

The Officers' Quarters

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The Origins of Central New Brunswick



The Officers' Quarters

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Front Cover

Captain John Saunders of the Queen's American Rangers, Virginia Loyalist, founder of the Barony, and Chief Justice of New Brunswick.

Back Cover

The Planters' church at Sheffield.

From the Editor's Desk . . .

For hundreds of years the watershed of the middle St. John River was an isolated thinly populated territory. This changed in the seventeenth century as contests between the French and English empires and then the American Revolution turned the area into a place of refuge for many victims of these great military struggles. New Brunswick was created in 1784 and within a few years the centre of the province was organized into the counties of Sunbury and York. At least four identifiable peoples were present at the time

the counties were formed. These included the Maliseet (Wolastoqiyik), the Acadians, the Planters and the Loyalists. This issue looks at the origins of the counties of central New Brunswick, examines the groups found there at the time of their creation, and explores the relationships among the groups. The essays are drawn from the series of programmes presented to the York-Sunbury Historical Society at Old Government House during the 2002-3 season.



Mic Mac Night Encampment NBM

A Message From Our President . . .

I have found my first eight months as President a time of learning and attending many, many meetings on behalf of the Society. Elizabeth Earl had been President of the Society for the past three years, and I now recognize the wonderful time commitment and energy that she has given this organization over that period. I believe we are now a successful organization as a result of the efforts of Elizabeth, her Board members and the staff.

Like most organizations, we can always do more of what we are doing right; we sometimes could do things better; and we can also try a few new things. As President and as a volunteer who is required to provide a lot of my time, I look for validation of the fact that we are somewhat successful. I continually find that validation in:

- ♦ the encouraging remarks of the Lieutenant Governor at our very successful Christmas Party in December, and his comment that we would continue to be welcome at Government House for our programmes and Christmas Party.
 - ♦ the high quality of programmes we offer our members and the public every third Thursday of the month at Old Government House. These are managed by Vincent Erickson and his Programme Committee;
 - ♦ the publication of *"The Officers' Quarters"* as an interesting and academically high quality magazine. This is managed by Bill Acheson and his Committee of Pat Flemming, Doug Wright, Patsy Hale, Susan Acheson and Fred White;
 - ♦ the new and changing exhibits installed or coordinated by Liz Haines, our curator, and Elizabeth Earl, the Chair of the Exhibits Committee;
 - ♦ the supporters of the Society who see our museum as a place to display their own treasures and stories. During the last year Robert Dallison installed a Military exhibit, David McKinley of the Fredericton Fire Department presented a Fredericton Firefighters History exhibit, the New Brunswick Crafts Council offered an exhibit from their Collection, the NB College of Craft & Design presented their "Graduating Class Exhibit", and Fidele Theriault installed the French Fort Exhibit;
 - ♦ our Annual Yard Sale, through the efforts of 8 to 10 volunteers, netted us extra dollars;
 - ♦ an Endowment Fund was created, thanks to the initiative of Gillian Liebenberg, Mona MacMillan and Elizabeth Earl. A number of donations have been received for the fund;
 - ♦ an active Board with several other active committees which carry out many functions;
 - ♦ the 50 or more people who have volunteered for different activities over the past year;
 - ♦ the positive relationship we have with more than 20 organizations with whom we must cooperate to get things done;
 - ♦ the recognition of worthy members. In 2004 awards were made to Don and Joan Roberts, Fred Hubbard, and Doug Wright; and
 - ♦ the many positive comments and annual membership renewals from you, our members;
- In the coming year we have a number of new things planned:
- ♦ a fund raising and community awareness event, "February Games Night", in cooperation with Rye's Deli and the new game store, "ThinkPlay";
 - ♦ a computerized on-line "virtual exhibit" next September, with new funding from Heritage Canada;
 - ♦ building a new Web Site;

- ♦ new visitor programming, with City support, to provide something new for both the members and the tourists;
- ♦ upgrading our collection files with extra funding from the province's Heritage Branch;
- ♦ a renewed telephone committee (We still need additional members);
- ♦ new exhibits for 2005 and 2006 need to be installed and we are looking for some new community members as partners to exhibit their collections and share their stories. Should you know of someone or something of interest, please do contact our curator;
- ♦ re-instituting our annual "Author Recognition Awards";
- ♦ and, of course, continuing the many things we are already doing.

This organization is the traditional 'not-for-profit'; however, it is trying to run like a business. The major problem with this format is that the business has only one full-time staff member and so depends upon volunteers and part-time staff to get many things done.

There are many small jobs to be done over the next year and if you are interested in doing something with the Society, please give me a call at 457-0990 or drop by and talk to our curator, Liz Haines. We need help with stuffing the Quarters in envelopes, making phone calls, office tasks, writing articles, recording the artifact information, responding to research requests, working on exhibits, guiding tours, doing photography, serving on a committee, and renewing your annual membership, among other things.

Thank you to each and every one of the Board and committee members and volunteers who gave of their time and energy over the past years. It makes everyone look forward to the good things that will happen in the coming year.

Fred White

Johan Tiarks' Observations of the Relationship Between Native Peoples and Acadians in New Brunswick

By Vincent Erickson

An interesting set of early nineteenth century primary documents which contain a wealth of information on two of the three founding populations of New Brunswick was donated to the Public Archives of Canada by the Tiarks family of England in 1972. These are the papers of Johan Ludwig Tiarks, mathematician and astronomer, appointed as Royal Britannic Astronomer under Article V of the Treaty of Ghent. Tiarks came to British North America to represent the British interests in determining the boundary between the United States and British North America from the source of the Saint Croix River in New Brunswick to the Lake of the Woods in Upper Canada.

The time that Tiarks spent on the middle and upper St. John River during the months of June to September of the year 1820 enabled him to tell us a great deal about the interaction of the Native Peoples and the Acadians and the transmission of ideas, products and values between these two populations. In short, Tiarks tells us what some quite ordinary people were doing at this time. As outsider, he found new experiences worthy of being recorded.

Tiarks writes in his journal that he left Fredericton on the evening of June 21, 1820 for the Madawaska region. He does not name the men who accompanied him to man his canoe, but one is very likely a man called Gosselin

and another possibly David Kennihy. The two men remained with him until he returned to Fredericton in September. A week later the party had arrived at the mouth of the Grand River and on July 1 continued on to the mouth of the Green River. On July 7, Tiarks comments that Joseph Mercure explained to the party the course of the Green River, and on the following day, the expedition set out in two birch bark canoes and three log canoes from the house of Baptiste Thibaudeau. The birchbark canoes were poled by Pierre Mercure and Gosselin. Of the three log canoes, one was poled by Michel Thibaudeau, the second by Fermin Thibaudeau, and the third by David Kennihy and Harvey Bleish. .

Examples of Cultural Borrowing Between the Indians and the Acadians

Pierre, Michel and Fermin were Acadian men who lived on or near the Green River. Tiarks' discussion of the group's day-to-day activities provides interesting cultural details which show the extent of the borrowing of traits between the Indians and the Acadians.

On July 18th, there was a violent rain storm. Eight men could not fit comfortably under two birch bark canoes to gain protection from the elements. The solution the workers found was to peel the bark from several large spruce trees and fix several poles

into the ground each pair of poles crossing at the top. Connecting the pairs of poles were cross poles placed in the notches. Over the entire structure were placed the rolls of spruce bark. Spruce boughs were placed on the ground within this makeshift structure giving the men a comfortable place to spend the night. Later ethnographers provide similar examples of the Native Peoples' construction of temporary shelters. The front part of the structure could be left uncovered and a fire built in front of the open structure. Several people could sleep behind the fire inside this makeshift lean to. Even on the coldest winter night one could be reasonably comfortable in a lean-to. The Acadians borrowed the idea of both of these temporary structures from the Indians.

On July 25th, Tiarks gives a thorough discussion of making a fish spear which his Acadian workers said was called a *nigague*. This is the term for fish spear which is used by both the Maliseet and Mig'ma. When the men came upon a salmon pool in the early evening the group decided to stop for the day. Pierre and Michel began to make a *nigague* so that they could spear salmon that night. Tiarks suggests that the *nigague* is better suited for spearing fish than the three tined fork used in the United States. The iron piece used for spearing the fish is cylindrical and about four inches in diameter, culminating in a

sharp point and fastened to a long pole. On both sides of the pole near where the iron is inserted are two crooked pieces of wood which project about three inches beyond the iron. These pieces of wood must have some flexibility so as to open when thrust against the ground. The salmon is taken between these pieces of wood, the two flexible pieces holding the fish firmly as the iron penetrates the fish. Hardwood must be used in fashioning these flexible parts. Maple is best, but yellow birch is also good. The New Brunswick First Nations obviously taught their Acadian neighbors the art of spearing larger fish using the *nigague*. The implement was improved after the introduction of iron. Before this time, the Indians likely used a sharpened piece of bone, horn or hardwood to pierce the fish.

Tiarks also describes the use of rolled up birchbark attached to a stake and inserted into the front of their canoes at night. When lighted, this attracts the fish and draws them to the water's surface enabling them to be more easily taken. This technique, too, is a borrowing from New Brunswick's First Nations. The Acadian men had several of these prepared in advance for their fishing venture.

Tiarks also comments on the use of cedar bark as punk and how lighted cedar bark in small quantities can preserve fire when it is not immediately needed when traveling. Smoldering cedar bark is also efficacious for keeping mosquitoes and black flies at bay.

On July 28th, Tiarks found his canoe leaking so badly that he was spending most of his time bailing

out water to keep it from sinking. When the group stopped for dinner, Pierre Mercure took it upon himself to repair the canoe. He cut out several of the damaged pieces of bark. Then he cut new pieces of bark slightly larger than each of the cut out areas trying to insert this bark under the old areas. Pierre then took a pointed piece of wood which he inserted in a hole made by an awl through both the old and new pieces of bark. This piece of wood now served as a pin fastening the old birch bark and the replacement patch together. After this was done he placed pitch, which had been heated in a small container, over the entire patch to fasten it permanently to the old bark. Over the pitch, he placed a piece of linen rag. Heating this from the outside using a fire brand, the heated gum or pitch penetrates the rag, and when it dries fastens the cloth much better to the old and new bark. Triaks heard his men say that such a patch held better than the original bark and was less prone to tearing. Before the Europeans arrived and introduced cloth, plaited shreds of cedar bark, animal hair or other plant matter were likely used to strengthen the patches.

On or around August 3rd, Tiarks identified a discarded canoe paddle near Rimouski Lake as carved and decorated by the French. He attributes the work to the French because, in his opinion, the Indians would have demonstrated greater effort and skill in its execution. It is obvious that the Acadians as well as English speakers requiring passage along rivers and connecting land routes

used the same streams and connecting portage routes to travel between the North Shore of New Brunswick, the St. John River tributaries and the Saint Lawrence River as the Indians did. The Acadians had wisely adopted Native technologies and products to facilitate such travel. Do you want to use something other than your hands to dip water from a lake to get a drink? Take a small piece of birch bark and shape it into a cone and use it as a temporary container. Do you lack a plate from which to eat your supper? A small slab of birch bark works just fine. Are you walking through the woods and find yourself in a downpour and don't want to stop? Peel off a slab of birch bark to serve as a temporary garment for your head and shoulders. Or in Tiarks' case find yourself out in the wilds of New Brunswick without any paper and have a longing to write your fiancée in Germany? Use a thin sheet of birchbark. It's guaranteed to be an artifact which will not find its way back to Canada with the rest of Tiarks' journals, letters and papers!

Finally, one last example of Acadian adoption of a Native artifact. On August 5th, Tiarks writes that Michel had killed five minks. One of them he had skinned to make what he called a *pitsnagen*. This is a small bag used for storing punk, tobacco, shot or anything else which is small and needed frequently when you want to keep your hands free. The animal is slit open at the breast. The internal organs and bones of the torso are removed, but the head, brains and teeth are left to dry with the skin. *Pitsnagen* (Tiarks'

spelling) is a Maliseet term. Maliseet men wore the pitsnagen at their waist. Women used it as a handbag.

**Tiarks returns to civilization.
His observations on the
Acadians and their Indian
neighbors at the mouth of the
Madawaska River**

On August 8th, Tiarks had completed the first part of his investigations and was back at the mouth of the Green River. He renewed the acquaintance of persons he had met there more than a month earlier. One was old Joseph Thibeau, originally from Nova Scotia. He told Tiarks that he left Nova Scotia when it was taken by the English and went to Canada (Quebec) in order to remain in a French colony. When he arrived there, it had just been taken over by the English. He returned to the valley of the St. John River with some other Acadians and settled ten miles above Sainte Anne (Fredericton). When the Loyalists arrived, these lands were allotted to the newcomers. Governor Carleton reserved lands for the Acadians from the Green River up to the St. Francois. Tiarks referred to this territory as a reservation. This is the origin of the Madawaska settlement which is the parish of St. Basile. Some of the inhabitants of Madawaska had since taken grants for their land, but the majority had no proper title. According to Captain du Perry, parish clerk, the Madawaska settlement contained about 120 families with a total population of about 2000. In a letter to his fiancée, Tiarks suggests the population is only 1000. Old Joseph

Thibeau is said to be 97 and his wife 93.



*Gabe Acquin, St Marys 1866
(UNBA) Note his pitsnagen.*

Later during the day, Gosselin and David Kennihy, pole Tiarks up the St. John River to the home of Simon Ebair (Hebert). Here Tiarks joins Burnham who tells him that a frolic or Madawaska ball is planned for the evening. All the youth and beauty of the neighborhood (Indians included ?) had assembled, but they lacked a violin. Burnham had one, and offered to play. Dancing continued until about three o'clock the next morning. Tiarks writes that their dance was a double jig, but that there were never more than four people dancing at any one time. Tiarks' letter to his fiancée about the Madawaska community is less controlled:

(it consists of) about 1000 inhabitants, all of whom speak French and none of whom can read or write. They live isolated from the entire world, nourish themselves with horticulture,

animal husbandry and the hunt. They are moderately well off. Having no concern for the rest of the world, they live here entirely in harmony with one another, sing the entire day and dance as often as they can. (*translation is mine*)

Obviously Tiarks forgot about the parish priest of St. Basile and the parish secretary who were literate. The priest kept excellent records. Tiarks had great respect for the highly educated Roman Catholic clergy in Montreal with whom he had spent some time as guest a year or so earlier. He had found these men lively conversationalists, and well aware of what was going on in the rest of the world. Several had fled France because of the French Revolution and had found refuge in Quebec.

The next morning Tiarks went to visit the Indian village at the mouth of the Madawaska River. It was surrounded by Acadian farms and dwellings. This is likely the first time that Tiarks had made a visit to a New Brunswick Indian community. The Indians here spoke some English and one woman quite good French. All spoke a variety of Algonquian languages. Most spoke either Penobscot or other languages which were once spoken in western Maine and western New England. Their village was a part of a reserve which was set out for them a few years earlier.

Tiarks wrote that their village consisted of about eight wigwams some of which were quite large and seem to have housed more than one family. Although Tiarks does not mention it, the larger dwellings may have been similar

to the Iroquois longhouse found in New York state. Some Penobscot houses may have had similar floor plans. In these larger houses there was a central passageway with a raised platform or bunk for storage and sleeping at either side which extends the length of the building which may be twenty feet. In the central corridor were places for each family to sit, and on the adjacent platforms to sleep. Although in summer cooking appeared to be performed out of doors, in winter each nuclear family within this long dwelling may have had a cooking area in the central corridor around which the family sat and slept.

The French-speaking Indian who came from Quebec was the second wife of a man named Poris (Boris, Polis). Polis means "Little Paul" and represents the pronunciation found among the Penobscot and other groups in central and western Maine. Maliseets pronounce "Little Paul" in the Mig'ma way. The modern Maliseet family name Polchies reflects its Mig'ma pronunciation. Tiarks writes that Poris has lived at Madawaska for a long time. His first wife was the daughter of a French man from Bordeaux, France. He went by two names, Matlock and Boderie. Tiarks wrote that Boderie had fought in the colonial wars in New England on the British side, although Tiarks may be mistaken on that point. His wife was a member of the Les Loups tribe, an Algonquian group from western New England. Both Boderie and his wife were still living. They lived off the reserve on the south shore of the St. John River. He was more than 90 years old. He and his

wife lived from the charity of their French-speaking neighbors, Simon Hebert and his two sons. One of Boderie's two sons was married to a daughter of Mr. Long who lived at the beginning of the Temiscuata portage in Quebec. He held a government contract to carry mail across the portage between New Brunswick and Riviere-du-Loup.

While speaking with the Indians at Madawaska, Tiarks bought a small bark canoe (a model) and a pitsenagen. Tiarks, being interested in languages, found it worthy of comment when his Indian friends told him that the Penobscot, the Kanniba (the Indians living on the Kennebec River), the St. Johns Indians (the Maliseet), and the Abenakis are different tribes of the same nation and that their languages are only different dialects, but are not radically different. The language of the Mikmacks and the language of the Algonquins were partially comprehensible to the speakers of the other northern New England and New Brunswick Indians mentioned above. Tiarks mentions that his Madawaska Indians confuse the 'l' and 'r' sounds, as their language has only one sound which is intermediate between the two. Boris wrote his name *Polis*, but Tiarks heard it as *Boris*. Tiarks commented that Polis writes his language very well and usually selects an 'l' to represent this difficult sound. For example he wrote '*Restigouche*' as '*alestkotsg*'. One of its tributaries is the *katwamkeswi* (Kedgwick) as written by Polis. Significant is the fact that Polis selects the letter 'w' and not the symbols 'oi' or 'oe' to represent 'w'.

The following morning, August 10, Tiarks was back chatting with and observing his new Indian friends. A group of Indians were making a large birch bark canoe. The Indian women used split spruce roots to sew the bark. Holes to facilitate stitching were made with an awl.

On the 11th of August, Tiarks was back again to visit the Indians. He commented that they raised some potatoes. More important was his conclusion about the Madawaska Indians' position in the white man's world:

The Indians in this neighborhood seem to be as improvident as everywhere and white people profit by it much. They (the Indians) possessed a large tract of valuable land in Madawaska, the whole of what they have gradually lost, and now they possess only a small strip near the Madawaska River. Simon Hebert has lately bought again a good farm of them at the mouth of the Madawaska River.

On September 8th, Tiarks found himself at the mouth of the Tobique River. He comments that he had passed through there in July on his way to the Green River. He found no Indians on the two heights above the river, but there were seven small houses, mostly built of thin trees, covered on all sides with spruce bark. Five of these had been built since his group were last there. Tiarks wrote that the Indians go to the Tobique for salmon fishing. Because of the warmth of the water here, salmon were very plentiful. Unfortunately, all the Indians were away from the vil-



Maliseet Campsite at Tobique 1862 (PANB)

lage so that Tiarks could learn nothing about them.

Tiarks' final mention of Indians on the St. John River was when he passed through Kingsclear, on September 16th on his way back to Fredericton.

"We came to the Indian village where we stopped a little. There were hardly any Indians at the village, most of them being out hunting or on some other business. We entered the wigwam of Thomas the chief of the tribe which we found in very good order and clean. The whole of the inside was thickly covered with Indian corn fastened together and hung up for drying. Thomas' wife was making a basket, a very common employment for women especially in winter. They take for this purpose softwood wet it or steam it until it is penetrated by the water through the whole of the inside. They then lay the log on the ground and knock it with the back of an axe until the growth of the different

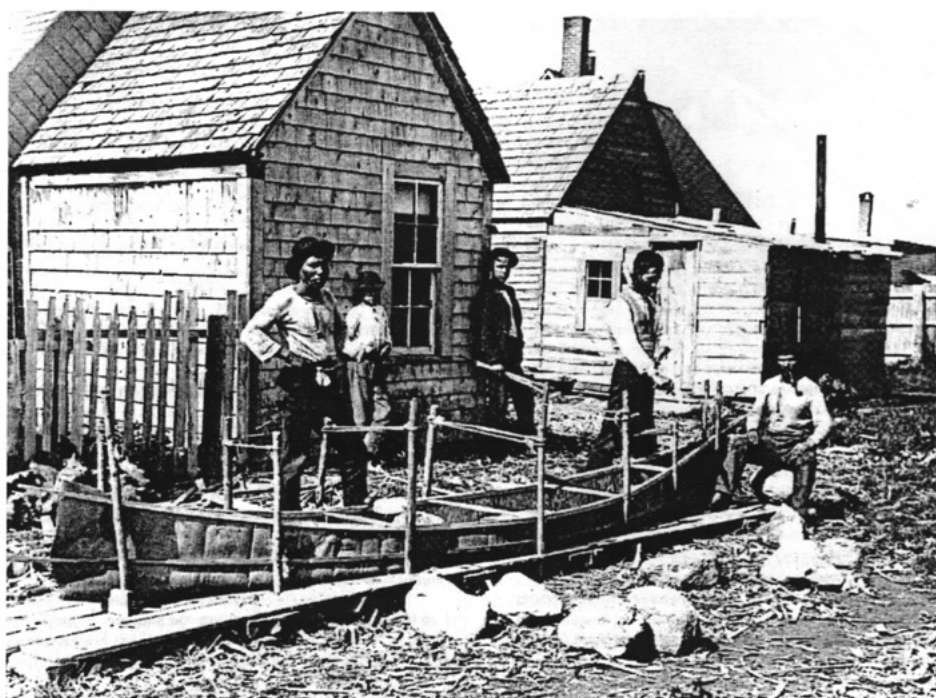
years become loose from one another so that they can be separated. From the strips thus obtained they make their baskets.

The chapel belonging to the Indian village was exceedingly small, built of wood and papered inside without any benches. Some coarse prints with glaring colors were the only ornaments of the altar. Their major concern was whether Tiarks and his party had encountered any smallpox during their travels. Tiarks was not aware of this, but the reason the Maliseets had moved their settlement from Meductic to Aukpaque (Springhill, New Brunswick) by 1767 was because of an outbreak of smallpox. In Tiarks' words:

This disease they dread very much, as it has formerly made great ravages among them. The inoculation of cowpox is as yet very little practiced in this country. Most white people living upriver have never had the smallpox nor the cowpox.

With these observations, Tiarks' New Brunswick-Quebec Journal, 1820 closes. He likely continued on to Saint John to discuss the events of the summer with Ward Chipman, Sr. and prepare other reports. Although only a small portion of Tiarks' journals and letter of 1820 have been discussed, those sections which pertain to Indian-Acadian relations have been given in full.

Significant is the fact that Tiarks makes no reference to seeing evidence of Indian habitation at either Meductic or at the mouth of the Meduxnekeag River. True, the major settlement of the Maliseets had been moved down river from Meductic, but Maliseet families continued to use their old headquarters even after the arrival of the Loyalists. The mouth of the Meduxnekeag was also a favored spot before and after a reserve was established in Lower Woodstock in 1851. By the time of Tiarks' 1820 visit, reserves had been established for Indians on the St. John River at Madawaska, Tobique and Aukpaque including a part of Saint Anne's Point. Aukpaque was lost with the arrival of the Loyalists. Large sections of the Madawaska reserve were being lost, and the same would be true of the 17,000 acre Tobique reserve before long. The Maliseets at Kingsclear would soon have a reserve established for them. Undoubtedly, there were families of Maliseets living off the reserve in 1820. Saint John likely attracted some, as did settlements on the Kennebecasis River, the Grand Lake system, and at entrances to major portage routes into Mig'ma territories. Fredericton



Maliseet Canoe Building at St Marys (PANB)

would soon attract other Maliseets from Kingsclear.

Both the Acadians and the Indians suffered from the disruptions resulting from the loss of French power in Canada and Acadia in the 18th century. The Acadians who remained or returned to New Brunswick later seemed to have fared better than the Indians, some of whom had never left. From Tiarks' observations, young Acadian men were capable of surviving in the woods using proven techniques long held by the Indians. Tiarks could foresee the problems the Maliseets would continue to encounter.

The passage of cultural traits from one group to another is never a one way process. Tiarks obtained a unique document, "Religious Hymns in Millisheet language communicated to me by an Indian at Saint John N.B. 1820". This is a 60 page collection of text. No music was included.

This document clearly shows the influence of French missionary priests on the Maliseets. It is the most extensive collection of 19th century Maliseet hymns ever to come to light. Tiarks has told us much; we wish he had told us more. Whom did he get the document from? Why, and under what circumstances?

Two scenarios come to mind. Tiarks' document might be derived from a late seventeenth or early to mid eighteenth century work which was written by a French missionary priest in Acadia having the goal of putting the liturgy of the Catholic church into the vernacular of the people he served. Second, a Maliseet may have asked Tiarks if he would be interested in having a collection of hymns in Maliseet which he was willing to copy down from memory. As a sub-type of the first scenario, a Maliseet may have copied an original French

document adding his own creative innovations as he went along.

What follows is an interlinear translation of the original Tiarks version of one hymn as it would be said by a fluent present day speaker of Maliseet. Assistance for this was given by Joe Paul of St. Mary's Maliseet First Nation and Peter Paul of the Woodstock Maliseet First Nation.

Wikuwamkamine Sehsus anikskam.

Come visit us Jesus our Lord

Ehqi weskicinowiyek-ote

Do not forget us Indians

Sehsus sankiyumec wulito-hamine

"Jesus still kindly like bless us"

Sehsus saktawin wolitpos-towine

Jesus listen to us listen to us carefully

Sehsus Nikskam umitaqsit spomok wikowelin

Jesus Lord the one who has a father in heaven living there

Teleyuwit

So be it (Amen)

We find ourselves in an interesting dilemma. Why did French priests encourage Maliseets and other Algonquians to write their languages modelled on the French spelling system, but not teach their own people in Canada to read and write? It probably reflects the fact that early missionary priests came to the far-flung Indian communities very infrequently. The priests, during their absence, wanted local members of the Indian communities to perform parts of the Mass. This necessitated certain men in the Indian community learning how to read and write, in order to perform parts of the liturgy. In

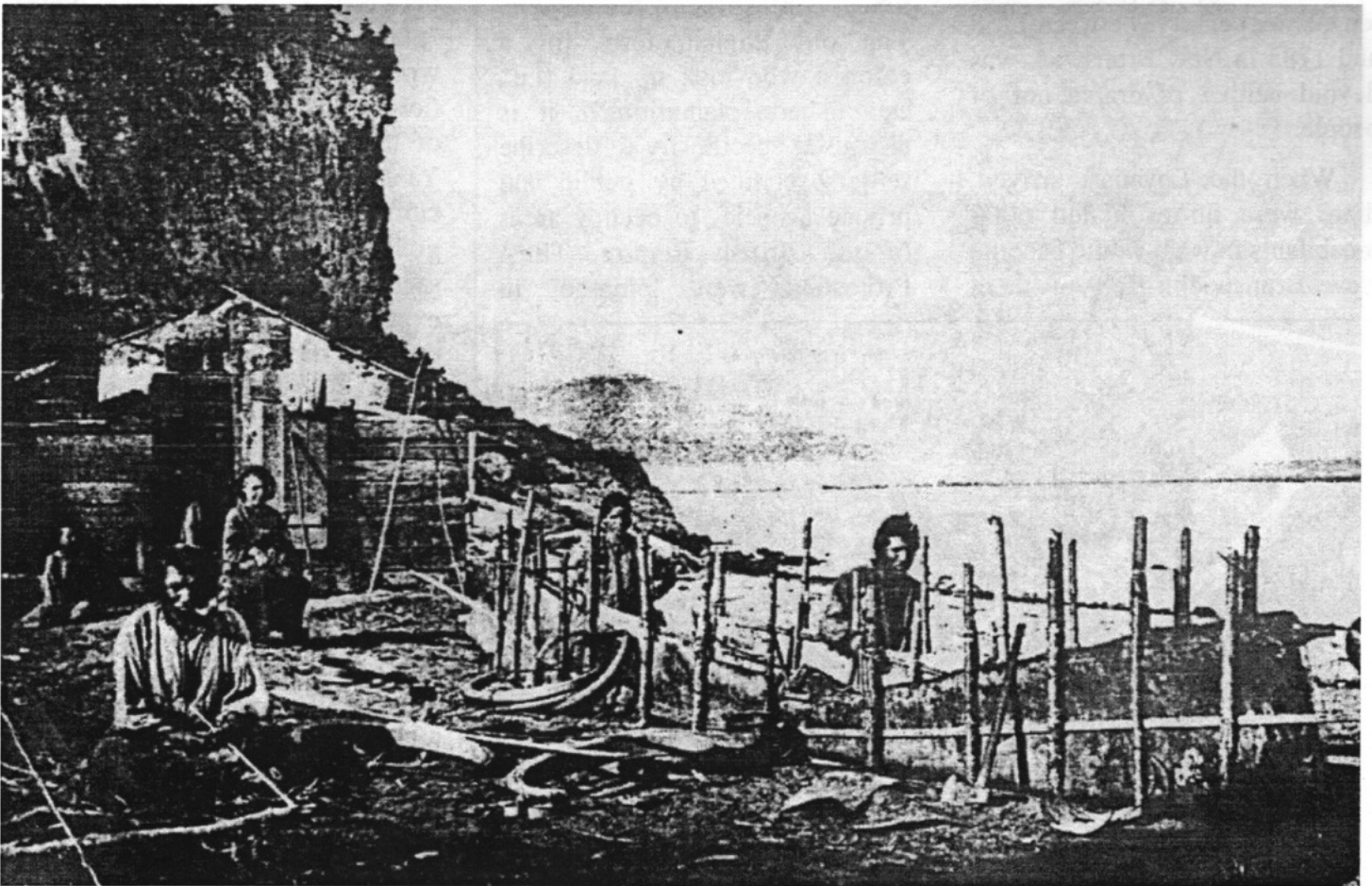
Maliseet there is a term for such a lay priest. He was called a *nutenans*, and he took this role seriously. He had a high position in the community. When non French clergy appeared on the scene or when the Indians became integrated into local non-Indian parishes, the need for the *notenans* declined. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that around Tiarks time, Indian men were willing to sell or barter away religious documents which earlier had special significance to them.

English-speaking Protestant clergy and others arrived on the

scene too, near the end of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century to teach the Indian children to read and write English. Frederick Dibblee was one such person in the Woodstock area. Elijah Kellogg played a comparable role among the Passamaquoddies in Maine. While their goal was to teach the children English, once the children recognized the relationship between letter and sound in English, they could transfer this knowledge to the writing of their own native language. There was not necessarily a perfect corre-

spondence between the sounds of any two language, but it did not seem to cause severe problem for Indian children and adults. Polis in Madawaska may have learned to write native words this way.

To sum up, the French and Native cultures had complementary influences on one another in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Each used what the other had to offer in ways that met its own interests and needs.



Indians building canoe

New England Planters in the St. John River Valley

By Margaret Conrad

Introduction

Anglophone New Brunswickers are inclined to see the Loyalist migration following the American Revolution as the defining moment in the province's history. In many ways it was. New Brunswick was carved out of the old colony of Nova Scotia in 1784 to accommodate the Loyalists and they dominated its political structures for more than a generation. Nevertheless, as historian M.A. MacDonald has reminded us in her insightful little book *Rebels and Redcoats* (1990), the "forgotten quarter century" between 1758 and 1783 in New Brunswick was devoid neither of drama nor of people.

When the Loyalists arrived, there were an estimated 6000 inhabitants in what would become New Brunswick. Half of them

were English-speaking, the other half primarily Acadian, Maliseet, and Mi'kmaq. The anglophone population was itself diverse, including Irish, Scots, and Yorkshire English. The majority, however, came from the New England colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Known as New England Planters, they played an important role in shaping what would become New Brunswick.

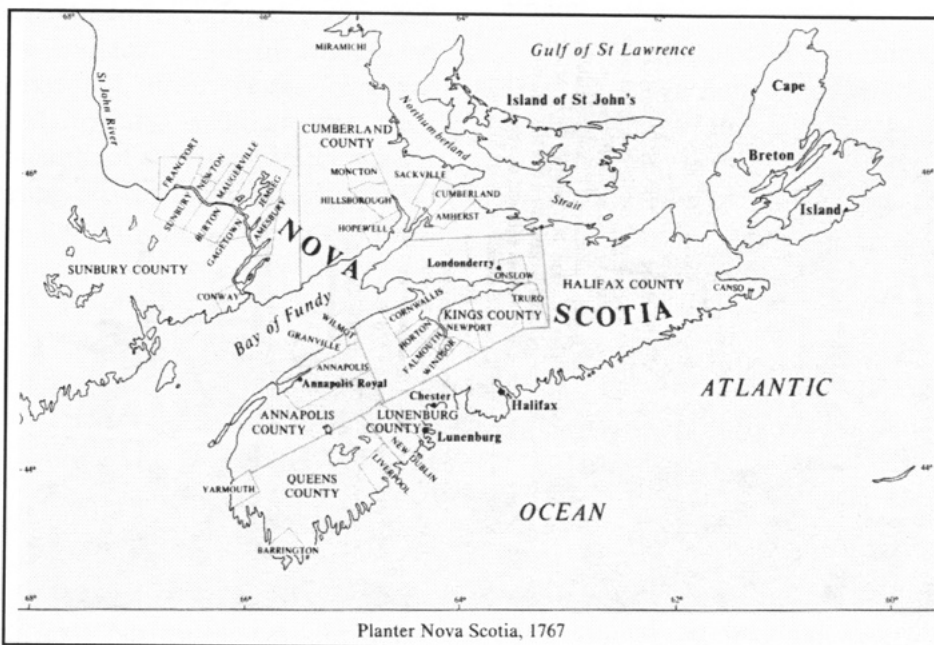
Who or What is a Planter?

The term "planter" is sometimes confusing to researchers. The old English term for a colonist who took up land (i.e., established "plantations"), it is also used specifically to describe settlers recruited by public and private agencies to occupy areas of the British Empire. Thus, Protestants were "planted" in

Ulster in the seventeenth century. Overseas, pioneer settlements were peopled by "planters", men offered large estates in return for securing the area and perhaps returning profits for their sponsors. As used in the eighteenth century, the term was general enough to encompass everyone from West Indies sugar plantation owners to Newfoundland fishermen who conducted a shore-based fishery.

New Englanders who settled in the old colony of Nova Scotia between 1759 and 1775 were "planters" in both senses of the word. They were part of the frontier movement of peoples typical of the pre-industrial land-hungry Yankees, and they were specifically invited by Nova Scotia's governor Charles Lawrence to secure the colony following the expulsion of the Acadians and the defeat of the French at Louisbourg (1758). The Seven Years' War (1756-1763), in which the Atlantic region became a pawn in the struggle for supremacy between the British and the French, was the context that framed the Planter migration. Barred from further westward movement by continuing Aboriginal hostility and British policy, New Englanders cast their eyes to the northeastern frontier and were given strong incentives to move there.

Under proclamations issued in



1758 and 1759, and circulated widely in New England, Governor Charles Lawrence offered free land in Nova Scotia on attractive terms to bona fide settlers. Each "Master or Mistress of a Family" was granted 100 acres for "himself or her self," as well as 50 acres for every "White or Black Man, Woman, or Child" in the family. In other words, people with large families and many servants (whether enslaved or free) were eligible to acquire sizable estates. A quit-rent tax of one shilling for every 50 acres would be imposed only after ten years. Recognizing that New Englanders were jealous of their "liberties," Lawrence established an elected assembly in Nova Scotia, promised township structures for local governance, and guaranteed freedom of religion to dissenters - "Papists, excluded." He also assured the nervous New Englanders, who had concerns about attacks by Natives and Acadians who were fighting a rearguard action in the region, that forts "garrisoned by His Majesty's Troops" were located in the colony "with a view to giving all manner of Aid and protection to the Settlers."

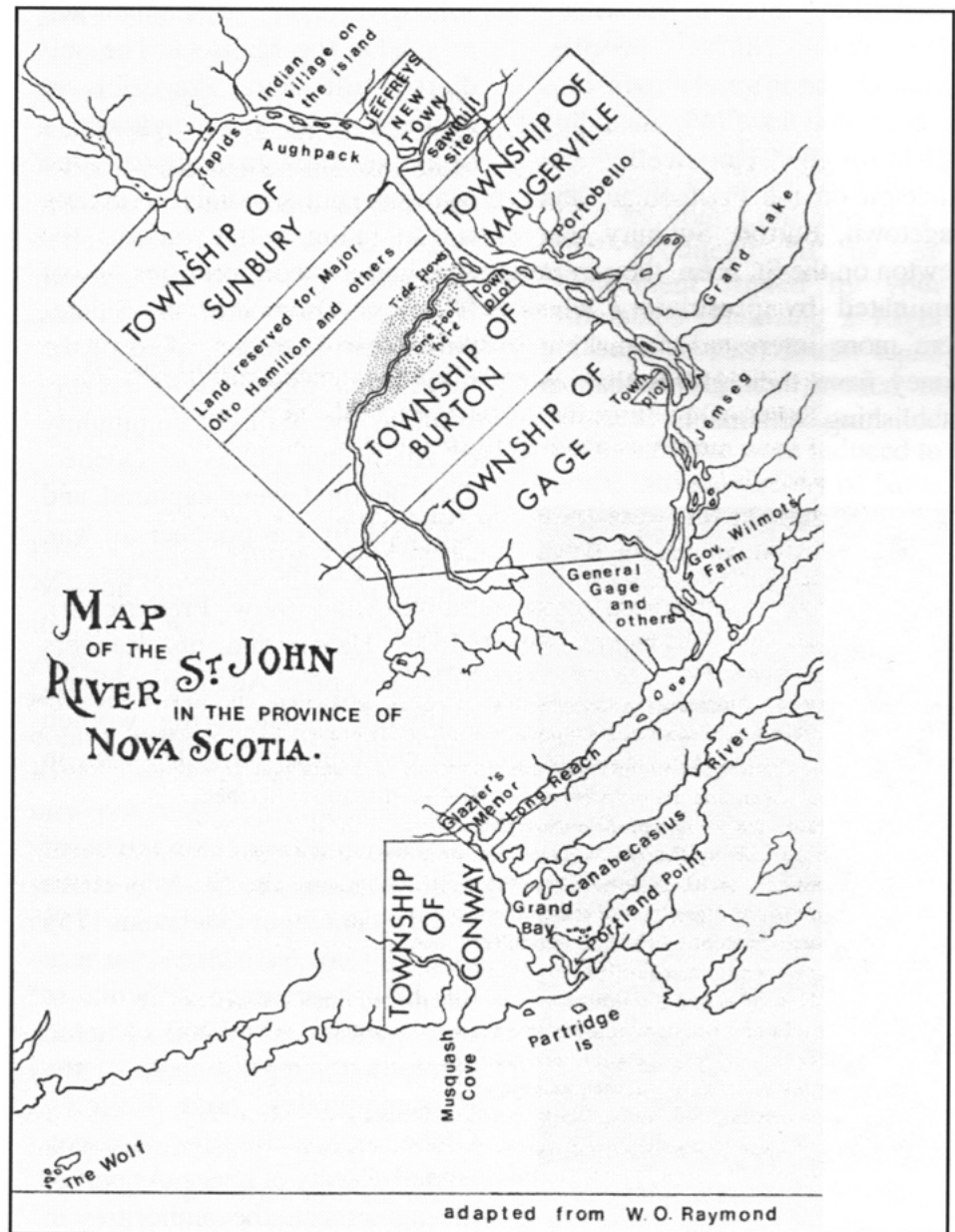
Although the term "Planter", tends to be applied exclusively to the approximately 8000 New Englanders who responded to Lawrence's invitation, other immigrants in this period, including German- and French-speaking Protestants, Yorkshire English, and Ulster Irish, qualify as Planters in one or both senses described above. Yet the term has stuck to the New Englanders

because they are difficult to distinguish from other Anglophone immigrants who settled in the Maritimes. "Pre-Loyalist," a term frequently employed to describe the New England Planters, is not focused enough to be useful, and they arrived too early to be called "Loyalists," although they became Loyalists by default when Nova Scotia remained under British control following the American Revolution. As a result, "Planter",

a term that the New Englanders used to describe themselves, remains a convenient shorthand to distinguish the largest Anglophone immigrant group to British North America before 1783.

New England Planters on the River St. John

The majority of New England Planters settled along the south shore of Nova Scotia and in areas along the Bay of Fundy formerly inhabited by the Acadians. With



cleared land, some of it in the form of dyked marshes, the Annapolis Valley townships of Granville, Annapolis, Cornwallis, Horton, and Falmouth were particularly sought after. In what would become New Brunswick, Planters settled in Portland Point (now Saint John) and Maugerville on the St. John River and in the townships of Cumberland (est.1759) and Sackville (est.1763) at the Isthmus of Chignecto. A few fetched up in the Passamaquoddy region, the site of a flourishing trade with Native peoples. Although additional townships were created in 1765, including Hillsborough, Hopewell, and Moncton on the Petitcodiac, and Gagetown, Burton, Sunbury, and Newton on the St. John, they were dominated by proprietors who were more interested in making money from their grants than in establishing settlements.



BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON.

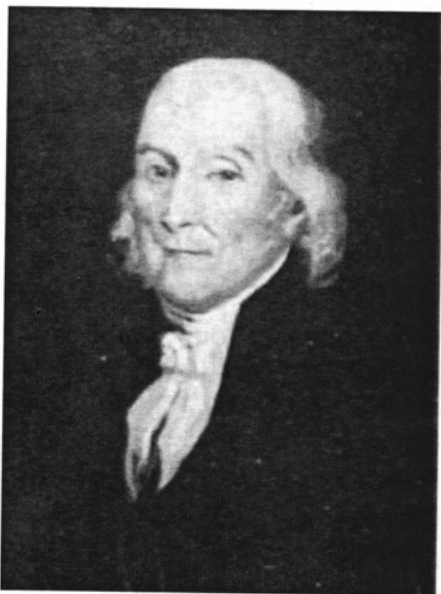
While peninsular Nova Scotia was relatively safe for British settlement after the capture of Louisbourg, the same could not be said for the area north of the Bay of Fundy, where hostile Acadians, Mi'kmaq, and Maliseet were prepared to defend their communities from a British invasion whether military or demographic. In the summer of 1758, Colonel Robert Monckton led an expedition of 2000 regular troops and colonial rangers to clear the region the St. John River Valley of Acadians and to subdue the Maliseet. The soldiers built Fort Frederick at Portland Point and conducted a brutal campaign against the Maliseet and Acadians living up river. Within a few months the Acadian communities of Grimross, Oromocto, and Sainte-Anne were scorched. Most of the inhabitants managed to escape, some to the Maliseet community of Aukpaque; others to Quebec. Two hundred were captured and sent to Halifax as prisoners of war. They were the lucky ones. At Sainte-Anne (now Fredericton), Moses Hazen and his Rangers killed several of Acadian captives, deliberately butchering women and children to bring the men in the community to heel.

The military campaign of 1758-59 along the St. John River and the capture of Quebec in 1759 made further Native resistance to the British presence difficult. In the winter of 1760 Michel Neptune, representing the Passamaquoddy, and Bellomy Globe, representing the Maliseet, signed a treaty of peace. As part of the agreement, the authorities in

Halifax promised to establish "truck-houses" where trade could be conducted in an orderly fashion. Fort Frederick became one of the major sites of the Aboriginal trade. According to historian W.O. Raymond, whose study of the St. John River (1910) includes much valuable information on this era of New Brunswick's history, the trade at Fort Frederick equalled the combined trade of the other five posts in the Maritimes.

The end of official hostilities with France and the Maliseet, the promise of a thriving trade, and the opportunity to acquire extensive grants of land free of charge was the right combination to attract the attention of New Englanders settlers. Indeed, those who had military service in the Seven Years' War could apply for even larger land grants than those provided by Governor Lawrence's proclamation. Field officers were eligible to claim 5000 acres, captains, 3000 acres, and non-commissioned officers, 200 acres. While a great many land speculators, including the notoriously greedy Alexander McNutt, sought large proprietorial estates on the Saint John, most of the actual settlement was undertaken by New Englanders, many of whom had served in the region during the recent war.

Portland Point attracted the attention of a group of ambitious young men interested in the river's commercial potential. With an initial grant of 5000 acres of land and financial connections with Newburyport and Boston, James Simonds, along with a changing roster of partners, including James



James Simonds

White and William Hazen, engaged in a variety of commercial activities. From their base at the river mouth, they pursued the fisheries, produced lime, traded with the Natives, sent cargoes to the West Indies, and supplied the local garrison at Fort Frederick and the settlements upriver. By the eve of the American Revolution, a community of 150 civilians were living at Portland Point, many of them employees of the Simonds, Hazen and White.

The traders at the river mouth were closely connected with Maugerville, the most successful Planter township in New Brunswick. While Alexander McNutt seems to have been behind the idea of moving people from Massachusetts to the St. John River area where he claimed over a million acres, the practical organization of the migration came from people in Essex County, Massachusetts. Communities there, including Rowley, Boxford, Newburyport, Haverhill,

Ipswich, Gloucester, and Salem, had been settled for nearly 150 years and were experiencing intense land pressure. In 1761 Francis Peabody, agent for the group, petitioned the government of Nova Scotia for a grant on the St. John River. The following spring, Israel Perley, a young land surveyor, led a scouting expedition to the area. While they initially planned to settle at Sainte-Anne, hostility from the Maliseet convinced them to settle further down the river. On the 28th of August 1762, the first shipment of Essex county settlers, under the leadership of Captain Francis Peabody, arrived on the schooner Wilmot at the mouth of the St. John River. They would begin moving up river the following year.

By this time British authorities were becoming concerned about Aboriginal unrest on the settlement frontier. The Council in Halifax sent two of their members, Charles Morris and Henry Newton, to notify the Acadians that they were to vacate Sainte-Anne, to which some of them had returned, and to tell the Essex county settlers that the St. John River area was reserved for military colonists. This prompted a sharp response from the would-be settlers to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who were responsible for advising the British government on colonial policy. In a petition read by the Lord Commissioners on the 16th of December 1763, the supplicants made their case:

The Memorial of Francis Peabody, John Carleton, Jacob

Barker, Nicolas West and Israel Perley, late officers in the American service and now Disbanded, in behalf of themselves and others now settled at St. John's River in Nova Scotia, Humbly Sheweth:

That Your Memorialists have many of them been in Service during the Present War, and as Americans are not entitled to half pay, as his Majesty's British Troops are, and therefore expected no other Recompense than a Donation of Land agreeable to his late Majesty's Promise.

That having been solicited to settle in Nova Scotia by Colonel McNutt, who appeared to us to be authorized by your Lordships (having produced to us an Instrument signed by your Lordships promising a Right of Land to each Settler equal to those already granted at Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth) we were induced to come into the Colony of Nova Scotia, and accordingly sent a Committee to view Lands proper for a Settlement. That our Committee accordingly viewed several Tracts of Lands in Nova Scotia at our expense and advised us to settle upon the St. John's River about seventy miles from the Mouth....That the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia gave your Memorialists encouragement, by telling them that the Lands about St. John's river were reserved for disbanded Troops and that they would refer your Memorialists' Petition for your Lordships.

In consequence of this, and being ourselves Soldiers, we apprehend we might with

great safety prepare ourselves for settling the Lands we petitioned for, and accordingly sold our Estates in New England, and have at near a thousand pounds sterling expense transported ourselves, families and stock, and are now settled to the number of one hundred persons on the St. John's River seventy miles from the mouth; and a large number of disbanded officers and soldiers in confidence of the same encouragement have now sold all their possessions in New England and are hiring vessels to transport themselves and settle among us.

We were not a little astonished when we were informed by his Majesty's Governor in Council here that we could not have a grant of lands we have settled upon ourselves.

We therefore humbly apply to your Lordships to lay our cause before his most Gracious Majesty for whose service we have often exposed our lives in America, that he would be pleased to direct the Governor and Council here to grant us these lands we are now settled upon, as the removal therefrom would prove our utter ruin and destruction. We have been at no expense to the crown and intend to be at none, and are settled two hundred miles from any other English settlement.

Morris and Newton sympathized with the New Englanders and advised Joshua Mauger, the provincial Agent in London, to intercede on their behalf. On the 20th of December, four days after hearing the case, the Com-

missioners recommended that the petition be granted. Halifax authorities were ordered to create a township to accommodate the settlers on terms similar to those granted to other New England Planters:

The Governor of Nova Scotia is ordered to cause the land upon which they are settled to be laid out in a Township consisting of 100,000 acres, 12 miles square, one side to the front of the river. Also to reserve a site for a town with a sufficient number of lots, with reservations for a church, townhouse, public quays and wharves and other public uses; the grants to be made in proportion to their ability and the number of persons in their families, but not to exceed 1000 acres to one person. That a competent quantity of land be allotted for the maintenance of a minister and school master and also one town lot to each of them in perpetuity.

The role of Joshua Mauger in securing the township is reflected in the name it was given by the grateful petitioners. Confirmed in 1765, the grants in the township of Maugerville were awarded to 64 heads of household, who were required to settle and improve the land by November 1767 or have it forfeited. In a census taken in December 1766 a total of 261 people were listed as living in the township, all but 26 of whom were from New England. Newcomers subsequently joined the community, often taking passage on one of the vessels trading with Simonds, Hazen, and White.

By 1783 the population of Maugerville is estimated at 500 people.

Meanwhile, in 1765 Beamsley Glasier had acquired no less than four townships - Gagetown, Burton, Sunbury, and Newton - for the Canada Company, the brainchild of a group of military officers who had arrived in Quebec in the wake of Wolfe's army. Although Glasier put his heart and soul into developing the company's vast territory, his fellow officers were less industrious. Most of the land was forfeited for lack of settlement to make room for the Loyalists. Significantly, by the time the Loyalists appeared on the scene, the Canada Company's proprietorial townships included a number of people from Maugerville. Spring floods, an expanding population, and an increasing sense of security made expansion along the river a desirable goal.

Notwithstanding the importance of Portland Point as a trading and shipping centre, Maugerville was the heart of anglophone settlement on the St. John River in Planter New Brunswick. The pioneering families from Massachusetts were highly self-reliant and created a thriving agricultural community. Since most of them were Congregationalists, they were adept at attending to their own spiritual needs until the Reverend Seth Noble responded to their call in 1774. Their evangelical leanings also helps to explain their enthusiastic response to the charismatic Newlight preacher

Henry Alline, who visited the community several times between 1779 and 1782. While Maugerville had its share of conflicts, most disputes were settled by local township officials. Although the St. John River region had the privilege of electing two representatives to the Legislative Assembly in Halifax after the creation of the county of Sunbury in 1765, it was not until 1774 that a member from the county, James Simonds, actually took his seat in the distant colonial capital.

As tensions mounted between Massachusetts and Great Britain leading to the American Revolutionary War, the inhabitants of the St. John River, whether Native or newcomer, had difficulty choosing sides. Leaders in the community of Maugerville, including the Reverend Seth Noble, counselled support for the Patriot cause and a committee that included Israel Perley passed a resolution to submit to the government of Massachusetts. Some 120 people in Maugerville signed a document indicating that they

supported the resolution. The British sent in troops to compel compliance but not before a number of Maugerville residents joined Jonathan Eddy's unsuccessful attack on Fort Cumberland in the fall of 1776. While some of the inhabitants of Maugerville, including their resident minister, moved away because of the war, others joined the community. Attacks by Patriot privateers on seacoast communities prompted James Simonds to move up river; William Davidson from the Miramichi also took refuge in Maugerville, where he soon enlisted the community in his well-paid efforts to sell pine masts to the British. With the arrival of the Loyalists beginning in 1783, the New England Planter era in colonial New Brunswick came to an end, but Maugerville survives as a unique reminder in New Brunswick of a transitional period in the history of British North America.

The changing geopolitical scene between 1758 and 1783 can only be understood in retrospect.

For Aboriginal, Acadian, and New England settlers trying to adjust to each other on the St. John River in this period, it was a hugely confusing and often distressing time. The settlers in Maugerville and Portland Point were soon joined by a large number of English-speaking immigrants with whom they eventually intermarried and gradually lost their distinctive identity. Nevertheless, if the list of Planter names in the contemporary Fredericton phone book is any indication, the New Englanders sunk deep roots. Descendants of Barkers and Burpees, Clarks and Coys, Esteys and Easterbrooks, Harts and Haywards, Palmers and Perleys, Saunders and Shaws, Uptons and Whitneys still live in the St. John River Valley, testimony to the fact that the canny New Englanders not only planted but they planted well.

The Loyalist Settlement of Central New Brunswick

By Bill Acheson

The end came quickly. After nearly a decade of conflict the American Revolution effectively ended in 1782 when the British government conceded everything the revolutionary leaders wanted. Sovereignty was given to the thirteen coastal colonies including New York where loyalist sentiment was strongest. Even Long Island, the centre of British power in North America, which some thought might have become a great naval base, was surrendered. They also voluntarily conceded the vast territory extending from the Appalachians to the Mississippi River. Only the northern colonies of Quebec and Nova Scotia remained of the great mainland empire. Those colonists who had supported the British cause through the long struggle for independence were left at the mercy of their victorious enemies.

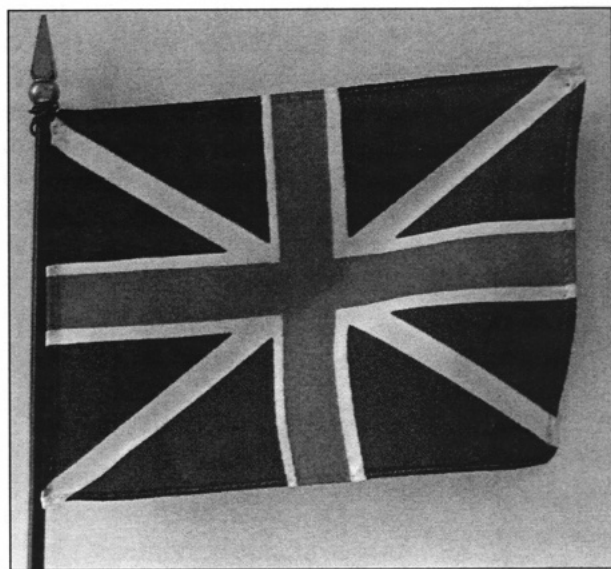


Loyalist officer

This was not the outcome that most colonists anticipated when the struggle had begun a decade earlier. While many colonial leaders wanted to modify the relationship between the colonies and the motherland, most saw the English Constitution as the basis of their political and social order. But civil wars are the particularly brutal and this one was no different. As the struggle proceeded, and outrage followed outrage, more radical views gradually prevailed and led to the demand for total independence. At the same time large numbers of colonists defended the connection with the mother country. These were referred to as loyalists. By some estimates there were a million loyalists among the colonists and while many of these, like the

proverbial 'silent majority' did not play an active part in the revolution, large numbers actively supported the loyalist cause. They formed a Provincial Army to oppose the rebels and their Continental Army. Over the course of the conflict many thousands of colonists served in these loyalist battalions. Tens of thousands of civilian loyalists made their views known in their local communities and were forced to flee when those communities were occupied by rebel forces. By 1782 the British forces had withdrawn to their stronghold on Long Island bringing with them the remnants of the Provincial Army. As rumours of the proposed peace agreement spread, thousands of loyalist refugees made their way to the British lines at Long Island seeking refuge from their victorious enemies.

The British commander at Long Island was Sir Guy Carleton, a professional soldier, a member of the Irish aristocracy, and the most influential representative of the British government in North America. While many British officers had contempt for the men of the Provincial Army, Carleton admired the loyalist soldiers and had great sympathy for the plight of the civilian refugees who were suffering for their loyalty to the motherland. That they should be abandoned to their republican enemies was unthinkable, a stain on British honour that could never be erased. It was Carleton who pushed the idea of removing the loyalists at Long



The British Flag before 1804

Island to Nova Scotia, and it was Carleton who remained in New York well into the autumn of 1783 in order to take off the last of them to British territory. Perhaps 30,000 people were brought to Nova Scotia doubling the population of the colony in just over a year. About half of these migrants were settled in Sunbury County, the largely vacant northern half of Nova Scotia.

These newcomers, later known simply as Loyalists (the term 'United Empire Loyalist' was used in Upper Canada), were a diverse group of people. Unlike most other central New Brunswick peoples the Loyalists were not a "people" in the sense of being a distinct culture or an ethnic or linguistic or racial or religious group. The only thing Loyalists shared was the experience of the American Revolution, and an understanding that their arrival in Nova Scotia resulted from the Revolution. Some Loyalists were not colonists at all, but members of British regiments which had fought in the Revolution and then been disbanded in Nova Scotia. Most of the colonist Loyalists came from the central colonies of New York and New Jersey. Much smaller numbers came from New England, notably Connecticut, and the southern colonies. Most colonists had been long standing residents of their colonies. A significant proportion were members of ethnic religious and racial minorities - Germans, Dutch, Scots, Irish, Blacks, Quakers and Anabaptists - who feared the prospect of life in the new republic. Some wealthier refugees arrived with their Black slaves and their positions intact, but

most, including the 40 percent of Blacks who were freemen, came from modest means and arrived with few material possessions. Some were King and Church Tories who would sooner fall on their swords than abandon their British allegiance, but most were common folk who tried to live what they understood to be decent lives committed to a tradition of legitimate public order. Some were individuals or extended families who supported the legitimate government against the actions of rebels - "terrorists" some might call them today - but others were people who simply found themselves behind British lines and became loyalists by circumstance. Many were soldiers who had fought for the King in the Provincial Army and at the end had no place to go.

The decision to settle the Loyalist military units north of the Bay of Fundy was critical to the future of the territory that would become New Brunswick. Nova Scotia leaders wanted the Provincial Army settled on the coast of Nova Scotia; Loyalist leaders wanted it in the St. John River valley knowing that a separate Loyalist colony was only possible if the Loyalist settlements were concentrated well away from the colony's centre at Halifax. The decision in the end was political, and political power has much to do with influence. Carleton supported the Loyalist leaders' goals. He was backed in his resolve by one of his brigadiers at New York, Henry Fox, whose brother, Charles James Fox, sat in the British cabinet and headed one of the factions in the coalition which governed Great Britain. They carried the



day. The remnants of the Provincial Army would be settled between St. Ann (Fredericton) and the upper reaches of the St. John River.

That decision made, British authorities now faced the challenge of creating a functional civil society in central New Brunswick. Almost all the Loyalists were refugees. They possessed few resources and faced a wilderness environment. The first task was to provide enough basic necessities - food, tools and building materials - to allow the newcomers to survive while they built viable communities. In response to this need the British government created the Royal Bounty, a ration of basic food stuffs, tools and building supplies which was given to each Loyalist household to carry it through the first year of wilderness living. The Royal Bounty was continued for three years, finally terminating in 1785. The second task was determining the form which the community would take. Traditionally possession of

land was seen as the basis of wealth, stability and respectability. And land was one thing the crown had in great supply in Nova Scotia. The lands of the St. John River watershed were promised for Loyalist settlement and each Loyalist was to have a freehold sufficient to farm. The lands above St. Ann were reserved for military units; those below were allocated to the refugees.

While some Loyalists reached the middle of the St. John River Valley in the autumn of 1783 the great majority waited at the river's mouth before moving into the valley in the spring of 1784. The lack of roads meant that every family wanted grants fronting on the river. Stewart MacNutt notes so many Loyalist claims were made in 1784 that by year's end the river's littoral from Woodstock to Saint John was completely occupied. The newcomers not only occupied the St. John River water front but also pushed up the Nashwaak, the Oromocto, the Rusagonish, the Keswick and the Penniac rivers. Some attempt was made to create group settlements. In 1784 the Maryland Loyalists were given nearly 4,000 acres of land across the river from St. Ann in a settlement named St. Mary's, while the New Jersey Loyalists were given 38,000 acres above St. Ann's in a settlement called Kingsclear. Settlements of New York Loyalists were made at Keswick and Queensbury and Prince William and Woodstock. The Scots Highlanders from the disbanded 42nd Regiment made settlement on the Nashwaak. The Pennsylvania Loyalist settlement was at Canterbury. Significant settlements of Loyalist refugees were made at Burton, Oromocto,



Arianna Saunders, wife of John Saunders, daughter of Col. Chalmers of the Maryland Loyalists

Maugerville, Fredericton, Nashwaak and Keswick. In all, about three-quarters of the Loyalists settled in central New Brunswick had served in the military, and a majority were from the colonies of New York and New Jersey. The largest settlements in the region were at Maugerville and Saint Ann, the first originally settled by Planters, the second the site of earlier Maliseet and Acadian settlements.

The sudden advent of such large numbers of settlers required the creation of a distribution centre for the central St. John River valley. St. Ann quickly came to play that role. Initially the government attempted to supply the Royal Bounty to the entire region from the magazine of provisions at Fort Howe at the mouth of the St. John River. The following year the officer commanding the British forces in Nova Scotia divided the region into districts to

control the distribution of provisions, and to more easily supply Loyalists in remote settlements. At the request of a number of Loyalist army officers, he ordered the creation of a warehouse at St. Ann to provision the Loyalist settlers of the middle valley. It was the officers of the different battalions of the Provincial Army who were determined to make St. Ann the commercial centre of the region. In the style of the European gentry they intended having both town houses at St. Ann and rural estates in the countryside. In March 1784, fifty-nine of them petitioned the Governor of Nova Scotia to lay out a market town at St. Ann. They claimed that 400 of them were clustered in the settlement at that time. Governor Parr directed that the town be set out with streets and squares and five acre garden lots.

Before the new town could be set up, the dream of the Loyalist leaders for a colony of their own was realized. The British government agreed to the creation of a crown colony to be known as New Brunswick, embracing all of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy. The new colony was named in honour of the King's German domain. The governorship of the colony was offered first to Fox, who refused it, and then to Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy. Thomas Carleton accepted the office. The constitution of the new colony reflected Sir Guy's influence. There would be no imperial taxation without the consent of the colonists, and the Church of England would enjoy a position of privilege in the colony. Sir Guy also recommended the appointees to fill the newly created political establishment in

the new colony. Nearly all were Loyalists. The joy of the Loyalist military leaders was complete when the new governor decided to make St. Ann the seat of his government. In February 1785 the settlement was renamed Frederick's Town in honour of the favourite son of King George III. The new town survey provided for quarter acre building lots to be drawn for by the inhabitants.

By 1786 the Loyalist community in central New Brunswick was complete. Loyalists occupied the intervale of the great rivers of the recently created counties of York and Sunbury. They comprised the majority of the population of the two counties. Their representatives dominated the political institutions of the region including the new Legislative Assembly, His Majesty's Council for New Brunswick, the Supreme Court, the county magistrates, and the local parish officers.

Despite their political success the Loyalist transfer from New York to St. Ann was marked by much acrimony and failure. As a group Loyalists were homeless refugees. Thousands arrived with no means of support. Few were frontier people and perhaps a majority were not farmers, yet for the most part, they settled in a forest wilderness. And nothing could prepare them for the terrible cold and the long winters they encountered in that wilderness. To add to the problems of basic survival was the problem of securing an adequate livelihood. It was assumed that most would become farmers and each family was to receive a freehold capable of providing a living. At the same time in most of the York County grants land was to be given on the basis

of rank: a major, for example would receive 1,000 acres, a private or refugee 100. The intention was to create a colonial aristocracy by placing a greatly disproportionate share of the best land in the hands of the officers and potentially stretching the lines of settlement very thin. If a private had a 300 foot river frontage, a major might receive 3,000. In a community where land was plentiful and cheap and labour and specie were scarce, the creation of large landed estates rarely occurred. Why, after all, should a man work another man's land for £10 a year when he could have his own freehold at very little cost? But the issue threatened the cohesiveness of the community. There were also tensions between early and later arrivals: the latter claimed that the best homesteads had been taken by the former.

A further problem was the inability of Colonial officials to secure title to some of the lands promised to the Loyalist arrivals. Much of that land had been previously granted or was occupied by old inhabitants. In Kingsclear and Keswick, for example, Malecites and scattered Acadian families already had claims to some of the land. These first had to be settled.



Loyalist candlesticks (York-Sunbury Museum)

Eventually a Malecite reserve was created out of part of Kingsclear, while most Acadians accepted compensation for their improvements and received land grants in the Madawaska region. These arrangements took time. As the years passed many Loyalists left the colony angry at the unfulfilled promises made to them by the British authorities.

Settlements nearer the village of Frederick's Town proved more attractive to the Loyalists than those some distance up the river, and settlers in Sunbury County were more likely to remain than those in York. Maugerville, for example, was probably larger than Frederick's Town in 1785. Many settlers from the military settlements of York County left their assigned grants and moved to other parts of the colony.

By the time the Royal Bounty ended in 1785 there were just under 400 adult male Loyalists resident in Sunbury County principally at Maugerville, Burton and on the Oromocto. There were nearly a thousand in York County, the major settlements, in order of size, being at Frederick's Town, along the Nashwaak River, and at Kingsclear. Small Loyalist settlements - numbering 30 to 60 families each - were found at St. Mary's, Keswick, Queensbury, Prince William and Canterbury. Each of these stretched for twelve miles along one bank of the St. John River: St. Mary's, Keswick and Queensbury on the north side of the river, Kingsclear, Prince William and Canterbury on the south. The primitive nature of the settlements is reflected in their demographics. Most of the settlers were young males living without women. Even in Frederick's Town

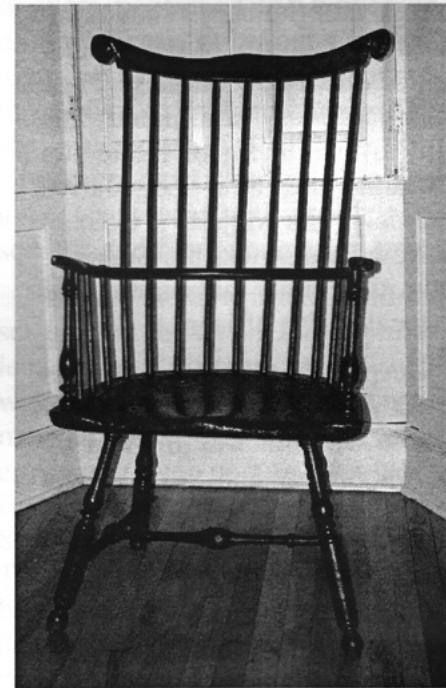
there were 315 men to only 127 women, while in the rural settlement at Queensbury the ratio was 31 to 11. The youthfulness of the women is reflected in the ratio of children to women. Loyalist wives averaged fewer than two children, rather more in Sunbury County and rather less in the settlements above Fredericton. The 1400 Loyalist families had nearly 800 separate surnames. In most cases each surname was represented by a single family. Even the largest clans - the McDonalds, the McLeods and the Smiths - each accounted for only one percent of Loyalist families. This was a startling contrast to the other peoples of the colony and reflects the great diversity of the Loyalist population.

Loyalist numbers reached their peak at the time of the initial settlement. Esther Clark Wright argues that they steadily declined in the late eighteenth century as many abandoned the colony which had been created for them. There is considerable evidence to support this thesis. The Loyalists were a people created by the crisis of the American Revolution. Once the Revolution passed there were no sources to supplement the original Loyalist refugees unless, as some British functionaries hoped, thousands of Americans became disillusioned with their radical

political experiment, and followed their Loyalist compatriots to New Brunswick. There is no evidence that happened on any significant scale. In the first generation - roughly 1783 to 1815 - there was relatively little immigration into central New Brunswick so it is probable that most Loyalists' children chose spouses from among the children of other Loyalists and reinforced the great mythic tradition which underlie the New Brunswick Loyalist identity. But they were too few in number to populate the region in the short run. In the first half of the nineteenth century a steady stream of Irish, English and Scottish migrants rapidly reduced the Loyalists to a minority in York and Sunbury counties. They became simply one of several strands comprising the demographic structure of the region.

Yet numbers are not everything. The province had been created on behalf of the Loyalists and they were advantaged in provincial society well into the third generation of provincial life. They held most of the best intervale land and maintained a firm grip on the professions, notably law, and the public offices of the province into the middle nineteenth century. Their leaders perpetuated the view that New Brunswick was the most faithful,

the most stable, and the most dutiful daughter of the Empire. Fifty years after the Loyalist settlement colonial officials were still able to profitably trade on that currency in their negotiations with the mother country. The understanding that most thoughtful New Brunswickers had of themselves and the place of their community in the world was one which reflected Loyalist myths and symbols.



Ward Chipman chair (York-Sunbury Museum)

Tommy Clayton and the Frogs' Chorus

By Murray Young

The Frogs' Chorus

The ground is bare, the ice has gone,
The frogs are singing in the ponds:
I passed a pond the other day
And this is what I heard them say:-

Chorus

Look out for Tommy Cl-yt-n, he'll stab you with a fork -
He'll pack you up inside a box and send you to New York;
Lay low and do not make a noise, down deep within the mud,
I see him coming with his boys, I know they're on for blood.

For years we've lived a happy life unheeding of alarms,
We've twanged our flageolet and fife by forest field and farm,
Till Tommy Cl-yt-n came along and so disturbed our joys,
Intent on doing grievous wrong, with George and Gus., his boys.

(Chorus)

It's sad we can't enjoy ourselves as we were wont to do
Before the swell New Yorkers got so fond of frog stew,
And while McKinley's putting up a duty on the logs,
I hope he won't forget to put a tariff on the frogs.

Martin Butler

An old Nashwaaker used to sing that refrain to my brothers and myself. He also taught us that the spring peepers were saying: "Tommy Clayton, Tommy Clayton" (rapidly, in appropriate falsetto), with the old bull frog chiming in from time to time with his deep throated, "Gus too", "Gus too", "Gus too".

I remember both men. At ninety years of age Tommy was a compact man sitting in his rocking chair reading his Bible, with his wife Melissa never very far away. Augustus ("Gus") was then about

sixty. Their days of frog catching were long past.

Thomas William Valentine Clayton's mother, Jane Howe, was a lady of genteel background. Both her father and her brother were officers in the British army. Her nephew, William Howe, who was to become one of the first members of the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly to speak in favour of votes for women, was born in the Officers' Quarters in Fredericton in 1835: he was Tommy Clayton's cousin and Lt. Gen. E. W. Sansom's grandfather.

Composing "The Frogs' Chorus" must have been fun for Martin Butler. It provided innocent fun for most of his readers. But it brought only heartache to the Claytons. In Penniac the first two lines of the chorus became a folk tune, passed down from generation to generation. Only a few years ago one of Tommy's granddaughters told me of how she and her family had suffered from the taunts of school mates and neighbours.

THE MORRISONS CELEBRATE THEIR 65TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

By Pat Flemming

Long time members of the York-Sunbury Historical Society, Frank and Mary Morrison recently celebrated their 65th wedding anniversary. The couple, now past 90 years, were married in 1939.

Mary, formerly Mary VanWart, met Frank while they were in the first grade at Charlotte Street School. Later, Mary attended Smythe Street School and they both attended Fredericton High School. Following graduation from FHS, Frank immediately joined his family's insurance business and Mary attended the University of New Brunswick. Mary and Frank spent most of their married life at a house on 765 Charlotte Street. Frank grew up there until he was 21 or 22 and then moved over to a large house on Brunswick Street. His Dad, Luke, had earlier spent most of his life at 765 Charlotte Street. The house on Brunswick Street still stands today and is currently the offices of the New Brunswick Nurses Union.

Frank is amazed at the changes having taken place in the world throughout the years. "It boggles my mind!" he remarked. During an interview at their home, Frank spoke of remarkable happenings such as the invention of electricity, television, Man Landing On The Moon and the invention of computers, and great

advances in medicine for example. The couple admit that the most wonderful thing that ever happened in their lives was having raised four wonderful children, two girls and two boys.

Their daughter Mary Lou Grant and her husband have two girls, and daughter Ann Morgan

has three girls and one boy. Sons of Mary and Frank are Frank Morrison the third and Bill. Frank the third and his wife have two girls and a boy, and Bill and his wife have two boys and a girl.

Throughout the years, the Morrison family owned many businesses. "My great grand-



The Morrison Wedding 1939

father, John A. came out from Belfast, Ireland in 1840 and settled in Saint John. He married Lucy Everett. The couple had six boys, one was my grandfather. He purchased the Phoenix Mill, which burned down three or four times. Lucy and John lived near the sawmill that in those days was located down near the Princess Margaret Bridge. Lucy was an entrepreneur and business woman. She grew vegetables and flowers and sold them at the City Market. Morrison Mills ran until 1920 and then was sold to Fraser's Mills. The mill business was up and down," Frank explained.

The family had been in the gas business before electricity came to Fredericton. "My grand-father Frank I. Morrison was a stockholder in the Gas Works in Fredericton and later went into the electric light business which followed."

At this point during the interview, Frank paused to reveal a naughty electric light story. When a youth, his Dad, Luke, confessed to him that when he was a youth he became a member of the Gas Alley gang, a group of young boys who lived down in the area of University Avenue near the old Gas Works. They would for example snatch cucumbers from gardens and cause minor disturbances in the neighborhood such as breaking streetlights. Luke's young friends dared him to throw a rock at a nearby streetlight and

break it. He did so, however, his young friends would never tell anyone who did the nasty deed. Luke's dad decided he would place an advertisement in the newspaper asking for someone to come forward and confess who broke the light. He offered a reward of \$100.00 to the person who would come forward and tell the truth. No one did come forward to tell on Luke. Time passed and Luke asked his Dad if he ever found out who broke the light. His Dad said he saw Luke throw the rock and he was just waiting to see if one of his friends would tell on him. He told his son that they must have been good faithful friends not to squeal on him.

Frank joined the Morrison Insurance business in 1931 as a Junior Clerk. "My wage at the time was \$300.00 a year." His Dad thought the pay was adequate for a junior partner or possibly too much. "I will pay you well, even if you aren't worth it," my Dad informed me jokingly. For many years, the offices of the Morrison Insurance business was located on Queen Street in downtown Fredericton.

Following graduation from university, Mary was employed in her Dad's business, A. H. VanWart Co., when needed. She kept the books for the coal and feed business. She also drove an automobile loaded with bags of feed for farm animals which she delivered to local farmers.

Frank speaks highly of Mary as being a wonderful cook. She made her own bread, rolls and cookies and still is a great cook. She would sew clothes for the children as well. Mary volunteered at the school library when her children attended Charlotte Street School and was a member of the Bliss Carmen Chapter IODE.

Both Ann and Mary Lou (nicknamed Poo) speak very fondly of their Mom and Dad. "They have always had great sense of humor and a strong, good feeling about Fredericton," Mary Lou remarked. "Fredericton is the best little city in the world," Frank concluded.



Frank and Mary Morrison

Our Contributors . . .

Chair of *The Quarters'* editorial committee, **Bill Acheson** is a past president of the York-Sunbury Historical Society and emeritus professor of history at UNB

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Vincent Erickson is second vice-president of the York-Sunbury Historical Society and chair of the Programme Committee. An emeritus professor of anthropology at UNB he has a keen interest in linguistics and Maliseet culture.

A frequent contributor to *The Quarters* **Pat Flemming** is a member of the editorial committee. She has worked for many years in the New Brunswick media.

Fred White is president of the York-Sunbury Historical Society and a member of the editorial committee of *The Quarters*. He has been a dedicated and indispensable member of the Society for many years. Much of his career was served with the Historical Resources Branch of the provincial government.

Murray Young contributes regularly to *The Quarters* on a wide range of subjects. A life member of the Society he is an emeritus professor of history at UNB.

Acknowledgements . . .

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Maliya Paul, St Marys

