arganout Washington (Abbe Albert). They then began to maraud the settlers along the river. They burned the log house of Captain Benjamin Glasier of Galasak (Lincoln). Captain Glasier, the first Loyalist, had left his Massachusetts regiment and brought his family by schooner to this river. James White, Deputy Indian Agent, came up the river, met the savages, and induced them to go to Fort Howe. Major Studholme called in the Indian chiefs from Chignecto to Quebec and sent to the Bay of Chaleur for Father Bourg, in his early days one of the exiled Acadians. Father Bourg trusted alike by English, French and Indians addressed the Indians at Fort Howe and read them a letter from the Bishop of Quebec stating that any rebellious Indian henceforth should not be allowed to enter a church. Two hundred and twenty-five pounds worth of presents were distributed. Finally, Chief Pierre Tomah, after spending an hour apart in silence, declared for the English King.

Pierre Tomah had always favoured the English. As a boy he had fought on the Plains of Abraham, losing an arm and an eye. When he was 93 years old Sir Howard Douglas provided for him. His descendants are at French Village.

Of Father Bourg, Dr. Raymond, from whom I have taken much of this war material, wrote "It is not too much to say that the security of the lives and property of the English settlers on the River during the Revolutionary War was in a large measure due to his (Bourg's) efforts and influence". The Indians kept the peace to the end of the war and lived at the joint expense of the contending parties. In 1780 a great pow-wow was held at Auk-paque by Major Studholme, James White, and Father Bourg in which 800 warriors and 600 women and children took part and for which a schooner load of provisions was sent from Nova Scotia. The following year Colonel Franklin distributed presents to 383 Indians at the new black house at Oromocto.

With the end of the Revolution in 1783 and the opening up of the new province, the Indians were neglected.

In 1788 Governor Carleton, writing to Lord Dorchester, stated that during the winter of that year the settlers at Meductic had been frightened at the menacing behavior of the savages and he had ordered provisions to be sent up from Fredericton so that the settlers, if attacked, could gather in one or two buildings and defend themselves.

The trouble continuing the following winter, Major Murray and Captain DePeyster were sent to Meductic with a message from the Governor to the Indian chiefs. The latter declared that the trouble had been caused by some young Indians getting intoxicated.

The message follows:

"A Message"

"From His Excellency the Governor, To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nation on the St. John River,

Brothers,

Many complaints have come to my Ears that some of your people use the Inhabitants about Meductic very ill, take their goods by force and threaten them and that one of your men has attempted to kill Capt. Smith. I must therefore speak plainly—I will not suffer such bad behavior to go unpunished. You are ill advised by some wicked persons who want to stir up mischief and to see you ruined.

When one of our farmers killed Pierre Boneau, I ordered a Court to try him and he was publicly hanged for the murder. If any of you commit the same crime, the same punishment will follow. Let me warn you before it is too late Unless you behave friendly to the White People in your Neighborhood, you cannot stay there; but if they do your wrong I will punish them, for I will protect you so long as you show yourselves friends but no longer. Let the old prudent man, amongst you keep the young men in order lest the whole Tribe grow disobedient and bring down upon their heads the resentment of the King which must be their destruction." (Pierre Boneau was killed near Lake George by two soldiers who stood trial and one was hanged. Governor Carleton stated in his report that the event caused much sadness for the man hanged was a great favorite.)

In 1787, Governor Carleton wrote to his brother Lord Dorchester: "The Indians in this country exclusive of those residing at the Bay of Chaleur are few in number, not perhaps exceeding a hundred men, who at different seasons remove from the River St. John to the St. Croix. They were considered by the Government of Nova Scotia as a wandering tribe, not of sufficient importance to be deemed proprietors of this extensive country—No provision has I believe been made of late years for these people".

(The report of M.H. Perley for the year 1841 gives 935 Micamacs and 442 Maliseets in N.B.)

Restlessness continued among the Indians for some years especially in the upper St. John district where the traders brought liquor from Quebec. In 1793, war being declared with France caused a priest again to be again appointed over the Indians, Governor Carleton records "Francis Siquart curate and reverent father in God of the parish of Madawaska of the County of York of the Province of New Brunswick".

Francis Siquart, or Ciquard, was a royalist exiled from France. Governor Carleton wrote of him: "We confide in the sincerity of his seal to contribute what may be in his power towards civilizing the Savages in this province and attaching them to our Government and that he should therefore, in case of his eventual appointment to the Mission proposed, be allowed a salary of 50 pounds per annum". The Governor further recommended that the Home Government increase the salary to 100 pounds.

Abbé Albert in his *Histoire du Madawaska* quotes Ciquard as writing to his bishop — "They (the Indians) are really little children but good pupils. I think they will be submissive and obedient in the future. I am loved by some and I could not leave them without tears". (translation)

Abbé Albert also tells: "One day Father Ciquard having received presents from the Governor for the Indians of the Village of Madawaska (now Edmunston) added a large illustrated religious book as a gift for the Chief Grand Pierre. On receiving the book, the chief said nothing but on the missionary questioning him "Grand Patliace" said he at last, "You bring back an old memory. When anything was given to a Mohawk he made much talk but not of the heart. Now Grand-Pierre when Paeliace gives him this beautiful book has a heart but no longer any tongue". (translation)

Governor Carleton's firm and just dealings with the Indians won their respect and for many years it was the custom for them to gather at Government House on New Year's day to pay their respects to entertain and to be entertained. A great favorite was the chief Gabriel Acquin. He was taken to England by Governor Manners-Sutton, again for the London Exposition and made a third trip. He it was who took Edward VII when Prince of Wales for a paddle up the Nashwaaksis despite the cries from the bank of the Duke of New castle.

In 1847, Gabriel Acquin squatted on the shore opposite Fredericton, cleared and

fenced fourteen acres running back from the river.

Other Indians gathered about him and so grew up the Indian reserve. When the railroad was laid out Gab changed the location of his lot to run down the bank instead of back and Governor Gordon and his Secretary who were present at the time seeing that the new arrangement would

leave out Gab's house, bought two extra rods. It was Governor Gordon whom Gab took hunting at the head of the Nashwaak and got treed by a bull moose until Gab found him.

In 1808, the province as a whole showed a realization of our indebtedness to the Indians by voting 500 pounds annu-

ally "for relief of the Indian nation of the country as an object both of charity and political importance".

After Confederation in 1867, the Dominion Government took over all Indian reserves and arranged for provisions and schools for the Indians, the original owners of our country. ¶



De Villebon, A Soldier . . . by Lilian M.B. Maxwell

Historical novels and school books of history too often give a wrong impression of the personality of great men of the past. A man thus wronged in the public mind was Joseph de Villebon, the greatest commander of Acadia. Time has credited him with the traits of his savage followers and one modern fiction writer has made him the villain of his plot. But study of the French Archives dealing with Acadia, shows this man to have had wisdom and nobility of character but one who as a soldier was ruthless in carrying out his objective.

Throughout the ages it has happened with a country so distraught that a leader has arisen from the obscurity of distress to act as its patriotic saviour. Such a man was Joseph de Villebon. In the latter part of the 17th century, Acadia (now the Maritime Provinces and half of Maine) was continually harassed by sloops from New England who attacked the poorly garrisoned forts of Port Royal and La Heve, the settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and the people living on the coast of Acadia. These sloops or privateers took what plunder they found, despoiling the peasants, and, what touched the golden heart of France, traded with the Acadian Indians for their furs, the most valuable asset of Acadia. Refugees with distressing stories sought the governor at Port Royal and appeals for assistance were written to the French court, but France neglected to send forces adequate for protection and the Acadians were helpless against their onslaughts. Joseph de Villebon, at this time a young man of thirty-four, was at Port Royal as captain of one of the two companies of French regulars stationed in Acadia. He, one of the seven sons of the surveyor-general of New France, was born near Quebec but educated and trained for the army in France. The historian, Diereville, who visited Port Royal in 1699, described M.

de Villebon as, "a great man, well made, and full of intelligence."

Realizing the exigency of the situation in Acadia, de Villebon betook himself to the court of France and there guaranteed to keep the English from establishing themselves in Acadia by the aid of the Indians alone if he were allowed to put himself at their head. Glad to avail themselves of a fighting force that would cost little more than sufficient presents to keep them in good humour, the Court sent de Villebon back to Acadia carrying with him his commission as commander of Acadia.

De Villebon chose the present central New Brunswick as his headquarters and erected a fort, "Fort Nachouac" or "Fort St. Joseph," at the junction of the Nashwaak stream with the river St. John. This situation was chosen because, quoting from the French Archives, "it was far enough inland to be protected from the insults of the English by sea,—and within reach of the savages in order to make them act and also that they may receive the presents."

De Villebon gathered to great powwows at Fort Nachouac, the Maliseets of the St. John and its tributaries, the Micmacs from all the coasts of Acadia from Bay Chaleur to Cape Breton and from the present peninsula of Nova Scotia, the Passamaquoddy Indians, and at times those from the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers. Hidden away in the forests, the new commander sat himself down like a spider in his web, the strands of which were the converging water-ways of the country. From this inland lair, de Villebon's painted braves made periodical raids of murder and burning over all New England.

Although equipped with an aggressive land force, the commander was still without means to protect the Acadian shipping. Having fruitlessly asked the home government to send an armed vessel to patrol the coasts, the resourceful de Villebon provided

a navy of his own by giving commissions to sloop owners to act as privateers. These privateers, pirates or filibusters, as blood-thirsty a lot as the Indians, hailed from as far distant points as France, the St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, the West Indies especially from St. Martinique. Although the King's ship, so called, brought supplies for the fort and "presents" as payment for the Indians furs, the amount sent was far from sufficient, and de Villebon was dependent on his privateers. They gave the commander a certain portion of their spoils sometimes leaving it at the mouth of the St. John and sometimes sailing up the river to Fort Nachouac to lie there for repairs or to winter the storm.

A certain Baptiste Armature, a man who had wives in many places, was the greatest disporter of English shipping, seizing as many as thirteen vessels on a cruise. He was de Villebon's right hand man on the sea-board and could always procure a ship-load of corn when it was needed. When Fort Nachouac was attacked by the English under Colonel Hathorne, Baptiste rendered valuable assistance crossing in his privateer from his home on the present site of Fredericton. So effective was de Villebon's fleet of pirates that the succeeding governors of Acadia made use of the same means of defence.

De Villebon handled all his forces efficiently, his French regulars, pirates and savages. He thoroughly understood the Indian nature. Taxous, sachem at the head of the Bay of Fundy, from respect and admiration, made de Villebon his blood brother. On this occasion, the commander presented the chief with his best suit of clothes. On another occasion, de Villebon purchased for the principal chiefs, "twelve hats ornamented with plumes of all colors, twelve shirts trimmed with lace, and muskets of the finest quality." He dealt fairly with the savages and saw that others did the same. When the seigneurs on

the St. John sold the goods received from the chartered company to the Indians at excessive prices, he complained to France. On that action, he not only considered the welfare of the Indians but wished to stop intercourse with the English who paid well for pelts.

De Villebon did not attempt to interfere with the Indian method of warfare but turned it to his own use. Suiting his plans to the Indian routine, after the spring crops were in and before the hunting season began, he sent messengers throughout Acadia and summoned all Indians to great pow-wows about Fort Nachouac. Days, sometimes a week, was spent in feasting, talk and war-songs, the chiefs dining with the commander. At the war-council, de Villebon gave advice where and when to attack telling them to, "Separate into small bodies and attack several places on the same day." When ready to start on the warpath, a barrel of rum was broached and war-songs were shouted, de Villebon's brothers often leading in the leaping dances and songs of prowess. A priest or French Officer lead the warparty in the first canoe. The French soldiers of the small garrison in the fort were not sent as they were not as good a shot as the Indians, knew nothing of the stealthy trails, and could not paddle a canoe.

De Villebon's methods were barbarous, but it was war, and the terror of Indian atrocities was the most formidable weapon in the New World and the only weapon in Acadia because the French court had other uses for its money than to respond to all the appeals from the New France. The bloody raids of murder and burning were carried as far as the confines of Boston. In the year 1694, the savages burned sixty houses within thirty miles of Boston killing one hundred and thirty-two persons. In three smaller expeditions, nearly one hundred died. Captives were brought back to the St. John where they worked for the French and Indians. The savagery of the Indians increased with the campaigns. De Villebon ordered that they, "must not think of anything but scalping them and must not release their prisoners as they have done until now, because on sending them back on payment of a ransom they never fail to give information to the English."

De Villebon wrote constantly to France for assistance. He asked for war-ships which did not come. He wrote of the ease with which Boston could be seized. He urged the taking of the stone fortress of Pemquid, which on the sea coast marked the boundary between Acadia and New England. When France finally decided to attack Fort Pemquid, an assault which de Villebon had long planned, he was not given the command and not even allowed to take part in the attack. On this occasion he wrote, "I have acted in consort with him," d'Iberville, commander of the expedition, "in everything, and wish he had appeared willing for me to be at Pemquid. I made this proposition to him and as I saw he received it with umbrage preferred not thinking of it rather than let him have the least cause for complaint." Nevertheless, accepting with a soldier's obedience, he sent d'Iberville his St. John River Indians and wrote him what information he had regarding Fort Pemquid.

De Villebon's letters to France, unlike those of the French officers and the seigneurs who wrote only to complain of each other or to ask for personal emoluments, asked nothing for himself. He owned no land in Acadia nor did he ask for any. So little is known of his private life that some state he was not married, but in a letter he stated that he had, "written to his wife to make a proposition relative to establishing a *porte de la haie*." Though silent in reference to his personal affairs he was not wanting in natural affection. At different times, four of his brothers served as officers under him at Fort Nachouac and when following complaints sent to France two of the brothers were withdrawn, he pleaded in their behalf for, "the natural excesses of youth." Again when two settlers were deprived of everything by the English, he arranged that they should be given five hundred and fifty-four livres from the revenue of the company of Acadia. Concerning his garrison of French regulars, he wrote that he contrived to make it pleasant for them. One wonders if he followed the old example of Port Royal by creating the "Order of Good Cheer."

Reference has often been made to the fact that complaints were sent to France of quarrels between de Villebon and the

seigneurs of the St. John, the d'Amours brothers who owned the land along the river for two hundred miles above its mouth. This trouble was over the prices paid by the d'Amours for furs but after a scale was set for the price of skins in the year 1695 at a great gathering of the tribes at Fort Nachouac, peace was restored, and de Villebon visited the homes of the seigneurs and they in turn came to his aid when the fort was attacked. Another who had a complaint to make against de Villebon was de Villiere, second in command at Fort Nachouac, but it is probable that he, an old officer of a famous French regiment, resented serving under a man twenty years his junior and a colonial at that. De Villebon dealt honestly with all men even his enemies. Corresponding with the governor at Boston relative to an agreed exchange of prisoners he wrote, "During the last four years the King's vessel or the privateers have to my knowledge taken back more than one hundred prisoners, all well treated, and you only sent back four." In 1698, having no longer fear of the English privateers whom his own buccaneers held in check, after spending about eight years at Fort Nachouac, he moved his headquarters to the mouth of the St. John in order to be nearer the settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy. That same year he wrote to France from the mouth of the river, "I have served the King for twenty-four years, the last seven under your orders Monseigneur, and it has seemed to me that you have been graciously pleased to be satisfied with the few services I have rendered—I ask for leave of absence to return to France". There is no information to show that he ever got to France.

Two years later, on July 6th, 1700, Joseph de Villebon died at his fort at the mouth of the St. John and there was mourning along the inland waterway. Thus passed a man who was always a soldier, first and last. He was deservedly hated by the people of New England but respected and loved by his dusky followers. Had not this greatest commander of Acadia died before reaching his prime the history of the Acadians might not have become a tragedy. ¶



General Benedict Arnold in Fredericton . . . by Lilian M.B. Maxwell

The question, did Benedict Arnold really live in Fredericton, has been asked so often, especially of late since the publication of Kenneth Roberts' "Oliver Wiswell", that a search of our early records became imperative.

Few men have left to posterity such a weight of opprobrium, yet his soldiers followed him "through hell and high water" when he lead, and he always took the lead. He has been called traitor to his party but it is often forgotten that at the start of the Revolution there were really three parties, the Rebels, so called, the Loyalists, and a third party who wished to remain loyal to Britain but saw mistakes in her rule of the Colony which misrule though they hoped to change by legislation. This third party, when war flared, were forced to join one or the other of the two parties, and many were deemed traitors by both the Rebels and loyalists.

Loyal were Arnold's early leanings. Arnold, born in North Kingston, Rhode Island, took for his first wife a girl of his home town. She, Margaret Slocum, was one of ten children whose father while standing in his own doorway was shot by rebels for his activities on behalf of the Crown. Mrs. Slocum, the mother, and her children were among the Loyalists who later came to New Brunswick. (Loyalists' Commissioner's Reports).

On Nov. 15th, 1781, before peace was declared, Arnold left New York for England. Returning to America with his family in 1785 he disembarked at Saint John in the newly created Province of New Brunswick. In Saint John he built a good house on King Street, the best location. He always preempted the best of the front seats. At the same time Arnold began business as a merchant, in partnership with Munson Hayt.

With the coming of the hordes of the loyal refugees to the wilderness that became New Brunswick, all fertile land along the Saint John and its tributaries, for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the river, were taken up by the pioneers, the majority of whom were penniless. For three years and more they

were given the necessities of life by the British Government, the stores being sailed from Halifax. On this account traffic along the waterways was heavy and many prominent men became traders. Merchants were traders in all necessities, were shipbuilders also and often captains of their own vessels. Goods moved slowly in the sailing ships and warehouses and domiciles were necessary along the trade



Benedict Arnold

were given the necessities of life by the British Government, the stores being sailed from Halifax. On this account traffic along the waterways was heavy and many prominent men became traders. Merchants were traders in all necessities, were shipbuilders also and often captains of their own vessels. Goods moved slowly in the sailing ships and warehouses and domiciles were necessary along the trade routes. Many families had homes and warehouses at the same time in Fredericton, Saint John and in the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay. The latter islands constituted the greatest mart in the Maritime trade with the West Indies and New England. There was a custom house on Indian Island, and of course there was smuggling also. Haxen, Simonds and White had houses and warehouses in Fredericton, Saint John and on Indian Island. The Bertons also, and Maria Berton (later Mrs. John A. Beckwith) were born on Deer Island. Benedict Arnold too had homes and warehouses at the same time in Fredericton, Saint John and Campobello Island.

Having started his business in Saint John in 1785 Arnold in the following spring

went up river to Fredericton, which was in the midst of its birth throes.

The town plat of Fredericton had been surveyed a mile long and five blocks deep on the alluvial elliptical plain called St. Anne's Point which jutted out from the hills which form the river bank. There had been so many delays caused by the necessary survey, meetings of the Government, the finding of a suitable season for the auction of town lots (which auction had been advertised in a newspaper six weeks in advance, - Fredericton Town Book) that it was not until the summer of 1786 that the town was declared ready for occupancy. In the meantime the prospective citizens (the first of whom had arrived in the fall of 1783) had erected homes of a sort on land adjoining the town plat along the river bank in a row that stretched for a mile or more from the present University Ave. to Mill Creek, taking in the present Waterloo Row.

Waterloo Row thus became the busiest street with shops to which the goods were carried from schooners that tied up just in front of them. On the same street, two large inns the Golden Ball and the Royal Oak were built. This street, being as it is now, the choicest, was picked by the General for his residence and for the site of his warehouse, though the two buildings stood at opposite ends of the row. His warehouse at the corner of Waterloo Row and University Ave. has been remodeled into a dwelling house but some of the older citizens remember it as a warehouse with large double doors on the second floor. It was a descendant of a relative of Mrs. Arnold who told the writer the name of the original builder of the warehouse.

Waterloo Row, extending half a mile from Earle Creek to University Ave., was surveyed into twelve lots of irregular size and shape. And, of these lots Arnold bought at the auction held May 15th, 1786 (Fredericton Town Book), lots 3, 7, A and B comprising as a whole twenty-six acres (Berton's Consolidated Statutes). For his own home, he had bought on the 16th of the preceding April a small house built on lot 3 by Capt. Peter Clements. It was situ-

ated on the eastern corner lot of Waterloo Row and the present Lansdowne Street. The York County Record Office shows that in March and May of 1786 "Benedict Arnold of York County, Province of New Brunswick" bought up land adjoining his home, namely the lots of Lieutenants Edward Earle and Charles Mathewson. Later in 1791 when Arnold moved to London, he sold all his property to Col. Jacob Ellegood, a connection of his wife's. Col. Ellegood who built a large house unto Arnold's smaller one and called the whole "Rose Hall" after his former plantation in Virginia.

Coming to the Loyalist town of Fredericton, the General had friends here, soldiers of his former regiment the Loyal American Legion. Officers of this regiment were living in Fredericton, Adjutant Andrew Phair and Dr. William Edwards, and further up river were Lieutenant George Bull and Ensign John Stone. His wife as well as his second wife Margaret (daughter of Edward Shippen, last royal Attorney-General of Pennsylvania) whom he had married in April of 1777, had relatives in Fredericton among two of the most prominent families. As "Peggy" Arnold, she is said to have been a great favorite and her home in Fredericton though small must have been pleasant. Descendants of Mrs. Arnold's relatives living in Fredericton have in their possession a large covered silver tankard and a silver soup ladle that would hold a pint. Both are engraved with the Shippen arms. Then there was in Fredericton until a year or two ago, the Arnold dining table, ma-

hogany and very large but scarred by a candle burn perhaps a memento of a joyful banquet.

General Arnold was at this time, in 1786, a man of forty-seven. He had been described in the book *Oliver Wiswell*, [for the veracity of which book a wide research was made] as - "He was swarthy and not tall; yet there was something about the way in which he through back his head, something about his manner of balancing lightly on the balls of his feet that made him seem large. If I hadn't known he was a fighter I might have taken him for a fop for he wore white lace at throat and wrist, and under his beautifully fitting green coat was a waistcoat of pale fur that I took to be winter weasel".

Arnold needed ships in his trading venture and took a partner. In 1780, a young man twenty-four years of age, Nehemiah Beckwith, son of a shipbuilder and sea captain Samuel Beckwith of Lyme, Connecticut (who in 1761 moved with his family and relatives to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia) came to the St. John river. Nehemiah Beckwith must have had means as he paid 500 pounds for a farm in Mauderville next to the Sheffield parish line. There he married Molly Stickney of Mauderville who died while still a bride. Nehemiah sold his farm to his brother-in-law, Samuel Bridges, ancestor of the Bridges family which has done so much for education in this province. Beckwith moved to Fredericton and in 1794 was married in Government House to Julie Louise le Brun de Duplessis who had come

from Quebec with Mrs. Thomas Carleton, wife of our first Lieutenant-Governor.

Nehemiah Beckwith was taken into partnership by Benedict Arnold. They had qualities in common. Both had ambition and energy though Beckwith did not have Arnold's ruthless drive towards his objectives. Again, about the politics of both, the Fredericton Loyalists were skeptical. In the first provincial election, Beckwith had run for Sunbury County against the Loyalist candidate, and he hailed from the once disloyal settlement of Mauderville. However, he showed his views when he christened a schooner which he built and launched at Taylortown in Mauderville the "Lord Sheffield" after the British colonial minister who so benefited the colonies by being instrumental in the repeal of the Navigation Laws.

Beckwith as his share of the partnership turned in his "Lord Sheffield" and for a year or two she transferred goods between Fredericton and Saint John. There came a day however when Arnold, of the itching foot, grew restless, and, as descendants of Nehemiah Beckwith tell, (he was great-grandfather of the writer), Arnold proposed to Beckwith that he, Arnold, would captain the schooner on her next trip down. The "Lord Sheffield" sailed from Fredericton, left Saint John for Campobello, and on to the West Indies. Neither Arnold nor the "Lord Sheffield" or its cargo were seen again in Fredericton. By this loss, Nehemiah Beckwith was financially wiped out, but in due course he again prospered. ¶



Pokiok and Prince William . . . by W. Stewart MacNutt

The head pond soon to appear above Macnaquac on the St. John River will flood an area of littoral once the scene of one of the most important developments in New Brunswick's history. This was the arrival and disbandment of the regiments of provincial troops of the British Army in 1783. To these Loyalist formations there were granted the lands on both banks of the river between the Nashwaak and Woodstock. Their arrival and settlement constituted an argument for the partition of Nova Scotia and the establishment of the new province of New Brunswick. Had it not been for this military immigration, it is conceivable that the

partition might not have occurred and that no new province could have been founded.

The focal point for this development was in the parish of Prince William where the King's American Dragoons, the most numerous of the Loyalist regiments, was settled in the summer of 1783. The area was selected by Edward Winslow and General Henry Fox who, during their reconnaissance of the lands along the river, indicated the Pokiok region as the probable site of great development in the marketing of lumber. Winslow was so certain of this that he took up his own grant of 1,000 acres along the bank of Pokiok stream. In the enterprise, he was

joined by Major Daniel Murray, commanding officer of the King's American Dragoons, who acquired grants of land along the Pokiok and on Long Island and who operated, as early as 1785, a large saw-mill on Gowac Creek. According to a letter of this year, it was doing "mighty execution". The confluence of the Pokiok with the St. John became, for a time, a commercial centre for the military settlers of the river above Fredericton. The mill was destroyed by fire in 1798.

Pokiok was thus a place of considerable consequence in the first days of the province of New Brunswick. It was a rallying point for the first settlers of the

middle river, of the whole area that will be flooded in 1967. Settlement did not flourish as Winslow and his contemporaries hoped it would. But Prince William constituted a kind of core of Loyalist endeavour where, as Peter Fisher narrates, the King's American Dragoons were farming their strips of river-front forty years later and where their descendants remain to the present day. Of all the communities about

to be obliterated by the flooding it most distinctively bore the character of a Loyalist and military settlement. Called after the second son of George III, the patron of the King's American Dragoons, its very name is suggestive of this most important fact. By right of its historicity, it is entitled to the most serious consideration in the selection of a site for a pioneer village. A choice of Pokiok would be splen-

didly and romantically reminiscent of the days when Edward Winslow and his fellow-agents of the Loyalist corps sought lands for the Loyalist battalions on the St. John.

Verification for most of the above details will be found in the Winslow Papers, pages 30, 271, 272, 277, 290, 292, 316, 334.



Our Schools – 1847 to 1858: The Regime of Mr. d'Avray . . .

by G.W. Bailey, M.D. Medical Inspector of Schools

In October, 1847, Earl Grey (then Colonial Secretary) writes to Sir William Colebrook, Governor of New Brunswick, "I have offered the situation of Superintendent to a gentleman (M. d'Avray) who is in every respect qualified to discharge the duties. On account of the very high character he bears, and knowing his attainments, I shall be happy in being instrumental to his establishment in New Brunswick. It would be exceedingly difficult to find a person so well qualified".

Mr. d'Avray accepted the position offered him in New Brunswick for we find him embarking from Liverpool for Canada on the evening of New Year's Day, January 1st, 1848 and arriving in Halifax on January 15th of the same month, accompanied by his wife, Emma, and their only child, Laurestine, then about six years of age. Mr. d'Avray was about thirty-seven years of age at this time. The passage was made in the Cunard Line Steamship, 'Cambria', a side-wheeler of about 2600 tons.

Ten days elapsed between the time of their disembarkation in Halifax and arrival in Fredericton. There were no railways at this time so that the party drove the whole distance by stage in the coldest month of the year. Before leaving England, the party had provided themselves with buffalo robes and wraps adapted to the rigor of a Canadian winter. In spite of these precautions, the drive was a pretty severe ordeal as is proved by the fact that Mr. d'Avray froze his face. The route taken was over the Cobequid Mountains, and through Truro, The Bend (Moncton) and St. John. From St. John to Fredericton, they traveled by the river ice and got their first view of a man on skates. The road from Moncton to St. John was probably not as direct as at present and may have fol-

lowed the shore route. It is said that the whole journey was made in five days. Crossing the Cobequids, the roads were bare of snow and very icy so that wheels were used and the conveyance slewed a good deal.

Arriving in Fredericton, they moved into the old jail building on King Street, South Side, close to Regent Street, after a day or two. It had been beautifully fitted up for this occupancy.

The jail building was of stone with a wooden roof. There was a large garden behind it and a beautiful lawn in front extending down the street in front of the Training School building with a large flower bed in the center. The Training School building was on the same grounds as the jail and a path extended around the property. The school building was of wooden construction, painted white, one storey high, with two large classrooms. It was on the east side of the Master's residence, facing King Street. This was the first training school established in the Province. The N.B. almanac calls Mr. d'Avray Training Master while Earl Grey uses the word Superintendent.

Mr. d'Avray went on inspectional trips to schools as far away as Madawaska County, but such trips were made by horse and carriage and occupied several days. Some of the schools inspected were those at Buttermilk Creek (Florenceville), Tobique Village (now Andover), Beccaquimac Settlement (probably Hartland) and Digby (near Good's Corner, Carleton County). No boats ran up the river above Fredericton at this time.

Mr. d'Avray went on an inspection trip to the Upper St. John when he stopped at Edmundston with Sheriff Beckwith, and at Tobique Village with the Beveridges. At Woodstock he had intended stopping at

Ballochs but was a guest at the home of Charles Connell where he remained for three or four days. Mr. d'Avray's inspection trips seem to have been confined to the Counties of York, Carleton and Madawaska. In 1848, a Training and Model School was established in St. John with Edmund H. Duval as Principal. He inspected the schools in that vicinity.

In York County, we find Mr. d'Avray spelling Pokiok (Poquiack), Magundy (Magundie, and Magaguadavic (Maguadavic).

The results of the examinations of the schools I have in very fragmentary notes in a small notebook of Mr. d'Avray. Their importance lies in the fact that they may be the only records that remain of this period.

Some communities were very indifferent about their children's education as the following items will show: "Mr. Hayden at the Ferry opposite Victoria Corner tells me there are twenty-five children in his immediate neighborhood without school and the people care little about it. No school for more than a year. Unwilling to have a teacher unless he will teach for little or nothing". The above extract appears to apply to what is now Hartland (1850).

In 1849, the Board of Education in New Brunswick was composed of Governor Sir Edmund Head, his Executive Council, John Gregory, Secretary, Marshall d'Avray and E. H. Duval, Principal Training Masters respectively at Fredericton and Saint John.

On Monday, November 11th, 1850, Fredericton was visited by a great calamity. Mr. d'Avray's diary says: "Beautiful morning - wind cold and high. Left home at 8 a.m., inspected school near Indian Village kept by Miss Nickerson, drove to Longs where I dined. On our return at

Hawkins Ferry, observed smoke of fire over Fredericton - reached town at 6 p.m. My house (the goal) and upwards of two hundred others burned to the ground."

The people piled their household goods in the garden and grounds of the Training School and Mr. d'Avray's home. This contributed to their destruction, as the residence of stone had a wooden roof and the School was entirely of wood. No doubt all records of the Training School were destroyed at this time. Many articles brought by the d'Avrays from their late home in the Maurilius were destroyed.

The Training School was not rebuilt and the d'Avrays took up their residence at Barkers Hotel the day after the fire.

A meeting to render relief to those burned out was held in the Market House on the following day, which Mr. d'Avray attended. Fredericton was at this time a city, having been incorporated in the summer of 1848, a few months after the d'Avrays arrived.

In February, 1851 Mr. d'Avray is busy drafting the Parish School Act. He had a long conversation on the 3rd of the month with the Attorney General respecting the act and was busy all the next day drafting it. When completed, the act was taken to the Attorney General but later returned. The act was also read by the Solicitor General. The act appears to have been amended on April 1. Mr. Street brought in the P.S.A. which was referred to a select committee.

On April 7th Mr. d'Avray attended the committee and speaks of a long examination. The Members of the committee were Messrs. Street, Crane, Steeves, Wilmot, Reid, Rice, Cutler.

(Diary, April 7th, 1851) Mr. d'Avray stated that "a training school in some rural district where young men could attend for periods not less than twelve months would prove certainly beneficial provided appointments were previously obtained to ensure good schools and remunerative salaries, but that under the existing system (act of 1847) and with no just prospect it would be impossible to induce young men to enter at their own expense". Advocated Training and Model School under District Masters and a female Model School under a female teacher. Recommends two Provincial Inspectors and half yearly inspections - to be members of B. of E. - Female Schools very much required. County Boards of Instruction. He also advocates an Agricultural Industrial School.

Parish School Act

The Parish School Act was passed in 1852 and was administered for one year by the Rev. Mr. Porter, the first Superintendent of Education, who then retired. Mr. d'Avray was appointed the Second Chief Superintendent in 1853 and served until 1858 when he was removed from office and replaced by Henry Fisher. Mr. Porter's tenure of office was too brief for him to have received any great experience of the merits or demerits of the Act. Mr. d'Avray's seven years of administration of the Act enabled him to see its many imperfections which are explained in his several annual reports. When Mr. d'Avray relinquished his post, the Parish School Act went out with him. Mr. Fisher had a new act passed 'relating to the Parish Schools' but this should not be confounded with the Parish School Act of 1852.

Probably not all of Mr. d'Avray's ideas were incorporated in the Parish School Act; whose provisions we will presently determine. Mr. J.W. Bailey says that he lost the position of Superintendent "through the precipitate action of a group of politicians who then autocratically managed affairs under what has been somewhat impolitely called "The Smasher Government". There appears to have been satisfaction with Mr. d'Avray's work of Superintendent according to the newspapers of the time. One says: "After holding the office three or four years and discharging the duties thereof faithfully - so far as we have heard - he is now thrown upon the world by the Government as a child would cast away a toy it was tired of. We consider the treatment Mr. d'Avray has received not only unjust, but cruel." The Colonial Times (Chatham) of April 15th, 1858 says in part: "We know of no act so beneficial to the best interests of the Province, or will be found so universally popular as the reappointment of Marshall d'Avray to the head of the Educational Department of New Brunswick. We speak from experience and experience is satisfactory and noble ground to rest upon."

Mr. d'Avray now passes out of the picture as the sedate Supervisor of youthful education - in so far as the Common Schools are concerned.

Mr. d'Avray's connection with the educational system of New Brunswick was not confined to the supervision of the Common Schools for he furnished a connecting link between these and the University of which he was a professor for twenty-three years. His chair was that of Modern Languages. In 1849, the University of Kings College had as Chancellor, the Chief Justice; Presi-

dent, the Bishop; Principal Rev. Dr. Jacob and Prop. Dr. Jacob, W.B. Jack, Dr. Robb with the professorship of Modern Languages, vacant. Mr. d'Avray took Prof. Houseal's place when he got a leave of absence for a year. When he died he assumed the professorship. From 1848 to 1852 Professor d'Avray was a Professor in Kings College, and from 1852 to 1871, the year of his death, Professor of Modern Languages in the University of New Brunswick, the appointment being made on May 7, 1852 by His Excellency Sir Edmund Walker Head (Lieutenant Governor) and signed at his command by J.R. Partelow. Professor d'Avray was at the College at a critical time in its history and vigorously defended it on several occasions. At one time there were three professors and three students and he remarked that "the Professors were not overworked". Professor d'Avray writes: "If a very great number of comparatively or positively wealthy men are so unconscious of the advantages of a liberal education, that they will not send their sons to college, that is clearly the fault of the parents and the misfortune of the sons; the College is open to them. Let the parent do his duty as the Government has done the obvious governmental duty, and there will be small occasion to complain of the paucity of students".

The late Dr. J. A. Wade of Fredericton was one of Professor d'Avray's students at the University. Surviving students are Dr. Philip Cox, Dr. Wortman, A.B. Connell, Herbert Storie (England) and possibly a few others.

The educational system of New Brunswick has arrived at its present state by a process of Evolution. For convenience of study and, I think logically, we may divide our educational history into distinct periods corresponding with the enactment, by the Legislature, of the various acts respecting our schools. These acts go back as far as 1802. Every new act I think we can assume was an advancement on the preceding one; and so, step by step, as the population increased and new conditions arose, by a process of improvement through the years we have arrived at our present status.

Granted that the Free School Act of 1871 was a great forward step in the administration of our schools it should not be considered as the beginning of our educational history any more than the landing of the Loyalists should be considered as the beginning of our Provincial history. Dr. Rand in an address about 1877 recognizes this when he said "that we may not

be unmindful of those who have preceded us" in kindred efforts in this behalf (Education). We must study our educational history down through the years to get the proper background. It is a fascinating story. Our steps were uncertain and faltering at the start but as time went on became planted more firmly. It is surprising that a comprehensive story of our educational history has not been written, and the longer it is delayed the harder it is to obtain data on the earlier years.

I have only time in this paper to cover the two periods of our educational story which appeal the most to me, those embraced within the period of operation of the act of 1847 and of the Parish School Act of '53. This is a period of ten years and coincides with Mr. d'Avray's tenure of office, except for one year when Mr. Porter was Superintendent of Education. I propose to try and give a few bird's eye views of the conditions existing at this time. The first report of the Superintendent of Education was issued in '52 and from this time to the present they have been issued annually. At first they were brief and incomplete but became more valuable from year to year.

The reports from '53 to '58 when Mr. d'Avray was Superintendent, I have quoted from at some length.

The first information as to the condition of the schools in those days is contained in a pamphlet printed at the request and at the sole expense of the teachers attending the Training School in this city (Fredericton). It was a lecture delivered by Marshall d'Avray, Esq. on Tuesday, 22nd day of January, 1850 at the Temperance Hall. A committee of teachers waited upon him to get his permission to have the address printed. Their names are: Robb, Caldwell, Davis P. Howe and Joseph Landry. Mr. Thomas Lloyd was also interested in the matter.

Mr. d'Avray was pleased to make the following courteous reply:

"Gentlemen, - I most willingly comply with the obliging request of the teachers, and herewith forward a copy of the Lecture which I delivered on the 22nd inst., in order that it may be published by them. I trust they will do me the justice to believe that I am fully sensible of the very great honor they have conferred upon me by their desire to give greater publicity to my sentiments on the subject of education, and that they will give me credit for the sincerity with which I subscribe myself.

Their obliged and faithful servant,
M. d'Avray."

The address is mostly devoted to the system of education in vogue in England but a few pages at its conclusion refer to provincial (N.B.) conditions. Some quotations I think should be of great interest. On page 22 of the address we read:

"Look at the miserable huts which in many parts of the Country are made to answer the purpose of a school, many of them in such a state that every wind of Heaven has free entrance, so small, so inconvenient that they would make indifferent pig styes, and yet in them the



J. Marshall d'Avray

unfortunate children must spend the day, in them the still more unfortunate teacher must perform his laborious and important duties, he must teach reading and spelling without books, Geography without maps, Grammar without Grammars, and often times writing and cyphering without paper or slates".

The Training School had only been in operation for two years when we find the following comment on teachers:

"If union be strength and disunion weakness, well may the teachers be a feeble body, for the spirit which animates them is indeed the spirit of jealousy, confusion and strife; agreeing in nothing but to disagree, each man abuses his neighbor and seems more earnestly anxious to lower him, than to raise himself; and thus it is that teachers are not looked upon with that respect, nor

treated with that consideration which is due to them as men entrusted with the sacred task of training and instructing the young". (Happily this condition no longer exists - the writer.) Mr. d'Avray, in order to do away with these conditions says: "Let them form associations throughout the Province, establishing such wise and judicious regulations as shall secure a proper position to all good men, and the instant dismissal of every bad one; let this be so conducted as to afford a guarantee to the public of the professional talent and private worth of every member, and depend upon it their positions in society will surely and rapidly improve".

"Above all, let them by diligent study endeavor to render themselves efficient instructors, to get a thorough knowledge of what they have to teach, and as thorough a knowledge of the art of teaching it, never forgetting that a mere smattering of the various branches is the curse of all Education and that it is no more to be called knowledge than the braying of a jack-ass deserves to be termed singing."

Grammar Schools

Grammar Schools are to be met with in every County, in which Education of a higher grade can be obtained; I cannot speak of their merits from personal observation because no facilities have ever been afforded me of acquiring a knowledge of the mode in which they are conducted, and I have been obliged to pick up what information I could from hearsay, but if they all resemble the only one with which I am personally acquainted, if they are of the same order of high excellence as the one in this City (Fredericton), then it is certain that they are well calculated to meet and to supply all the exigencies of the Scholar. The Collegiate School at Fredericton needs no praise of mine and nothing that I can say will increase its well-earned fame, but I may, I hope, without presumption assert, that the four Public examinations which I have attended, have fully convinced me that the attainments of the pupils are not unworthy of the talent of the Masters, and that they in many respects exceed those of the boys of the same age in England. They learn the Classics, and at the same time have their attention directed to a mass of incidental information; they learn the Mathematics, and learn them well, but not until they have a thorough knowledge of Arithmetic; they study Geography and History, and any one who had good fortune to be present on a late occasion when the Lord Bishop of the Diocese examined them on these im-

portant branches, would feel perfectly satisfied with the amount and with the quality of their attainments, while a perusal of the very creditable essays they write would convince the reader that composition is made as important a feature as it deserves to be. As I before observed, this school stands in no need of testimonials to establish its excellence, the well known talent, and the constant and untiring zeal of the Masters, the high character and the distinguished ability of the visitors and examiners and the unanimous approval of all whose opinion is worth having, are more than sufficient to do this. It is known by its works, most valued where most known, most appreciated where best understood, and it is my fervent hope that resisting as it will ever do the attacks of ignorance and malignity it may long flourish at the head of the Grammar Schools of New Brunswick.

(Dr. George Roberts, grandfather of C.D.D. Roberts and Dr. Theodore G. Roberts was in charge.)

Inspectors

Speaking in 1850 of the importance of inspectors, Mr. d'Avray says:

"Lastly, I would say a few words on the urgent necessity of efficient inspections. It is the soul of the whole system now in operation, active and vigilant superintendence, intelligent direction, and real responsibility are involved in it. If properly conducted, and by competent persons, for that is of the utmost importance, the inspection of schools should prove an immense advantage. It would operate as a stimulus to the negligent, as an incentive to increased exertion on the part of the zealous, and as a check to the unqualified pretender, the dissolute and the bad. It would establish and maintain that connection between the teachers and the Board of Education which ought to exist though at present it is not even thought of, and serve as a channel for the detail of whatever grievances they might have to complain of, and afford them a means of redress, while at the same time it would effectually secure the public against the misapplication of the money intended for Common Schools".

In the light of the provisions of the Free Schools Act, it is interesting to read what Mr. d'Avray has to say in 1850, at a time when the teachers procured their salaries from the District by subscription or "pass the hat" method. He advocates a process of assessment as follows:

First - By a general assessment on all Property within the Parish or School Dis-

trict, on the principle that as Education is a matter in which the public good is concerned, every inhabitant ought to contribute to it in proportion to his means.

Secondly - By a grant from the Government of the Province, which grant should never exceed the amount of what is levied by local assessment.

Thirdly - By the payments from the parents; for the reason that what people get for nothing they are apt to not value highly. Such a system as this would soon teach the people to value what they are compelled to pay for, and they would speedily learn that a good teacher is better than a bad one, and take good care to secure the best for their money.

The provincial population (census of 1851) is given as 193,800; or considerably less than half of today's (406,000).

The total number of pupils enrolled is given as 29,000. The Department of Health report for 1931 gives 74,000 for the Province.

At the present time nearly 18,000 pupils are enrolled in the Counties of Gloucester, Madawaska, and Restigouche alone. Adding 14,000 for the Counties of York, Sunbury, Carleton, and Victoria to the Northern Area and we have more scholars enrolled in the two areas than we had in the whole province in 1855. Over 27,000 of those enrolled in 1855 were from five to sixteen years of age.

Victoria County appears to have had only 299 pupils. Today one school in the County (Plaster Rock) has 277 enrolled, with over 600 pupils at Grand Falls. Victoria County's enrollment today is over 3,000.

The enrollment for St. John is given as 2,800. The Municipality of the City and County now has approximately 11,000 enrolled. St. John was surpassed by Westmorland with 3,000 pupils, and Charlotte with over 4,000. Sunbury County had over 500 more pupils than Victoria.

The total number of teachers is given as 807. The males outnumbered the females. Males totaled 513, females 294. By religious persuasion, there were 221 C of E; R. C. 140; P. 118; M. 94; B. 200. Of the 897 schools in the province 628 were lacking a school yard or privy. In King's County out of 140 schools, 135 lacked these essentials. In Westmorland, with 105 schools, both were lacking in every case. In Charlotte, with its 116 schools, only 20 lacked the above. The more enlightened Charlotte! The number of schools erected during 1855 was small. Five counties appear to have built none. Several built only one

or two buildings while one county built 10 (Kings) and another 13 (Queens). The total built in the province was 38. At this time, there appears to have been a great variety of schools receiving monetary assistance - thus we find schools conducted by the various religious denominations, but in addition I find a French school, an Indian school, an African school, a female school, an infant school, a poor school, and a commercial school. The female and infant schools were in Fredericton. The greatest number of school houses was in Kings County with 143; Charlotte next with 116, Westmorland 106, Queens 85. Northumberland and York had an equal number 76. Victoria and the smallest number, just 9. Carleton had but 55, or less than half of those in Charlotte. The total of the province was 897. Many of the school houses were logs. Kent had 28, Queens 19, Carleton 12, York 14 and Victoria six out of nine buildings. The total of log school houses in the Province was 169 and framed 719.

Re Inspectors

The school Inspectors were local and not giving full time. The Superintendent recommends full-time Inspectors. The Inspectors at this time were Albert Steeves, Albert County; Edwin J. Jacob, Carleton County; Patrick Clinch, Charlotte County; Jas. Smith, Gloucester County; Henry L. Dwyer, Kent County; T. R. Wetmore, King's County; G. B. Cowper, Restigouche County; A. T. McElmen, Sunbury County; Jas. B. Johnston, Northumberland County; G. P. Taylor, Queens County; J. C. Pinquet, Victoria County; Thos. S. Sayre, Westmorland County; John Davidson, York County.

"The inspectors are free. All each has to do is to examine every school in his County four times in the year and to report that he had done so to the C.S. who certifies accordingly; and I repeat that each is free to examine as he pleases and when he pleases, and that the C.S. nor the Board, nor any one else, has any control over his mode of proceeding. In point of fact, the Inspectors do not know each other, have not corresponded with each other, and the majority of them are personally unknown to the C.S."

The Curriculum

The Curriculum consisted of the subjects usually taught in a common school such as Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History and Geometry, along with Bookkeeping.

ing, Mensuration, Land Surveying, Navigation and Common Needlework. Book-keeping and Needlework shows the leaning toward vocational education at this early date.

Navigation is readily understood as a subject for study when we reflect that, at this time, there were no railways and transportation was largely carried on by boat and steamer. Ship-building was also a leading industry. The importance of the lumber industry at this time accounts for the land-surveying in the course of study. Subjects not prescribed are given as Greek, Latin and Natural Philosophy, French Grammar, Fancy Work and Astronomy. Twenty-two thousand took spelling as a subject and the same number reading, and nearly as many writing and arithmetic (14,519). About half as many took grammar as arithmetic, considerably less took history (2,286 and bookkeeping was chosen by 568, geometry by 165, land surveying 36, navigation 47, algebra 96, needlework 2,713. The subjects seem to have been optional.

Teacher' Salaries

The report of 1856 gives the Provincial allowance to trained teachers as follows:

	(£) pounds	shillings
Males 1st Class	37	10
2 nd Class	30	0
3 rd Class	22	10
Females 1 st Class	27	10
2 nd Class	22	10
3 rd Class	17	10

It will thus be seen that the male, Class 1, gets 10 pounds (£) more than a female of the same class of license. The same years' report says that 169 Third Class teachers have been admitted into the Parish School service during the past year, all of whom have obtained engagements. The Inspectors were authorized to grant 3rd class licenses to persons possessing the necessary elementary knowledge and other qualifications such as good moral character certifying them to the Superintendent. They were not required to attend the Training School.

The appendix to report of Chief Superintendent for 1855 said:



Provincial Training School - St. John

During the year 1855 there were admitted seventy-two teachers and candidates, of whom 23 had previously held Third Class Licences from County Inspectors, and attended the Training School with a view of obtaining a higher classification. The remaining forty-nine were persons who wished to devote themselves to the work, but had not previously had any experience in teaching. The males numbered 25, the females 47.

There continues to be a great want of teachers in most parts of the Province.

The course of studies is not specified in this report.

The Training School was obliged to shift from one end of the city to the other as they had no permanent premises.

It ought to be known, that while we have teachers of whose efficiency much cannot be said, we have at the same time many teachers in different parts of the Province who would be an honor to any country.

He advocates local assessment for the maintenance of schools. E. H. Duval. ¶

The Little Old Mills of New Brunswick: The Bradley Axe Factory of Nashwaak Village . . . by Ivan H. Crowell

The factory, mill and the workshop have always been associated with the life of the early settlers of our province. Few studies have been made on our rural factories and mills - of which there were many hundreds not so many years ago. A reason that so little attention has been given them seems that they were such a homely and integral part of life that they were simply accepted.

As youngsters we could see a blacksmith shop, a grist mill or a carriage factory within walking distance of home. Today no stone grist mill or carriage factory operates and blacksmith shops are all but gone. We didn't miss their going. Even now we're only beginning to miss their having gone. Hopefully, our historical conscience is beginning to stir. We are beginning to realize the rich local history of the little old mills of New Brunswick.

Each village mill had a family behind it. The fortunes of whole communities were centered on the mill. As we reconstruct the events of everyday life at the village mill we realize that we are studying the social, economic and moral conditions of the com-

munity, so influential was the little mill and the family that owned it.

The mill owner of the past was often the only man in the community to have a steady income. With successful mill operations he became a local and provincial power and wielded a great influence.

Yet forces beyond his control overpowered him as the nation grew so that what was considered wealth, power, security and hope a half century ago today remains only a shop, often abandoned and empty, or as a cellar wall where a busy factory once ran noisily.

Several forces that caused the rise and fall of village factories are the subject of my talk tonight. The specific example is the Bradley Axe Factory at Nashwaaksis.

In the many daily tasks of our early settlers, edge cutting tools were of first ranking importance. The axe, the saw, the hoe and later the chisel, sugar and knife were indispensable tools used practically every hour of every day of the pioneer's working life. These edge tools were all he had or needed to cut the trees to build his home and barns, for fuel, boards and shin-

gles. First among these essentials was the axe. Many, many log cabins and houses were built with this one tool. It was the sole cutter of timber, fuel and fence wood for generations.

Securing good edge cutting tools was a most serious concern of our early governors. As early as 1786 Sir Guy Carleton remarked, in connection with the St. Maurice forge near Three Rivers that, "There is not much Iron Manufactured here, but for the most common uses, and Edge Tools, Axes and Hatchets, for the Consumption of the Country, and Indian Markets, this being an article in which the British manufactures have not hitherto been able to hit on the taste of the native or consequently the wants of the Traders".

One of John Graves Simcoe's requisitions dates September 21, 1793, confirms this fact. He writes, "The axes are to be made of the best materials and of the shape and size of the pattern sent. The Axe will then weigh rather more than five pounds but should it be found to be less, it must be increased to that weight, preserving still the same proportion. Particular attention

must be given to the tempering of the steel without which the Axe will be of no value as in the case of these already sent over. The little attention given to this particular in England has already deprived her of a great part of the manufacture of edge tools and will eventually deprive her of the whole. Those made in America, tho' not so neatly fabricated are of infinite more value to the several persons who uses them. It is customary with the Manufacturers in America to warrant the quality of the tools they make for six months, and take back or replace those that are found to be insufficient. This ought to be adopted in England."

A week later, on September 28 he wrote to Even Nepean: "The axes sent to this Country are so carelessly fabricated as to be totally incompetent to any service whatever. Those which are constructed in the Country sell at least for two Dollars at Niagara and increase in price in proportion to the demand, but should they not be of prime quality, I shall be obliged to purchase them in this country. I have therefore thought proper to have a model made, which should be exactly attended to".

Simcoe's hope for improved manufacture of edge tools, especially axes and saws, was certainly slow in materializing. Forty years after his advice, John McGregor in 1833, referring to the axe, said, "This tool has not yet been manufactured in England, in the form or temper which long experience has proved the best. A good chopper will do triple the work with an American made axe than he could with an English made one. Neither have we yet manufactured any mill-saws equal to those made in Philadelphia; for the greater number of those used in New Brunswick are smuggled from the United States, although they cost double the price paid for mill-saws in England".

It was in this atmosphere of slow improvement in edge cutting tools and a large market demand, if a quality item could be produced, that William H. Bradley of Fredericton began to lay plans for his factory that later produced fine quality axes that sold all across Canada.

This factory, like so many others of a century ago, was a multiple one, it made more than axes, but was usually called the axe factory. Years ago, one would go to the axe factory to have a sled runner fixed or a barn door hinge made, much as one goes to a drug store today to have a film developed or buy an electric fan.

The Bradley Axe Factory seemed to have six distinct parts. It was an axe, a pick and peavey factory, a sled and wagon

shop, a turney for peavey and pick handles, an axe and pike pole handle shop, a charcoal burner's yard and a grist mill.

Economic necessity dictated these many functions. All parts of the business were seasonal. Axes sold best in the winter when trees were felled in large numbers. Peaveys and pike poles were used mostly in the spring during the log drive. Picks sold best in the summer when general construction and road building was done. In addition to making the tools, they made the charcoal needed to weld the steel and iron together and for tempering the cutting edges. The Bradley's also turned or whittled handles for all their tools, but this was still not enough variety to keep a small factory busy all year around in a small community. So they also made sleds and wagons, and possibly to help meet the needs of the community they set up a grist mill.

Father and son, with a few steady workers and occasional helpers were the only employees.

THE BRADLEY MEN

William H. Bradley was born July 3, 1832 in Penniac. His family came from Maryland, in the wake of the United Empire Loyalists. As a lad he moved with his family to Houlton, Maine, where he learned the black-smithing trade from his father, Henry Bradley, or possibly too he learned his trade at the Todd Iron Foundry, Fredericton. In 1860 or 61 he built his axe factory at Nashwaaksis and in 1861 married Elisabeth Todd, daughter of a prominent and wealthy family of foundry men of Fredericton. This looks very much as if he married the Boss' daughter. The newlyweds moved at once to Nashwaak Village where Mr. Bradley had built his axe factory the previous year. Records show that the site of the Bradley Blacksmith Shop itself was purchased from John Coy and wife October 21, 1865, but the deed was not registered until June 27, 1868. It was not determined just when he purchased his farm and home site. The brook that ran through the property was then called the McNeill. It came to be known as the Bradley. He erected the first frame house in the village on the northern side of it, built the first unit of his factory complex on the other and in the brook itself he built a sluice and undershot waterwheel to provide power for his machinery. About a quarter mile above the factory site he built a dam so as to control the water and assure a more uniform power over a longer period.

The location of his first home is in question. It may have been the back part

of the present house or it may have been just a bit upstream, in the present garden, for a cellar was there at one time. Today, Mr. Ernest McLean, the present owner, frequently digs up bits of household materials and can clearly outline the cellar in his garden.

William Bradley was an energetic and capable craftsmen in the building and smithing trades, a keen businessman and a highly respected leader in his community. He was a big man, weighing over 200 pounds and must have been a hard worker who enjoyed all phases of his many activities. Little could be learned about details of his life at home or in the village. He is said to have been an athiest, yet it seems that he did a good deal of arguing and discussing religious questions. He was a justice of the peace, which was a highly responsible and respected position in the late 1800's. In later life he wore a long white beard and is said to have looked not unlike Longfellow. Some of the now older (1962) men of the village recall that he became quite crotchety as he grew older and would order boys out of the factory, where once he welcomed them.

He gradually retired from the heavier parts of the factory work. It is recalled that as an old man in his 80's he was still active each day at light jobs.

He died on January 1, 1922 at the age of 89 and is buried in the family plot at the United Church cemetery in Nashwaak Village.

George Todd, his oldest son, was born in 1862. Little is known of his early days. He helped around the farm and factory as a boy and attended the local common school. He attended the Fredericton Collegiate for 1½ years and while at Normal School, in 1879-80, he lived with a relative, George Todd on King Street. His records show that his work at Normal was satisfactory but not outstanding. He taught one year at or near Upper Durham, a few miles up the Nashwaak from his home and he may have taught another year elsewhere. He soon returned home where he worked with his father until he retired about 1930, at the age of 68. In 1886 he married Edith McNeill and they had five children.

He was very different in outlook and personality from his father. He is described as a hard worker but not too interested in his job, as a very easy going, highly likeable chap. He and his talented wife were described as very fine people. George was both a deacon and a Sunday school teacher in the local Methodist church. He was postmaster at Nashwaak Village from

January 1, 1891 to November 30, 1914 when the office was closed on inauguration of Rural Mail delivery. It is interesting to learn too that a weigh office was established prior to July 1, 1869, that the status was changed to a regular post office in August 1, 1874. John L. Fletcher was the only other postmaster and served in the weigh office and the regular post office until November 19, 1890.

George sold the homestead to his friend, Mr. Ernest McLean, in 1932 and lived for a while about a mile above the homestead. Later he moved to just below the homestead where he died in 1942 at the age of 80 years. He too, is buried in the now United Church cemetery, but no grave stone marker for him could be found. Neighbors thought he never had one. Pictures of George show that he was a big man too, bald and wore a goatee.

George had a brother, Franklin, who died at 26 years of age in 1888, though this would bring their birth years the same, 1862, and three sisters Janet and Elisabeth; each died in childhood of diphtheria; and Ethel who lived to be 74 years and married Rowley Manner. She died in 1947.

THE FACTORY UNIT

The forge section for the making of axes, picks, peaveys and general blacksmithing was the first unit to be built probably in 1860 or '61. It was located just north across the McNeill, now Bradley Brook. Shortly after, or possibly at the same time, the wagon and sled factory was added. The two units were separated by a wooden partition. The larger timbers of both these units were hewn and show clearly the characteristic broad axe marks. The boards were sawn by a coarse toothed up and down or gang saw as the parallel markings clearly indicate. Probably William obtained the boards from the saw mill that was located just below the dam on the McNeill Brook about a quarter mile above the factory units. It ran by an overshot waterwheel, using the same water that later turned William's undershot wheel, which was set in the brook sluice he built beside his factory. The water power thus generated turned the big grindstones in the factory for sharpening axes, operated the framed bow saw for cutting out sled runners and wheel felloes and possibly ran other small machines, as a drill press, for a metal drive shaft extended overhead through both buildings.

Some years later, but it could not be determined when, William added a unit to the southern end of the building, where

wood working was done. All the timbers and the boards of this unit were cut with a circular saw. He also built a grist mill at the northern end directly over the Brook and extending across it into his home yard. No record could be found as to when he built his rather extensive farm barns and sheds, but these are the same kind of construction as the first factory units and the doors have the same type of long hinges, hence these were probably put up in 1860 to '61.

The axe factory had two forges; one, used by William and is still standing and possibly quite useable; the other, possibly an early addition, used by George has gone. But two sets of large hand operated bellows are still in the factory. The one at William's forge is in its original position, the other was found in a pile of various items, wagon wheels, grist mill parts, boards etc.

William's forge was a small one, probably just about the right size to heat one axe or pick at a time. It was built of brick, the chimney went straight up and out the roof, the hood to catch the smoke seems very small. The old hand bellows might be said to be huge, they were pumped by a long pole with the left hand, while the right hand could use tools to tend the fire and metal in it.

It is interesting to find a few lengths of axe steel still overhead in the floor joists of the old factory. Two pieces are in my collection. One measures 2" x 1/4" x 6' and has a thick central asymmetrical ridge 3/4" high all along its length. The other measures 2 1/2" x 1/4" and has a flattened median ridge only 3/8" high. I was told that the narrower was the older. Why this peculiar shape for axe steel? What purpose was served by the ridge? This steel was of highest quality and was used to make the cutting edge of the axe. The rest of the axe was made of heavier iron and excellent for its purpose. None of it could be found.

Mr. Hayward Clayton, 74 years old, of Nashwaak Village, who as a young man hauled wood for Mr. William Bradley, told me that axes were made as follows; First a length was cut from the iron axe stock, heated and bent around a template to form the eye. Then the head or pool was formed by broadening and thickening it. The bit end of the axe was next formed by tapering, but the folded ends were kept apart. Between these separated ends, a piece of fine axe steel, such as was found in the factory, was carefully welded crosswise to form the cutting edge. This edge was then very skillfully thinned and tempered in a charcoal fire and the axe sharpened on a gray sandstone

grindstone cooled with water. The grindstone was some 6" wide by 4' to 5' in diameter and turned from the waterwheel power. This account of how William and George made their axes agrees in detail with the description of how axes were made by the Pennsylvanian blacksmith, William Schaeffer. (Mercer, 1960. Ancient Carpenter Tools, The Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pa.)

For the first few years William Bradley had a striker - a helper who used a heavy welding hammer - a Duncan Buchanan. As his eldest son, George grew he also helped in the many operations of the mills. He had his own forge near that of his father and employed strikers or helpers. William's helper for many years was a Mr. Estey. He was especially talented with the big 20 pound hammer so necessary to shape the axe and weld the steel cutting portion to the iron. He was an artist in his work and could strike just the right force in just the right place that William directed him, but no one ever understood why because "he was most wonderful cross-eyed". In fact, when he was concentrating on his work it appeared that he was gazing outdoors.

Sometime between or probably during 1904-1910, William gradually retired from the heavier jobs and George took over the family business. About 1910, he purchased a trip hammer to do the heavy pounding, mechanical shears to cut the axe iron, and a steam engine to run these, probably discarding the waterwheel at this time. This seems to have been an effort to meet the kind of volume production that had been creeping into many industries. It should be reported too that while William taught his son to form a good axe, he could not teach him to temper the bit to a fine cutting steel.

During the time that William did the tempering, the Bradley axe was one of the best made. Nearly all local woodsmen used them, often purchasing axes by the boxful. They made both poll (they spelled it pole) and double bitted axes. Their stamp read, "S. H., Bradley". The axe was used for some time in western Canada. It is known that William made at least one trip to B. C. and sold his axes there and in Alberta, but how many were shipped west or for how long they were used there is not known.

Peavey, Pick and Pick Pole Production

Each of these tools was well known and widely used locally throughout William's life. The Baileys made many of them. It

is believed that the peavey was invented by the blacksmith, John Peavey of Bolivar, New York in 1870. It is reported that William invented a shape of peavey dog that would grip logs of almost any size and that he often reshaped the dogs of other kinds of peaveys. The Bradley peavey was superior.

It should be stated too that the Baileys' did considerable general black smithing for the village, for they were "most accommodating people". The lovely pointed hinges on their own blacksmith shops doors as well as those on their home doors were probably made in their own factory.

Tool Handle Making

As part of their toolmaking business, the Baileys' turned peavey and pick handles and whittled or shaped handles for their axes and pike poles of both the pike only and pike and pickaroon varieties. It is said that Gorge did the turning for pick and peavey handles. The lathe has now gone. William whittled the axe handles. In later life it seems that this was his major work. During the winter months he sat in a barrell type chair in a room next to the forge section, that was heated by a barrel stove and whittled axe handles. None of his could be identified.

Charcoal Burning

Directly associated with the forging of axes, picks and peaveys was the making of charcoal with which to weld and temper them. John McNeill, who lives next door to the factory recalls having seen as a youngster and heard his father tell several times how charcoal was made by the Bradleys.

They would fell the hardwood, preferable rock maple, about 6" in diameter and cut it in 4' - 6' lengths. This was split once and piled to dry for several months. At their charcoal pits, which were just above the brook and across the street from the factory, they would dig holes some 4' in diameter and about a foot deep.

In these they stood the wood in tent fashion, leaving two openings in each for draft. Inside the tent they piled cedar and pine shavings and kindlings and lit them. When the logs were burning nicely the outsides were covered with gravel and then with sod to shut off the draft yet allow a slow burning to go on. A man had to be on duty day and night for two to three days to immediately stop any flame from showing through the covering. Yet allow enough air in to keep the fire going slowly. At the

end of 2-3 days the fires would go out and the charcoal would have been formed and the pile collapsed. Burning was done in the spring and the piles of charcoal left uncovered until fall when it was taken inside the factory. They kept one to two years supply on hand at all times. A small amount of charcoal was found in the factory in 1962.

The Sled Factory

Little information could be gathered about the sled making activities, which was done in the middle section of the building. It was carried on in the winter when heavy sleds were needed by woodsmen to haul logs. Several pieces of sled runners and planks were in the factory and upstairs was found a very large bow saw, which could have been used to cut out the curved runners. There was also a well worn hubbing horse used for putting the spokes in wheel hubs and the felloes on the spokes.

Thus, it appears that they made and doubtless repaired wagons and sleds. Two informants said they did little of this and the products were not good.

The Grist Mill

It is not known when William added the grist mill, to the upper end of his factory, which extended over and beyond the Bradley Brook. It seems to have been a successful business for it ground buckwheat for many years for families living many miles around. It is not known who ran the mill. Surely not the Bradleys, for this was time consuming work and went on several weeks in the fall, when they probably were busy at their forges.

A few parts of the grist mill were found in the factory - parts of elevators, hopper holder, elevator buckets. The mill was torn down by Mr. Ernest McLean about 1940.

The Introduction of Steam

It seems that about the time that George took over the management it was becoming clear that hand made axes were meeting strong competition from the machine made or cast axe. To try to meet his competition, a mechanical drop hammer was installed as well as the steam engine and boiler necessary to run them. This effort did not last long, it was not a success.

The time seems to have been about 1910-1912 (shortly before the war) that all the factories ceased operating. George and later Mr. Ernest McLean, who bought the Bradley factory and farm about 1930, sold

machinery and tools, largely at junk prices, so that today little more than a skeleton of the factory building remains. But it is a fascinating relic that has had an interesting history and still stands to tell the story.

George had been criticised for letting the factory close. Why couldn't he carry on successfully as his father had done for so many years? There seems to be several factors at play.

One was that more efficient competition for better and faster production methods was working against him. Others were that he was not adequately ingenious or energetic or hadn't enough capital to meet the changing times. He might have clearly read the signs of change that others could not see and quietly heeded the warning.

Another factor seems to have been that George might be described as being of an academic rather than industrial type. An examination of some of the books he took with him to his last home shows a keen interest in languages and history. No book on business was found, though any could have been lost. Among the books was his autograph book. Most of the entries were meaninglessly flattering. But several written by his own children indicate family difficulties and reveal his character as only an uninhibited child can.

Hand making of axes and other tools was not a lucrative business and although William and George lived comfortably, they were in no sense wealthy. It is indeed a fine tribute to the skillful craftsmanship, personal energy and business acumen of these splendid men that their several hand made products were used by so many workers, for so many years. Few products enjoyed such a fine reputation for so long.

Plans are now being formulated to restore the present building, just past a century this year, and made it into a working museum for all New Brunswick blacksmiths and tool handle craftsmen.

Ivan H. Crowell,
Director.

September 11, 1962.

P. S. Mrs. Walter Vaughan's mother as a little girl played frequently in the Bradley Axe Factory. She told me that they used the water in which axes were tempered to soak their feet to cure chill blaines. ♪

IHC.

Beyond York-Sunbury

Farming the Forest . . . by Koral LaVorgna

All farmers were not created equal. This was certainly true for the farmers of St. Patrick's parish, Charlotte County during the second half of the nineteenth century. There was inequality among the different ethnic groups, and a further division between Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic farmers. Since selling livestock or surplus crops augmented farmers' incomes, they not only produced for personal consumption but for the market. Unlike the Irish Protestants, the Catholic Irish had a limited variety of marketable products. Because of limited financial resources, Irish Catholics turned to the forest for their cash crop.

Although the Loyalists were the first residents of St. Patrick's, it was the Irish who truly settled the parish. The Loyalists settled primarily at St. Andrews, St. Stephen, and St. George. St. Patrick's parish, located between St. Andrews and St. George, would remain relatively unpopulated until the arrival of the Irish in the decades after 1815. Within a decade of their arrival, British immigrants outnumbered the St. Patrick's Loyalists. This migration was responsible for the tremendous growth of St. Patrick's during these years. The immigrants populating St. Patrick's were predominantly Irish, and by mid-century over half of the heads of household were Irish-born.

The parish at this time was an agricultural frontier, and because of its close proximity to the major port of entry, St. Andrews, it proved to be an attractive area of settlement for the Irish and other immigrants. Contrary to the promises made by many of the later Emigrant Guides, much of the soil in Charlotte County is of poor quality. Farming this unforgiving land would be difficult for even the most experienced settler, and producing for profit could prove to be even more elusive. These Emigrant Guides, however, promised prosperity for those farmers who decided to combine agricultural pursuits with the more lucrative seasonal work in the woods. This was precisely what many farmers in St.

Patrick's did, with Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants included.

The timber boom was born of British demand during the Napoleonic Wars and this prosperity continued for nearly half a century. With the dawn of the timber trade, it appeared that farmers abandoned their land to work in the woods. These were the days of the great timber merchants, and during the early years many were of Loyalist stock. Most of these timber merchants did not reside in St. Patrick's, but rather were wealthy, non-resident landowners. The majority of these timber merchants were prominent members of St. Andrews society, and the land was harvested for its timber resources rather than its aricultural productivity.

The seasonal work in the woods drew men from the farm during the winter months when the land was under the cover of snow. This was physically demanding labour, and was not without danger. Fathers and sons hoisted axes on their shoulders and joined lumber camps, and some of them did not return home. Men were killed by fallen trees, the wilds of nature, and by fires in the camps. Whether immigrants knew of such dangers or not, the forest was still a drawing card for many interested in settling in New Brunswick. Many of the Irish residents of St. Patrick's responded to the call of the forest and continued their work in the woods long after the timber boom ended. The agricultural census of 1871 indicates that a greater proportion of the St. Patrick's Catholics remained involved in the forest than the Protestants; and this continued involvement is related to Irish Catholic poverty.

Irish Catholics arrived with fewer resources than the Protestants. Tax records show that Catholics had lower real estate values than the Protestants, indicating that Catholics could not afford to purchase the same size or quality land as the Protestants. In 1861 Catholics had smaller farms, fewer cleared acres, poorer productivity levels, lower assessed farm values, lower farm implement values, and

owned fewer livestock animals. In 1861, Catholics clearly were not accomplished farmers, but they also lacked the capital to purchase land, livestock, and farm implements. Their farming success might have been greatly improved had they possessed the capital. Because of limited resources, the Irish Catholics turned to the forest. This Catholic Irish poverty was not the result of arriving later than the Protestants.

Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants arrived in St. Patrick's during the same period. On average, the Catholic Irish trailed the Protestant Irish by only two years. Most of the Protestant and Catholic Irish in this parish arrived more than a decade before the Potato Famine of the late 1840s. The Famine Irish constituted a small segment of the St. Patrick's Irish according to the 1851 census. It is difficult to determine exactly how many Irish had arrived during the Famine years because they had disappeared before the census was taken. Late arrival could not explain why Irish Catholics had lower real estate values, fewer cleared acres, and poorer crop returns than the Protestant Irish. From the beginning of their settlement in the parish, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants differed both socially and economically. This gap in success began to narrow by 1871, but the Protestants still held the advantage in a market economy.

Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics lived separate lives in St. Patrick's; the division was not only religious but cultural as well. In terms of settlement, Irish Protestants were scattered among the English and Scots settlers, whereas the Irish Catholics tended to cluster together. This tendency towards isolation was further strengthened by marriage. Irish married other Irish, but each group preferred to marry within the same religious group. Family size also varied among the Irish. The Protestants had moderate-sized families of 3 to 5 children, while Catholic families usually had more than 6 children. The Catholics needed to provide food and clothing for these children while they still

lived at home. This obligation to their children compelled Catholic Irish farmers to become competitive in the market economy.

With the decline of the timber trade, farmers grabbed their axes and went home. They left the lumber camps and cut trees from their own land, which required no capital. For a farmer in need of a cash crop, this was ideal. By 1871, commercial timber operations had been greatly reduced. A few farmers cut different varieties of hard and soft wood, but the majority of farmers (90%) produced firewood. The Irish Catholics, in producing a surplus to their own needs, managed to out-produce the Irish Protestants in this cash crop.

Cropping the forest was attractive because it did not require the capital necessary in raising other marketable items such as livestock. The forest crop did not have to be fed or sheltered, and unlike other cash crops, the trees did not have to be planted or cultivated. The farmer simply took up his axe and began to swing. Producing firewood was not simply a winter diversion. Trees were cut in winter because it was easier to dry and to transport over the snow. Splitting the wood had to wait until it dried, which meant waiting for better weather after which it was stacked into cords. Although it was time consuming to produce firewood, it well worth the effort for the Irish Catholics.

Irish Catholics in St. Patrick's were competitive forest farmers, and it was the one market crop in which they excelled. For major marketable products, such as livestock, the Irish Catholics usually owned or produced not only below the parish average

but below that of the Protestant Irish. Wool and manufactured cloth could be considered other marketable items, and these too were under-produced by Irish Catholics as compared to Protestants. The Catholics out-produced the Protestants in terms of oats, potatoes, and butter, but these crops were more likely for home consumption than for market. With so many mouths to feed, the Catholics needed a crop to sell. This crop was firewood.

The fuel and heating needs of the farm household usually required no more than 8 to 10 cords of firewood per year. Whether there were 2 or 12 people in the home, yearly consumption did not exceed 10 cords of firewood. A farmer producing more than this was interested in selling this crop. In St. Patrick's, the average farmer produced 20 cords. More Irish Catholics than Irish Protestants produced a surplus of firewood. While many farmers produced a surplus, not all pursued this quite as vigorously as the Irish Catholics. One enterprising Irish Catholic

farmer, Barney Burns, produced 200 cords of firewood in 1871. Because he produced 20 times more firewood than his family of 12 could possibly consume, Burns sold the surplus to market. By farming the forest, the Irish Catholics had found their niche in the market economy.

Irish Protestants were not as interested in the woods as Irish Catholics because they had a greater variety of surplus goods for market. The Protestants owned more livestock, had fairly high crop yields, and produced more wool and cloth for market. Limited capital and family obligations forced the Catholics to search for a marketable farm product that was cost-effective, and they found it in the woods. In St. Patrick's, there was an economic gap between Catholic and Protestant Irish; a gap that the Catholics tried to fill with firewood. 3

Koral Lavorgna has a Master's degree in History and is a member of the York-Sunbury Historical Society.



Clearing hardwood for a new farm, Victoria County (YSHS Collection)

Society News



Antoinette Duplessis, new Director of the Historical Society and Museum

Historical Society Patron Announced

At the recent Annual General Meeting of the York-Sunbury Historical Society it was announced that Dr. Ivan H. (Bill) Crowell, honorary life member, has been named Patron of the Society. Dr. Crowell is a past-president of the Society and a recipient of the Society's Martha J. Harvey Award of Distinction.

The President, Helen Hutchison, is joined on the Executive by Treasurer, Lynda Savoie; Secretary, George Richardson; and Vice-Presidents, Dr. Bill Acheson and Elizabeth Earl.

Reports of a successful sixty-fifth year were received, and among the activities planned for the present year will be an exhibit commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the City of Fredericton.

New Historical Society Director

The President, Helen Hutchison, and Board of Directors of the York-Sunbury Historical Society are pleased to announce the appointment of Antoinette Duplessis as the Director of the Historical Society and Museum. Ms. Duplessis, a native of Saint John, received her BA in Canadian History from St. Thomas University, her MA in history from the University of New Brunswick, and a Master's of Museum Studies from the University of Toronto. She has worked at the Admiral Digby Museum in Digby, NS, King's Landing Historical Settlement, and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Antoinette is very interested in joining with members of the Society and the community to promote our local history through the Museum, monthly lectures, and our ongoing educational programmes.

Memorials

A gift has been received in memory of the late Arnold Holland of Oromocto from Bruce and Carolyn Atkinson. Mr. Hol-

land will be remembered as a participant in our April 1995 programme, "The Dutch of New Brunswick and the Liberation of Holland."

Society Members

Congratulations to Dr. Bill Acheson, a Vice-President of the Society, on being named Professor Emeritus in the Department of History at the University of New Brunswick. We join his friends and colleagues in extending good wishes.

Congratulations also to Bob and Marie Young, Society members who received the YMCA's 1997 Peace Medallions in recognition of their volunteer service to the community.

Donations Requested

In this time of cutbacks the York-Sunbury Historical Society and Museum must rely on the generosity of our members. Any donations of the following items would be greatly appreciated and would help us with our monthly programmes, upcoming family Saturdays and everyday operation.

Besides a billion dollars we need ...

- a tea kettle
- metal shelves
- a television
- a VCR
- bean bag chairs or floor cushions

Please phone 455-6041 the next time you are cleaning out your office or basement.

The Gift Shop

The Gift Shop at the York-Sunbury Historical Museum has in stock an interesting selection of books. Here is a partial list:

BOOK	AUTHOR	QUANTITY
Avant Tu Take Off	David Mazerolle	3
Both Sides of the Wire, Vol. I	Ted Jones	1
Both Sides of the Wire Vol. II	"	1
Catholic Irish In New Brunswick	Leo J.J. Hynes	1
Coins of New Brunswick	Richard Bird	7
Early Steamboats of the St. John River	Donald F. Taylor	1
The Evil That Men Do	B.J. Grant	4
Fishing the Miramichi	Wayne Curtis	1
The Forgotten Soldiers	Ronald Cormier	4
The Graduate on Planet Earth	Paul Mcfate	4
The Illustrated Story of St. John	Medley LeBlanc	2
Keeping the Home Fires Burning	Ruth Scott	8
Look What the Cat Drug In	Herb Curtis	1
Maliseet and Micmac	Robert M. Leavitt	2
Maritime Union	Stewart L. Donovan	5
Michael Whelan, Folk Poet of Renous River	Michael O. Nowlan	1
Milestones and Memories	Alistair Cameron	5
Peril at Polchis Lake	Anthony Reader	6
Rats in the Sloop	Nan Doerksen	1
Silent Ethnicity, The Dutch of New Brunswick	Hoonaard	1
The St. John Police Story, The Clark Years	Gerald F. Wallace et al	4
The St. John Police Story, Vol. II	"	2
Wolastokevi Latwewakon	David Perley	4

The Collector's Room . . .

by Katrina A. DeWitt

When we think of collections, we usually think of grand collections found in such places as the Victoria & Albert Museum or the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But certainly people of modest means also can collect items which attract them. People, in fact, collect anything today from barbed wire, buttons, sewing machines to carriages and advertising memorabilia. Anything imaginable, including coffins and chamber pots, are passions for some collectors!

For some people, collecting is a compulsion; for others their activity is perhaps a remnant of otherwise unexpressed and primal instincts. Some people become so obsessed with collecting that they even have collections within collections. Their houses are interesting to them, if not necessarily their spouses, but similarly contain the massive clutter that was found in most old Victorian homes.

Most people get started in collecting by buying furnishings for their homes. The look of a few quality antique pieces in their modern homes is so delightful that they end up buying smaller decorative items and, in the end, they have accumulated collections of cranberry glass, Limoges dishes, beaded Victorian purses or blanket boxes. Sometimes they even manage to save space for their beds, appliances and kitchen tables.

Good quality Victorian furniture can be purchased at reasonable prices as can good quality oak furniture from the early 1900s. It makes good economic sense for young people to buy this furniture because good quality modern furniture is so very expensive. Antique furniture, many would argue, also is an investment which will appreciate in value over the years. But, a word of warning! Buy what you like for you may be stuck with it for a very long time. Don't buy just for investment purposes unless you are gathering authentic Fabergé eggs or Dali's.

Collecting in the 1960s, even allowing for the changing dollar, was not as expensive as it is today. For example, you could go into a junk shop and buy an Eastlake chair for 50¢, a piece of clear depression glass for 10¢, old pine kitchen tables could be found in barns for \$5, huge brass four poster beds cost \$10, and an elaborately carved Victorian Renaissance sofa could be had for \$25. Anything from the Victorian era was a bargain because connoisseurs sought hand made objects from before 1830. After 1830, articles were being mass pro-

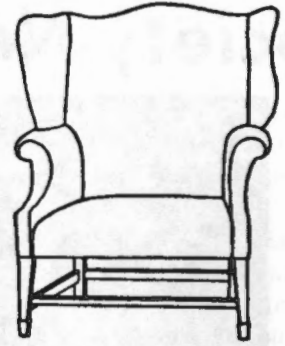
duced with the use of machine powered tools. There was a profusion of goods to choose from then and there still remains a good selection today because of our Maritime heritage. Tall sailing ships from all over the world came to our ports seeking lumber, masts and salt fish and brought with them exotic woods, glass, china and furniture.

I visited the home of a wealthy Newfoundland outport merchant sometime in the late 1960s and I recall how fascinated I was with what I saw. Because of the remoteness of the area - Fogo Island - I reeled in disbelief at what was there. Large, intricately woven linen baskets from Spain and beautiful old blue and white English china filled the rooms. Ivory and carvings from Africa and the West Indies seemed almost carelessly intermingled with 1837 muskets from Harper's Ferry, old stone bottles from Portugal and huge wooden carved clocks with quaint moving parts. It was a veritable treasure trove. The nineteenth century sailing craft carrying salt cod had blessed us with these wonderful gifts from abroad.

Similarly, the early settlement of the Maritimes, the later penchant for large Victorian homes, and perhaps a propensity by the Loyalist descendants to retain the vestiges of their past, means there yet is a reasonably good selection locally for collectors.

But whether you are a collector of modest means or one of wealth, I suggest that the same principles apply for collecting:

1. One of the most important aspects of collecting is to record the provenance (place of origin) of your possession. Knowing the provenance also increases the value of the article. Record in a notebook, computer or on index cards a description of the item, where it was purchased, the date of purchase, from whom it was acquired, and any history and price data of which you are aware. This also becomes a good record for insurance purposes so attaching a photo is desirable.
2. Buy the very best that you can afford while remembering that the condition of the object is important. A chip, crack or past repair does reduce the price for all but extremely rare pieces. A furniture piece stripped of its patina can reduce the price by half or more. Sometimes, despite your first instinct, all a piece of furniture needs is to be properly cleaned. Consult a person who repairs and restores furniture before even considering the stripping process.



3. Armed with knowledge, you confidently can buy. You owe it to yourself to learn all that you can about the objects you are collecting. This knowledge can be acquired from antique books, magazines, the Internet, antique shops and auctions. A 'hands on' approach is best. For example, if you wish to know the difference between hard and soft paste porcelain, go to a museum or private collector and ask permission to actually pick up dishes or figures and thereby study the differences in composition first hand.
4. You also have a personal responsibility, I suggest, to maintain your collection in good condition. Light, heat, humidity and temperature changes can be very damaging to many older objects. You must learn to conserve, in a very real sense, in the same ways and with the same practices as found in museums and galleries.
5. Storage space is important. Clearly, if you are going to collect architectural relics, you will need much more space than required for thimble or button collections. This may seem obvious but you would be surprised by the number of persons who cram collections into inadequate and inappropriate storage areas to their great detriment.

These are some modest suggestions drawn from my personal experiences as a collector for over the past 35 years. My enduring fascination and wonder at antiques, which began in childhood, at least makes me respect and value the glorious heritage within which we are privileged to hunt for treasures from the past. Happy collecting! ☿

Katrina DeWitt lives in Fredericton, N.B. She has a First Class Teacher's Licence from NB Teachers' College, a BA (Distinguished) in Anthropology from UNB, she is a Charter Member of the Sunbury-West Historical Society, a Life Member of the York-Sunbury Historical Society, and she currently is Chairperson of the Docents at the Beaverbrook Art Gallery. Katrina also is an Estate Consultant and Appraiser with A-1 Auctioneers, Saint John, NB.



Garrison Ghosts: by William Stewart MacNutt

A casual inquiry on the Internet for "Atlantic Provinces History" yielded the information that there were 108,130 matches at that site, a veritable wealth of information on the topic. A very different situation to what existed when Stewart MacNutt published *The Atlantic Provinces: the Emergence of Colonial Society 1713-1857*, in 1965. When Professor MacNutt was appointed to the history department of the University of New Brunswick in 1946, no comprehensive history of any of the Maritime provinces had been written.

Stewart MacNutt had close ties to all three Maritime provinces, since he was born in Charlottetown, and after matriculating at Prince of Wales College, went on to Dalhousie University in Halifax where he earned his Bachelor's degree with honours in 1930. A scholarship for study overseas from the I.O.D.E. took him to Kings' College London, where he concentrated on Nova Scotia politics in the eighteenth century, studying with A. P. Newton.

The world of academia was not expanding in the depression year of 1932, and he claimed he was lucky to secure a teaching post at Rothesay Collegiate School in New Brunswick. He remained there until 1939, when he joined the North Nova Scotia Highlanders, serving in North Africa and Italy, and achieving the rank of captain. He taught at the Khaki University in England for a time before returning to New Brunswick where he was appointed an assistant professor of history at the University of New Brunswick, beginning with the fall term of 1946.

His promotions and appointments at UNB make up only the outline of his contributions to the life and fabric of university, and the devotion with which he carried out his duties. He was promoted to associate professor in 1950, and then to full professor in 1952. In 1964 he was appointed as Dean of Arts, the second person to hold the position in the history of the university, and he remained in that position until 1970. He was made professor emeritus in 1974, and in May 1975, he received an honorary doctor of letters from UNB, adding this degree to earlier doctorates he had received from Saint Thomas University, Dalhousie University and the University of Prince Edward Island.

During his distinguished career he received as well as the I.O.D.E. scholarship, a Nuffield Fellowship, a Canada Council Fellowship and a Killam Fellowship. He received an award for his contribution to provincial history from the Canadian Historical Association and from the American Association for State and Local History. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and of the Royal Society of Canada.

In 1963 he published *New Brunswick: a History 1784-1867*. Alfred G. Bailey said of this work: "The first history of a Maritime province written by a professionally trained historian using the techniques of modern historical scholarship."

It was the product of intensive investigation in archival collections on both sides of the Atlantic over a twelve year period, and it "explained for the first time the basis for the deviant character of the movement towards responsible government in that province."

The MacNutt bibliography compiled by Dr. Gertrude Gunn for the University of New Brunswick Archives is an extensive one, and as well as his major scholarly works, there are extensive entries on the Maritime provinces, New Brunswick and Atlantic Canada in the *Chambers Encyclopedia World Survey*, the *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, the *World Book Encyclopedia*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopedia Americana* and in the seventies numerous entries in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

The University of New Brunswick has established the W. Stewart MacNutt Memorial Lectures on the Atlantic Provinces in his memory. These lectures are delivered annually in the fall of the year on the Fredericton campus of the University.

It is probably not coincidence that Stewart MacNutt, descendent of colonial administrators, born on the fourth of July should have made his career at a university founded by Loyalists, or that he should have made such an enormous contribution to Loyalist scholarship. The citation for his doctorate from the University of New Brunswick reads in part:

He has been widely hailed in Canada and the United States for his pioneering work on those Loyalist who founded New Brunswick and who made the Maritimes for a time the English-speaking center of

what would become Canada. When he began his labours on the Loyalists few historians were much interested in the "losers" of the American Revolution and fewer still in the history of the Atlantic Provinces. Today, some three decades later, both Loyalist studies and Atlantic Canada studies flourish. Their health and vitality owe much to him.

His extensive research and writing, his brilliant teaching, and his leadership in helping to draw together the University of London, the City University of New York, the American Antiquarian Society, and UNB in a massive scholarly assault upon establishing the documentary base necessary to assess the place of Loyalists in the histories of Canada, Britain, and the United States, have transformed a neglected area of research into a thriving scholarly enterprise.

Professor MacNutt was Canadian chairman of the International Program for Loyalist Studies from 1972, until his death in 1976

Stewart MacNutt was a compelling speaker and a fine lecturer, and while his books, articles and other writings are available to us, as are the text of talks which he gave, two of which are printed in this issue, only some will be able to recall the energy of his delivery, the confidence in his mastery of his subject which characterized his lectures, so that thirty years later, a former student in his freshman class, not even a history major remembers surprisingly vividly the three hours a week spent listening to him.

Perhaps the editorial writer of the *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, writing on 11 February 1976, the day following his death, was also a former student, who like so many, would remember Professor MacNutt with respect, and affection.

His knowledge of his field was encompassing. His lectures were given a style and flourish that made his courses remarkably popular with students, especially so since many seemed to consider Maritime history boring and unimportant. It was neither in Dr. MacNutt's classes.

His stature in the academic world was high. It will be hard to fill his empty chair. ❧



The first railway bridge across the St. John River seen from the Cathedral spire during the spring freshet. The bridge across the mouth of the Nashwaak River leading to a pastoral Barker's Point can be seen in the background. (PANB P11-37)