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## INTRODUCTORY.

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The New Brunswick Historical Society has taken part in several events of historic interest since the publication of the last number. One of these was the unveiling, on the afternoon of October 19, 1916, of the handsome bronze tablet marking the site of the old Suspension Bridge at the western end. The ceremony was performed by His Honor Lt.-Gov. Josiah Wood, who spoke reminiscently. He was preceded by Mr. George A. Henderson, President, who made a brief address, referring to the prompt response of the provincial government when the matter of the tablet was suggested to them. He also mentioned the objects of the Society in preserving information in reference to the past in the Province and stated how the Society had marked in one way and another matters of special significance. Other speakers were Hon. Geo. J. Clarke, Premier, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, K. C., Attorney General, Mr. H. R. McLellan, Warden of the County, and Mayor R. T. Hayes of St. John.

On July 1, 1918, at Annapolis Royal, N. S., a sundial was unveiled by His Honor Lieut.-Gov. McCallum Grant, of Nova Scotia. Other speakers were Mayor Atlee, Prof. Koopman, of Brown University, Providence, R. I., A. L. Davidson, M. P., Mr. J. Plimsoll Edwards, President of Nova Scotia Historical Society, Justice Longley, a former President, Mr. Timothy O'Brien, Librarian of New Brunswick Historical Society, and the venerable Judge Savary. The memorial was erected by Col. R. C. Shannon, of Brockport, N. Y., to the memory of his ancestor, George Vaughan, who took part in the capture of Port Royal in 1710.

On the afternoon of September 24, 1918, the beautiful bronze tablet, erected to the memory of Elias Hardy, was unveiled in the Court House auditorium by His Honor Chief Justice McKeown, who delivered an appropriate address. John Willet, K. C., read the paper on the distinguished counsellor-



at-law, prepared by Dr. W. O. Raymond, LL. D. Mr. H. A. Powell, K. C., who is descended from Elias Hardy's brother, replied on behalf of the family. Mr. D. H. Waterbury, Vice-President, made the introductory speech.

Since 1914, death has removed from our midst three valued members, Messrs. Clarence Ward, William Murdoch, C. E., and P. Robertson Inches, M. D. For many years Mr. Ward was the efficient Secretary and afterwards President. Mr. Murdoch and Dr. Inches were Vice-Presidents for a number of terms. The removal of Rev. Dr. Raymond from St. John was greatly regretted by his colleagues. He has continued to represent the Society at the annual meetings of the Royal Society at Ottawa.

The Society has completed the classification and binding of the muster rolls of the Loyalist regiments that served on the side of the Crown during the Revolutionary War in the United States. The work comprises sixty odd volumes, which are handsomely bound. Later the books were sent to the Archives Department, Ottawa.

The offer of a room in the Archives Department, Post Office, was accepted by the Society, and the books, papers, etc., removed to that building for safer keeping. An inventory of the various books, papers, maps and documents of historic interest was prepared by Mr. B. E. Paterson, and three typewritten copies of the inventory were made by the Archives Department here.

With much pleasure the Historical Society records that the Provincial Government continues annually to assist them with a grant in aid of their publishing fund.

JOHN WILLET,  
Secretary.

St. John, N. B., Sept. 15, 1919.



# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## New Brunswick Historical Society

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PETER FISHER.

THE FIRST HISTORIAN OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

BY REV. W. O. RAYMOND, LL.D.

Peter Fisher's claim to be the first of our historians rests upon two little books, both printed by a well known publishing firm in Market Square, in the City of St. John, in the early years of the last century. The first of these books appeared in 1825. It comprises 110 pages, written in excellent literary style and, considering Mr. Fisher's limited sources of information, is remarkably accurate. In the preface he observes: "This work, however imperfect, must be useful, as giving the *first* general outline of the Province, and interesting to every person who possesses a feeling for his own fireside."

The other book, "Notitia of New Brunswick," comprises 136 pages, and was printed in 1838. In the advertisement at the beginning, the author states that "circumstances have compelled him to relinquish in part his original plan, and to contract the scope of the publication, since the times do not warrant any great outlay on works of this description."

The two books are really pamphlets in yellow paper covers, and are now so rare as to be much sought for by collectors of "Canadiana." Their title pages are here given, in *fac simile*, and a comparison is of interest. It will be seen that both books are written under the *nom de plume* of "An Inhabitant," and the motto that follows is the same in each, namely:—

"Whatever concerns my country, interests me; I follow nature, with truth my guide."





**SKETCHES**  
OF  
**NEW-BRUNSWICK;**

CONTAINING  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
OF THE PROVINCE,

WITH  
**A BRIEF DESCRIPTION**

OF THE  
COUNTRY, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, INHABITANTS, GOVERNMENT,  
RIVERS, TOWNS, SETTLEMENTS, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS,  
TRADE, REVENUE, POPULATION, &c.

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BY

An Inhabitant of the Province.

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*“Whatever concerns my country, interests me;  
I follow nature, with truth my guide.”*

---

SAINT JOHN:

PRINTED BY CHUBB & SEARS,

MARKET-SQUARE.

---

, 1825.



**NOTITIA**  
OF  
**NEW-BRUNSWICK,**

FOR  
**1836,**

AND EXTENDING INTO 1837,

COMPRISING  
**HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL,**

AND  
**COMMERCIAL NOTICES,**

OF THE  
**PROVINCE.**

---

BY AN INHABITANT.

---

"Whatever concerns my Country, interests me;  
"I follow nature, with truth my guide."

---

**SAINT JOHN:**

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY HENRY CHUBB, MARKET-SQUARE.

1838.



Further comparison of the books will reveal examples of great similarity in phraseology, notably in the description of the first calamitous winter of the Loyalists at St. Ann's; also in the account of "The year without a summer" (1816), and in some other places. Quite a strong argument could, if necessary, be adduced from internal evidence to prove that "Sketches of New Brunswick" and "Notitia of New Brunswick" were penned by the same writer.

W. G. McFarlane, a former member of our Historical Society, has compiled a useful Bibliography of New Brunswick publications, in which he states that "Notitia of New Brunswick" was written by Alexander Wedderburn. That this is an error is sufficiently shown by the book itself, in which the statement occurs, "The author has had the assistance of Mr. Wedderburn's statistics, from which he has *extracted* two tables." These tables are found at page seventeen and pages sixty-two to sixty-four.

The late Joseph W. Lawrence, who was in his day the best authority as to the authorship of old New Brunswick publications, wrote in his copy of Sketches of New Brunswick the words: "This by Peter Fisher." Some twenty years ago, the late William Fisher, who was then living in St. John, informed me that Notitia of New Brunswick was written by his father, Peter Fisher. So the question of authorship may be regarded as definitely settled.

Before proceeding to consider the personality of our first historian and to speak further of his writings, it will be of interest to speak of his antecedents. His father, Lewis Fisher, served in the war of the American Revolution, on the side of the crown, in the New Jersey Volunteers, a brigade commanded by Brigadier General Cortlandt Skinner, the last Royal Attorney-General of New Jersey. The corps was sometimes known as "Skinner's Greens." It was numerically the largest organization of British Americans in Howe's army. Officers and men were mostly natives of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. One of the original six battalions was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk and it contained a large Dutch element. Among the officers were Major Van Cortlandt, Captains William



Van Allen, Peter Ruttan, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob Van Buskirk and Waldron Blaauw; Lieutenants Martin Ryerson, John Van Norden, John Heslop, John Simonson and Joost (or Justus) Earle; Ensigns Colin McVean, Xenophon Jouett, Malcolm Wilmot, William Sorrell and Frederick Handorff.

Among the men in the ranks — many of whom came to New Brunswick and settled near Fredericton — we find such names as VanHorne, Vanderbeck, Ackerman, Fisher, Burkstaff, Swim, Ridner, VanWoert, Woolley, etc. By the settlement of so many men of this corps in New Brunswick, the same thrifty "Knickerbocker" element that figured in the development of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was planted in this province.

Lewis Fisher joined the New Jersey Volunteers on December 7, 1776. He was taken prisoner a few weeks later, together with his brother Peter and fifteen others. After an absence of a year and nine months he effected his escape and returned to his duty on October 2, 1778. He was thenceforth stationed chiefly at Staten Island, where his three oldest children — Eliza, Henry and Peter — were born. When the war closed the New Jersey Volunteers were quartered at Newtown, three miles east of Brooklyn, on Long Island, N. Y.

In the earlier muster rolls we find Fisher's name entered as Lodewick Fischer, but later he adopted the English form Lewis Fisher. His wife, Mary, was probably of English parentage. She was the mother of a very large family and a woman of resolute spirit, which she transmitted to her descendants.

The New Jersey Volunteers never numbered more than 1,500, of all ranks. They, however, rendered essential service in New Jersey and in the defence of Staten Island. One of the battalions under Lieut.-Col. Isaac Allen, was conspicuous for its gallantry in the campaigns in Georgia and South Carolina. At the close of the war the original six battalions had been consolidated into three, under command of Lieut.-Col. Stephen deLancey, Lieut.-Col. Isaac Allen and Lieut.-Col. Abraham VanBuskirk.

The war may be said to have ended with the surrender of the army under Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781, and little attempt at recruiting was made subsequently; con-





sequently the regiments continued to dwindle until, at the evacuation of New York, two years later, they were not more than one-third of their original strength. The New Jersey Volunteers, a year after their arrival in New Brunswick, were mustered by Thomas Knox, under the supervision of Col. Edward Winslow. The return is dated at Fort Howe, September 25, 1784, and the number of those then on their lands, and for whom the Royal bounty of provisions was furnished, was as follows:—

	Men	Women	Children		Servants	Total
			Over 10	Under 10		
1st New Jersey Vols.	158	57	57	39	9	320
2nd " "	132	45	44	38	14	273
3rd " "	173	64	47	42	6	332
Total	463	166	148	119	29	925

The commander of the 3rd Battalion, Lieut.-Col. VanBuskirk, did not come with his men to the River St. John but settled in Shelburne, where he was the first mayor of the town. The troops for St. John sailed in charge of Lieut.-Col. Richard Hewlett as senior officer, with Lieut.-Col. Gabriel DeVeber second in command. They left New York on September 15, 1783, and arrived safely in St. John harbour on the 26th, with the exception of the transports "Martha" and "Esther." The former was wrecked near Yarmouth and more than half of her passengers were lost. The "Esther," in which VanBuskirk's battalion had embarked, got off her course in the fog and narrowly escaped destruction, arriving a day or two behind her sister ships.\*

As Peter Fisher was born on Staten Island, on June 9, 1782, he was a very young Loyalist indeed at the time of his arrival in Blue-nose Land, being, in point of fact, less than sixteen months old.

Sir Guy Carleton's orders were that the several corps should proceed at once to the places allotted for their settlement, directions having been given to Captain John Colville, assistant agent of all small craft at the St. John River, to afford every assistance

\*See Major Provost's letter, Appendix, page 55. Compare also Winslow Papers, pp. 131, 132; 136, 137; and 141.



in his power to the corps in getting to their destinations. Three days after their arrival the troops disembarked and encamped above the Falls, near the Indian House. Hewlett wrote Sir Guy Carleton that he feared the want of small craft would greatly delay their progress. He writes again on the 13th October that the troops had been disbanded and were getting up the river as fast as the scarcity of small craft for conveying them would admit.

I shall pause here to relate an incident, which will indicate the source from which Peter Fisher derived the information he gives us concerning the arrival of the Loyalists at St. Ann's and their subsequent hardships.

About twenty-five years ago William Fisher, the youngest son of Peter Fisher (father of W. Shives Fisher), read to me in his apartments in the old Park Hotel, in St. John, a manuscript which contained the recollections of one of his sisters of her various conversations with her old grandmother, Mary Fisher, concerning the coming to New Brunswick and the subsequent experience of her family at St. Ann's. Mr. Fisher did not entrust the manuscript to my hands but allowed me to make full notes, and afterwards at my request re-read the whole, in order that I might make sure of my facts. The story which now follows is, of course, not quoted from the lips of the first narrator, but is based upon the notes made by her granddaughter in which are embodied the recollections of the conversations she had with her grandmother.

#### THE GRANDMOTHER'S STORY.

We sailed from New York in the ship "Esther" with the fleet for Nova Scotia. Some of our ships were bound for Halifax, some for Shelburne and some for St. John's river. Our ship going the wrong track was nearly lost. When we got to St. John we found the place all in confusion; some were living in log houses, some building huts, and many of the soldiers living in their tents at the Lower Cove. Soon after we landed we joined a party bound up the river in a schooner to St. Ann's. It was eight days before we got to Oromocto. There the Captain put us ashore being unwilling on account of the lateness of the season, or for some other reason, to go further. He charged us each four dollars for the passage. We spent the night on shore and the



next day the women and children proceeded in Indian canoes to St. Ann's with some of the party; the rest came on foot.

We reached our destination on the 8th day of October, tired out with our long journey, and pitched our tents at the place now called Salamanca, near the shore. The next day we explored for a place to encamp, for the winter was near and we had no time to lose.

The season was wet and cold, and we were much discouraged at the gloomy prospect before us. Those who had arrived a little earlier had made better preparations for the winter; some had built small log huts. This we could not do because of the lateness of our arrival. Snow fell on the 2nd day of November to the depth of six inches. We pitched our tents in the shelter of the woods and tried to cover them with spruce boughs. We used stones for fireplaces. Our tent had no floor but the ground. The winter was very cold, with deep snow, which we tried to keep from drifting in by putting a large rug at the door. The snow, which lay six feet around us, helped greatly in keeping out the cold. How we lived through that awful winter I hardly know. There were mothers, that had been reared in a pleasant country enjoying all the comforts of life, with helpless children in their arms. They clasped their infants to their bosoms and tried by the warmth of their own bodies to protect them from the bitter cold. Sometimes a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep the fires burning, so as to keep the rest from freezing. Some destitute people made use of boards, which the older ones kept heating before the fire and applied by turns to the smaller children to keep them warm.

Many woman and children, and some of the men, died from cold and exposure. Graves were dug with axes and shovels near the spot where our party had landed, and there in stormy winter weather our loved ones were buried. We had no minister, so we had to bury them without any religious service, besides our own prayers. The first burial ground continued to be used for some years until it was nearly filled. We called it "The Loyalist Provincials Burial Ground."

We pause here to observe that the site of this old grave-yard, is on the Ketchum place at Salamanca, just below Fredericton, near the shore. Some rude headstones may perhaps yet be found there. The late Adolphus G. Beckwith told me that he remembered when a boy to have seen a number of pine "head-boards," much decayed, but still standing in this old cemetery. The painted epitaphs, or inscriptions, were in some cases fairly well



preserved. He remembered, he said, that many of the names seemed to be German (or Dutch), a statement which I hardly credited at the time, but which is entirely in harmony with the old grandmother's story. Continuing her narrative, she says:

Among those who came with us to St. Ann's, or who were there when we arrived were Messrs. Swim, Burkstaff, McComesky, three named Ridner, Wooley, Bass, Paine, Ryerse, Acker, Lownsberry, Ingraham, Buchanan, Ackerman, Dooley, Vanderbeck, Smith, Essington and some few others.

Here again the grandmother's story is confirmed by the Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, lately placed by our Historical Society in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa for safe-keeping. Nearly all the names she mentions are to be found there. In Captain Waldron Blaan's Company, we find John Swim, Vincent Swim, Moses McComesky, David Burkstaff, Frederick Burkstaff. In Col. VanBuskirk's Company we find Abraham Vanderbeck, Conrad Ridner, Abraham Ackerman, Morris Ackerman and Marmaduke Ackerman. In Captain Edward Earle's Company, Lodewick Fisher, Peter Ridnor and Peter Smith. In Captain Samuel Ryerson's Company, Samuel Buchanan. In Captain Jacob Buskirk's Company, James Ackerman.

Benjamin Ingraham, mentioned above, was a sergeant in the King's American Regiment; he served in the Carolinas, where he nearly died of yellow fever, and was severely wounded in the battle of Camden. He arrived at St. Ann's in a row-boat in October, 1783, and built a small log house in the woods into which he moved on the 6th of November, at which time there was six inches of snow on the ground.

The story now continues:

When the Loyalists arrived there were only three houses standing on the old St. Ann's plain. Two of them were old frame houses, the other a log house (which stood near the old Fisher place). There were said to have been two bodies of people murdered here. It could not have been long before the arrival of the Loyalists that this happened.

Many of the Loyalists who came in the spring had gone further up the river, but they were little better off for provisions





than we were at St. Ann's. Supplies expected before the close of navigation did not come, and at one time starvation stared us in the face. It was a dreary contrast to our former conditions. Some of our men had to go down the river with hand-sleds or toboggans to get food for their famishing families. A full supply of provisions was looked for in the Spring, but the people were betrayed by those they depended upon to supply them. All the settlers were reduced to great straits and had to live after the Indian fashion. A party of Loyalists who came before us late in the spring, had gone up the river further, but they were no better off than those at St. Ann's. The men caught fish and hunted moose when they could. In the spring we made maple sugar. We ate fiddle heads, grapes and even the leaves of trees to allay the pangs of hunger. On one occasion some poisonous weeds were eaten along with the fiddle heads; one or two died, and Dr. Earle had all he could do to save my life.

As soon as the snow was off the ground we began to build log houses, but were obliged to desist for want of food. Your grandfather went up the river to Captain McKay's for provisions, and found no one at home but an old colored slave woman, who said her master and his man had gone out to see if they could obtain some potatoes or meal, having in the house only half a box of biscuits. Some of the people at St. Ann's, who had planted a few potatoes, were obliged to dig them up and eat them.

Again a few comments will show the reliability of the old lady's narrative. The three houses she mentions on the site of Fredericton were those of Benjamin Atherton, built about 1767 at the upper end of the town, near the site of the old Government House; Philip Weade's, which stood on the river bank in front of the Cathedral, and Olivier Thibodeau's, an Acadian, whose log house was at the lower end of town. The tradition regarding the massacre of some of the first settlers at St. Ann's refers doubtless to the destruction of the French settlement there by McCurdy's New England Rangers in February, 1759, as is described at page 242 in Dr. Raymond's "St. John River History." The party of Loyalists, who had gone further up the river in the late Spring of 1783, were the King's American Dragoons, who settled in Prince William. Resuming once more the narrative, the grandmother says:

In our distress we were gladdened by the discovery of some large patches of pure white beans, marked with a black cross.



They had probably been originally planted by the French, but were now growing wild. In our joy at the discovery we called them at first the "Royal Provincials' bread," but afterwards "The staff of life and hope of the starving." I planted some of these beans with my own hands, and the seed was preserved in our family for many years. There was great rejoicing when the first schooner arrived with corn-meal and rye. In those days the best passages up and down the river took from three to five days. Sometimes the schooners were a week or ten days on the way. It was not during the first year alone that we suffered from want of food, other years were nearly as bad.

The first summer after our arrival all hands united in building their log houses. Dr. Earle's was the first that was finished. Our people had but few tools and those of the rudest sort. They had neither bricks or lime, and chimneys and fireplaces were built of stone laid in yellow clay. They covered the roofs of the houses with bark bound over with small poles. The windows had only four small panes of glass.

The first store was kept by a man named Cairnes, who lived in an old house on the bank of the river near the gate of the first Church built in Fredericton [in front of the present Cathedral]. He used to sell fish at one penny each and butternuts at two for a penny. He also sold tea at \$2.00 per lb. which was to us a great boon. We greatly missed our tea. Sometimes we used an article called Labrador, and sometimes steeped spruce or hemlock bark for drinking, but I despised it.

There were no domestic animals in our settlement at first except one black and white cat, which was a great pet. Some wicked fellows, who came from the States, killed, roasted and ate the cat, to our great indignation. A man named Conley owned the first cow. Poor Conley afterwards hanged himself, the reason for which was never known.

For years there were no teams, and our people had to work hard to get their provisions. Potatoes were planted among the black stumps and turned out well. Pigeons used to come in great numbers and were shot or caught by the score in nets. We found in their crops some small round beans, which we planted; they grew very well and made excellent green beans, which we ate during the summer. In the winter time our people had sometimes to haul their provisions by hand fifty or a hundred miles over the ice or through the woods. In summer they came in slow sailing vessels. On one occasion Dr. Earle and others went up the river to Canada on snowshoes with hand sleds, returning with bags of flour and biscuits. It was a hard and dangerous journey, and they were gone a long time.



For several years we lived in dread of the Indians, who were sometimes very bold. I have heard that the Indians from Canada once tried to murder the people on the St. John River. Coming down the river they captured an Indian woman of the St. John tribe, and the chief said they would spare her if she would be their guide. They had eleven canoes in all, and they were tied together and the canoe of the guide attached to the hindermost. As they drew near the Grand Falls, most of the party were asleep; and the rest were deceived by the woman, who told them that the roaring they heard was caused by a fall at the mouth of the stream which here joined the main river. At the critical moment the Indian woman cut the cord which fastened her canoe to the others and escaped to the shore, while the Canadian Indians went over the fall and were lost.\*

In the early days of the settlement at St. Ann's, some fellows that had come from the States used to disturb the other settlers. They procured liquor at Vanhorne's tavern and drank heavily. They lived in a log cabin which soon became a resort for bad characters. They formed a plot to go up the river and plunder the settlers — provisions being their chief object. They agreed that if any of their party were killed in the expedition they should prevent discovery of their identity by putting him into a hole cut in the ice. While they were endeavoring to effect an entrance into a settler's house, a shot, fired out of a window, wounded a young man in the leg. The others then desisted from their attempt, but cut a hole in the ice and thrust the poor fellow in, who had been shot, although he begged to be allowed to die in the woods, and promised, if found alive not to betray them, but they would not trust him."

Here the story of the old grandmother comes abruptly to an end. Enough, however, is preserved in these extracts to indicate the source of a good deal of the very valuable information concerning the early experience of the Loyalists in the New Brunswick wilderness, which appears in Mr. Fisher's "Sketches of New Brunswick." Doubtless what he has related on this topic in his little book is based upon what he learned from the lips of his mother. To her care and devotion, in all human probability, he owed his preservation during the first eventful winter spent under canvas on the old St. Ann's plain.

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\*It is of interest to know that this legend was told by the Indians to the English settlers shortly after their arrival. The name of the Indian heroine is given as Malobianah, or Malabeam.



Peter Fisher acquired a pretty good education, for those days. A *fac simile* of his signature is here given, which shows that his penmanship was excellent, and compared more than favorably with that of his son and name-sake, Lewis Peter Fisher, who was for some thirty odd years mayor of Woodstock, and the leading barrister of that place, and whose signature is also here given for comparison.




The advantages of education were not great in the elder Peter Fisher's day, but he had a pretty competent instructor in an English school master, Bealing Stephens Williams, who was born in Cornwall in 1754, and came to Nova Scotia, a clerk in the navy in 1779. He settled in Cumberland, N. S., where he taught school and was married, removing to Fredericton in 1790, where he again taught school for nearly forty years. He was an accomplished penman and an expert in arithmetic and the elementary mathematics. There can be no doubt, I think, that Fisher was indebted to this gentleman for an education that was very fair indeed, in the then circumstances of the country. Fisher unquestionably possessed a good deal of natural ability, and was something of a philosopher, as will appear when we come to consider his writings. He carried on quite an extensive business in lumbering at one time. He was noted as a tireless pedestrian and there were few, even among his juniors, who could keep pace with him in a walk of fifty miles, which he thought nothing of. He married on August 15, 1807, Susanna Stephens Williams, the Rev. George Pidgeon, rector of Fredericton, officiating at the wedding. Their family was a large one, seven sons and four daughters.\* The late Judge Charles Fisher, who was born September 16, 1808, was the oldest. Another son, Henry Fisher, was Chief Superintendent of Education of New Brunswick. Lewis Peter Fisher, a

\*I am pretty certain that Susanna Stephens Williams was a daughter of Bealing Stephens Williams, the school master.—W. O. R.





younger son, was for years Woodstock's most prominent citizen and a very eminent lawyer. Another son, William Fisher, was for some years Indian Commissioner. One of the daughters was the wife of Hon. Charles Connell, Postmaster General, at one time in the local government, and a member of the first Dominion Parliament for the County of Carleton. At least three of the sons of Peter Fisher were actively interested in education. Of these Charles Fisher received the degree of B. A. at King's College, now the University of New Brunswick, in 1830. His was the first class to graduate after the incorporation of the college by Royal Charter, under the name of King's College with the style and privileges of a University. He read law with Judge Street, then Advocate General, was admitted attorney in 1831 and barrister in 1833. He spent a year at one of the Inns of Court in England. His Alma Mater conferred on him the degree of D. C. L. in 1866. Judge Fisher during his public life was a warm friend of the College at Fredericton. At the session of the provincial legislature, in 1859, he moved the bill under which the old King's College was transformed into the University of New Brunswick. He was later a member of the Senate of the University.

Henry Fisher has already been mentioned as one of the early Chief Superintendents of Education. His portrait may be seen in the office of Dr. W. S. Carter, Chief Superintendent of Education, in Fredericton.

Lewis Peter Fisher, of Woodstock, was for years an active Trustee of the Carleton County Grammar School, and a strenuous advocate of Free School Education. He had no children. By his will he left his large fortune to establish a number of institutions of an educational and philanthropic character in the town of Woodstock, the affairs of which he had long ably administered as mayor. These institutions include:

The Fisher Memorial Hospital, established at a	
cost of.....	\$30,000 00
Fisher Memorial Public School,.....	\$70,000 00
“ Vocational School,.....	15,000 00
“ Free Public Library,.....	42,000 00
	<hr/>
Total,	\$187,000 0



This is the largest individual benefaction to any community in New Brunswick, if not in the Maritime Provinces. The memorial buildings are all situated within the limits of the town of Woodstock, and, with the exception of the hospital, are handsome substantial brick buildings. In addition to the gift of the buildings and their equipment, the estate contributes from time to time to their maintenance, under the capable administration of the trustees, A. B. Connell, K. C., and Col. F. H. J. Dibblee. It will thus be seen that although the late Mayor of Woodstock left no child to perpetuate his name, his memory will be kept green for future generations as a philanthropist and a man of high ideals.

Space will not admit of any extended reference to the descendants of our first provincial historian. A short sketch of the life of the Hon. Charles Fisher will be found in Lawrence's "Judges of New Brunswick and their Times," pages 528-532. As a man who in his day rendered essential service to his native province, Charles Fisher deserves a more extensive biography than has hitherto been attempted by any writer.

We proceed now to consider more in detail the two books from the pen of the elder Peter Fisher.

#### "SKETCHES OF NEW BRUNSWICK."

The title page of this little book will give a general idea of its contents. The account of the first settlement of the province is very well written and is marked by greater accuracy than is to be found in the work of Moses H. Perley, who follows next in order as provincial historian. Brief references only are made by Fisher to the Acadian period, although his account of the proceedings under Col. Frye at Fort Cumberland and vicinity is valuable.

Under the title, "A narrative of the proceedings of the first settlers at the River St. John, under the authority of the Government of Nova Scotia," Mr Fisher supplies valuable information. He tells us of the preliminary steps taken in 1761 and the year following, by a number of persons of the County of Essex, Massachusetts, to procure the grant of a township twelve miles



square on the St. John River. Of the sailing of an exploration party from Newburyport in May, 1762. Of their design to include the site of the old Acadian settlement at St. Ann's in their tract, and how they were deterred by the hostile attitude of the Indians from so doing. Of their subsequent laying out the Township of Maugerville, extending from a Pine Tree on a point of land a little below Mauger's Island up to the lower line of what is now the County of York.\* The little book also contains interesting details of the course of events at the mouth of the St. John River during the revolutionary epoch. St. John was the first place in what is now British America to suffer at the hands of the Yankee privateers.

In the month of August, 1775, a party from Machias, led by one Stephen Smith, entered the harbor in a sloop and burned Fort Frederick and the Barracks, and made the men in the fort their prisoners. This event is thus recorded by Peter Fisher:

"A brig was sent from Boston to procure fresh provisions for the British army, from the settlements of the River St. John. The vessel was laden with stock, poultry, and sundry other articles, mostly brought from Maugerville in small vessels and gondolas, all of which had been put on board within about fifteen days after the brig had arrived. While she was waiting for a fair wind and clear weather an armed sloop full of men from Machias came into the harbor, took possession of the brig, and two days after carried her off to Machias. The first night after their arrival the enemy made the small party in the Fort prisoners, plundered them of everything in it, and set fire to all the Barracks but did not molest any of the inhabitants on the opposite side of the harbour."

A few days since I have found corroboration of the above statement, with further details, in the Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario for 1904, pages 660 and 661. It is there stated that David Black, late of Boston, gave evidence, under oath, on June 21, 1786, before Commissioner Pemberton at Halifax, N. S.:

"That he is a native of Scotland; went to Boston in 1770 and settled there in trade. About July, 1775, he was one of an

\*See extracts from Sketches of New Brunswick in Collections of the N. B. Historical Society No. 6, pp. 292-295.



association appointed under General Howe for taking charge of provisions for the town of Boston. He with four partners fitted out a brig called the *Loyal Briton* to bring provisions from the St. John River. She sailed from Boston a little after the Battle of Bunker's Hill, and was taken by an American vessel in the mouth of St. John's River with her lading on board. She was afterwards condemned."

Black had one-fifth share in the vessel worth £300.

The steps subsequently taken by the British authorities for the protection of St. John and other places along the shores of the Bay of Fundy are narrated by Mr. Fisher. He also gives some account of the negotiations with the Micmacs and Malisects and of the treaties agreed upon by government with the savages.

By no means the least interesting part of his book is his account of the hardships endured by the Loyalists who settled on the River St. John at the close of the American Revolution. He refers to this subject again in the introduction of his other book, "*Notitia of New Brunswick*," in the words following:

"At St. Ann's, where Fredericton was afterwards built, a few scattered huts of French, etc., were found — the country all around being a continued wilderness; and hardly had these wretched outcasts of their country pitched their tents in the cold month of October, than they were enveloped in snow, nearly two feet having fallen the first night of their encampment. Nor did their difficulties end with the first year. Frequently had these settlers to go with handsleds or toboggans, through the woods or on the ice, from fifty to one hundred miles, to procure a scanty supply for their famishing families."

All readers will regret that our author did not carry out his intention of dealing more fully with this extremely interesting subject, concerning which he writes in his preface to the *Notitia of New Brunswick*:

"It was the intention of the writer to have given a short but faithful account of the first landing and establishment of the Loyalists in the country in the year 1783, with such sketches of its early history as must be interesting to its inhabitants; and as there are many circumstances connected with these events that will sink into oblivion, if not recorded, the utility of such a work must be obvious to every person who feels an interest in the welfare of his country. As circumstances have arisen to prevent





him accomplishing these desirable objects, he has introduced some preliminary observations on the subject."

The description of the country as it was in 1825 is interesting. The first census of the province had been taken in the previous year; the population was then 74,176. Education was in a very elementary stage as is shown by statistics dealing with the schools, most of which were conducted on the National or Madras system. The names of the ancient pedagogues are given, and are worthy of being held in remembrance. Very few women were then engaged in the teaching profession owing to lack of qualification.

This statement corroborates that of Bishop Charles Inglis who writes to Dr. Morice, the Secretary of the S. P. G., under date August 16, 1799:

"You formerly inquired and now repeat the inquiry, what my sentiments are about employing women, instead of men, to teach in the Society's schools, especially for girls. I very much approve of the measure — I have made inquiries for women that were competent and willing to undertake the office, but could find none. To the clergy of both provinces (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) I communicated the Society's wishes and desired them to use their endeavors to procure women for the Society's schools, but they have been equally unsuccessful. In this country few women are competent to the employment, and those who are, disclaim it. Such is the temper and spirit of the inhabitants."

The statistics, dealing with exports and imports, ship-building, lumbering, etc., are valuable. Up to 1825 there is scarcely any mention of spruce lumber as an article of export. The first spruce deals cut in the province were sawn in 1819, and the first cargo, which consisted of only 100,000 superficial feet, was shipped to England in 1822. But in 1824 the port of St. John shipped 114,116 tons of pine and birch timber; 11,534,000 feet of pine boards and planks; 1,923,000 staves; 491,000 pine shingles; 1,918 masts and spars; 2,698 oars and oar rafters, etc., and 1,435 cords of lathwood. In addition large quantities of lumber were shipped from Miramichi, St. Andrews, Richibucto and Bathurst. The amount of pine and birch timber shipped from Miramichi



was 141,384 tons, which was considerably more than that from St. John. But the Miramichi fire in 1825 caused a falling off in North Shore shipments in the succeeding years. Fisher writes:

"In this country there is no article that can in any degree furnish exports equal to the pine, which is manufactured in the simplest manner with but little trouble. Most settlers who understand the use of an axe can manufacture it, the woods furnishing a sort of simple manufactory for the inhabitants, from which, after attending to their farms in summer, they can draw returns during the winter for the supplies which are necessary for the comfort of their families.

A man settling on a wilderness lot has but little dependence save on his own labor — perhaps he has a small family; he commences with cutting down a small spot and erecting a hut in the summer or fall; he then moves on his family, and looks round for sustenance till he can raise his first crop. His funds are now exhausted, and he wants by his own labor to replenish them during the winter and provide a few implements of husbandry, and nails, etc., for building a barn. Now, supposing his lot to be back from the river, and at a distance from old settlements where labor is wanted, what does he do? Why he resorts to his pine — to the simple manufactory before noticed, and makes a few tons of timber, say twenty, thirty, forty or fifty, according to his ability. This timber probably he gets hauled to the water on shares, if he is very poor and has no team, the returns for which the next spring furnish him with supplies and enable him to continue on his land and prosecute his farming."

Fisher was himself engaged quite extensively in lumbering, and had an eye to abuses that were rampant in his day. He protests against the inordinate consumption of ardent spirits — rum, gin, and brandy — of which, he says, the inhabitants of the province consume in the course of a single year rather more than twenty gallons on an average for every male over sixteen years of age! It was believed in those days that lumbering could not be carried on at all without the use of rum.

Another evil to which he refers was the wanton destruction of valuable young timber by lumberers who had no regard for the future. The great Miramichi fire in October, 1825, occurred about the time his first book was issued from the press. No



mention of the fire is found in its pages. He gives a very good account of what is called, "The year without a summer," which we shall refer to further on. His description of the old military post at Presque Isle, twenty miles above Woodstock, is quite interesting. But the space at our disposal will not admit of further extracts, and we must now pass on to refer more particularly to his second publication, which appeared in the year 1838, under the title:

"NOTITIA OF NEW BRUNSWICK."

The introduction contains a fair synopsis of Acadian history from 1604 to the close of the American Revolution, including such incidents as the founding of Halifax by Cornwallis; the Acadian Expulsion under Lawrence's direction; the proceedings of Monckton and Rous at the River St. John; Byron's destruction of the French squadron in the Bay of Chaleur; Col. Fry's operations along the North Shore of New Brunswick; and the coming of the Loyalists to the province in 1783.

A number of extracts will now be given relating to the formation and growth of the Province of New Brunswick:

"Lieut.-Col. Carleton (brother to the General of that name who had preserved Canada) was appointed Governor on August 16th, 1781. By his judicious and patriotic conduct the infant colony soon began to flourish. To encourage the settlement of the interior, a town was projected and built on the Point of St. Ann's, on the river St. John, about eighty-five miles up, at the head of sloop navigation, which was called Fredericton. This being the most central and eligible situation, was made the permanent seat of Government, being situated at nearly equal distance from the towns and settlements that were forming at Miramichi, Bay Verte, Passamaquoddy and other parts of the province.

To facilitate the settlement of the upper St. John, which extends through a fine tract of country, nearly 400 miles above Fredericton, two military posts were established in the interior, one at Presque Isle, about 180 miles from the mouth of the river, and the other at the Grand Falls, 52 miles farther up. Barracks were built at each post for the accommodation of a company of soldiers, but these have been suffered to go to decay. Before



the French revolution, two regiments were stationed in New Brunswick."

A good deal of information respecting the two military posts above referred to will be found in the "Winslow Papers," printed under the auspices of the N. B. Historical Society in 1901. The posts were designed by Engineer Dugald Campbell in 1791, who also superintended their construction. The post at Grand Falls was called "Fort Carleton." Fisher says that the isthmus formed by the bend of the river at the Grand Falls was originally cleared by the troops stationed in garrison there, and became the site of the little town of Grand Falls. Barracks, etc., were constructed and troops were stationed at the place for a number of years, but few vestiges of the works now remain. At the old military post at Presque Isle, barracks and other military works were erected sufficient to accommodate three companies of soldiers, and it continued to be a military station until 1822; but every vestige of the works there has now disappeared.\* The bank at this place is very elevated, and the spot where the barracks stood is very commanding, having a fine view of the adjoining country and a beautiful island directly in front. There is in the Archives at Ottawa a plan of the Presque Isle barracks by Dugald Campbell. The post was frequently mentioned in the early days of New Brunswick. The purpose of establishing the garrison was chiefly to overawe the Indians and prevent their molesting the white settlers, and to maintain the route of communication with Quebec.

"Most of the old French settlers on the banks of the River St. John, on the arrival of the English removed further up the river, where, being joined by others from Canada, they formed a settlement distinct from the English and have ever since been quiet and well affected to the British Government. This settlement, called Madawaska, is situated about midway between Fredericton and Quebec, and is in a flourishing state. . . .

When the disbanded soldiers and refugees came here in 1783, there were but a few scattered hovels where St. John is now built, and the adjacent country exhibited a desolate and forbidding

\*See the account of the condition of the Presque Isle Post in 1825 at p. 42, "Sketches of New Brunswick," by Fisher.





aspect, peculiarly discouraging to people who had just left their homes in the beautiful and cultivated parts of the United States. Up the St. John River, the country appeared better, and a few cultivated spots were found occupied by old settlers from New England."

After the Introduction, the *Notitia* proper begins, and is divided into eight chapters. The first of these is mainly topographical and includes a description of the rivers, lakes, mountains, and islands.

Mention is made of the fish caught in the rivers — salmon, shad, bass, herrings and a great diversity of pan fish, together with the royal sturgeon, then very common in the St. John River. The coast fisheries abounded with pollock, haddock, hake, mackerel, halibut, cod, etc. Porpoise abounded in the bays, and seals in the more distant fisheries.

"Not a twentieth part of the country," writes Fisher, "is yet reclaimed from the wilderness. Till lately the settlements were confined to the seaboard and along the rivers, but within a few years settlers have advanced into the interior, and flourishing back settlements are springing up in different places."

Chapter II. of the *Notitia* treats of the Climate, Forests, Productions, Animals, Agriculture, etc, etc. Fisher indulges in some curious speculations as to the influence of the moon on the weather, which we need not further refer to, but the data which follows is no doubt pretty reliable, and may be quoted verbatim.

"When the Loyalists came to this country in 1783, snow was seen on the coasts in June, and the winters for a number of years were excessively cold, and the snow very deep. The summers being likewise very warm and dry, insomuch that the Indian corn, a plant that requires much heat, flourished in great perfection for a number of years and was the staple grain then cultivated. This was succeeded by a period in which the winters proved milder and were broken by frequent thaws, the summers abating their warmth and the crops being less abundant; for it always followed that a mild winter was succeeded by a cool summer; and although snow was seldom seen in June, still it was not uncommon in May, or late in April, in what were called late seasons. Some years it would be earlier, and sowing would be considerably advanced, in dry weather, by the latter part of



April. From these data we find the seasons were formerly as variable as they have been of late. But to pursue these observations a little further, it must be fresh in the recollection of the inhabitants of the province that in 1816, there was a fall of snow with very cold weather on the 7th of June — that a cold rigorous air was felt during the whole of that summer, which the sun when shining in meridian splendor could not subdue. Frosts were frequent in every month of that year, crops were blighted, even the never failing potato was chilled and did not yield half its usual increase. A succession of lean years followed, each improving till 1822, which was an extraordinarily fruitful year.'

The year 1816 was long known as "The year without a summer." Rev. Frederick Dibblee, the first clergyman at Woodstock, N. B., kept a daily journal for many years. In this he speaks of the hills on the opposite side of the river at Woodstock being, day after day, *white with snow in June*. He writes, "Never, never, was there such a season." Somewhere about the 20th of June, the weather changed, and he writes, "Today we lay aside our great-coats, which we have worn for the past ten days." In Madawaska the snow fell to a depth of six inches and the little birds died in large numbers. The crops were almost a total failure and a period of famine ensued, still known traditionally in Madawaska as "*La grande disette*." The devotion of Marguerite Blanche Thibodeau, "The Aunt of Madawaska," (or "Ma Tante la Blanche")\* at this sad time is still gratefully spoken of by her descendants. She was an angel of mercy, and always to be found wherever there was sickness or starvation.

"The year 1825 will long be remembered on account of its destructive fires. A drought commenced about the middle of July and continued till the middle of October, which converted the whole country into a state of combustion; in consequence of which fires burst out simultaneously in different parts of the province on the 7th of that ill-fated month, and swept away several flourishing settlements, and destroyed property to a great amount, as well as human life. A succession of years followed in which the rust prevailed just as the wheat was filling the ear. The year

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\*She was aunt of the Thibodeaus, Cyrs, Theriaults, Violettes, and other families notable for their powers of reproduction. Her multitude of relations entitled her to be called indeed, "the Aunt of Madawaska."



1831 was an uncommon fine year, crops were abundant, fruits excellent — nature indeed this year appeared inclined to show man how easy it was to clothe the fields with abundance for man and beast. The year 1832 was a lean year, remarkable for a humid atmosphere. The cholera prevailed in the United States and Canada. Since 1832 the seasons have been, in general, unfavorable. August, which was formerly a sultry month, appears to have become cool and frosty, which indeed is the main cause of the lean seasons. The winter of 1835-6 was excessively cold. In the summer of 1836 we had two severe droughts; the first commenced about the 10th of June and continued till the middle of July; the second commenced in August and nearly destroyed the pastures throughout the country. The summer of 1837 was very fine and the harvest very abundant."

"The extremes of heat and cold in the province are great. Farenheit's thermometer ranges in July from 90° to 94° for several days. Extreme heat from 100° to 106°. The coldest weather usually takes place after the full moon in January, when the mercury sinks from 27° to 32° below zero. The extremes of cold are from 35° to 38° below zero at Fredericton, eighty or ninety miles from salt water."

It is interesting to compare Fisher's statement with that of Hon. Jonathan Odell, who in a letter to Col. Edward Winslow, written at Fredericton, September 8, 1794, mentions his having once noticed a temperature as low as 40° below zero, just before sunrise. The highest temperature he had seen in Fredericton, and that once only, was 97° of Farenheit, on June 28, 1789; but he had repeatedly seen it up to 94°.

"In treating of the seasons in this country it must be observed that in some years the Spring opens as much as a month earlier and the Fall holds fine nearly a month later than in others. We may usually date the opening of our Spring about the latter part of April, when the rivers and lakes open and the snow disappears. May is the usual month for sowing and planting the high lands, the intervalles and low lands are not sufficiently dry for cultivation till June. In the early part of June the nights are chilly attended with frequent frosts, particularly at the changes of the moon, which oftentimes injure the early flowering fruit trees, and it is not until after the summer solstice that the night air loses its rigor. As soon as the earth is so thoroughly warmed that the nights lose their chilliness, vegetation becomes surprisingly rapid. September is a pleasant month, the air is serene and pure. The



streams are usually lower than at any other period and the dry weather frequently continues till late in October.

Snow sometimes falls early in November, and lies until late in April, but this does not always hold. The rivers and lakes freeze about the middle to the last of November. It is not uncommon to have frosts in every month except July, particularly on small streams, nevertheless roots come to maturity and grain ripens in most years, wheat being oftener hurt by rust than by frost. The Springs are indeed backward, but vegetation is surprisingly rapid, and the Autumns are usually very fine."

Fisher writes in another place: "The valley of the Oromocto, in common with almost all the streams in the province, is very subject to frosts." He also mentions that at the peace in 1783 the New York Volunteers and Royal Guides and Pioneers settled on the Keswick stream. Here they found fine strips of intervale and very rich soil, subject, however, to early frosts. "This indeed," he says, "is common to all settlements along the valleys of small rivers." It was also characteristic of low-lying and wet places, which were called "frosty spots." But as the country was cleared up the trouble in a large measure ceased.

Fisher speaks of the low-lying St. Ann's plain (selected as the site of the provincial capital by Governor Carleton) as being liable to inundation from high freshets in the spring, and says, "There is an old tradition that the plain on which the town stands was swept by a great ice freshet a few years before the Loyalists came to the country." The correspondence of Simonds and White shows that this incident occurred about the year 1768. It swept away their trading post. A somewhat similar occurrence took place a little above Fredericton, in April, 1798. This is described in a characteristic letter of Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth, governor of Nova Scotia, which follows:

"We are just recovering here from one of the most tremendous scenes that ever was beheld, what they call an ice freshet. Major Murray, Captain Davidson, Col. Ellegood and many others living above me, lost every animal they owned. Davidson had 60 head of horned cattle, Ellegood 50 and Murray 40. I escaped, as I always do (upon all great occasions) by a hair's breadth. The water was up to my front door and six feet deep in my cellar.





I, every moment, for thirty-six hours, expected to lose my house. The mountains of ice were forty feet high directly in my rear; the stoutest of elms and maples were broken like pipestems — luckily when the mountains went off they took a direction just to avoid the buildings, and came in at the foot of the gardens, where they tore all before them. I detached my wife and all the Light Infantry part of my family, and stood ready with a boat to run like a lusty fellow for the highlands. The ridge where the buildings stood was completely insulated. I saved all my cattle, and even my sheep and hogs — my fences of course went to the devil."

Fisher writes in his Notitia:

"It may be interesting to future generations to state that a partial inundation took place on April 11, 1831, occasioned by an ice jam below Mill Creek, by which all the lower part of the town and the front street was laid under water, which came up above the Baptist Chapel in King Street, leaving but a small part of the buildings dry in the front and lower streets. The town from the adjoining heights appeared like a low island, with the buildings partly submerged, and the river in front piled with threatening masses of ice. The jam broke while the water was rapidly gaining on the town, and in a few hours the river resumed its usual current.

The statement which now follows is of interest, though it is not the first recorded phenomenon of the kind, as the author assumes.

"There has been but one shock of an earthquake experienced since the settlement of the country; this shock took place on May 22, 1827, at twenty-five minutes past three a. m.; the duration of the vibration was about forty-five seconds, the weather being very serene and pleasant."

I have at present in my possession a letter of June 3, 1817, written from the vicinity of Fredericton by a sister of my grandmother, containing a description of an earthquake which was so violent that "the house seemed to rock as if on rockers." It lasted but a short time. A New England paper mentions that on September 30, 1764, there was a very severe shock of an earthquake at St. John, about 12 o'clock, noon.

But the fact that our first historian should have noticed such events shows that he was a careful observer. He also did not



neglect tradition. We have already mentioned his reference to the destruction of the Acadian settlement at St. Ann's and to the ice freshet of 1768, of which he knew only by tradition. He writes also:

"It may not be amiss to observe that it is very probable that this country has been denuded of its forests, and part of its soil, at different periods by destructive fires. According to tradition one of these destructive fires took place not long before the Loyalists came to the country, which swept from the St. Croix to the St. John. Traces of such a fire are still visible in the counties of Charlotte and Sunbury."

Walter Bates, in his narrative of the coming of the Loyalists to Kingston, says, that on their arrival in May, 1783, they procured a boat in which David Pickett, Israel Hoyt, Silas Raymond and others explored the St. John River for sixty miles. They reported that such inhabitants as they found were settled on intervale land by the river, and that the highlands had generally been *burned* by the Indians.

We have, perhaps, even more authentic information in the Journals of Surveyors Dugald Campbell and John Peters, in connection with their exploration of the River Magaguadavic in 1797. They found the mountains "considerably high and some of them almost entirely destitute of verdure, being nothing but naked and rugged eminences of rock." "We were informed," they add, "that about thirty years ago this country for a great extent was entirely over-run by a dreadful fire that consumed all the timber on the mountains except a few lofty black stumps of pine, so that on the whole this vicinity makes but a very desolate appearance." They found the country like this for miles on miles. Peters says, "The fire has destroyed a great quantity of pine timber, the country appears to be burnt for a great distance." Campbell writes: "The upland was formerly all burnt over and now produces nothing but a small growth of white birch, poplar and some spruce, with a mixture of larch on the borders of the meadows, and here and there a young growth of white or yellow pine. This account may describe generally all the burnt land that we have seen."



Further on in his book Mr. Fisher devotes a good deal of space to a description of the Great Miramichi Fire in 1825, which should be read in conjunction with the more lurid description of Robert Cooney in his history of the North Shore, penned a few years earlier. The fire, according to Fisher, swept the country along the Miramichi for upwards of 100 miles and extended its ravages over nearly 8,000 square miles and destroyed property to the amount of nearly £800,000 with the loss of nearly 200 lives.\* Mr. Fisher's account of the fire is too long to quote. He mentions that the losses, ascertained at Miramichi and given in to Sir Howard Douglas, amounted to £227,713, but says the loss in the destruction of *timber* was included in the first estimation, and as usual in such cases was no doubt over-rated.

"Dry seasons attended, as in 1825, with great heats, prepare the country, particularly those parts encumbered with old trees and brush, for combustion; when the least spark sets the whole in a blaze. Indeed it is surprising the evils are not greater when we consider the numerous class of persons, such as Indians, lumberers and others, who roam through the wilderness and light up fires where they encamp, or shake the embers out of their pipes among dry leaves and other combustibles, and pass on unheeding of the evils of their thoughtlessness."

Had this warning, spoken nearly a century ago, been duly heeded, it would have saved the country many millions of dollars. Writing in 1836, our author says:

"The red, or Norway pine, is a close firm wood, of a tall growth, not as large as the white, but preferred before it for uses where great strength and durability are required — this kind is now getting scarce. The young growth on the Tobique, formerly famed for its red pine, has been nearly destroyed by fire within a few years, and the large trees in most parts of the country have been cut by lumberers. The white pine is also becoming scarce from the same causes. This tree, which has furnished our principal export in squared timber, is of large growth — seventeen tons of good timber is frequently obtained from one tree. The wood is not so firm as the red pine, but is an excellent article for

\*Mr. J. W. Vanderbeck of Milltown, N. B., wrote me on Nov. 10th, 1917. "I have just come from the woods up on the Sevogle a branch of the N. W. Miramichi. An old resident showed me the north line of the Miramichi fire. Some of the old pine is left standing north of the line. On the south side there is a lot of large poplar and second growth lumber, but no old lumber."



boards, shingles, etc., and is particularly useful for the inside work of buildings."

He also mentions the black birch, which is principally used for squared timber to export and for shipbuilding. The birch was frequently cut on the Upper St. John and run down in rafts to Springhill, five miles above Fredericton. The birch raft required careful handling, as being much heavier than spruce or pine and more difficult to steer, but on account of its weight it would always *out-run* any other kind of raft, and was not so much affected by a side wind. Consequently the experienced raftsmen preferred the birch raft to any other. At the time Fisher wrote his *Notitia* the manufacture of spruce deals was becoming an important industry, and further reference will be made to it when we come to consider the progress of the various counties of the province.

Remarks on the native animals and birds are brief. Fisher says that the moose, which was very abundant when the province was first settled, had nearly disappeared; the same may be said of the lucifée. Bears were still numerous, but beavers were getting scarce, while wolves were but seldom seen, and the carcajou, or Indian devil, had disappeared of late years. Other animals included foxes, martins, peacocks, hares, caribou, mink, raccoon, squirrels, otter, porcupines, musquash and weasels. This was in 1837; but in the "forties" the red deer had become very numerous, and were followed by wolves, which also were numerous, and gave the farmers trouble in caring for their sheep. Birds are merely said by our author to be "much the same as in the neighbouring provinces; no classification has yet been made of them."

The pages devoted to the consideration of agriculture are very few. Comparatively little wheat was being raised, and the yield was uncertain on account of the prevalence of rust. Indian corn was more cultivated than now. It was an old saying that a good crop of corn made everything plenty. The best season for planting it was the last week in May and the first in June.

The Indian used to say, "When a maple leaf is the size of a squirrel's foot, it is time to plant corn."





“Among the ground crops, the potato holds the first place. This invaluable root flourishes in great perfection in this province, which seems to be its native place. The potatoes of New Brunswick are superior to those of Nova Scotia, which are also of an excellent quality, greatly exceeding any produced in the United States. It furnishes one of the most productive and certain substitutes for bread of any known, and the province would feel the want of this root more than any other of its productions. Potatoes yield from 150 to 300 bushels, and sometimes more, per acre. Potatoes when well planted in the proper season are a sure crop. They have failed but twice in forty years, and in these not totally. The years alluded to were 1816 and 1836, in both of which potatoes were a lean crop.

Beech-nuts furnish a fall feed for hogs, on which they fatten very fast, but the pork is of a soft and oily texture.”

Chapter III, treats of the various rivers of the province, and of the vexed question of the international boundary, which threatened to embroil us in war with our neighbours in Maine.

Speaking of the River St. John, Fisher states, “The first steamer (the General Smyth) commenced running in May, 1816. The first that ascended to Woodstock was the Novelty, on April 30, 1837.”

By order of Sir Howard Douglas a survey of the river from Fredericton to the Grand Falls was made by Engineer R. Foulis. The number of rapids encountered in this distance was in all forty-five—the most formidable being at the Meductic Falls, forty miles above Fredericton. The total perpendicular ascent to the lower basin below the Grand Falls was 177 feet, 3 inches, in a distance (from Chapel Bar to the Falls) of 125 miles, 39 chains. To this ascent we must add the perpendicular height of the Falls, 74 feet, and  $45\frac{1}{2}$  feet for the gorge below; making the total ascent in the river, from tide level at Springhill to the basin above the Grand Falls, 298 feet, 11 inches.

Spring tides at Fredericton, in the summer season, rise only fourteen inches and die out at Chapel Bar about eight miles above.

Remarks on the Rivers Miramichi and Restigouche are very brief.

Chapter IV deals with *Inhabitants—Religion—Education*. Fisher thinks the aborigines are fast declining, and that the



number in the province has dwindled down to about 1,500. However this may have been in 1837, it is certain from the latest census returns that there are now more than 1,800 Indians in New Brunswick. The total area of their reservations is now 39,713 acres.

There was in 1837 an Indian agent for the province, and once a year it was customary for the chief and head men to assemble at Government House, where they were regaled with music and refreshments and usually received a small present. The Indian guide, "Gabe" Acquin, is said, on one occasion, to have been treated by a New Brunswick Governor (I think Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon) to a small quantity of choice liquor, and was informed that it was a hundred years old! Gabe's reply was that it was "pretty d——d small for its age," which created much merriment.

Fisher says, "At the mouth of the Tobique is a reserve for the Indians with a few huts and a small chapel. Here a few Indians usually *sit down*, as they term it, to keep possession."

Further on in his little book the author mentions the occurrence of two pits containing human bones, about eight miles below Woodstock on the east bank of the St. John River:

"The pits are about six feet long and four feet wide, and are opposite Maductic Point, which has been always occupied by the Indians. They are only a few rods from the main road, and have sunk considerably below the main surface of the earth. This is what must be expected from the decomposition of the fleshy parts. Skulls and bones lie on and near the surface, having been uncovered by the curious and thoughtless. There is no certain account how these pits originated. There is, however, a tradition that Col. Rodgers came through the wilderness from Quebec in the year 1760, with a party of the Queens Rangers and Mohawk Indians, and scourged the River St. John; that he surprised and destroyed a great many of those Indians who were encamped at the Maductic; that the remainder fled across the river and were either there destroyed and buried by Rodgers, or else those who escaped returned after he had gone and buried their dead in these pits. That Col. Rodgers after this proceeded to St. John, where being joined by a detachment from Manawagonish, he took Fort Bourbon, afterwards called Fort Frederick, on Carleton Point."



Here Fisher has been badly misled by tradition, or perhaps we should say by confusion of events and places that are totally distinct. The scene of Rodgers operations was St. John's, Quebec, not the River St. John, N. B., which he probably never saw. The military corps he commanded was not the "Queen's Rangers" but "Rodger's Rangers," mostly Indians. Fort Bourbon is no doubt intended for Fort Boishebert, which was at Woodman's Point just above the Nerepis. The old fort on Carleton Point which was taken by Colonel Monckton in September, 1758, not by Rodgers in 1760. It was re-named Fort Frederick.

Light is thrown upon the probable origin of the mortuary pits by Parkman, in his description of the Indian "Feast of the Dead." In the Huron country are to be found many "ossuaries," similar to the pits near Meductic on the River St. John. The Indian custom was that, after the expiration of a number of years, the relatives disinterred the bones of their ancestors, and they were dismembered and reburied in a common receptacle, the skulls being usually grouped together, also the thigh-bones, etc. A feast—"The Feast of the Dead"—formed an important part of the ceremony. In the Huron country, west of Orillia, many of these old ossuaries have been found, some of them of much greater dimensions than the pits at Meductic described by Fisher. Further details as to these ossuaries may be found in the publications of A. F. Hunter, M. A., of the Normal School, Toronto.

Our author's reference to the Acadians which now follows is rather brief. He writes:

"They are in general like their ancestors, the old French neutrals, a quiet, orderly and contented people. They are with very few exceptions of the Roman Catholic faith, and pay an affectionate and sincere reverence to their priests, and an implicit obedience to their spiritual and temporal instructions. Their settlements are generally so formed as to have a chapel to which the whole may resort. Their marriages are generally early and families large. It is rarely that they intermarry with the English. The Acadians of Madawaska are over 3,000, and in Westmorland they exceed the English population. Their principal occupations are agriculture and fishing. They are an orderly quiet people.



Almost all the right bank of the Memramcook is the land of the Frenchmen. Here they were settled in great numbers before 1755, when they were forcibly removed by the British Government. It was at this place many of them were torn from all the comforts of life and cast on the wide world, destitute and forlorn, to suffer the hardships and privations so feelingly described in Mr. Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia. The French make no great figure in improving a country; very mean houses and mere necessaries satisfy them. Hence the country in their neighbourhood exhibits no permanent features of improvement. They can only be ranked among the small farmers of the country."

We may compare with the above the author's description of Madawaska.

"At the junction of the Madawaska with the St. John the main settlement commences, and extends down to near the Grand Falls, a distance of some forty miles, the whole district being well settled on both sides of the river. The soil is easily tilled and very productive and there are several fine islands. The inhabitants are mostly all French, many of whom have been settled here over fifty years, and always considered themselves as British subjects.\* Madawaska has lately been divided into three sections — the upper Saint Emilie, the middle Saint Basil, and the lower Saint Bruno. Their dwellings at present consist chiefly of log huts, some of which are very large, being comprised of two buildings joined together. Within a few years some of them have begun to imitate the English in constructing frame houses. They have three chapels for divine service. The French in their manners are very lively and hospitable. Most of their clothing is made by their women, who are stout and short, and slovenly house-keepers. So successful have their priests been in keeping the people in peace and harmony, that there have been hardly any magistrates until recently."

"The Old Inhabitants are those families who were settled in the province before the conclusion of the American Revolution. They were so called by the disbanded troops and loyal refugees, who came to the country in 1783, and the appellation is still applied to their descendants. The old race at Maugerville, Cumberland, and other places have nearly passed away, but their descendants are spread through the country and are intermixed with the new comers."

\*By the Ashburton treaty in 1842 that part of the Madawaska Settlement west of the River St. John was awarded to the State of Maine.





"The most numerous class of the population are the descendants of the Loyalists, who came to the province in 1783. These are the offspring of those genuine patriots who sacrificed their comforts and property in the United States, for their attachment to the government under which they drew their first breath, and came to this country, then a wilderness, to transmit the same blessing to their posterity, and who when it came to the trying point whether they should forsake their homes or abandon their King, preferred the former without hesitation, although many of them had young families, and the choice was made at the risk of life. As, however, the decision was made with alacrity, so was it persevered in with unwavering constancy."

"Other classes include emigrants from the old country, disbanded soldiers, retired officers (naval and military), and persons of different callings and occupations who from time to time have come to the province, and who with their wealth, enterprise and intelligence have aided in raising the intellectual and physical standard of the community."

"The Blacks, scattered through the province in considerable numbers, in some cases are settled on land, but in general live in or near the towns, and are employed as laborers or hired as servants."

By the first census in 1824 the population of New Brunswick was 74,176. This census did not include the Indians or the Madawaska Settlement or the inhabitants of some of the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. The population in 1834 was (exclusive of Indians) 119,457, an increase of 60% during the decade. The relative standing of the counties in point of population differed materially from that of today. Charlotte county, for example, was then the second county in regard to population. At the time the census was taken, Gloucester county included Restigouche; Westmorland included Albert; and Carleton included Victoria and Madawaska. St. John alone was more populous than Charlotte. The average per family, throughout the province was 6.51, and the number of families exceeded the number of houses by nearly two thousand. There was no data at this period to determine the number of members belonging to any Christian denomination, but Fisher thinks they stood in the following order, viz.: Roman Catholic, Church of England, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians. As interesting features



of the religious life of the community he mentions the following circumstances. There has been a rapid increase of the Roman Catholics, which include nearly all the French, and most of the Irish emigrants. There are two Vicar-Generals and fifteen priests in the province. The Bishop usually resides at Charlottetown. Salaries are from £100 to £200 currency per annum. There was only one Roman Catholic Church in St. John, while there were three in Madawaska; also chapels for the Indians at French Village (eleven miles above Fredericton) and at the Indian village at the mouth of the Tobique. The largest chapel in the province in 1837 was at Shediac.

The Church of England was then regarded to a large extent as the Established Church. "The Governor of the province," says Fisher, "is the ordinary and collates to all livings in the province." But while the nomination of rectors was vested in the Lieut.-Governor it was understood that appointments were made on the recommendation of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, who in his turn worked in conjunction with the parishioners and the Archdeacon of New Brunswick. The number of clergymen was twenty-eight and there were forty-three churches and chapels. The stipends were paid, in whole or in part, by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which for some years received a grant from the British Parliament. The "Stone Church" in St. John, built in 1824, Fisher says was the first church built of stone, erected in the province.

The Methodists are described as numerous and fast increasing, having 2,487 members in their societies, and twenty-one Wesleyan missionaries. The first Methodist Society in New Brunswick was formed in St. John in the autumn of 1791 by Mr. Abraham J. Bishop, a preacher from the Isle of Jersey. Conference was held once a year in May. A single man received as salary £30 to £40 per annum. A married man from £60 to £70, with house and fuel found, and for every child an additional allowance. There was a chairman for each district. The first Sunday School house was that built in St. John by the Germain Street congregation. Woodstock had the credit of erecting the first Methodist Chapel with a bell and steeple in the province.



The first chapel built there was opened in August, 1834, and was burnt to the ground in the fall of 1835 and replaced by a more spacious building in 1836.

The Baptists may be classed among the first settlers of the province. They were originally followers of George Whitefield or of Henry Alline, and the adherents were known as "New Lights." These people eventually received baptism by immersion and were formed into churches bearing the name of Baptist. In 1837 the number of their communicants was 2,355. The Baptist Seminary in Fredericton, was a high classical school under the superintendence of the Baptist Association of New Brunswick. It was opened on January 4, 1836. About fifty pupils could be accommodated in the boarding establishment. The rate for boarders had been *raised* from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per week. The attendance in 1837 was, males forty-five, females thirty-five, and the institution was open to all denominations. We need hardly wonder in view of the charges for board that it was not a financial success.

Most of the Presbyterians at this time were in connection with the Established Church of Scotland; but those who first established themselves in the country were seceders or dissenters from the Scottish Church. A few ministers sent out by Lady Huntington in the early days of the province were employed by the seceders, but there was no regular clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland till Dr. Burns came out in 1817.\* The number of Presbyterian ministers in 1837 was ten, and a Provincial Synod had been lately constituted. The salaries were from £200 to £300 per annum. There were then in St. John two Presbyterian Churches, one of which was built of brick; there was also a Covenanters Church, and a Christian Chapel. Fisher says that in Sheffield the seceders (Congregationalists) have a church which is the oldest in the province. The frame was first raised in Maugerville,† but the situation being found inconvenient it was removed to Sheffield on the ice and finished on the spot where it now stands.

\*The first Presbyterian minister to officiate in St. John was the Rev. James Fraser who had been educated at the University of Edinburgh. See Collections of New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 4, pp. 66, 113. He remained only a little while.

†See Raymond's St. John River History, pp. 349-351.



Respecting the next four chapters of "Notitia of New Brunswick," our space will only admit of brief extracts which must be culled here and there.

As already stated, the oldest settled part of the St. John River was established at Maugerville in 1763.

Soon afterwards a number of families made improvements in the adjoining townships of Burton, Gagetown, etc., and called the whole district the County of Sunbury in Nova Scotia. The date of its formation was April 30, 1765. The first commission of the Peace was dated August 11, 1766, and that for holding of Courts of Common Pleas in 1770. The Courts of Justice were held at Maugerville until 1783, when they were removed to St. John and afterwards established at Fredericton. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace served to regulate most of the internal police and government of the several counties. Here parish officers were appointed, parish and county taxes were apportioned, parish accounts were audited and settled, retailers and tavern keepers licensed and regulated, until the adoption of the municipal system at a later period. Fisher criticises the policy of selection of Colonial governors from the military profession, as not the best to furnish capable governors in a colony possessing free institutions. He says, "It is an old but none the less true saying that men may be led, but do not like to be driven." Evidently such governors as General Smyth and Sir Archibald Campbell were not *persona grata* with the common people. The author adds:

"It must be observed that the government of the towns in this province, with the exception of St. John, is not sufficiently popular. While the people boast of belonging to a nation possessing a high degree of freedom, they in fact have less share in the government than the inhabitants of what are called despotic countries; for even in Prussia the people have a greater share in the internal government of their towns than we have in New Brunswick, most of the parish officers in the several towns of that kingdom being chosen by the people, while in the towns in this province, with the exceptions of Church Wardens, the people have no voice in the choice of any of these officers. The Court of Sessions appoint some of them, the Governor the remainder. Without wishing to trench on the Royal prerogative in the person





of a Governor, it may be asked, who is the best judge of the qualifications and fitness of the several persons required to fill the different stations in the internal police of a town, the people who grow up with it, or a Governor who is a total stranger to it? Or why should the Sovereign's representative have the bother of filling up all the public stations, from the highest to a fire-warden or a member of the Board of Health? It is well known, indeed, that a Governor cannot know who are the proper persons for those offices himself, but must depend on the recommendation of one or two persons who engross his confidence, and who by that means in fact have always the nomination of their favorites, and may be said to govern the country. This fact being admitted, the government of our towns may be said to be in the hands of an oligarchy — the very worst kind of government."

It is worthy of note that the year in which the *Notitia* of New Brunswick was issued from the press, Charles Fisher, the eldest son of Peter Fisher, was elected for the first time to the House of Assembly. He was then a young barrister in his thirtieth year, and just beginning his career as a reformer. The able summary of the judicial system then pursued in the law courts of the province (see Chapter V,) may, I think, very probably have been penned by Charles Fisher, and the passage quoted above seems to be ear-marked as written or inspired by the young reformer. To him also I am disposed to attribute the detailed account of the system pursued at King's College, Fredericton, from which he had graduated a few years previously.

Col. Thomas Carleton was appointed the first Governor of the province on August 16, 1784, and under Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of New Brunswick the boundaries of the counties were fixed and names given to them, and the counties divided into parishes with shire-towns. Governor Carleton built his own residence in good taste. He returned to England in 1803 and remained there until he died in 1817, having been governor of the province thirty-three years. In 1816, shortly before the Governor's death, the legislature bought the property, including the mansion, from Lieut.-Governor Carleton for £3,500. The house was burnt down in September, 1825.

Fisher gives the Civil List of the province with a caustic comment on the disparity of the salaries, which he claims should



always bear a just proportion to the qualifications required and the services performed. A few items are here quoted, the salaries given in modern currency: Lieut.-Governor \$16,940; Commissioner of Crown Lands \$8,470; Chief Justice \$4,598; Puisne Judge \$3,146; Provincial Secretary \$7,121; Attorney-General \$2,662. The grant to the College was £1,000 stg. per annum, and the insignificant sum of £54 stg. was set apart for the Indians.

The author writes thus of the College in Fredericton:

"Kings College, situated on the acclivity of the hill in rear of the town, is no doubt the finest structure in the province. It is 171 feet long and 159 feet wide with projections. The principal materials used in the building are the dark gray stones found near its site. They are tastefully combined so as to form a beautiful variegated wall, particularly in the front, where the builder has given scope to his fancy with the happiest effect. The building contains twenty rooms for students, a chapel, two lecture rooms, besides accommodation for the Vice-President and Professors, in all forty-two rooms in the two main stories. In the other stories are accommodations for attendants, servants, and all other purposes requisite for a college of the highest class, which this is intended to be."

"The object of the college, as declared in the charter is, 'The education of youth in the principles of the Christian Religion, and their instruction in the various branches of literature and science.' The instruction of students is conducted (1836) by the Vice-President (Dr. Jacob) and two Professors (Dr. Somerville and Dr. Geo. McCawley). The day begins and concludes with divine worship. The time spent in daily lectures extends from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m. Students begin with such classical authors as Homer, Zenophon, Livy and Cicero, and advance to Euripides and Demosthenes. The Seniors enter on the study of Herodotus and Sophocles, and proceed to Thucydides, Aristotle, Pinder and Tacitus."

"The Oxford system of logic and the Cambridge course of mathematics are adopted by the respective Professors. There are lectures in History, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy and Divinity. On every Saturday the Vice-President posts in the hall a subject for a general theme or essay, which at the end of the following week every student is required to present. The academical year begins on the first Thursday in September and continues, with a vacation of three weeks at Christmas and a few days at Easter and Whitsuntide, to the beginning of July. Four



years are required for the B. A. degree, but residence seldom much exceeds three years. No religious test is imposed on admission to any degree except Divinity."

"The income includes an annual grant from the King of £1,000 stg. and a grant from the province of £1,000 currency. The college owns 6,000 acres adjoining Fredericton, the yearly income of which there is no data to ascertain."\*

Our author's notes on St. John are of considerable interest. Shipbuilding formed an important industry. In 1836 there were seventy-five vessels built by St. John firms, besides six others which were sent to England, making 25,000 tons of shipping built in St. John in one year, being more than one-fifth part of all that was built in the United States during the same period. At the close of 1836 the vessels owned in St. John included 41 ships, 38 barks, 39 brigs, 11 brigantines, 190 schooners, 8 steamers and 83 wood boats and sloops; a total of 410 vessels of 69,766 tons, navigated by 2,879 men. The total number of vessels entered at St. John and the small out bays in 1836 was 2,549, measuring 289,127 tons and navigated by 13,685 men. Imports for the year were valued at £1,185,473 stg., exports £555,709 stg.

Proceeding with his description our author says:

"Portland is connected with the city by a bridge on Mil Street. This place has two good iron foundries, the first erected in the province. It is also the place where most of the vessels fitted out at St. John are built, and having a great number of shipyards and timber ponds may well be called the workshop of the city.

"A little above the Falls is the site of the old Indian House, now known as Indiantown, where vessels of all descriptions wait for the proper tide to pass the Falls. There is a cluster of houses at the landing, most of which are occupied by raftsmen and others. Timber is laid up in a number of coves near Indiantown till wanted, when it is taken through the Falls in small rafts and put into ponds where it is properly squared and made ready for shipment. Near Indiantown is a steam mill for sawing deals, etc., the first in the province. During the season the place is the

\*The Land referred to was very rocky and unproductive and the income, therefore, very small.



resort of all kinds of river craft. About 1837 the St. John Mills and Canal Co., composed chiefly of enterprising American capitalists, cut a canal at Union Point (formerly known as Cunnabell's Point) where they built a block of mills with eight gangs of saws to which sixteen more saws were to be added. Messrs. C. D. and T. C. Everett erected here also a commodious flour mill." About this time a wooden bridge was in the course of erection from the Carleton shore to the highlands opposite, a distance of 1,400 feet. The span across the river from the towers was 435 feet and the height 80 feet. Fisher says, "This work when completed will be an ornament to the city, but it is to be feared it will never repay the spirited proprietor a fair return on the capital invested." It certainly never did, for it fell soon afterwards, and many lives were lost, and no attempt of a like kind was made until some sixteen years later. Carleton is said at this time to contain a neat Episcopal Church and Meeting House; it has a good fishery and some share in shipbuilding. "The site of old Fort Frederick is still to be seen at the extremity of the point, facing St. John, but is fast mouldering into oblivion."

At this period the old low wooden houses in St. John were fast disappearing and the city greatly improving in appearance. Many new buildings of stone or brick were in the course of construction; also a number of substantial wharves, crowded with lofty stores and warehouses. The public buildings included a handsome new stone court house (lately burned), facing on King Square; a stone building for the mayor's office and other public functionaries; stone and wooden barracks in Lower Cove; Bank of New Brunswick of stone, still standing on Prince William street; a Grammar School building on Charlotte street, near Horsfield; a Madras School of brick and one of wood; a jail, poor house, cholera and marine hospitals, nine churches and two market houses. Just before the publication of Fisher's Notitia, a destructive fire had consumed 115 houses and stores, among them the best in the city. More than a third of the business part of the city, with property to the value of \$1,000,000, was swept out of existence.

At this time there used to congregate on Market Square about 150 public carts and coaches. There was a good deal of feeling





in the community opposed to the erection on the square of a spacious brick building, intended for a market house, to replace the former building there which had been used as a Court House, Common Council Chamber, butcher's market, etc. It was felt by many that no building of such large dimensions should be permitted on the Square, and that it would be much better for the public health and convenience if the filthy sewerage from the butchers' stalls was not allowed to drain down into the Market Slip. The square, they contended, should be kept entirely clear, and another site selected for the building. The civic government was at this time in the hands of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen and six assistants, under the style of "The mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the City of St. John." Other officers included a sheriff, coroner, common clerk, chamberlain, high constable, six inferior constables and two marshals. The city revenues amounted to £5,000 per annum.

At this time there was an annual drawing of the fishing lots of the harbor in the month of January. Freemen and widows of freemen, on payment of one shilling, were entitled to share in the drawing. The privilege of *first choice* of the lots was generally sold to the fishermen, by the person obtaining it, for from £40 to £50; subsequent drawings gradually decreased in value, the numbers above 100 being not saleable. There were in St. John at this time four wards and two in Carleton.

The city had four incorporated banks, the Bank of New Brunswick, Commercial Bank, City Bank and a branch of the Bank of British North America, all gone out of existence. The incorporated companies included a Bridge Company, capital £20,000; Water Company, capital £20,000; Stage Coach Company, capital £25,000; St. John Mills and Canal Company, capital £37,000; Whale Fishing Company, capital £50,000; Fire Insurance Company, capital £50,000. Also a Chamber of Commerce. In the report of the latter for 1837 mention is made of the appointment of a committee to investigate the probable expense of a railway between Shediac and St. John.

There were such societies in existence as the St. George, St. Andrews, St. Patrick, Albion, British American, Friendly Sons



of Erin and Temperance societies. There was also a St. John Society Library and a Circulating Library. In the year 1837 provision was made for the erection of a Penitentiary in what is now East St. John, and for a Lunatic Asylum near the Bridge, now called the Provincial Hospital for Nervous Diseases.

The St. Andrews and Quebec Railroad Association was formed about the year 1836. Its chief supporters belonged to St. Andrews and the County of Charlotte. The Association was incorporated with a proposed capital of £750,000. The distance from St. Andrews to Quebec as then surveyed was more than 270 miles. The sum of £10,000, obtained from Government in 1836, was spent in exploring the projected route which ran north to the valley of the Aroostook and thence northwesterly through the "disputed territory" (since awarded to Maine by the Ashburton treaty) until it arrived at the River St. Lawrence near Quebec. The estimated cost of the road was about £1,000,000 currency. Fisher says that according to American engineers it costs £600 a mile to keep a railroad in good order, and the proposed railroad would require £140,000 annually for repairs and maintenance. He doubts whether, if the road were finished, any company would take and operate it as a free gift.

St. Andrews at this time was the third largest town in the province, but its trade was dwindling, and the border towns of St. Stephen, Calais and Milltown were fast rising in importance.

Our author devotes an interesting chapter to the question of the trade of New Brunswick, from which the following extracts are taken:

"The Loyalists who came to New Brunswick included among them none who might be called capitalists, who could afford to invest their money in a trade that was subject to many casualties and required a long time for a return. Had there been at the first sufficient capital employed in prosecuting the fisheries, erecting mills, building vessels and procuring lumber — for which materials were abundant, as well as a sufficiency of men to carry on the different branches of business, from the number of disbanded soldiers, refugees and others who had come to the country and who no doubt would have remained in it had labor been provided for them — there is no doubt that a flourishing trade



would have soon sprung up. But this was not the case. Everything had to be created and a monopoly of abundant markets was of little avail to persons who had but little to sell."

"As a token of respect and gratitude to Lord Sheffield for his continued, though mistaken, efforts to advance the interests of the colonies by giving them an exclusive privilege to the West India markets, the province procured a full length portrait of his Lordship which was placed in the Province Hall."

"At the period of which I am now speaking the exports to Great Britain were very small. A few ships were built and sent home to sell, masts and spars were also shipped, furs formed a respectable item in the home payments; but the principal source from which payments for British goods were derived was the large sums annually drawn by the half-pay officers, and the sums expended by government and the military."

"The period when our trade with the mother country assumed a new and important character may be referred to 1808, when the shipping of squared pine and other timber commenced. The continental system enforced by France in 1806, and the American non-intercourse acts of 1807 opened the eyes of the British nation to the danger of trusting to foreigners for a supply of articles of the first necessity. The result was the revival of the colonial system of Great Britain by which she frustrated the designs of France and America. The timber trade has gone on rapidly advancing for a number of years. Squared pine, or ton timber, forms a great item in the remittances from this province to the parent state; birch timber also forms a considerable article of our trade and is very abundant in the country."

"Next to squared timber deals are the most important article of export and bid fair soon to exceed all others. From the great quantities of excellent spruce in the province, the great facilities of water power and the number of mills erecting in various parts of the province, there is reason to believe that the deal trade will soon be the staple trade of the country. This branch of our trade has risen up within a few years, its progress has been rapid and it bids fair to become one of the main sources of our wealth; and while the pine timber is falling off for want of material, the deal trade is increasing. There are at present more than 400 saw mills in operation, and from the amount of capital and enterprise engaged, the number of mills is weekly augmenting, and the increasing trade in sawed lumber will more than offset the decreasing trade in pine ton timber."

"By proper management the supply for this branch of trade can be rendered almost perpetual. Spruce is found in most parts of the province in great abundance, and when one growth is cut



another will succeed. The supply could easily be rendered certain by allowing the waste districts where the timber abounds, to remain for the growth of spruce, and always to leave the young trees as much as possible uninjured. By always cutting only the large trees from year to year and preserving the small growth, a supply for a long time may be ensured. Masts, spars, lathwood, etc., are shipped to Great Britain, and boards, planks, shingles, staves, etc., to the West Indies."

Fisher's little book abounds with allusions to the lumbering interest. As a practical lumberman himself he writes intelligently on the subject and at greater length than many of our early writers. At the time of writing he says that Charlotte County is the greatest county for sawed lumber in the province.

"Scarcely a stream or lake suitable for the purpose but has its mills in operation, while the establishments at St. Stephen, Milltown, St. George and other places exceed anything of the kind in the province. Calais is a flourishing place, connected with St. Stephen by a toll bridge, having abundance of saw mills and abundance of lawyers. It has been stated that every two saws at this place support one lawyer!"

At the Grand Falls on the St. John, Sir John Caldwell, formerly Receiver General of Lower Canada, had lately erected a large substantial mill where several gangs of saws and other machinery were in operation. The deals were taken to the place of rafting, a distance of about half a mile, on frames drawn by horses.

Notwithstanding the great fire of 1825, the Miramichi continued to be one of the first rivers in the province for pine and spruce lumber. There was formed in 1837 an association called "The New Brunswick Mill Company," with a capital of £100,000, for the purpose of erecting twenty mills annually at Miramichi, until they had completed the number of one hundred. Mr. Cunard's mills at Miramichi, on April 29, 1837, cut 42,271 feet of deals between 5 a. m. and 7 p. m., being the produce of 320 logs and employing fifty workmen.

Other examples of the expansion of the lumber trade abound in the pages of "Notitia." Mention is made of the Nashwaaksis Manufacturing Company, which had a capital of £50,000, with





mills for sawing planks, boards and deals, circular saws for cutting laths, scantling, etc., also a grist-mill and oat crushing mill, a foundry and smithy.

In the vicinity of the settlements the pine was already becoming scarce. The Tobique, formerly famed for its red pine, had been denuded of its treasures by a forest fire, but on the Meriumpticook and other upper tributaries of the St. John there was yet an abundance of pines of the loftiest growths.

The coal fields on Grand Lake supplied the troops in this province with coal as early as the first years of the last century. The coal mines were known and utilized to a limited extent, as early as the time of Charles La Tour, nearly three centuries ago. The "Salmon River Coal Company" in 1837 employed thirty to forty men. The workmen had succeeded in boring about 140 feet. The mining company had a capital of £20,000.

The first attempt at the whaling business was made in 1832, when a vessel was fitted out in St. John by Charles C. Stewart. Later several fine ships were employed in the whale fishery by merchants of St. John and Charlotte County, which gave fairly good returns to their owners. In 1837 there were six St. John vessels thus employed, three of which were fitted out by the Mechanic's Whale Fishing Company.

Mr. Fisher has some interesting references to various places in New Brunswick which we can only just mention in closing.

The Pokiok gorge on the St. John River, probably seventy to eighty feet perpendicular, "is a sublime and imposing spectacle."

The site of the old fort at Jemseg is mentioned. This old fort was in existence as early as 1670, and was then, no doubt, the principal French fortification on the St. John. Old Fort Cumberland, formerly called Beausejour, taken from the French by Colonel Monckton in 1755, was at this time (1837) nearly in ruins. Vestiges remained of the fort at Bay Verte, called Fort Monckton.

The present city of Moncton was but a small trading place, known as "The Bend," with a few stores and houses, mills and a wharf where vessels at times came to load lumber.

The establishment of Mr. Jardine, about three miles above Richibucto, had given rise to a village, where there was a good



shipyard. Pine was already getting scarce in most of the lumber districts, but spruce was very abundant, and quantities of deals were annually produced. Richibucto was a place of considerable trade, being an excellent shipping station, and a very pleasant place for a summer residence, being free from the "dense and tedious fogs," so frequent along the shores of the Bay of Fundy.

A very interesting account of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company deserves our consideration. A tract of 500,000 acres, on the east side of the River St. John in the County of York, was purchased by this company in the year 1833. The center of the company's operations was in the Parish of Stanley, and in the two years that followed the purchase of the tract zealous efforts were made to promote its settlement. The company made a road from Fredericton to Stanley, and in the course of the next few years a considerable tract of land was cleared and under cultivation, with a population of several hundred souls.

"The germ of the company's future town was called Stanley, in honor of Lord Stanley, the then colonial Secretary. It was situated on the Nashwaak River, about thirty-five miles above its confluence with the St. John. It had already good saw and grist mills, several stores, and a number of good dwelling houses, a school house, which also answers for a church, and other works in progress. Materials were also collecting to build a small church on what is called Church Hill, an eminence which overlooks this miniature town. A number of small lots have been laid out contiguous to the village, on which houses are built, and small farms improved. Stanley Village had not a tree felled for the purpose of cultivation prior to August 1834; it now exhibits a succession of small improved farms with families actively engaged in agricultural and other occupations."

A publication by Ackermann, issued in 1836, contains a number of colored sketches showing the character of the proposed settlement. The plates, and accompanying description, show the pioneer explorers encamped at the Nashwaak Stream; the erecting of the milldam; the process of clearing the town-flat; the saw mill completed; the tavern at Stanley; the Royal Road designed to extend from Fredericton to Quebec, and many other views. Many of the dwellings of the village, as designed by



Mr. Stead the architect, were after the style of the Swiss chalets, and were rather picturesque. Fisher observes:

“When a number of families settle together in the wilderness, they are a mutual help and comfort to each other, are enabled to form schools and provide the means of religious instruction. It also prevents the children sinking into a state of debasement.” [A good deal more to the same effect.]

Unfortunately many of the immigrants were very unsuitable. A good many of them came from the Isle of Skye, some were gentlemen not accustomed to farming at home, much less to clearing land in the depths of the forest. Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia visited Stanley in the summer of 1835, and preached to quite a congregation amongst the blackened stumps on the hill where it was proposed to build the church. The erection of this edifice was, however, deferred for more than forty years, and the school house continued to be used for a church. When the writer of this paper went to Stanley in 1878, however, the people with commendable zeal set to work and in the course of a year and six months built a handsome church with a very comfortable and well planned parsonage adjoining it.

The Land Company about the year 1836, laid out the village of Campbelltown on the Miramichi, some little distance east of Stanley. The total number of settlers on the company's lands in 1837 exceeded sixty families, among them “persons of property and intelligence sufficient to form a good society.”

An enterprising American, named Thomas Boies, built a small town of his own on the banks of the Miramichi, about four miles below Campbelltown. It included an extensive store, a tavern, tradesmen's shop, good mills, and almost every sort of building necessary for a good trading establishment. He also provided a schoolmaster and a church building open to all denominations.

The references to the lumber industry in Fisher's Notitia are many. In addition to those already mentioned he speaks of a large establishment of excellent mills on the Penniack Stream; of a range of mills of an improved construction near the mouth of the Nashwaak, which cut last year about 2,000,000 feet of lumber. These were the fore-runners of Alex. Gibson's famous mills.



There were mills on the Oromocto River, at Black River in St. John County, and at Digdeguash in Charlotte County. At Lancaster there was an extensive industry. A company was formed with a capital of £100,000. They erected a number of mills with gangs of saws, circular saws, machinery for cutting laths, clapboards, shingles, etc. The company owned 50,000 acres of timber lands. The water power, about 400 horse power. Musquash also had a number of good mills. Large quantities of deals were manufactured at Shepody and at Bathurst. But in the early days of the province Charlotte County was pre-eminent as the greatest producer of sawed lumber in the New Brunswick.

Mr. Fisher observes that there is:

“Scarcely a stream or lake suitable for the purpose but has its mills in operation or in progress, while the establishments at St. Stephen, Milltown, St. George and other places exceed anything of the kind in the province. The villages of Upper and Lower Milltown are seemingly the natural parents of the mill family, the whole country is crowded with them. St. George has a number of good saw mills, having the whole course of the River Magaguadavic with its noble lakes to furnish lumber.”

Shipbuilding had become another productive source of export trade to the mother country. In addition to the extensive business in the shipyards at St. John and its vicinity, there was a very large shipbuilding industry at Miramichi, where in 1836 eight vessels, measuring 3,147 tons, were built. Ships were built by the Jardines at Richibucto, also at St. Martins, Black River and at the mouth of the Oromocto. A number of vessels were also annually building on the Kennebecasis, below Hampton, for the merchants of St. John.

The fishery was and still is, a very important industry in Charlotte County. The waters of Passamaquoddy Bay abound with cod, haddock, pollock and other fish. Mr. Fisher says:

“Grand Manan is unrivalled as a great fishing station. But there are only fourteen to twenty small vessels usually engaged in the business, the yearly produce of which does not exceed £3,000. Grand Manan has a population of about 1,000 souls. Campobello has about the same population. It is the property of Captain Owen, R. N. Many of the inhabitants are his tenants. Quantities of cod and other fish are taken here and sold uncured to the Americans. Deer Island and Indian Island are places of





considerable importance in regard to the fishery, particularly the former, which is very populous."

References to the fine farming districts of the province fill considerable space in the Notitia.

"Stock and the produce of the dairy may be considered the staple products of Westmorland County. The great Tantramars Marsh in Sackville is upwards of fifteen miles in length and in some places over four in breadth, most of it is dyked. After mowing time this marsh appears to the spectator, standing on Fort Cumberland or some other elevated spot, dotted with an innumerable number of hay stacks which are lost in the distance. The cows in this county are generally the largest in the province. The tides roll in with great velocity making a loud noise, which is heard at a great distance and animals, with manifest signs of terror, immediately make for the highlands."

"Maugerville and Sheffield comprise a rich strip of intervale. The houses are in general neat, barns spacious, country highly cultivated, settlers substantial land holders and good husbandmen. The whole country like a continued garden; the roads excellent. The farmers in Canning seldom commence their labors till June, but so productive is the soil that in a few weeks the country exhibits the most exuberant vegetation. Indian corn flourishes in the highest perfection. Indeed a more fertile soil can scarcely be conceived than is found from Maugerville to the Jemseg."

"Sussex Vale is a low lying plain covered with neat country seats, well adorned with beautiful fields in the highest state of cultivation. The proprietors of some of these charming seats may well rank with the most scientific agriculturists in the province. Near the head of the Vale are a number of salt springs."

The parish of St. Mary, York County, afforded an asylum in 1783 to the survivors of the old forty-second regiment. Many of their children are among the principal farmers on the Nashwaak, and a few old settlers are yet living. It seems as if the old Donalds will never wear out. They were visited by the Rev. Dr. McGregor of Pictou in 1805. He says that having been so long neglected a few of them had turned Methodist or Baptist but the "best and the worst of them remained Presbyterians."

And here we must bring our extracts and comments on the two publications of Peter Fisher to a close. Enough has been now submitted to show that the New Brunswick Historical Society does well to honour the memory of Peter Fisher, our first local historian.



## APPENDIX.

The circumstances which attended the arrival of the Loyalist Regiments at St. John are detailed in the following letter of Major Augustin Prevost, inspector-general of the regiments, who was appointed to superintend their disbandment. The letter was addressed to Ward Chipman, then in New York:

“St. John’s River, September 29, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR:

We arrived here Friday, the twenty-sixth of September, the transports “Martha” and “Esther” excepted. General Fox and Colonel Winslow were just set out for their expedition up the river. They are expected back in a few days. I need not tell you how much I wish to meet Winslow.

It is impossible to describe to you the confusion we are in at this place for want of sufficient craft to transport the troops to their destination. I hope General Fox will exert his authority to relieve them from the distress they labor under, otherwise it is impossible to say what will become of one-half of them when once they are disbanded. I am preparing to set out in a small craft, which I have hired at my own risk, with 120 barrels of provisions, for the place where the grand depot is to be made, and where I dare say the whole will winter, called St. Ann, in Sunbury Township, ninety miles distant; but this I will not do before the General’s arrival and my exertions are no longer wanted at this place — and by the twentieth of next month I hope to return so as to take my passage to New York on board the same transport that brought me here.

I can say little of the country as yet, but on my return I shall be a tolerable judge, when I will give you every information I can collect — till then believe me to be with affectionate and sincere regard and esteem, my dear Sir,

Your obliged and most humble servant,

AUG. PREVOST.

WARD CHIPMAN, ESQ.

The “Fall Fleet” sailed from Sandy Hook, N. Y., on the fifteenth of September, 1783, under convoy of a couple of British frigates. The troops were under command of their



senior officer, Lieut.-Col. Richard Hewlett, of DeLancey's 2nd Battalion, as we learn from the following letter:

"New York, September 12, 1783.

SIR:

You are to take command of the troops which are to proceed to the River St. John's in the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. On your arrival you will see that the stores intended for them are duly delivered, and you will take such steps as shall be necessary for the several corps proceeding immediately to the places allotted to them for their settlement, where they are to be disbanded on their arrival, provided it does not exceed the twentieth of October, on or before which day Capt. Prevost, Deputy Inspector of British American Forces, has directions to disband them, for which purpose you will give him the necessary assistance.

The disembarkation of the troops must not be delayed as the transports must return with all possible despatch. Directions have been given to Mr. Colville, assistant agent of all small craft at the River St. John's, to afford every assistance in his power to the corps in getting to their places of destination.

I am, etc., etc.,

GUY CARLETON.

Lieut.-Col. Hewlett wrote from "St. John's, Bay of Fundy," on the twenty-ninth of September, to Sir Guy Carleton:

"This day a small party of the Guides and Pioneers are landed, which proceed from the Falls up the River St. John's tomorrow if the weather permits. I have given the necessary orders for the troops to disembark tomorrow and encamp first above the Falls, from which place they shall be forwarded with all possible expedition to the place of their destination, but am much afraid the want of small craft will greatly prevent their dispatch."

On the thirteenth of October Hewlett again writes to Sir Guy Carleton:

"This day the entire body of the troops were disbanded and are getting up the river as speedily as possible. The want of small craft is the only delay they have. This will be handed you by Major Prevost to whom I and the officers commanding corps are under many obligations for his great attention and quickness of dispatch."



## ELIAS HARDY, COUNCILLOR-AT-LAW

BY REV. W. O. RAYMOND, LL.D.

In a nameless grave in the old burial ground, almost under the shadow of the Court House, repose the ashes of Elias Hardy, a man whose name was almost a household word in this community during the fifteen years that followed the founding of the City in 1783. His death at a comparatively early age, and the fact that none of his descendants remain in the province suffice to account for the lack of appreciation on the part of our modern citizens of the services rendered in the early days of St. John by one of her most distinguished sons.

Elias Hardy was the son of a non-conformist minister. He was born at Farnham, in the county of Surrey, in the suburbs of London, in 1744. He was educated for the bar and admitted Attorney and Solicitor in the Courts at Westminster Hall. Led by the spirit of adventure he decided to emigrate to "the King's Provinces in America", and while yet in early manhood came to Virginia. He went afterwards to New York, where he formed a legal partnership with one John C. L. Roome and entered on the practice of his profession.

The disputes between the old Colonies and the Mother Country were now beginning to wax warm and ere long culminated in the Revolutionary War. During the ensuing years of storm and stress, Hardy remained in New York practising his profession as he had opportunity. He was brought into the limelight by an incident which occurred late in the summer of 1783, and which was the cause of not a little excitement among the Loyalists who were then congregated in New York.

The story, briefly told, is as follows: An association of fifty-five Loyalists, many of them of considerable prominence, others less conspicuous, submitted a memorial to Sir Guy Carleton, the Commander-in-Chief, praying for grants of lands in Nova Scotia (which of course at that time included New Brunswick). It was proposed that the grants should equal those reserved for field officers of the army, namely 5,000 acres each. This would





be equivalent in all to a tract of 275,000 acres, or about 430 square miles, and was supposed to include the best locations and most fertile lands on the River St. John. At once there were mutterings of a coming storm both at New York and at Parr Town. On the 8th of August a meeting was held in New York and a committee, consisting of Samuel Hake, Elias Hardy, Capt. Henry Law and Tertullus Dickenson, was appointed to prepare and present a memorial to the Commander-in-Chief concerning the matter. The memorial, which was prepared by Hardy, was in excellent form and a very able presentation of the case. We may quote the following paragraphs:

“Your memorialists are much alarmed at an application, which they are informed fifty-five persons have joined in to your Excellency, soliciting tracts of land amounting in the aggregate to 275,000 acres, and that they have dispatched agents to survey the unlocated lands and select the most fertile spots and desirable situations.”

“Your memorialists cannot but regard the grants in question, if carried into effect, as amounting nearly to a total exclusion of themselves and families, who, if they become settlers, must either content themselves with barren or remote lands or submit to be tenants to those whom they consider as their superiors in nothing but deeper art and keener policy.”

There were at this time several thousands of Loyalists at the mouth of the River St. John, all anxiously awaiting some definite information as to their lands. These lands had been promised them in the King's name before they left New York. The hope of re-establishing themselves in new homes on British soil was the beacon-star that had led them northward and eastward. But now landed in the Acadian wilderness, they found no adequate preparations for their reception. Congregated in huts and tents on the rocky hillsides at St. John, weeks and months passed in uncertainty and in helpless inactivity on account of the delay in allotting lands.

The warm-hearted and impulsive Edward Winslow, who was doing what he could to stir up the authorities in Halifax, speaks of the poignant distress of the disbanded loyal regiments. “We like the country,” they said, “only give us some place we can call our own and laws for our protection.”



Governor Parr's presence in St. John was certainly very desirable in the fall of 1783, but he never planted foot in the town which had been named in his honour. He tried to quell the hostile demonstrations, which at length broke forth in Parr Town, by removing some of the ringleaders across the Bay and blamed the "confounded lawyers" for the dissensions.

Meanwhile the firmness and decision of Sir Guy Carleton did much to solve the difficulty. Hardy and his committee waited upon him with their memorial and met with a most favorable reception. It was his opinion, Sir Guy said, that no person should be allowed to take up lands but those who meant to settle on them until the Loyalists were first served. He assured the committee that he would do everything in his power for them and believed that they would have no cause to complain.

As an outcome of this episode, Elias Hardy became the recognized champion of the cause of the common people. He came to St. John and was employed by the government in promoting the escheat of unsettled tracts of land on the river, which had been granted during the last fifteen or twenty years and remained unimproved by the grantees. Progress in the Court of escheats was very slow. Communication with Halifax was difficult. There were no Courts north of the Bay of Fundy, and what is now New Brunswick had only four members in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. The emergency was so great that a new province was formed, and Col. Thomas Carleton came out in the fall of 1784 as its first Governor. Courts of justice were speedily established and were hailed with great satisfaction. Benjamin Marston, a cousin of Edward Winslow and afterwards first sheriff of the county of Northumberland, writes in his diary under date February 1, 1785:

"The Supreme Court of Judicature opened this day at St. John for the first time. The Chief Justice gave a very judicious, sensible charge to the Grand Jury. The advantage of a dernier resort for justice in all civil and criminal cases will be very great to the people of this new Province. They will find a mighty odds between having justice travelling regularly about among them and being obliged to cross the Bay of Fundy and travel 130 miles to Halifax."



The clamor for lands still continued, and Elias Hardy was kept busy in promoting escheats and drafting memorials to the Governor in Council. Governor Carleton was assiduous and sat in Council three days in each week at the old Council Chamber on Germain street. The extent of the labors of the Council can only be appreciated by those who have examined the immense number of land memorials on file in the Provincial archives. (It may be observed, in passing, that three years have been spent by one of the staff of the Dominion Archives in classifying and indexing these old memorials for lands, and the work is not yet complete).

In addition to his services in procuring lands for the new settlers Hardy was employed by the British Government in forwarding the claims of the Loyalists for compensation for their losses in the war. He was admitted an attorney at the bar of New Brunswick on the occasion of the opening of the Supreme Court by Chief Justice Ludlow on February 1, 1785. He was not long in being recognized as a leader in his profession.

About this time steps were taken for the incorporation of the city of St. John and the consequent disuse of the name of "Parr Town." Edward Winslow writes on January 13, 1785, to his friend Chipman: "I have never been an enthusiast for towns and cities, but I emphatically endorse the selection of Col. G. G. Ludlow as mayor, and if Mr. Hardy is induced to accept the appointment of Common Clerk and the Council completed as planned I shall expect to see Halifax evacuated by the most respectable of its inhabitants and Shelburne totally eclipsed, and that immediately."

The date of the incorporation was May 18, 1785. Hardy did not take the position of Common Clerk, which passed to the nestor of the New Brunswick bar, Bartholomew Crannell, commonly known as "Father Crannell."

On the death of Bartholomew Crannell, in 1790, there were two applicants for the vacancy, namely Elias Hardy and Gabriel V. Ludlow, the latter a son of the first Mayor and a nephew of the Chief Justice. Stephen Sewell, who was at that time a law student with Ward Chipman, wrote to his brother Jonathan (afterwards Chief Justice at Quebec) as follows:



“Gabe Ludlow has lost the Clerk’s office in a strange manner. It is considered a curious circumstance by all the Whigs here. He had made application to the Chief Justice a long time ago to use his influence in his behalf, but as the demon of ill luck would have it the Chief never mentioned it to the Governor till the latter showed him an application from Hardy, which the Governor considered entitled to priority. The Chief Justice was excessively urgent for his nephew, the Governor was as strenuous for Hardy and appointed him. It is supposed by some that the whole is political business, but I am convinced that what chiefly actuated the Governor was his strict adherence to his word, for I am told he has declared that the first applicant for any vacant office, if the person is capable and not immoral, shall be appointed.”

Hardy retained the position until his death. His services were especially valuable in connection with much of our early civic legislation. For years nearly all the Acts and by-laws connected with the government of the city were drafted by his hand. He also filled the offices of surrogate for the city and county of St. John and of Clerk of the Court of Chancery. Meanwhile he continued to build up a large legal practice. Among his first influential clients was William Davidson, the well known founder of Miramichi, where he established himself in 1765 and was soon extensively engaged in lumbering, fishing, shipbuilding and trading.

During the American Revolution, Davidson was so harassed by Yankee privateers that he removed to Maugerville where he had as a neighbour, during the latter years of the war, James Simonds of St. John. These two gentlemen became involved in litigation in which the right to a tract of 10,000 acres, below Fredericton, was at issue. Hardy appeared for Davidson and Ward Chipman for Simonds. The proceedings are on file in records of the Court of Chancery and it was some years before the case was settled.\* Hardy’s connection with the suit served to establish his reputation and led to the historic suit of James Simonds against his old business partners, Hazen, Jarvis and White. It also paved the way to his political career.

The first provincial election was held in November, 1785, under an exceedingly liberal franchise, as we learn from an

\*The tract was known as Morrisania.





announcement in the Royal Gazette of the 18th October, 1785, to the effect that "All males of full age, inhabitants of the city and county of St. John, that have resided three months therein are entitled to their votes on this occasion." Hardy was at this time regarded as the leader of the democratic party in St. John, but to the surprise of many of his friends he issued the following card: "Mr. Hardy returns his thanks to such of his friends as have been pleased to declare their intention of voting for him at the election as a representative for this city and county; but begs they will not reserve their votes, as he does not propose offering himself as a candidate."

The sequel, however, will appear in the following extract from Sheriff Marston's diary, under date Thursday, November 17, 1785. He writes at Miramichi:

"Today held an election for two members in the General Assembly. William Davidson, an inhabitant of Miramichi, who has great influence over the people here, many of them holding lands under him and many others being in his employ, was chosen for one, and by the same influence Elias Hardy, an attorney, an inhabitant of the city of St. John was chosen as the other. This will disappoint some of my friends who hoped that George Leonard, Esq., and Capt. Stanton Hazard would have obtained the election. But 'twas impossible. They were unknown here and we who recommended them were but strangers. 'Tis therefore no wonder we did not succeed against an artful man who had an influence and knew how to use it.'

The poll in the various counties in olden time was open for about ten days, being moved about from place to place, open voting being the rule, so that the state of the poll was always known.

The Government party in St. John were strong in the district of the "Upper Cove," and the opposition were just as strong in the "Lower Cove," and as the election progressed the hostility between the two parties became intense. On the evening of the third day a tremendous riot took place at the Mallard House, on the corner of King and Germain streets, in which windows were smashed by the democratic party, who were the attacking faction. A number were injured on both sides, brickbats being



freely used, and eventually it was found necessary to call out the troops in garrison at Fort Howe to support the civil authority. Several arrests were made, one of the Lower Cove candidates being among the number. At the subsequent trial some of the rioters were punished by fine and imprisonment.

At the conclusion of the voting the opposition candidates had seemingly a considerable majority, but a scrutiny was demanded and Sheriff Oliver at its conclusion returned Messrs. Bliss, Billopp, Chipman, Pagan, Hazard and McGeorge as elected, while the Lower Cove candidates, Messrs. Dickinson, Lightfoot, Grim, Bonsall, Boggs and Reid were declared defeated. An appeal was afterwards made to the House of Assembly, which sustained the Sheriff's return. It is not necessary to enter here into the merits of the controversy. Hardy, although a reformer, was not a bitter partizan, and seems to have shown his sagacity in keeping out of the turmoil of the first St. John election. As a member of the legislature his services were important. He was painstaking and industrious in committee work and his eloquence and ability in debate soon obtained for him a leading place.

Upon the dissolution of the House in 1792 he was elected a member for the city and county of St. John. In the same election Ward Chipman suffered defeat. When the third House of Assembly was elected Hardy was again pressed to be a candidate, but was obliged to decline on account of the state of his health.

Throughout his life he was an extremely busy man. In addition to his civic and parliamentary duties and the calls of his profession he had the social claims of the Masonic Order, of which he was one of the founders in St. John.

As an all round lawyer tradition says Elias Hardy had no peer. Among the important cases in which he was concerned was that of Benedict Arnold *versus* Munson Hoyt. Arnold was for a time a resident of St. John. The suit was brought by the General against his former business partner for slander. Hoyt it seems accused Arnold of setting fire to their store in Lower Cove, on which he had recently effected insurance to the amount



of £5,000. The store with its contents was entirely consumed. The case came to trial before Judge Isaac Allen at the September Court in 1790. Arnold claimed damages to the amount of £5,000 but the jury only awarded him twenty shillings, which was regarded practically as a verdict for the defendant. Attorney-General Bliss and Ward Chipman appeared for Arnold, and Elias Hardy for Hoyt. The St. John public apparently had not a high opinion of Arnold's integrity and their sympathy was with the defendant.

Another celebrated case in which Hardy was retained, and which proved a lucrative one for the lawyers, was that of William Hazen *versus* James Simonds. The case was the outcome of business transactions between the parties extending over a period of twenty years, a large amount of property, including ownership of the Marsh from the city out to the Manor House, being involved. The case was of so intricate a character that it was before the Courts, in one form or another, for twenty-five years. Chipman was retained to look after the interests of his father-in-law Hazen, and Simonds was represented by Elias Hardy. The proceedings were protracted and the documents connected therewith voluminous. Chipman on July 19, 1791, filed a bill of complaint against Simonds — a formidable roll of parchment comprising 12,000 words. Hardy on February 3, 1792, filed the answer of Simonds containing 5,800 words.

Then on November 17, 1794, Hardy filed the cross bill of Simonds against Hazen, Jarvis and White, containing 17,000 words written on a roll of paper 20 feet 6 inches long and 20 inches in width. Not to be outdone Chipman filed an answer in behalf of his clients of 19,600 words.

The proceedings of this old Suit in Chancery are preserved in the record office in Fredericton. The student will find much information in these venerable parchments concerning the mode of procedure in vogue in the early days of the province, and also will gain some idea of the industry and ability of men who were giants in their profession in their generation. To the student of our local history the records are of equal interest as they shed a floor of light upon the history of St. John during the twenty years that ante-date the coming of the Loyalists.



Enough has now been related to show the place held by Hardy in public life. A few words may be added with regard to his character in private life. Here we may quote from the brief obituary notice printed by Christopher Sower in the Royal Gazette of January 1, 1799:

"Elias Hardy formed but few friendships, but in these he was always sincere, and the brilliancy of his wit and good humour made him the life of every circle of which he formed a part. He has left a wife and four children to lament the loss of an affectionate husband and indulgent parent." The home of Elias Hardy stood on Lot No. 417 on the south side of King street midway between Charlotte and Germain. He purchased one-half of the lot from the Rev. John Beardsley in 1795 for the modest sum of ten shillings.

The death of Elias Hardy took place at his residence on Christmas day, 1798, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, "after a long illness which he bore with the greatest fortitude." Three days later his mortal form was borne to its last resting-place in the old burial ground attended by a large concourse of St. John's leading citizens.

Hardy's wife was Emma, daughter of Peter Huggeford, M. D. In the Revolution Dr. Huggeford was surgeon of the Loyal American Regiment, raised by Col. Beverley Robinson of New York. The Chaplain of the regiment was Rev. John Beardsley. The lots drawn by the chaplain and surgeon were on Charlotte street, nearly opposite the Dufferin Hotel. Other officers of the regiment were Hon. John Robinson, mayor of the city at the time of his death in 1828, and John Ward, grandfather of the late Clare Ward, who died in 1846 at the age of ninety-two years, being at that time the oldest half-pay officer in the British service. Dr. Huggeford was living in New York in 1800 and his daughter Mrs. Hardy also went there to live with her children after the death of her husband.

But while friends and kindred returned to the United States, all that was mortal of Elias Hardy remains with us, and though the exact spot where he was laid at rest is not known, this we know that the city of the Loyalists retains within her bounds





to-day all that could die of one of her distinguished founders. His ashes lie beneath the shadow of the meteor flag that waves aloft above the neighbouring hall of justice, and his memory is now preserved by the memorial tablet placed in the Court, of which he was in his day and generation a conspicuous ornament.

The writer of this paper deems it an honour to have gathered the fragments which tell, however imperfectly, the life story of the son of the non-conformist minister of Farnham, Elias Hardy, "the London lawyer," and to lay this humble chaplet on his nameless grave.

Toronto, May 28th, 1918.



## ROBERT COONEY.

FIRST HISTORIAN OF NORTHERN AND EASTERN  
NEW BRUNSWICK

BY REV. W. O. RAYMOND, LL.D.

The first attempt at writing a history of New Brunswick was that of Peter Fisher, in 1825. Mr. Fisher was the father of Charles Fisher of Fredericton, one of our provincial leaders in the battle for responsible government, and later a judge of the Supreme Court. Judge Fisher, it may be observed in passing, was a member of the first class to graduate at King's College (now the University) in Fredericton, after the incorporation of the college by Royal Charter in 1828. His biography will be found in the closing pages of "The Judges of New Brunswick and their Times." He died at Fredericton on December 8, 1880, at the age of seventy-two years. His father, Peter Fisher, was born on Staten Island, New York, on June 9, 1782, and came to New Brunswick with his parents in September, 1783, in the well-known "Fall Fleet," which arrived in St. John on September 27. Mr. Fisher's little work, "Sketches of New Brunswick," was printed by Chubb & Sears of St. John in 1825. It is now rare and eagerly sought after by book collectors.

The next provincial historian of any note was Robert Cooney, who wrote a book entitled, "A Compendious History of the Northern and Eastern parts of the Province of New Brunswick," which was published in Halifax by Joseph Howe, in 1832. Howe was at that time editor of the "Nova Scotian," and just entering upon his political career.

Cooney soon afterwards became a Wesleyan Methodist missionary. Later in life he wrote his autobiography, which was printed in Montreal in 1856, and is now rarely met with. From its pages we glean the notes that follow.



In the opening chapter Cooney says:

"I was born in the parish of Saint Mark, in the ancient city of Dublin, on the 24th of June, 1806. It will be seen that I was born in troublous times; and that I am 'a citizen of no mean city.' . . . We resided for several years in Townsend street, directly opposite the Parish Chapel, an old and unpretending edifice in the form of a cross, which was attended by a very large and rather miscellaneous congregation. Among the notabilities that attended I have often observed the Earl of Fingal, Lord French, Sir Thomas Esmond, Daniel O'Connell, Sir Patrick Bellew and others of less note. They inspired me, I must say, with a favorable opinion of their devotion and zeal; and the total absence of everything like distinctions of caste and position, made them great favorites with the people."

Cooney's father died when his son was only eighteen years of age. The lad received a good education, and thought of becoming a priest. In his books he not infrequently introduces Latin quotations. He observes in his autobiography:

"The death of my dear father seriously affected our whole domestic economy, and my hopes of becoming a priest fell to the ground. The '*res angusta domi*'—our straightened circumstances—forbad the indulgence of such ambitious hopes."

He decided to emigrate to America. At that time the tide of emigration did not flow so strongly to the United States as it did afterwards, and Cooney contends that had proper legislative encouragement been afforded, the settlement of New Brunswick would have been greatly advanced. We may add that if the province had been called "New Ireland," as was at first proposed (and certainly was seriously contemplated), there is little doubt that the Irish race would have greatly predominated in this province.

Cooney sailed from Dublin for Miramichi on August 24, 1824, in the ship "Earl of Aberdeen." Her captain was a Scotchman named Ligertwood, a graduate of Marischal College. He had the unusual Christian name (for a Scotchman) of George Washington. The vessel had a forty-two days passage and arrived safely at her destination on October 5.

"Miramichi," Cooney observes, "is not the name of a town or village but that of a large and beautiful river. In the Micmac



language, the diminutive noun is formed by the addition of 'sis,' and hence this river was formerly called Restigouchesis, in contradistinction to the Restigouche, a somewhat larger river that flows into the Baie des Chaleurs."

Almost precisely one year after his arrival occurred the great Miramichi Fire. The description of the conflagration contained in his autobiography is abbreviated from his History — the phraseology being for the most part identical. He observes:

"I was, at the time of the Great Fire, residing within a mile of Newcastle. If my opinion be entitled to any consideration, a greater calamity than the Fire which happened in Miramichi never befel any forest country, and has been rarely excelled in the annals of any other; and the general character of the scene was such that all it required to complete a picture of the General Judgment was the blast of a Trumpet, the voice of the Archangel and the resurrection of the Dead."

This tragical incident, like many such occurrences of old times, was commemorated in doggerel rhyme. The verses which follow were written by Thomas M. Jordan, whose descendants are still found on the Miramichi, and were printed in an old provincial newspaper. They were sometimes sung in the lumber camps in winter evenings to an old tune in a minor key. I met the other day, in New Westminster, B. C., a man named Archie Patchell, formerly of Stanley, York County, who had worked as a lumberer on the Miramichi in his young days, and found that he could recite the "poem" with some interesting variations. I believe that while the poetry is pretty bad the description is accurate as to details.

#### WHEN MIRAMICHI WAS REDUCED TO ASHES.

This is the truth what I now tell you  
 For mine eyes in part did see,  
 What did happen to the people  
 On the banks of the Miramichi.

The seventh evening of October,  
 Eighteen hundred twenty-five,  
 Two hundred people fell by fire,  
 It scourged those that did survive.





Some said it was because the people's  
Sins did rise like mountains high,  
Which did ascend up to Jehovah,  
He would not see and justify.

In order to destroy their lumber,  
And the country distress,  
He sent the fire in a whirlwind,  
From the heaving wilderness.

'Twas on the Northwest first discovered  
Twenty-two men there did die,  
When it had swept o'er the meadows  
To Newcastle it did fly.

While the people were asleeping  
Fire seized upon the town,  
Tho' fine and handsome was the village,  
It soon tumbled to the ground.

It burnt three vessels that were building;  
And two more at anchor lay;  
Many that did see the fire  
Thought it was the Judgment Day.

Twelve more men were burnt by fire  
In the compass of that town,  
Twenty-five more on the water  
In a scow upset and drown.

A family below Newcastle,  
Were destroyed among the rest,  
Father, mother and three children,  
One an infant at the breast.

Thirteen families were residing  
Just out from Gretna Green:  
All of them were burnt by fire,  
Only one alive was seen.

Then it passed to Black river,  
Where it did burn sixty more;  
So it forc'd its way with fury,  
Till it reached the briny shore.



Forty-two miles by one hundred,  
This great fire did extend,  
All was done within eight hours,  
Not exceeding over ten.

As I have spoke of things collective,  
Now I intend to personate,  
And speak of some of my acquaintance  
With whom I was intimate.

A lady was drove to the water,  
Where she stood both wet and cold  
Notwithstanding her late illness,  
Had a babe but three days old.

Six young men both smart and active,  
Were at work on the Northwest,  
When they saw the fire coming,  
To escape it tried their best.

About two miles from where their camp stood,  
There were found each one of them  
But to paint their sad appearance,  
I cannot with tongue or pen.

To see these fine, these blooming, young men,  
All lay dead upon the ground,  
And their brothers standing mourning,  
Spread a dismal scene around.

Then we dug a grave and buried,  
Those whom did the fire burn;  
Then each of us that was living  
To our dwelling did return.

I heard the sighs, the cries and groaning,  
Saw the falling of the tears:  
By me this will not be forgotten  
Should I live a hundred years.

Sisters weeping for their brother,  
Father crying for his son,  
And with bitter heartfelt sorrow  
Said the mother I'm undone.

It killed the wild beasts of the forest,  
In the river all the fish,  
Such another horrid fire  
See again, I do not wish.



For three years after his arrival at Miramichi, Cooney filled the position of chief clerk "in a very respectable mercantile house." The business consisted chiefly in importing British and West India goods and provisions, which were sold to the lumberers, from whom pine timber, deals, lathwood, etc., were received in return and shipped to different ports in Great Britain and Ireland. The house also manufactured timber rather extensively on its own account, and employed a considerable capital in ship-building.

In 1828, Cooney became chief clerk in the office of an eminent barrister who became afterwards a Q. C. and a distinguished member of the provincial legislature. "This gentleman," he says, "had very few if any superiors, either at the Bar, or in the Senate. He was eloquent, well educated, and liberally endowed with personal and social qualifications. He possessed, one would suppose, everything that could be desired in order to insure success; but he failed — failed notwithstanding all his advantages,— and was obliged, after many years of professional and public life, to remove to the United States." [Query — who was this? Cooney does not give the name.]

About this time the death of Richard Simonds, Esq., M.P.P., made a vacancy in the representation of the county of Northumberland, and James D. Fraser, Esq., and Joseph Cunard, Esq., were candidates, the latter being the choice of the electors after a keen contest.

Cooney was active in behalf of Cunard, and his influence, which was considerable, with his countrymen and co-religionists, seems to have turned the scale in Mr. Cunard's favor, although the contest was fierce and protracted. Mr. Fraser's candidature had the approval of Bishop McEachern (who, like Fraser, was a Scotchman) and his Lordship was highly displeased at Cooney's interference.

One of the results of the quarrel was that Cooney relinquished his desire of entering the priesthood. He does not, however, seem to have cherished any personal animosity



against his old friend, the missionary priest at Miramichi, Father William Dollard, of whom he writes:

"Mr. Dollard was consecrated Bishop in the year 1840, and exercised episcopal jurisdiction in New Brunswick, until he died. He bore his prelatie honors in a very becoming manner; and was the same plain and unostentatious man, with his mitre and pectoral cross, that he was before he received them."

Towards the close of 1829 he took up editorial work on the "Northumberland Gleaner," a weekly paper that "advocated liberal principles in a moderate and consistent manner." His connexion with journalism led to intimate acquaintance with the mercantile and professional classes and a general knowledge of the entire community. "What with editing, corresponding, and so forth," he says, "my hands were pretty full." Yet he found time to travel through the northern and eastern parts of New Brunswick, then in such a wilderness state that he might almost be said to have *explored* it. Frequently he had to "camp out." He availed himself of many opportunities to converse with the Indians in their wigwams, with the lumberers in their camps, and with the Acadian habitants and other old settlers. These inquiries occupied some months and resulted in the publication of a small octavo volume entitled, "A Compendious History of the Northern and Eastern parts of the Province of New Brunswick." He refers to the book as "a kind of pioneer, clearing the way for others, into which Moses Perley, Dr. Gesner, and other eminent provincialists have since entered."

It is not necessary in this paper to enter into the consideration of the details of Mr. Cooney's experience as a "Wesleyan Missionary" further than to say that during the next twenty-five years he was stationed in turn at the following places: Murray Harbor, P. E. I.; Liverpool, Halifax, and Guysborough, N. S. He was then sent to Quebec, where the vessel on which he was a passenger anchored near H. M. S. "Malabar," of seventy-four guns, flagship of the squadron that had accompanied the Earl of Durham to Canada in his capacity of Governor General and Lord High Commissioner. The previous year had





witnessed the well known rebellion of 1837 — which was renewed in the autumn of the next year. Cooney gives quite a stirring account of the disorders at Odell Town, at La Colle and Napierville.

He was next sent to Stanstead, in the Eastern Townships, and three years later to Montreal. In 1845 he went to Toronto. From thence he came, in July, 1847, to Saint John West (or Carleton), and two years later was appointed to the city across the harbor, where he remained three years. In 1852 he went to Mill Town, St. Stephen, where he found a handsome thriving little town. Saw mills were erected on every available site, from Calais to Baring, a distance of about six miles. He found his circuit rather "flinty soil," and thought the principles of Methodism were "too pure for the generality of the people." He specifies "smuggling" as a very common thing with the trading part of the community, and not uncommon even in some churches. A form of doctrine and discipline much inferior to Methodism would, he thought, find favor in the border towns and villages along the picturesque and beautiful banks of the Saint Croix.

Cooney visited Fredericton in the summer of 1854. This place he mentions was formerly called Saint Anne's Point, but adopted its present name as an avowal of its high conservative principles and to express its respect for his late Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York. It had now become an Episcopal city and the seat of a cathedral.

"There is something pleasant in the situation," he says, "a good deal of the picturesque and the beautiful in its ancestral trees, and in its general *rus in urbe* appearance. The city is the headquarters of a regiment of infantry. There is also a small but neat artillery barracks. The legislative chambers and public offices are inclosed within a very handsome square near the river; and on an eminence, a short distance beyond the suburbs, is the only university of which the colony can boast. It stands alone in frigid and solitary state; not adding much as a public edifice to the architectural distinctions of the metropolis and still less, in the opinion of some, to the intelligence or erudition of its inhabitants.

Fredericton also contains the official residence of the Lieutenant Governor; also a very respectable and well conducted



academy belonging to the Baptists, and several places of worship, among which the Anglican bishop's chapel (St. Annes) is distinguished by its Puseyitish aspect, and the Wesleyan church by its beauty and capacity."

Cooney's Irish sense of humor crops out frequently in his pages. He was popular as a public lecturer and was a ready and impressive speaker. His lectures in the old Institute course in St. John were attended by capacity audiences. In his autobiography he observes:

"I try to preach with all simplicity and patience and plainness of speech. My language was at first considered a little too elevated, and my style a little too descriptive; but I have succeeded in greatly modifying these peculiarities, so that the least informed of the people can mark, learn and inwardly digest what they hear."

Cooney's sense of humor leads him to give place in his pages for the following:

"The whole American commonwealth is just now engaged in the discussion of almost innumerable subjects. These are chiefly the Maine Liquor Law, the Railway to the Pacific, Free Trade, the Fisheries, Abolition of Slavery, United States Bank, Steam Navigation, and last, but not least, Women's Rights. The meetings held for the vindication of this last measure are very frequent and sometimes boisterous. Among the ludicrous results of this false assumption, we notice lately the ordination of Antoinette Lucy Brown as pastor over a Baptist church in New Jersey. There were present on the occasion a brace of senators, an equal number of female M. D.'s, and some other fair celebrities in theology and science. Surely the men are going out of fashion. Their pre-eminence is waning away, and their glory is departing. They will soon become obsolete. *Jacta est alea*. "The die is cast." "I am for Women's Rights," he says, "by which I understand the right to do all the good they can in every right and proper way."

Cooney's observations on the City of Saint John and his predictions respecting its future are naturally of some interest to us. He thus described the place in 1855.

"The city is situate at the mouth of the river Saint John, where it forms itself into a safe and commodious harbor, through which it flows into the Bay of Fundy.



It was settled by some loyalists, who fled from the revolted American colonies during the progress of the revolution. We have no means at present to determine either the amount or the quality of their allegiance, nor can we form any correct estimate of the privations they endured, or the courage they manifested, or the sacrifices they made; and they have been sometimes made the basis of claims and assumptions neither very limited nor very modest."

It may be observed in passing that Cooney was an ardent reformer, and the recent political battles fought to obtain "responsible government" had created in many minds a marked hostility to the Tory party and their progenitors, the U. E. Loyalists. Hence the animus in the paragraph which follows:

"In New Brunswick, the loyal refugees and their descendants, generally speaking, have fared exceedingly well. They have had more than Benjamin's portion; they have had the lion's share. The family compact consisted of refugees and their connexions, and from the settlement of the Province until a few years ago, when responsible government was introduced, they had everything their own way — office, emoluments, titles. They grasped all, and, as long as they could, they held all. Many of them were amiable and honorable men in private life and in their mercantile transactions; but their political inspirations were imbibed from the foundations of the most rabid Toryism, while their religion seemed to consist of nothing more than a subscription to the thirty-nine articles, and a hatred of the Dissenters.\* These people, however, founded Saint John, and their descendents attach so much importance to that event, and regard it with such intense feelings of traditional veneration, that they still celebrate the anniversary thereof with commendable zeal and spirit."

"The city lies on both sides of the harbor, and contains a population of from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants. The original charter was very narrow and exclusive, framed in such a way that the corporation was under the direct control of the government, while the mayor himself was, "*de facto, de jure,*" their mere nominee. This charter was lately cancelled and a new and liberal one enacted in its place; and, by virtue of this instrument the municipal government is vested in the mayor, and a certain number of aldermen and councillors, all

\*Cooney seems to have forgotten that L. A. Wilnot, S. L. Tilley, Charles Fisher, Wm. J. Ritchie and other leading reformers were all of loyalist origin, though zealous reformers.



elected by the popular suffrage of the free-holders and rate-payers.

"The history of this city has been marked by many painful vicissitudes. It has suffered deeply and frequently by commercial depressions and most disastrous fires. Indeed the business part of the city has been twice reduced to ashes, but still the indomitable energy and unwearied perseverance of the people have carried them through all, and Saint John, like the fabled bird, has risen from its ashes, and is now more comely and beautiful than it ever would have been had it not passed through these terrible but renovating ordeals. All the burnt districts have since been built up with large and substantial stone and brick edifices; so that King street, Prince William street, Rocky Hill, the North Market Wharf, Dock street, Nelson street, etc., present a very imposing appearance.

"The city is well provided with suitable places of worship for the various Protestant denominations, and the Roman Catholics are now erecting a very large cathedral which for size and architectural beauty, will surpass every ecclesiastical edifice in the eastern provinces.

"Saint John possesses two very handsome squares and a very respectable supply of public buildings. Among the latter the Custom House, Court House, the Banks and the Mechanics' Institute are the most prominent. There are also in the vicinity of the city, but in different directions, the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, a magnificent Suspension Bridge (lately finished), an Alms House and the Provincial Penitentiary. A new Town Hall is contemplated. Several of the stores and warehouses are really magnificent; and, taken altogether, Saint John, in all that constitutes a colonial city, has very few superiors.

"In our humble opinion, a high and prosperous career lies before Saint John; its future is calculated to inspire large conceptions and lofty anticipations. In less time probably than we imagine the shores of the Atlantic and those of the Saint Lawrence and of the Bay of Fundy will swarm with an industrious and enterprising race, there will be large cities and populous towns in all these coasts, and among them the city of Saint John will lift up its head crowned with metropolitan dignity, and demonstrating in her prosperity the truth of her civic motto, "*O fortunati quorum jam mœnia surgunt.*"

Among the interesting incidents at St. John at this period was the turning of the first sod of the railway which was pro-





posed to be built from St. John to Shediac. This event Cooney describes in the following terms:

#### RAILROAD DEMONSTRATION AT SAINT JOHN.

"September 14, 1854. This dear old city has had many a gala day, and has passed through many an eventful one. We have heard of the notable day when the indignant Blue-noses burnt the late Lord Sydenham in effigy, having previously carried the said effigy through the principal streets of the city. A few years after this harmless "*auto de fe*," his lordship visited St. John as Governor-General. The citizens, being apprised of his intention, received him in a most gratifying manner with deputations, addresses, processions, etc. The opening of the crystal palace, the opening of the fountain in King Square, and other public events, such as political exhibitions and temperance demonstrations, have treated St. John to many a holiday; but the railroad display surpassed them all.

"His Excellency, Lieutenant Governor Head, came down from the *Celestial* city (Fredericton) attended by a suitable, though *terrestrial*, escort. He came in all the pomp and panoply of vice-regal state; and his excellent lady turned up — yes actually turned up the first sod of the 'great European and North American Railway,' and His Excellency wheeled it off in state. And then — what then? Why, the bands struck up the national anthem, the city bells rang out a merry peal."

There was an imposing trades procession too, which Cooney does not mention. In it there walked nearly two thousand shipwrights representing a score of ship-yards. The procession was nearly two miles in length and occupied an hour in passing a given point.

"To finish the celebration of so important an event as the turning up and the wheeling off of the said first sod, there were fire-works, and after the fire-works a ball, and after the ball a supper, and after the supper supplementary dancing, and in the midst of the dancing a crash — a giving way of the temporary building in which these orgies were performed, by which several persons were severely maimed and wounded, and one young man killed."

Cooney indicates that there was delay in commencing the construction of the railway and writes, a year or so later: "The



day for turning the second sod, like the Greek calends, has not arrived yet," and the project was believed to have been abandoned. It is needless to say that such was not the case. The event of the turning of the first sod and the locality where it occurred are commemorated by the well known "Celebration Street," which overlooks the spot, and which derived its name from the event which Cooney has recorded.

In the month of January, 1855, Cooney set out from Mill Town with the intention of driving to St. John, where he had promised to deliver two lectures in the annual course at the Mechanics Institute. He was accompanied by his wife. An extract from his book in this connection will be of interest:

"After a great deal of toil and hardship we arrived, about dark, at Macallum's at Digediguash, having in the whole day performed a journey of about twenty miles. When we had been seated a little while, I perceived that a boy, probably ten years of age, or thereabouts, was very anxious to converse with me, and that the topic uppermost in his thoughts was the war with the Russians. This was while the public mind was filled with the emotions produced by the terrible battles of the Alma and of Inkermann. The prodigious feats of valour performed by the Allies, and more particularly the conspicuous chivalry and intrepidity of the Scotch Brigade, seemed to have taken exclusive possession of the boy's mind. I spoke to him of the evils of the war; the immorality that attended it; the orphanage and widowhood it produced, but all to no purpose; he could see but one feature in it and that feature was the British beating the Russians. I tried to lead him off by diverting to his studies, to what he was learning; but it was of no use, his voice was still for war; and a little while before he retired, after a pause in the conversation, perceiving that he was about to resume the old familiar theme, I ventured to ask about arithmetic; and in an instant Duncan (I think that was his name), caught a new idea, and acting upon it with great promptitude, said, "Don't you think, Mr. Cooney, that the British would beat the Roosians, though they were ten to one against them?" And he went off saying, "I guess they would!"

"Should this lad ever become a soldier," adds Cooney, "there is no doubt but he will sustain the traditional eminence of the clan Macallum, and if required risk health and life and everything to help the British to beat the Roosians."



Finding the roads from Magaguadavic to St. John were entirely bare, the trip had to be abandoned. But early in February another attempt succeeded, and after a two days trip St. John was reached, the new Suspension bridge crossed and the wayfarers hospitably received by Mr. William Wright at his home in Brussels Street.

"This gentleman," Cooney observes, "and his brother Mr. Richard Wright, are practical ship-builders and have contributed very largely to elevate New Brunswick built vessels to the distinguished reputation they now enjoy. The Messrs. Wright commenced life not many years ago, having little else, probably, than a good character, industrious habits, and a determination to go ahead and to succeed. The position they now occupy at the head of the ship-builders of the eastern provinces, furnishes another instance, among the many which the history of trade and commerce supplies, of what may be achieved by uprightness, ability and perseverance.

This firm has built some of the best and largest ships that have been constructed in British America. The list of vessels built by them would engross more space than is at our disposal; we shall therefore only mention the "David Cannon," the "Beejepoore," the "Dundonald," the "Guiding Star," the "Star of the East," and the "Morning Light"—recently launched and at present the largest vessel ever built by any of our colonial ship-wrights. Touching the character and dimensions of this superb specimen of naval architecture an American paper observes: The New Brunswickers have abundant reason to be proud of their feats in ship-building; and are now saying a good deal, but not a word too much, in favor of the ship "Morning Light," lately launched at Saint John. She is 265 feet long, and measures 2,368 tons, and is said to be the finest and most expensive ship ever built in British North America."

Under date Monday, February 15, 1855, occurs the following item in Cooney's journal:

"Delivered one of the promised lectures this evening in the Mechanics' Institute. The weather was very favorable, and the walking good. The hall of the institute was crowded and several had to go away, not being able to procure seats. The subject was of a character rather interesting and popular, and owing to these circumstances, the lecture was well received by the audience, and commendably reviewed by the press."



Cooney, as already mentioned, was a fluent speaker and possessed a ready wit and keen sense of humor which made him a popular platform speaker. He was of small stature — about the size of the late Bishop Medley. His height he once stated, in reply to a question was “six feet lacking twelve inches.” While on a tour in Western Canada he was obliged to seek repose, one night, in a bed far too short for him. This was a grievance upon which he had not reckoned. “It is well known,” he observes, “that I am not one of the race of Anak yet in this instance I could not obtain a bed long enough. I thought upon Procrustes, and what he had to suffer, and this reconciled me to the inconvenience. The room was small too, but then I am not very large myself; and why should not there be small rooms as well as small men.” What, however, tried him most was a large tomb-stone standing upright at the foot of the bed, with a long and pathetic epitaph, surmounted by a very lugubrious looking device (probably a grinning satyr). He got up in the morning very much unrefreshed.

While on the Charlottetown circuit Conney once held a meeting in a large room in a farm house. The apartment was rather long and crowded with people, and as the preacher stood upon the floor some of the congregation at the other end of the room could not see him. One of his hearers after a time said in a tone audible to the entire assembly, “That man is not tall enough to be a minister,” and without more ado he forced his way through the crowd and went out, but soon returned, bearing a pig’s trough on his shoulder, and putting it down, *inerted*, of course, very good naturedly and devoutly said, “There, brother, stand on that, and may the Lord bless you.”

About the same time he had an equally trying experience at a rural place on Prince Edward Island, known as “Little York.” A missionary meeting was to be held and as there was no convenient hall the meeting was held in a barn, half filled with hay and with different kinds of grain lately gathered in. When the speakers arrived the building was crowded with people; some huddled together upon the hay and corn, and others on every kind and description of seats, arranged on the floor. The





pulpit, a dilapidated flour barrel, stood in a corner, bottom up. To this quarter they made their way as best they could. A Mr. ——— then took the Bible and hymn book off the barrel; turned it upside down, and very gravely told Mr. Cooney to get into it.

"I tried," says Cooney, "but could not succeed; tried again, and down came barrel, preacher and all; some shouted, some cried glory, some one thing, and some another. The people seated on the hay and grain became excited, and came sliding and rolling down one after another, but in the midst of all the disorder some one struck up a tune and in a few minutes the troubled waters were assuaged, while several voices sang, as only English voices can sing, these defiant and animating words,

"We are soldiers fighting for the Lord,  
Let trembling cowards fly," etc.

They had, it appears, a very successful meeting and a large collection for foreign missions.

It must not be supposed that Cooney's autobiography is filled with such incidents as these. The major portion of it is of a serious and religious character. Some portions are too controversial to be quoted to advantage in this paper.

While in St. John he was intimate with such leading Methodists as David Collins, Henry Marshall, Edward Lloyd, Richard Thorne, Aaron Eaton, William and Richard Wright and others whose names are still familiar to the Methodist community of the city.

When he made his visit in 1855 he preached in the old church on Germain Street in the forenoon, and in the Centenary Church in the evening. He remarks that "Of all prayer meetings held by the Wesleyans in America, perhaps there is not one better attended or one that is more distinguished for devotional fervour than the Monday evening prayer meeting held in the basement story of the Centenary Chapel. Sometimes there was on Sunday evenings at the meetings for prayer an attendance of five to six hundred."

The Methodists were probably the first denomination to hold evening services in St. John. Cooney says:

"I have heard Sunday evening preaching denounced from an Episcopal pulpit on more than one occasion. I have heard



an Anglican bishop in one of our Colonial cathedrals declare that such a practice was both unseemly and vulgar, and I have heard the same prelate, in the same cathedral, preach on a Sunday evening himself; and not only preach himself but also announce that there would be preaching there and in all the city churches every Sunday evening during winter. Sunday evening preaching is now as common among Episcopalians as it is among the various bodies of Dissenters."

Cooney was a reformer and would fain have abolished the usage of tobacco as it existed in his day. Here again we shall let him speak for himself:

"I have had ample means to perceive that tobacco smoking and chewing are almost universal habits — particularly among the French Canadians. At the station houses, on board the steamers, and even in the cars,— in short, everywhere,— it is nothing but smoke and chew; chew and smoke; something like the bill of fare in the primitive parts of Connemara — potatoes and salt twenty-one times a week and salt and potatoes twenty-one times a week. On the railways the smoking is confined to the second class and baggage cars; but the masticating department, with all the expectoration that attends it, is carried on every where. The quid is supreme."

At the time when Cooney wrote in 1855, the Wesleyan male academy at Mount Allison, Sackville, had been in operation more than twelve years. The female seminary was opened in August, 1854. Rev. H. Pickard, M. A., was President and Professor of Mental and Moral Science, with four assistants, one of whom was the late Dr. J. R. Inch, who was afterwards Chief Superintendent of Education for the province. In the Female Seminary there were five instructors, Miss Mary E. Adams being Chief Preceptress. The course of study included all the branches of a common English, literary and scientific, and a classical education. It may seem amazing, in these days, to find that the charges for board, washing, fuel, lights, tuition, etc., were only \$100.00 for the academical year — forty-three weeks. Cooney observes:

"It is quite natural for each religious body to do what it can to have its own educational institutions, and so long as this agency is used in an honorable manner, with a due regard to



the rights and feelings of others, I am ready to bid them God speed." "A singular fatality," he continues, "has attended nearly all our Colonial universities, and no wonder; for establishments, less adapted to the wants and circumstances of the country could not well be. What could be more absurd than to erect in a new country, seats of learning encumbered and fettered with the obsolete and impracticable statutes of Oxford and Cambridge. It was like putting Saul's armour on David. Large tracts of the public lands and the people's money have been lavished upon these institutions, but all to no purpose. Our poor universities were strangled. Every attempt at reform was resisted, until reform became incapable. A new creation became indispensably necessary. The old establishments, such as Toronto, Windsor, Fredericton, etc., have fallen under the crushing, the over-whelming weight of antiquated charters, red tapeism, and ecclesiastical domination."

It is hardly just to say, as Cooney does in this extract, that the old universities he has named had "fallen," in the sense that they had ceased to be, although up to that time they had failed to reach the goal at which they aimed. Doubtless there is much truth in his argument that antiquated charters and narrowness of policy, from an ecclesiastical point of view, greatly hampered the development of these institutions. The period at which he writes was one of transition. The colleges at Fredericton and Toronto eventually changed their names as well as their "antiquated charters," but were able to maintain their historic continuity. King's College, Windsor, retains its name and to a considerable extent its denominational character, but its charter is now much more liberal than it formerly was and it is no longer a state-supported institution.

That the colleges of old time did not advance more rapidly was not due entirely to their "antiquated charters." It was due in an even larger degree to the inefficiency of the preparatory schools, very many of the grammar schools included, to the poverty of the people and the general indifference with which they viewed the higher education.

The narrow policy, however, of King's College, Windsor, and King's College, Fredericton, was chiefly responsible for calling into existence some half dozen denominational colleges.



Whether it would have been better to have had one large central University, with the various denominational colleges affiliated and clustered about it, and an attendance of twelve or fifteen hundred undergraduates, or to have the present system of small colleges is too large a question to be here discussed.

And now it is time to bring these observations on the autobiography of Robert Cooney to a close. The book is of very considerable interest and of some historic importance. Copies are rare.

Toronto, January 1919.





## RETROSPECTIVE RAMBLE OVER HISTORIC ST. JOHN.

BY D. H. WATERBURY

In lieu of the paper on the proposed subject for which it appears I have been slated and for which I have not, up to the present, been able to obtain sufficient data, I may be permitted to take up a portion of this evening's meeting with a hurried sketch of what might be called a Retrospective Ramble over Historic St. John, with an attempt at a picture of the site of the city before the advent of the white man, when the Indian roamed over its rocky peninsula hunting, and the wigwam and canoe graced its coves in fishing seasons.

This hilly peninsular headland, its base indented with coves and rocky caves, reared its twin peaks to a height of about 140 feet above the mean level of the sea. There were lateral minor hills and ledges as are indicated by the elevations herein given. The surface was rough — knobs, boulders and pot holes, swamps and ponds — but from the sea the appearance of the hills would be softened by the forest growth over them. The geological formation is Cambrian, the oldest formation with fossils which can be recognized. A strip of volcanic rock crosses the southern extremity in a direction north-east and south-west (West St. John is much the same with more volcanic rock in the vicinity of Martello Tower). North of the harbour the oldest rock, chiefly limestone and schist, with intrusions of granite, is found.

The growth over the peninsula was generally spruce, some cedar, little or no pine, as the surface was too rough and slaty for such.

**THE COVES.**— The large cove at the southern extremity, at first called Lower Cove, ran inland beyond what is now called Britain street. This is largely a made-up street; Charlotte street extension is also over this cove. The upper cove, including Market Slip, came in beyond Water street, which is a built up



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and filled in street. This cove was bounded northerly by (now called) York Point. A number of deep rocky caves were on the east side, or Courtenay Bay shore. The southern extremity of the peninsula (near Ballast Wharf) was named Point Debbieg. Beyond York Point, the tide water ran in easterly past the present railway depot, Mill street bridge, and on to the vicinity of what is now Dorchester street extension, and in early days small vessels have gone up this far to load. On the east side also tide water ran in westerly for some distance. A rocky ledge at the north near the centre and west end of City Road, which has been cut through for the I. C. R. track, is all that prevented the peninsula from being completely an island. Water courses and many small rivulets ran down the sides of the hills in the hollows. Four or five of the largest of these streams should be mentioned.

One starting near the northerly side of King Square (where was a cedar swamp extending toward Union street) made its way westerly down through Market street to Germain, southerly to King street, thence westerly and down into Market Slip at Water street. Another rising south of King street, east of Sydney, flowed southerly, crossing Leinster, Princess, Orange and on to St. James street where it crossed Sydney, thence past corner of Britain and Charlotte and emptied into the Lower Cove a little south of Britain street. Still another in this locality, starting south of King Square, flowed southerly to Duke, crossed Charlotte street and continued down, crossing Queen and Harding, St. James and Britain and emptied into the Lower Cove. There were two which rose on the high land north of Waterloo street, one from the vicinity of Cliff street ran south, crossed Paddock and Waterloo, then turned easterly near Union street, continuing between Brussels and St. Patrick streets, crossed foot of St. David street and out to shore of Courtenay Bay there; the second rising on Vinegar Hill (so called) rear of Cathedral, ran not far from the latter, crossed Waterloo, Richmond and St. Patrick streets and on to foot of St. David street and into the bay. On the east side of the peninsula, two or three short rapid streams, one between Elliott Row and King street and at least another, a little south of Mecklenburg street, fell over the bank



to the Bay Shore. There were large deposits of brick clay in the vicinity of some of these streams where they ran through hollows or flat places and near the shore. The shoals and reefs at the south or sea end were higher then than now, that is, the natural filling in or silting around them was not so high. The billows of the Bay dashed more furiously over them in earlier times.

**THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.**— The discovery and naming of St. John River by Champlain, A.D. 1604—the early French settlers—the story of LaTour and Charnisay—Fort La Tour—the early settlers from the English colonies, Massachusetts, etc., and the arrival of the Loyalists after the Revolutionary War, 1783; these are all matters of history and fairly well described in sundry publications and it is not at all the purpose or ambition of this hurried sketch to attempt any further description.

The first English name of the settlement on the peninsula was Parrtown—called so in honor of the then governor of Nova Scotia, of which province New Brunswick was Sunbury County. The west side was named Carleton, after Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief at New York. In 1783, after the arrival of the Loyalists, the population was about 5000. It may be said that a city was born in a day.

The next year, 1784, St. John was made a city by Royal Charter, the oldest chartered city of the British Colonies.

Then there came the planning of the City, and what an undertaking this was in this almost impossible locality; what courage, faith and labor! East and west, north and south, over rocks, hills, swamps and boulders, roads were run; forests were cleared; rock excavated or reduced, swamps filled, etc. It is said that the expenditure for preparing the surface alone for the city has cost as much as would build a modern city of the size in a favorable locality. After the lines of the streets were run and trees cut down the stumps in many places remained for years.

**THE INDIAN NAME OF THE SITE OF THE CITY.**— A recorded fact is that about the year 1770 a schooner was built at Upper Cove (Market Slip) and named "Monnequash, the Indian name





of the peninsula on which little old St. John now stands." It should certainly be interesting, if not important, to know the meaning of the word "Monnequash." I have seen it spelled also Managuashe and Man-ak'-wes. The spelling is phonetic, the Indian language having no alphabet. The spelling of the words by the French and English varied.

The Indians appear always to have had an appropriate meaning for the names they gave localities; natural objects, etc. In this they differed from the white people who, in many or most cases named places, villages or towns in a most absurdly inappropriate manner. A northerly boundary of the St. John of today is the Kennebecasis River. In Indian the termination "sis" is the diminutive. Kennebec = snake; Kennebecasis = little snake river. Any one who has observed the serpentine or tortuous course of the little river as it winds its way through its beautiful valley in Kings County will readily admit the appropriateness of the Indian name. For a number of years the writer tried to discover the meaning of the word or sentence "Monnequash," "Man-agu-ashe" or "Man-ak'-wes," consulting glossaries and taking advantage of any opportunity to question an intelligent Indian; in one or two cases ones who had been educated at mission school; had also the assistance of a friend who had some knowledge of Indian words and customs.

With the suggestion "Hills and Angry Waters" as the meaning, the effort was thought rewarded with success. To anyone viewing the hilly peninsula and the breaking of Fundy's angry billows over the reefs and the swirl of the harbor or river currents around the coves, the appropriateness of the name would be apparent. A friend remarks, "If it is not the correct meaning, it ought to be." The opinion, however, that the name alludes to some animal, fish or bird abundant in or frequenting the locality, or to some festival or custom of the Indians, is not abandoned.

An old map showing the place has it "Men-ak'-wes," and also "Menagouche," the first no doubt English, the latter a French mode of spelling the name. A good authority (Ganong) states the meaning is uncertain. Another (Rand) believes the



meaning to be "Where dead seals are collected." Some later research by the writer gives the opinion that the word or sentence means "Place of his pillow, or where head rests," but the question is still a speculative one. It would appear that the word or sentence is of such antiquity that the Indians themselves of this period are without real knowledge of its meaning.

A digression might be made here in remarking on the meaning of the name Manawagonish Road. In old maps or prints is found the Indian expression "Ma-na-wa-ko-nes-ek" (place for clams) clearly alluding to the shore and mud flats; not the highway. The long cumbersome word Manawagonish is neither Indian or anything else, and efforts have been made for relief, by calling it at one time Meogenes and later Mahogany, which means nothing appropriate. The Maliseet Indians had a highway or great trail along the coast here before the coming of the white man and a proper name, retaining Indian origin, more euphonious and practical, would be "Maliseet Road" for this highway. It is somewhat remarkable that residents of this part of the province have not, ere this, petitioned the Legislative Assembly to change the unmeaning awkward name of Manawagonish. Maliseet Road is suggested.

### MAN-AK'-WES <sup>1</sup>

#### THE INDIAN NAME OF THE SITE OF SAINT JOHN CITY.

Where bold the hills outjuttred to the reef rough swept with spray,  
 And Wygoody's swirling water met the tides of Fundy Bay,<sup>2</sup>  
 An Indian Chieftain with his tribe had camped upon a day  
 By the coves and purling brooks of Man-ak'-wes.

Straight stood the chief outgazing o'er the billows flecked with  
 foam  
 Where the broken sunbeams wander and the shapeless shadows  
 roam,  
 The South wind brought its message of the salmon speeding  
 home  
 To their river haunts beyond bold Man-ak'-wes.

1. The spelling is phonetic, the Indian language having no alphabet, the spelling of the words by the French and English varied. Ex. Ouigoudy, Wygoody, (St. John River). Managuashe, Manequesk, etc.

2. Fond du Baie — End or distinctive part of the bay, i. e., between the southerly coast of New Brunswick and the north westerly coast of Nova Scotia. Baie Francaise named by the French included this portion and along the coast of Maine, the southerly limit being the southwest coast of Nova Scotia from Cape Sable. Fond du Baie became localized into Fundy Bay.



Then blazed the bon-fires brightly on the hills from bay to bay,  
 And the Indian braves and maidens danced and sang in wild  
 array,  
 The Indian Chieftain and his tribe feasted 'till dawn of day  
 In the old and loved resorts of Man-ak'-wes.

Again gazed Panamsequis <sup>1</sup> o'er the deep on-rushing tide.  
 Now, his eyes were strained in wonder, low he bowed his head and  
 sighed,  
 And to his people thus he spoke, humbled his voice and pride,  
 On the forest camping ground of Man-ak'-wes.

My brothers, braves and children, of the noble Maliseet,  
 Your hearts will burn with anger at the sight your eyes will meet;  
 Behold— upon yon swelling flood the vanguard of a fleet  
 Which shall take from us our rugged Man-ak'-wes.

Many moons ago a vision by the great Manitou sent.  
 Appalled mine eyes and spirit and I heard my tribe's lament,  
 I saw a wondrous great canoe with glistening wings, intent  
 On harbour making here at Man-ak'-wes.

Braves of some mighty nation, strange and of features white,  
 With thunderous magic weapons which blazed upon the night,  
 My people, like the fallen leaves, sadly in hopeless plight  
 Were scattered from the glens of Man-ak'-wes.

The vision changed and clearly I saw, with wondering eyes,  
 Habitations huge and strange of a mighty race arise,  
 People of marvelous ways and deft of hand and wise  
 Swarming great trails o'er Man-ak'-wes.

Then came to me a spirit<sup>2</sup> by the "Hills and Angry Waves,"<sup>3</sup>  
 Its foot-fall like the tramping of swift and countless braves,  
 Its presence as the surges in the deep and rocky caves  
 Along the shores of lofty Man-ak'-wes.<sup>4</sup>

Its features stern, unyielding, were wreathed in vapor cold,  
 Its glittering mantle, crimson stained, woven fire and gold,  
 It raised an arm commanding, and now our fate is told—  
 It pointed from beloved Man-ak'-wes.

1. Panamsequis. Name from the fishing festival.

2. Commercialism.

3. "Hills and Angry Waters" — a free translation.

4. The general appearance of the site of St. John City, before the advent of the white man, was of two hills or a hill with two crowns flanked by ridges, deeply indented with coves and covered to the shores with forest, chiefly fir, spruce and pine. Many small brooks ran down to the shores, where were some deep caves along the shore, particularly on the east shore, though now filled up, traces of them can yet be seen. The writer remembers two or three at least of them with rocky ceilings twenty to thirty feet deep and fifteen to twenty feet high, with sandy floors. One of the most pleasureable recreations of school boys was the building of fires in these caves and roasting clams.



SOME ELEVATIONS. — The highest peak on the peninsula, the southern peak or hill, is near the corner of Wentworth and Leinster streets, rear of Centenary Church, and is about 140 feet above mean sea level. There is little, if any, difference between the heights of this and the northerly peak (north of corner of Carleton and Coburg streets). The depression between the two hills was deepest near east end of Union and St. David streets; running westerly and gradually rising at west end of Union where there was a precipitous drop to the river. The top of Block House hill (so called) was about 138 feet. King Square, near head of King street, is 100 feet above mean sea level, or about 70 feet above Prince William street. Market Square (Upper Cove), at foot of King street, is 30 feet above mean sea level; Queen Square, lower side, 53 feet higher—76 feet. Britain street, where reclaimed, was tide level. About locality of Union Depot is two feet. Haymarket Square is twelve feet and the height of land near Coburg and Cliff, rear of the Cathedral, is 126 feet above sea level.

There has been little reduction, if any, less than three feet, at the two highest points on the peninsula, but nearly every street, east and west, north and south, has had, in some portions, large excavations or reductions, and in others fillings. Some of the notable rock cuttings may be named: Dock street, King street East, where the Block House Hill was cut through about fifteen feet deep; the hill reduced from Elliott Row to Union street, at Pitt; the west end of Union street; parts of Germain, Carleton, Cliff, Coburg, Chipman Hill and many others, all to be seen today to more or less extent indicating the labor and expense exacted in preparing the natural foundation of the city.

OLD WELLS.— To recall the locations of some of the principal public wells supplying water to the City in old times may be interesting. There were, of course, many private wells, generally good spring water. There were three large wells near King Square—one on the east side nearly on a line with the King street boundary of the old graveyard, across the road and a little north-west of the Court House. One north side of the Square,





near the corner of Sydney, opposite Park Hotel, and another near the south-west corner of the Square. A well between Princess and Orange streets, near the Sydney street line; one near the corner of Duke and Sydney and one of the most notable on Union street, east of Jones' Brewery. Water was sold from these wells, in some cases the owners carting the water in hogs-heads and selling by the pail.

Much of local interest, romance and story could be related about these old wells if space permitted. There was a celebrated well near Fort Howe; another fine one is near the corner of Millidge Avenue and Rockland Road. The completion of the extensive water system of the City disposed of nearly all of these wells—as also the sewerage of the City disposed of the streams which ran down the hill sides.

SOME PRACTICAL OR APPROXIMATE DISTANCES.— Across the harbor between the present ferry floats is 2700 feet, little more than half a mile. Long Wharf, at head of harbor, to Partridge Island wharf, about 12700 feet, or nearly two and one-half miles. Ballast Wharf to Partridge Island Wharf 7850 feet, or less than one and one-half miles. Courtenay Bay from about end of King street, across directly west about 3200 feet, or over six-tenths of a mile; above breakwater 4000 feet. From Marsh Bridge to outer end of new breakwater, Courtenay Bay, about 8150 feet, more than one and one-half mile. From Red Head to Partridge Island about 9700 feet, or little less than two miles.

LAND MEASUREMENTS.—AIR LINE.— Union street from water to water about 4500 feet, four-fifths of a mile. Across the city east to west on line with Queen Square 3600 feet, over two-thirds of a mile. From Mill street to Marsh Bridge about 5200 feet, or about a mile. From Ballast Wharf to King Square 3800 feet; from Ballast Wharf to corner Union and Waterloo 4450 feet; from Ballast Wharf to Union Depot 5500 feet. From end of Ballast Wharf to Marsh Bridge 8000 feet, or over a mile and one-half.



Of course surface measurements would be greater. In some cases considerable. The above are approximate air line measurements.

King Square is east and west 400 feet by 350 feet along Charlotte, approximately three and one-third acres. Queen Square 400 feet by 350 feet, a little less than three and one-third acres. The old graveyard is 400 feet by 390 feet, about three and three-quarters acres. These places were at first enclosed, the last enclosures were posts about twenty feet apart with two lines of chains running through them around the grounds now without enclosure.

SOME OLD BUILDINGS. — The first City Hall, on the slope of Market Square. The lower or western half of the basement had space for and was occupied as a general store. The ground floor, entrance from King street, was occupied as a city market. and the upper floor was used by the Courts and Council Chamber. This wooden building was taken down in 1837 and a building of brick replaced it. This, however, was destroyed in the fire of 1841.

A celebrated resort was "The Coffee House," corner of King and Prince William streets.

The Court House, corner of King and Sydney, east of King Square, was commenced in 1824, completed and first occupied in 1830. On King street, near corner of Germain (where west portion of Royal Hotel now is) a two story frame house, called the "Mallard House," stood, and here the first parliament of New Brunswick met, 1786.

Trinity Church—first church,—was built in 1788. St. Malachi's Chapel, first service held 1815. A large wooden building at corner of King and Charlotte streets was the first Masonic Hall, afterward the St. John Hotel, a popular resort in its day and of much local celebrity. The first service in the Cathedral was held on Christmas day, 1855.

The space at the southern end of the peninsula, called the Barrack Square, as extensive barracks were built there, was in former days one of the most popular resorts in the city, partic-



ularly on days of military functions, reviews, etc. The story of the barracks, practically the military history of early days, would be an important, most interesting and considerable work. The old block house which stood on the hill top, King street east, and the Martello Tower, West Side, were built during the war of 1812.

CHANGES IN STREET NAMES.— Waterloo street was not named until after 1816. Before that it was called the Westmorland Road, running from Union street. King street, east of Sydney, was called Great George street. Princess street, east of Sydney, was called Saint George street. St. James street, east of Sydney, was called Stormont street.

OLD SHIPS AND SHIPYARDS.— The greatest and most important of the industries of old St. John was wooden ship building. Some of the finest and most celebrated wooden vessels of the world, in their time, were constructed here, beautiful clipper ships and carriers that made the name of St. John known in all quarters of the globe, that made St. John the fourth port in the British Empire.

A valuable and interesting contribution to the history of this city would be a good account of the shipyards and ships of this period. It would be a work in itself of some magnitude.

This article can only touch on the subject and give the names of but a few of the best known or largest ships from about A.D. 1850 until about A.D. 1883, when the industry was drawing to a close:—

“Tasmanian,” “William Carvill,” “Star of the East,” “Star of the South,” (sister ships); “Tiptree,” 1650 tons; “Uncas,” “Welsford,” “Sovereign of the Seas,” “Lillies,” 1665 tons, “Peter Maxwell,” “Marco Polo,” “Mount Pleasant,” “Queen of the North,” 1668 tons, “Mistress of the Seas,” 1740 tons, “Royal Family,” “Empress of the Seas,” “Adriana,” “Lampedo,” “War Spirit,” “Eurydice,” “Howard D. Troop,” “Marathon,” “Edith Troop,” “Lightning,” 1600 tons, “Prince Amadeo,” 1602 tons, “Prince Waldemar,” 1691 tons, “Thomas Hilyard,” “Minister of Marine,” 1648 tons, “Empress of



India," 1700 tons, "Eastern Light," "Alexander Yeats," 1589 tons, "Birnam Wood," "Erin's Isle," 1800 tons, "Honolulu," "Vardalia," "Favonious," "Honowai," "Morning Light," 2400, etc., etc.

Ship-building yards were at Courtenay Bay, Straight Shore, Carleton, etc., and at times all fully occupied, with not one ship alone under construction but two, three or more. I have it on reliable authority that in one day there were counted thirty-four ships under construction in the yards of St. John. and this may not have been at all the largest number at any one time.

SHIPYARDS.—W. & R. Wright built at head of Courtenay Bay, in vicinity of present cotton factory. Here a long wharf ran out called Wright's Wharf. They are credited with building the largest ship built in St. John.

Nevins & Fraser's yard was near Marsh Bridge. John McDonald's opposite, on north side of the creek. Here were built seven ships in one year. Ritchie's shipyard (John Stewart) was on Marsh Creek south of the bridge. Pott's built on east side of Courtenay Bay near old Poor House and built also previously at foot of Princess street, Courtenay Bay. Cruikshank & Pitfield built east of the creek and launched into it. James Smith built the "Marco Polo" below Marsh Bridge. There were vessels built near foot of Union street, Manaton's Field, so called. Fisher's shipyard was at south end of Charlotte street at Sheffield street. Ruddick, A. McDonald, D. Lynch, Hilyard and Roberts built at Straight Shore. Ships were built near Portland Bridge, so called; near the corner of Mill and Main streets. John Clark built and launched into river below falls. Wm. Olive & Sons' shipyard was at Market Place. Thos. McLeod's near Old Fort. James and Wm. Olive, also Stackhouse and McLachlan at Old Fort. W. Ring had a yard at Sand Point. Scammell Bros. built near end of old bridge, Union street, Carleton. Stackhouse & Thomson built in the so-called Wellington Bay, east of Blue Rock. Ships were built above the falls and on the Kennebecasis River.





## THE OLD PUBLIC BURIAL GROUND, ST. JOHN.

"History numbers here  
Some names and scenes to long remembrance dear,  
And summer verdure clothes the lowly breast  
Of the small hillock where our fathers rest,  
Theirs was the dauntless heart, the hand, the voice,  
That made the desert blossom and rejoice."

Here it lies, appropriately, in the heart of our city, as the memory of its silent occupants should rest in the hearts of our citizens. For here were laid the mortal remains of the founders of St. John—the framers of its laws; its honored servants and respected citizens; its noble women—our grand-sires and grand-dames of a century ago.

What can be recorded of this old "God's Acre" that is authentic? The task is difficult. There are few data. Very many of the old gravestones and head-boards have been destroyed, and day after day, old citizens, from whose memories much could be drawn relating to it, are dropping out of life's race and are themselves laid away in some silent city.

The case of this old grave-yard is not singular. The history of many other institutions and monuments of our city, if required, would present the same difficulties. How apparent is the necessity for our Historical Society and how zealously should its work be prosecuted, so that they who come after may not have to regret the loss of information and blame the indifference of their predecessors.

For some time after the settlement of the city, the site and vicinity of the old burial-ground was a wilderness, covered with cedar, spruce, etc., and with swamps.

When Paul Bedell laid out the city in 1783, the lots comprising the Burial-Ground (bounded by King, Sydney and Carmarthen streets and by the rear of the Union street lots) were reserved for the purpose, and shortly afterwards the place was fairly cleared and prepared for it.

The first fence surrounding it was undoubtedly the brush or snake fence commonly seen in the country. The place was a



little larger then than now, as it encroached on King and Car-marthen streets. The running of the lines of those streets took a few feet from it. The first walk made was one running easterly from Sydney street and ending near the centre of the ground. This was the only one required for some time. In fact the appearance of the Burial-Ground quite up to the time of its closing, resembled a large field dotted with tombstones and head boards. The only ornamentation was the native trees and shrubs.

Further mention of Mr. Bedell will not be out of place. He died in 1796 and is undoubtedly buried here, though no stone has been found that marks the spot.

No engineer today could more creditably set out the city—a work of great difficulty; and to him are due our thanks for our generously broad and straight streets and fine squares. In 1784 the building of an English church was commenced on the south-west corner of the Burial Ground, opposite where the Court House now stands. The frame was prepared and ready for raising. Some persons near the place where the Centenary Church now stands were burning brush from a clearing; the fire spread, gathering strength as it went, passed over the grave-yard, destroyed the church frame and went on for miles over hill and swamp, only ending its career when the banks of the Kennebecasis barred its further progress. Little trace was left of the existence of a burial-ground. In all probability what graves were marked at this time had only head-boards, which would be destroyed.

The oldest stone is that of Coonradt Hendricks, 1784; and his, if not the first, is the first known interment. It will be found not far from the western gate, on the south side of the middle pathway.

At first the stones placed here would be obtained from England. It is not likely that any would be brought from the United States, the "late unpleasantness" being too fresh in the memories of our early citizens. One of the early stone-cutters in St. John was John Milligan—the same who built Burn's Monument at Ayr, Scotland. Mr. Milligan is buried here, where



his monument may be seen. The first grave-digger was a colored man named Edward Burr, who for fifty years served in that capacity. Burr was a character in his way and well known. His sombre occupation of the day was relieved at night by his playing the fiddle for dancing parties.

The intention to build a church on the Burial Ground was abandoned after the frame was burnt. The lots between Charlotte and Germain streets were afterward presented for the purpose, where Trinity Church was built.

There were undoubtedly some interments in Trinity Church ground, but the soil was too shallow for this purpose and the New Brunswick Legislature, in 1789, passed an Act forbidding further burials there.

Bodies were afterward taken up and re-interred in the public burying ground. Re-interments also took place from a graveyard in the rear of a building on Germain street, between Duke and Queen streets, used as a church and city hall. The last one buried in that place was Thomas Horsfield (1819) after whom Horsfield street was named. Bodies were removed from a small burying-place (probably private) on Princess, near Germain street, and from other places and re-interred here.

In 1822, the building of a second Church of England was contemplated, and the Corporation gave the same site (south-west corner Burial Ground) which had previously been given and abandoned. The advertisement for proposals to build this church may be seen in the City Gazette of January 30, 1823.

There were, however, objections made to building here. The terms on which the Corporation had granted the lot required that the fence around the Burial Ground should be kept in repair by the Church. This, some asserted, was too great a task; others objected to the location. Finally Judge Chipman offered a lot of land at the head of Wellington Row, and there St. John's Church was built (1824) which has long been popularly known as the Stone Church.

The brush or snake fence at first surrounded the Burial Ground was displaced by a close board one, in all probability not "a thing of beauty."



Of the notable funerals that wended their melancholy way to this final resting place, mention may be made of that of William Wanton, Esq., Collector of Customs of this city for over thirty years. He died in 1816, aged eighty-two years. William Campbell, Esq., second mayor of the city and postmaster for twenty-one years; he died February 10, 1823. He had resigned his position as mayor in 1816 on account of advanced age and was given a pension by the city of £100 per annum. There was no city debt then; which fact, besides the long and faithful services of Mr. Campbell, may account for the pension. The reader, if inclined to diverge, may contrast the past with the present financial condition of the city. William Campbell was a prominent Free Mason, and his funeral procession, like that of Mr. Wanton, was undoubtedly an imposing one. Another interment of note was that of Hugh Johnston, Sr. His body was the last removed from the old ground to the cemetery. In this now historic ground are laid to rest judges, rectors, mayors and chamberlains of our city, British officers and private soldiers. The latter, it appears, were buried in the south-west corner, which, it is likely, was reserved for them.

It is to be greatly regretted that so many of the grave-stones have been destroyed, many wantonly. Many of them, instead of being repaired and re-set, were buried in a trench at the lower part of the ground. The greatest age recorded on any of these grave-stones is that of Richard Partelow, ninety-eight years. Mr. Partelow was the great-grandfather of the Honorable John R. Partelow.

A few years ago could be seen, near the Sydney street gate, a head-board marking the resting-place of Peter Paul. An Indian and his squaw had been buried here. The writer has no information concerning them, but without doubt they were settled in the city and respected.

Consequent upon the opening of the Church of England burying ground at the head of Courtenay Bay, the interments in the public Burial Ground became less frequent. The city was growing rapidly around it and the space remaining for interments was becoming small, although for twenty years longer it was to





share with the Church of England ground the honor of providing places for the repose of the mortal remains of our citizens. Then the lots and graves were kept in good condition; the place was a sacred resort. New-made graves were gazed on by weeping eyes. Sad hearts strewed flowers over grassy mounds. Then the rustling of its grass and the whispering of its trees had a sad and solemn sound, and none cared to linger within its gates at night. Now its asphalt walks are pressed by the hurrying feet of men careless of those who rest beneath; the schoolboy romps upon its sward; the night brings not a fear or dread to lad or maiden passing through.

In 1848 an Act was passed by the Legislature closing the ground for burial purposes. For some time the opinion had been held that further burials there would be detrimental to the health of the city.

While the penalty would appear to have been sufficient to prevent anyone from placing a corpse in the place, it is, however, asserted that after the Act, two or three bodies were surreptitiously buried there at night. It is said that the body of Redfern, who was hanged in 1846, was smuggled in there and buried, the body having been covered with lime. This was prior to the closing.

The following records the death of the last woman buried here: "Died, 21st April, 1848, Miss Mary Anderson, aged seventy-five years, one of the first settlers of this Province and for many years a resident of this city, where she was known by the name of Polly Dyer."

Miss Anderson was born blind. She was very popular and moved in good society. The name Dyer given her was probably her stepfather's.

The last interment was that of Wm. Henderson, shoemaker, who died April 30, and was buried on the evening of the same day—the last day on which the place was to remain open for burials. Mr. Henderson, whose wife and family had been buried there, prayed fervently on his death-bed that he might die before the closing of the Burial Ground, so as to be laid beside those most dear to him.



One verse from the Newsboy's Address to the patrons of the New Brunswick Courier of 1851 gives this interesting information:

“We've railed the graveyard round, and spread  
A grass-green quilt above the dead,  
Beside the trees we've planted;  
And closed it up to save affright,  
For if folks entered there at night  
'Twould certainly be haunted.”

As the address records transactions of the year then just past, it shows that the fence was put up sixty-six years ago. This fence became dilapidated and was removed somewhere about 1890 and the grounds left without an enclosure.

After the closing of the ground, a caretaker was appointed by the city, who, besides a small yearly payment, had the privilege of cultivating flowers for sale. Mr. Henry Ward was the first who had charge, and in his time the grounds were laid out, walks made and beds and flower-mounds built. A walk was made along each side of the grave-yard, near the fence; the centre one was extended; another run to the north-west gate to reach Union street, and other walks were made, both with an eye to symmetry and to accommodate the people passing through to streets adjacent. There have been several changes in the office of caretaker, with a greater or less degree of improvement in the appearance of the place. Flower mounds and beds have increased, walks have been made or altered, and the thoroughfares covered with asphalt. A flagstaff was erected in 1860 on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, from which on historic days floats out the flag so loved in life by those who repose beneath it. A beautiful fountain and jet, about the centre of the grounds, placed there in 1883, the Centennial year, is the gift of a public spirited citizen, George F. Smith, Esq. The old spot is certainly a beautiful place and readily repays the little care and attention bestowed upon it—yet at least two attempts have been made to take this—one of the few breathing places in our closely built city—from the people.

Many years ago a number of persons, principally interested in property on Elliott Row and vicinity, pushed the Common



Council hard to order the extension of the street on the north side of King Square directly through the grave-yard to Elliott Row. Happily this did not succeed, the Council voting "Nay." In 1850, the temperance societies applied to the Council for permission to build there a Temperance hall; and what so nicely suited their ideas was a part of the old Burial Ground, near the centre gate, fronting on Sydney street. The Council actually voted it to them with but one dissenting voice, that of Thomas McAvity, Esq., ex-Mayor, who was then a member of the Council. At the time it was thought by some a censurable thing for him to object to the project. But that he had a better appreciation of the wishes and sentiments of the citizens generally was quickly proven when a petition for rescinding the order was presented to the Council, so largely and influentially signed that there could be no mistaking the dissatisfaction created by the grant and the order was rescinded. The petition was presented to the Council by the late Walker Tisdale, Esq. It is to be hoped that no other proposal to treat this ground as other than an historical and sacred spot will ever be entertained by our City Council, but that it will be further beautified for the comfort and pleasure of our citizens.

Some years ago the New Brunswick Historical Society had a tree-planting and a number of the monuments and grave-stones re-set and repaired and the head-boards painted and re-lettered. They also copied for preservation all the epitaphs then remaining in this historic plot. On May 18, 1883 (the centennial anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists), a military salute was fired over this old God's Acre in honor of its patriotic dead; and in the fall of that year, over one hundred and fifty trees were planted by the New Brunswick Historical Society. While the place has since been looked after so far as keeping the grounds in order, it is believed, however, that there is a gradual disappearance of the grave stones.



## THE SAINT JOHN SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

WILLIAM MURDOCH, C. E.

In the original settlement of what is now the City of St. John, there were three separate colonies; one being that about the battery on the West Side on the mainland, near Navy Island, known in authentic history as Fort Frederick and claimed by some historian to have been the site of La Tour's colony. The district was laid out as a town plot toward the end of the eighteenth century and called Carleton.

A town plot was planned for the eastern side of the mouth of the St. John River, bounded on the north by what is now Union street, and called Parrtown, John Parr having been at that time Governor of Nova Scotia, which then embraced the present Province of New Brunswick, and Sir Guy Carleton having been Commander-in-Chief of the British forces at the close of the American War of Independence.

The third district was that lying north of Union street and extending westward to the River St. John. A portion of this district, with the addition of Parrtown and Carleton, became consolidated into one corporation in the year 1785 and was styled the City of St. John. The remainder, extending northward to Kennebecasis River, was in the Parish of Portland.

In those early days the inhabitants found considerable difficulty in crossing the mouth of the river from one part of the city to the other, as the range of tide varies between twenty-eight and seventeen feet according to the period of the moon. This, considered with the gorge about 500 feet in width at the head of the harbour, through which the tide delivers into the river at high water and flows out of the river at low tide, causes dangerous currents in the harbour, which were difficult to negotiate by the early oarsmen, and still are by their successors.

After all of the usual attempts to ferry the harbour by means of scows, etc., had produced a state of mind in the inhabitants which caused them to welcome any attempt to ameliorate their condition, a promoter proposed a bridge in extension of Watson street, West, to cross the river to Portland below the gorge. A charter was obtained in the year 1835 incorporating Benjamin





L. Peters, Ralph M. Jarvis, Nehemiah Merritt, John Robertson, James Peters, Jr., James Hendricks, David Hatfield, Robert W. Crookshank, Robert Rankin, Robert F. Hazen, Edward L. Jarvis, Charles Simonds, Edward B. Chandler, William Crane, Hugh Johnston, Thomas Wyer, John W. Weldon and Jedediah Slason, as the St. John Bridge Company. The capital stock was set at £20,000 and increased by Act of the Legislature in the spring of 1837 to £28,000 and the work begun. A road was laid out, now known as Merritt street, to form the Portland approach, and a toll house built here. A timber pier was erected on the left side of the river and a primitive form of cantilever bridge begun. The land arm, which reached up to the toll house was, I understand, to serve as a counterpoise to the northern half span. As I am unaware of any records describing this structure nothing is left but to recall recollections imparted by old residents who had seen or heard of it, all of whom are now dead. In August of the year 1837, while undergoing erection, this fell, killing seven workmen and wounding others, the last of whom survived until about ten years ago.

Another bridge was attempted later on at the site of the present railway steel bridge at the falls, and it, too, fell, leaving the two communities still separated by the swift running waters of the River Saint John.

During this period a steam ferry boat was built and installed in the year 1840, to run from the western end of Princess street to Sand Point on the western, or Carleton side of the harbour until a terminus was built for it at the end of Rodney Wharf where it now is.

This boat, which was called the "Victoria," was engined by Robert Foulis, a versatile Scotchman who had strayed here during the early years of the eighteenth century and of whom it seems well that, by way of digression, a few words might be given. He was a nephew of the brothers Robert and Andrew Foulis, of Glasgow, printers and publishers, whose productions were the admiration of all their contemporaries, and whose edition of "Horace," published in the year 1744, was hung up, sheet by sheet, in Glasgow University and a reward offered for the discovery of a single error.



This scion of an intellectual breed was, I understand, a graduate of Glasgow University. After various experiences, when a young man, even to serving as surgeon in a whaling ship, he finally settled in the City of St. John and became a land surveyor, artist, analytical chemist and a civil and mechanical engineer. His survey of the River St. John is still in vogue in the Crown Land Office of this province; his microscopic portraits are exquisite works of art. His chemical knowledge ranged from analyzing ores to making his own whisky when overtaken by adversity. As an engineer he is said to have endeavored to promote a canal, upon the peninsula which contains Douglas Avenue, connecting the harbour of St. John with Marble Cove in order to make the river accessible at all times by means of locks. While operating as a mechanical engineer and owning a foundry he engined the ferry boat referred to, besides the first steam craft to ply the river to Fredericton and employed the late George Fleming, whose marine and locomotive engines, later on, became household words, and whose grandsons now operate the Phoenix Foundry. Mr. Fleming, when a young man, arrived in St. John from Scotland and was immediately engaged by Mr. Foulis. Later on when Mr. Foulis was the engineer of the light and signal service of the government of New Brunswick, his principal charge being Partridge Island whereon was an automatic fog bell operated by heavy clockwork supplied with pendulum and weights, he proposed a steam whistle instead of the bell, steam whistles being then new to the world. Later on his suggestion was acted upon; there was no patent law then and the inventor, though in his old age, blind and poor, was given no compensation, and the inventor of the fog horn died in poverty. .

Now to return to our subject: William K. Reynolds, a native of New England and owner of a saw mill and timber limits at Lepreau, offered to erect a wooden suspension bridge across the gorge below the falls where the ground stands about one hundred feet above the tide at low water, the distance from cliff to cliff is fully six hundred feet and the width of water about five hundred feet.



A canvass was made among the citizens for the sale of stock in a company to build and operate the structure. An Act of Assembly was obtained in the year 1849 incorporating the Suspension Bridge Company, the only incorporator named in the Act being Mr. Reynolds. Sufficient stock was subscribed to justify a beginning and the work commenced in the year 1851.

Edward W. Serrell, a famous designer of suspension bridges, was engaged to prepare plans and supervise the work; and the promoter, William Kilby Reynolds, was employed to carry out the plans.

Mr. Serrell was an Englishman who had been bred, in his native country, to the trade of a cabinet maker, in which capacity he came to this continent and found employment in the United States. He took a deep interest in bridges, especially those of the suspension kind, of which he made models, and finally struck out as a bridge engineer, in which capacity he soon became famous and built the one which spans Niagara river at Lewistown, then the longest in the world, being 1040 feet.

A word about suspension bridges: The principle is of ancient origin and has long been in vogue among primitive peoples, even among the apes, a branch of the animal kingdom that humans do not associate with. They are said to have the habit of linking their bodies one to another, each grasping the tail of the other, and suspending this living chain from a tall tree overhanging the cliff of an inaccessible gorge, then swinging themselves to and fro, as a pendulum, increasing the momentum, until the opposite side is reached when the duty of the endman in this case is to attach himself to some object and thus form a bridge on which the migrants cross the ravine. Primitive suspension bridges have consisted of two ropes thrown from cliff to cliff and a floor secured thereto, the ropes being well tightened and a roadway thus obtained. Such viaducts have long been used in Peru and in Thibet.

The modern suspension bridge consists of this principle, the points of suspension being elevated to such a height that a floor can be hung from the chains or ropes to the level of the roadway. The British and European general practice was to hang such a



deck from chains and the American to use wire ropes, a pronounced example of the former being that over Menai Strait, in Wales, and of the latter type, the first Brooklyn bridge in New York.

The Welsh bridge was a pioneer structure of the kind and, for a long time, looked upon as one of the wonders of the world. It connects Carnarvonshire with the Island of Anglesey, where the strait has a width of about nine hundred feet. The suspension span of iron measures 579 feet, 10 inches, from centre to centre of towers, with a clear height of 102 feet above high water level. The Carnarvonshire approach consists of three spans of 52 feet, 6 inches each, and measures in all, inclusive of piers and embankment, about 400 feet; the Anglesey approach has four spans similar to those on the opposite end and a total length, including embankment and piers, of about 560 feet, thus giving an entire length of viaducts of about 1540 feet. It contains two roadways of 12 feet each in width and a footpath 4 feet wide between them. This work was begun in the year 1818 and completed in the year 1826 under the plans of Thomas Telford, who himself was as great a wonder as his famous bridge.

Thomas Telford's home was that part of Scotland, bordering upon England, made classic by Sir Walter Scott. In the olden days it produced a kind of tourist, hated by the English for a reason given once by a gentleman of Northumbrian parentage who, when addressing Saint Andrew's Society of this city, at an annual dinner, informed his hearers that although he had never heard of any of his ancestors' remains being in Scotland, he had no doubt that a good many of the bones of his ancestors' cattle reposed there.

In later years the Scottish border produced the poet James Hogg, known as the Ettrick Shepherd; Thomas Carlyle, the Sage of Chelsea, and the subject of this sketch who was the leading engineer of his day, and founder of the institution of Civil Engineers of which he was its first president, an office which he continued to hold for several years until his death.

He was born in Eskdale, Dumfrieshire, in the year 1757. When a child he assisted his father who was a shepherd. At





fifteen he was apprenticed to a stone mason, and in his leisure studied Latin, French and German as well as English; then he essayed to be a poet, writing a number of effusions over the *nom de plume* of "Eskdale Tam," but his real measure was found when employed in Edinburg at the erection of houses in the "new town." Here he turned his attention, when twenty-three years of age, to architectural drawing, and two years later we find him in London, where he was employed in the erection of Somerset House. In 1784 he superintended the building of a house for the Commissioner of Portsmouth Dockyard and repaired the castle of the member of Shrewsbury, Sir W. Pultenay. This gentleman, realizing the attainments of the clever young Scotchman, secured his appointment to the office of Surveyor of Public Works for the County of Salop; when the most brilliant of careers opened up before him, although he was thirty-five years of age when he built his first bridge. He designed and supervised the construction of a number of canals in Great Britain and Sweden, roads in various parts of Europe and Britain, including 920 miles through the Highlands of Scotland, where he built no fewer than 1100 bridges, and similar work in the mountains of Wales, thus giving the name which still attaches to the class of roads known as "Telford." His principal docks were in Pultenaytown, Aberdeen, Dundee, London and Glasgow, and the year before his death he reported on the water supply of London.

It was in the course of his work in Wales that he designed the Menai and Conway suspension bridges on the line of a new road to Ireland, and he was consulted on this continent when the attempt was made to promote the Bay Verte Canal. He died at the age of seventy-seven years and was buried in Westminster Abbey in September, 1834.

The East River suspension bridge was designed by John A. Roebling, civil engineer, of New York, and completed by his son, Col. W. A. Roebling. It consists of three spans, the main one being  $1595\frac{1}{2}$  feet and the side spans 930 feet each, making a total length of  $3155\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The approaches measure  $2533\frac{1}{2}$  feet, giving a grand total of 5989 feet, or one mile and



709 feet. The height of roadway above high tide is 135 feet towers are 272 feet and the breadth of bridge is 85 feet.

Each wire of the bridge was dipped repeatedly in oil which was allowed to harden between the dippings until each wire had a moderately thick coat of hardened grease to prevent oxidation. Each of the four cables contains 5700 wires thus treated, the wires running longitudinally and securely wrapped on the outside, the diameter of each cable being fifteen and one-half inches. The strength of these steel wires is rated at 160,000 pounds per square inch.

The senior Roebling also constructed the combined railway and passenger bridge at Niagara Falls, on the suspension plan and, in doing so, exercised his ingenuity in overcoming elasticity which is the objection to such for railway purposes.

Its length is 821 feet, 4 inches and the cross-section consists of a four sided box 18 feet deep with a lower floor 24 feet wide, for team travel, and a top for railway travel and foot passengers with a total width of 25 feet. The walls of this box are lattice girders securely fastened, with the object of obtaining rigidity under a rolling load. It is suspended from four cables of 3640 wires each and measuring ten inches diameter when wrapped. The ends of the cables in all such bridges are securely anchored into the ground that they may resist the strain imposed upon them, and the tops of the towers are furnished with iron saddles, placed on rollers that the cables may move without overturning the towers.

Returning to the St. John suspension bridge. The promoter pushed his work of construction in the years 1851 and 1852 but, as his franchise under the Act of 1849 terminated in April, 1852, and a finish could not be made on time, he obtained an extension until April 1, 1853, from the Legislature on April 7, 1852, and the work was performed as bargained.

Mr. Reynolds having undertaken with his subscribers that he would finance the entire operation alone until the bridge would be completed, and the Legislature having, in the session of 1850, voted a bonus of £2,000 to be distributed pro rata among the stockholders after completion of the bridge and a



report from a competent engineer appointed by the Government certifying approval of the bridge and its approaches, very little risk was taken by the stockholders.

The Government appointed Alexander L. Light, a prominent and well known engineer of the time, to inspect the structure and the new roads leading to it. He reported as follows, viz:—

(From the "Courier," May 28, 1853.)

REPORT ON THE SAINT JOHN SUSPENSION BRIDGE, TO  
HON. J. R. PARTELOW.

SIR:—I beg to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor and the Government, that according to instructions received from you, bearing date the 21st January, I have carefully examined the St. John Suspension Bridge, erected under the authority and by virtue of the powers granted by an Act of the Legislature intitled "An Act to Incorporate the St. John Suspension Bridge." And I hereby certify that the same is constructed in conformity with the requirements of such Act, and that (within the limits and conditions herein specified) it is of sufficient strength and quality in all respects to render it perfectly safe for life and property passing over the same.

The bridge is of the description generally called "Wire Suspension Bridge," being composed of ten cables, five on each side, each cable containing three hundred strands of No. 10 wire, or three thousand in all. These cables pass over massive towers of masonry and are made fast to the solid rock behind by heavy anchors as will be hereafter described.

The span of bridge from centre to centre of points of suspension is six hundred and thirty (630) feet; width of roadway between parapet, twenty-three (23) feet; with a fifteen feet carriage way in the centre, and four feet each side for foot paths. The whole being suspended seventy feet above extreme high water mark.

I have examined all the component parts of the bridge, including the foundation, and have subjected the wires, suspending rods and floor timbers to a breaking strain, in order to form a safe calculation of the actual strength of the bridge, upon all which I beg to report in detail.

The towers upon the western side of the river are built upon two different kinds of rock, the northern part being built upon limestone, whilst the southern is erected upon a very hard dark colored trap rock. Between these rocks there is a decided



fissure, which, I am informed, (for now that the tower is built I have no other means of knowing) did not extend under the northern tower, but ran out to nothing at the southeastern face of the same. This fissure, Mr. Reynolds, the contractor, tells me has been carefully cleaned out and rammed full of concrete and broken stone. On the edge of the fissure, where I had an opportunity of examining it, this is now nearly as hard as the rock itself.

This must be watched and kept carefully sealed up to prevent the water from getting in, which if allowed to enter, and to freeze, might do serious damage. So long as this is guarded against I consider the towers to be perfectly safe, as I am led to believe that all earth has been excavated from under them, they being built upon the solid rock, each of the different descriptions of which stands firmly upon its own base.

The towers upon the eastern side of the river are built upon a shaly slate rock. The northeastern tower has been regularly stepped down with steps cut at right angles to the horizon until it attains a firm footing at the bottom from whence it has been built up entirely of strong granite masonry, of a firm and durable character. The southern tower has likewise been cut down to a solid foundation; but whether from economical or other motives the base of the tower, which should be the strongest, having to carry the superincumbent weight of the whole, has been built of limestone rubble masonry, of not nearly the same strength as the masonry in the tower erected upon it, which is constructed of granite. This I consider a mistake, for though the work is safe and will last, I doubt not, for many years, yet it is not by any means of the same durable nature nor in keeping with the rest of the work.

To remedy this defect I would recommend the outside of this rubble work, where it is exposed to the weather, to be covered with a good coating of cement, made of the best hydraulic lime; and the outside of this to be weatherboarded. With due attention to this it may be made to last for an indefinite space of time.

The towers themselves are built of first-class granite masonry. They are fifty-one feet, nine inches high above the base, fifteen square at the bottom and six feet square at the top of tower below the coping. The coping stone that the saddle rests upon is seven feet square and one-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) feet thick. Each of the other courses is two feet thick. The stone at the outside of the towers is composed of, is grey granite of a fine grain and durable nature. The stones are dressed smooth upon the beds and builds, but the outside is rough, technically called with a quarry





face with an arris or tooled margin one inch wide round the edge of each stone. The filling in the centre of the towers, I am informed, is composed of the best class limestone rubble laid in cement and grouted, each course being leveled off to correspond with the granite face before the next was laid. So far as I can judge from carefully examining the outside of the work it seems executed in a faithful and workmanlike manner. (For strength of tower see appendix).

On top of the towers rest the arrangements for compensating the contraction and expansion of the back stage. This consists of a lower plate of cast iron 3 x 4 feet square, bedded in the masonry and firmly fastened down with copper dowels to prevent any movement of itself. This plate is perfectly smooth on its upper surface. On it are inserted seven wrought iron cylindrical rollers; on these rollers a saddle is placed which consists of a plate of cast iron perfectly smooth on its lower surface to correspond with the upper surface of the lower plate.

The top of the plate is cut out into five grooves  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches apart from centre to centre, semi-cular and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter at bottom, and formed on a curve of 4 feet 6 inches radius in longitudinal direction of the bridge. In these grooves the cables rest. The effect of this arrangement is, that in the event of contraction or expansion of the cables from variations of temperature, the saddle moves along upon the rollers without wracking the masonry of the towers. I consider this an excellent plan and well adapted to answer the purpose intended.

The cable are ten in number, five on each side of the bridge, laid parallel to each other and composed of three hundred strands of No. 10 wire, about one-eighth inch in diameter of each cable, or 3000 strands in all. Before these cables were made the wire was boiled in linseed oil and franklinite, which prevents corrosion. I am informed there were six barrels of oil used in their preparation. These cables are hung over the top of the towers on each side in catenarian curves, the droop from the tops of the towers to the apex of the curve being about forty-five feet.

The cables on the land sides are carried back over the tops of the towers as nearly as possible on the same angle as on the bridge side of the tower. This causes the pressure on each side of the tower to be the same, the resultant of which is a vertical pressure. The cables are carried back on this angle until they meet the surface of the rock, where they are fastened by suitable arrangements of links and shackles of sufficient strength to anchors of wrought iron. These anchors are straight bars of best refined round iron four and one-quarter inches in diameter.



There are two of them in each cable, the one set six feet behind the other, in holes drilled by machinery eight feet into the solid rock, at right angles to the tangent of the curvature of the back stays, and these secured by filling round them with iron wedges and lead. From the unfinished state of the anchor pits (the masonry proposed to be built over them not being yet commenced) the earth had washed in partially covering them, so that I could not examine them thoroughly. The parts exposed, however, were securely fastened. I would recommend that these anchors be housed over either with stone or brick arch or wooden house extending the whole length of the shackles, and the drainage from the same, which is not by any means perfect now, be made thoroughly complete.

Five of the cables on the western side of the bridge have been spliced. I do not anticipate any danger from this as it is made in what is technically called the return, after the cable has been passed around the frog of the anchor which is well and securely clamped; moreover from experiments that I have made on wire spliced in this manner, the wire broke at the perfect part and not at the splice. Suspension bridges in Europe are generally made of wires of promiscuous lengths, splicing them whenever the coil was run out. In the Friboargh Bridge,—the largest bridge of the kind in Europe—the cables were made in this manner.

The suspension rods are three-eighth inch by six-eighth inch and are in different lengths to suit the curve of the cables. There are 147 on each side of the bridge, or 294 in all. They are suspended from the cables at every four feet, alternating regularly from one cable to the other beginning with the outside and going regularly on by steps of four feet at a time to the inside one, then beginning with the outside one again. These suspending rods have a stirrup at their lower extremities, into which the transverse beams of the roadway are fitted and are there nailed fast to prevent their slipping off. They are each of them provided with one or two turnbuckles according to their length. These are for the purpose of adjusting them by to bring them all into the same degree of tension. These suspension rods are amply strong enough, as will be shewn in the appendix, where the strength of the bridge and its individual parts are explained . . . . . (Reference to four feet foot-path on each side marked by longitudinal scantling each side of 15 feet carriageway, but paper mutilated so it cannot be copied verbatim).

The transverse beams of the road are three by fourteen inches in the middle, and three by twelve inches at the sides



where they fit into the stirrups. This gives a slight curvation to the cross-section of the roadway and allows the water to run off the sides, where it passes through cast iron scuppers. The transverse beams are placed four feet apart from centre to centre.

The planking for the carriageway is placed longitudinally and rests upon the transverse beams. The planks composing it are three inches in thickness and from six inches to a foot and upwards in width, and from twenty to forty feet in length. On each side of the bridge above and below the transverse beams are the top and bottom chords of a section of eight inches by five inches and five inches by five inches. These are procured in long lengths of not less than thirty feet and spliced, bolted and banded together so as to make them equal to one continuous timber extending from one end of the bridge to the other. Iron bolts, three-quarter inch section, pass through these top and bottom chords, and through the intervening transverse beam at every crossing of the same. These chords have the effect of stiffening the bridge and distribute any passing load over three or four of the suspending rods.

The timbers of the handrail on the outside of the bridge are five inches by five inches. The posts are morticed into the upper chords and are braced with diagonal braces of a similar section, extending from the foot of one post to the head of another, forming a series of St. Andrews crosses. The tops of the posts are morticed into the handrail, the top of which is capped with a moulding extending one inch over each side of the same. The whole is trussed up tight by three-quarter inch bolts passing through the handrail and by the side of the vertical post and screwed up tight with a nut underneath the top chord.

The platform of the bridge has a slight curvature across the river of nine inches, the same being inverted to the curve of the chains. This curvature varies of course with the degree of temperature; in the extreme heat of summer the bridge will be nearly a level plane.

At either end of the bridge are six guys, three on one side and the same number on the other. These guys are small cables of wire one inch in diameter, extending from the rock on either side of the bridge, where they are fastened to the bridge itself, the guys upon one side pulling against the guys on the other in such a manner as greatly to neutralize the effects of the wind. These guys, however, are very imperfectly put in, being badly made, indifferently fastened and by no means in the proper state of tension. I would recommend these guys to be immediately attended to, and made as perfect as it is



possible to make them, as I consider that there is more to be feared from the effects of the violent gusts of wind which sweep through the gorge than from almost any other disturbing cause.

The approaches to the bridge are only completed for about 150 feet on each side. The roads leading thereto are bad; on the eastern side there is a steep hill within 300 feet of the bridge, which should be cut down to a grade of 1 in 25, before heavy loads can be taken up it with any degree of facility. In fact — when the hill is covered with ice, as it was when I made the survey, it is almost impassable for loaded teams. The rest of this road passes through the Portland Town shipyards and is more or less blocked up with timber.

From the end of the 150 feet approach at the western side of the bridge to the junction of the main road near the Asylum the road creeps round the base of sloping ground and is decidedly unsafe at any pace beyond a walk, when there is ice upon it.

The Act with regard to the road and approaches is indefinite as to how far they are to be completed. I estimate that it will require £200 to make a good road in keeping with the rest of the work from a point leaving the main road by the Asylum west of the bridge, to the same distance on the eastern side of the river.

The amount of work still remaining to be done to render the work perfect, and if which, if neglected, will considerably lessen the ultimate durability of the bridge, but which at the same time does not interfere with its being used for the present are: First, Repairing the spiral winding of the cables, technically called the sewing, where it has been broken in many places in taking them over the towers. If this is not done the water will get into these places and do serious mischief. Second, painting all the ironwork of the bridge a white color with white lead and oil. The white color materially weakens the action of the sun and allows any symptom of incipient oxidation immediately to manifest itself. Third, coating the limestone rubble masonry in the southeastern foundation with hydraulic cement and weather-boarding the same; likewise pointing the joints of the masonry in all the towers with cement. Fourth, finishing and refastening guys. Fifth, cleaning out, thoroughly draining and housing over anchors. Sixth, completing the roads to and from the bridge.

I have estimated that £500 is a sufficient amount to complete these items.

Speaking generally, with the exception of the above mentioned items, I consider the workmanship well executed and creditable to all concerned.





I cannot conclude this report without respectfully recommending that the wise intention of the Government with regard to it being periodically inspected should be carried out. Suspension bridges in particular require to be carefully watched, the stability of the whole depending in a great measure upon the perfection of its parts. It is no use if the cables are strong and equally strained if the suspending rods are not in adjustment, and vice versa.

In conclusion I would merely add that in the survey nothing has been taken for granted where there was the least possibility of applying a test; and where the least doubt could be entertained the fullest practical experiments have been made with a deep sense of the responsibility incurred

All of which is respectfully submitted by

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) ALEXANDER L. LIGHT.

St. Andrews, 25th February, 1853.

#### APPENDIX.

##### ON THE ULTIMATE STRENGTH OF THE BRIDGE AND ALL ITS COMPONENT PARTS

The safe strength of the bridge I estimate to be 131 tons gross.

From the result of six experiments that I have made upon the strength of the wire used in the construction of the St. John Suspension Bridge, I found that hung in a catenarian curve at the same angle over the points of suspension and suspended over saddles struck to the same radius they broke with an average weight of 840 pounds net upon each wire. Now there are 3000 strands of wire in the ten cables: We therefore get  $3000 \times 840 = 2,520,000$  lbs = 1,125 tons, as the absolute strength of the cables

The suspended weight of the bridge I calculate to be 150 tons. This includes the weight of the cables themselves between the points of suspension, the suspending rods, floor timbers, and all other suspended weight of the bridge. Deducting this 150 tons, the weight of the bridge, from the absolute tensile strength of the cables will leave 975 tons as the extraneous load theoretically that would cause fracture.

The best authorities upon construction, however, (*vide* Tredgold, Nicholson, Rennie) inform us that in order to be perfectly safe, either in wood or iron, we should never allow more than a quarter of the breaking strain as a safe load. My



own practice has always agreed with this. Now dividing the 1,125 tons, the absolute strength of the cables, by 4 for a safe load we get 281 tons, and deducting from this 150 tons, the calculated weight of the bridge, we have 131 tons, as the safe load the bridge will sustain without a shadow of doubt, this being equally distributed all over the platform of the same.

I am informed that it was the intention that the bridge should bear a human being upon every two feet square. Now taking the average weight of man at 150 pounds net there should be  $37\frac{1}{2}$  pounds upon every superficial foot, and there being 13,340 superficial feet in the platform of the bridge we have:  $13,340 \times 37\frac{1}{2} = 223$  tons, as the load that this calculation would give. To arrive at this strength I believe one-third of the breaking strain was assumed as a safe load. Taking therefore as before 1,125 tons as the absolute strength of the cables, this, divided by three, leaves 375 tons; deduct from this 150 tons, the weight of bridge common to both calculations, we have 225 tons as the safe load according to this calculation, and my own experiments upon the strength of the wire. One-third of the breaking load may be safe, but a one-quarter I feel persuaded is more in accordance with general practice.

Though 225 tons, or even 131 tons, may seem a large load and more, probably, than ever will or should be allowed upon it, yet it is but fair to say that this is not by any means the greatest load that could possibly come upon it. The heaviest load that a bridge is liable to be subjected to, is estimated by various writers at 120 pounds per superficial foot. This is considering the bridge by some unforeseen circumstance to be crowded with people. This agrees with experiments of my own, as I have had no difficulty in crowding twenty persons averaging 150 lbs. each into twenty-five superficial feet. Mr. Brunel, in his report upon the Hungerford Suspension Bridge, says, "That a bridge should be able to support 120 pounds per superficial foot besides its own weight, and that no bridge can be called perfectly safe that will not do this." Now taking as before the platform of the bridge as 13,340 superficial feet, and 120 pounds per foot as the greatest load that can by any possibility come upon it we have  $13,340 \times 120$  lbs. = 1,600,800 pounds, or 714 tons, as the greatest extraneous load the bridge can be subjected to. We have previously shewn that 975 tons is the extraneous load that would cause fracture of the cables. Deducting 714 from 975 we have 261 tons excessive strength theoretically after the platform is fully loaded. This is taking the most extreme case and it would require the weight . . . . .  
(Paper mutilated and cannot be read, but reference appears to



be made to strength of cables not in direct ratio to number of wires but being less than ratio) . . . . . This load even for a very short time, were they by any possibility subjected to it, I consider very doubtful indeed, as it is found that a wire cable made of 1000 wires banded together does not possess 1000 times the strength of a single wire, even though every wire be of the same strength. This is from the great practical difficulty in drawing them all straight alike and straining and bending them the same. This is the reason why builders generally assume so small a proportion of the breaking strain for a safe load. Of this, however, every engineer must judge for himself. It is very certain there is no economy in risk. An excess of strength is far better than a deficiency.

#### ON THE STRENGTH OF THE TOWERS.

It has been previously stated in this report that the pressure upon these towers is vertical. It will therefore be sufficient to provide for this pressure. They are built upon a firm base and of such proportions as to ensure their own stability, being built of the best material and laid in cement, it being taken for granted that the workmanship is good, of which from the fine appearance of the outside of the work I consider there is little doubt. It is proposed to demonstrate their strength. The part of the tower below the tower has the smallest sectional area. They are here six feet square containing 36 square feet in each tower, or 144 square feet collectively at the four points of support. This crushing weight of granite varies from two to six tons per square inch of surface. Taking the lowest average would give us 288 tons crushing weight upon each square foot. Now as there are 144 square feet in the area of the surface of the towers we get  $144 \times 288 = 41,472$  tons as the crushing weight of the four towers, or more than forty tons the extreme weight can by any possibility be brought upon them.

#### ON STRENGTH OF THE ANCHORS.

Each cable is fastened by a separate attachment to its own anchors. The smallest sectional area that these attachments present is twelve and one-half inches or two shackles each two and one-half inches by two and one-half inches. There are therefore twenty attachments, of twelve inches each to the ten cables. The strain on these attachments is directly tensile. Any load applied on the bridge is immediately communicated through the cables and over the saddles to the anchors at either end. For instance, were twenty tons applied on the platform of the



bridge there would be a strain of twenty tons upon each set of anchors, less the friction over the saddle. Therefore, to arrive at the strength of the anchors, only half their number must be taken into account, or one for each cable. The tensile strength of refined iron varies from sixty to eighty thousand pounds per sectional inch (according to quality). In calculations for large castings it is only considered advisable to take a sixty as a safe load. We have therefore  $10 \times 125 \times \frac{60,000}{6} = 1,250,000$  pounds, 558 tons, for a safe load.

#### ON THE STRENGTH OF THE SUSPENDING RODS.

There are 147 on either side of the bridge, or 294 in all. The amount of weight required to break one would be about eight tons. They have all been tested, I understand, with a strain of four tons. Before loading the bridge I subjected one to a strain of five tons striking it violently at the same time with a hammer to cause vibration. It bore this without shewing any symptoms of weakness. Assuming, therefore, eight tons to be breaking strain, taking one-quarter of this, or two tons, multiplied by the number of rods, we have  $2 \times 294 = 588$  tons as a safe load for the rods, were this load equally distributed over the platform of the bridge. Moreover the upper and lower chords and trussed handrail have the effect of distributing any passing load over three or four of the suspending rods; and the more so on account of a certain degree of flexibility in the cable, which settles imperceptibly when the load presses heavily upon any particular point. If two of the suspension rods upon one side were taken out, leaving twelve feet of the roadway unsupported, there would still be strength enough in the chords and handrail so to distribute the load on to the two next adjoining rods, as to require about seven tons to cause fracture of the roadway.

#### ON THE STRENGTH OF THE TRANSVERSE BEAMS.

The transverse beams of the roadway which support the planking are three inches by fourteen inches in the middle rounded on top to three inches by twelve inches at the ends. From actual experiments that I have made since my return to St. Andrews, upon beams of the precise length, size of scantling and description of timber of those used in the St. John Suspension Bridge, taking the mean of those experiments, I found they broke with a dead load of four tons hung in the middle of each beam, which would be equivalent to about eight tons distributed all over the surface of the same. These beams,





being covered with long three inch planks laid longitudinally, and extending over several spaces, and firmly spiked down at the crossings of each, has the effect of more than doubling the strength of an individual beam upon which there may be a pressure, (but has no effect upon the beams collectively), and moreover distributes any passing load over the adjoining beams in proportion to the length of the load. A load of three tons, including teams in one of the usual wagons of the country, would be distributed over about three beams or twelve feet. The breaking strain of these three beams (where the load is distributed) would be twenty-four tons as I have already shewn. In order to be safe, one-quarter of the breaking strain, or six tons, only should be allowed; and as a load of three tons, including teams, will always be liable to be passed by another of the same weight, I therefore consider that loads of three tons are as much as can pass one another with safety.

#### ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PLANKING IN THE ROADWAY.

The planks in the roadway are three inches thick and vary from six inches to upward of a foot in width. Their bearing between the transverse beams is three feet, nine inches. They are firmly spiked down at every crossing. The ultimate strength of a plank six inches wide, and three feet nine inches bearing, firmly fastened at each end is four tons. Taking the quarter of this, or one ton, as a safe load, it is as much weight as ever should be on a single wheel. This is while the plank is new and unworn. When the plank becomes worn down to two inches in thickness, it will then bear up only half this load, and must be removed. I consider it would have been much safer and more economical to have planked the carriage way in the middle with four inch planks, leaving the foot-paths covered as they are at present. This would have rendered the bridge much stiffer and steadier and would only have added about ten tons to its weight. There is one inch wear in a three-inch plank, for when it becomes two inches thick it must be removed; while on the other hand, there is two inches or double wear in a four inch plank. The decay need not be taken into account for in such a dry and airy position as the deck of the Suspension Bridge, good white pine plank will not suffer much from decay in less than five or six years.



## SUMMARY.

	Tons.
No. 1.—Absolute tensile strength of cables.....	1125
No. 2.—Suspended weight of bridge, including cables.....	150
No. 3.—Extraneous load, theoretically, that would cause fracture.....	975
No. 4.—Greatest extraneous load that the bridge could ever be subjected to.....	714
No. 5.—Safe strength of cables.....	281
No. 6.—Load that bridge will bear with perfect safety.....	131
No. 7.—Greatest load that anchors will bear collectively with perfect safety.....	588
No. 8.—Load that suspending rods can bear collectively with perfect safety.....	558
No. 9.—Load that beams will bear collectively.....	294
No. 10.—Greatest loads in tons that can pass one another with safety.....	3
No. 11.—Greatest loads upon a wheel.....	1

## DESCRIPTION OF THE TESTING.

Having decided upon the safe strength of the bridge, I resolved to test the whole structure with seventy tons, or a little more than half of its safe load. This was done by means of carts loaded with bricks, in the following manner:—

Thirty carts were first placed upon the bridge, each cart and its load weighing two tons, these carts extended in double lines completely from one end of the bridge to the other, the carts upon one side not being opposite each other, but breaking joints as it were, the carts upon one side being in between two on the other. These carts were taken on one at a time, and its horse and driver allowed time to get off before another was brought on, the bridge all the time undergoing inspection to see if everything was in order. After all these carts had been placed in their position which were previously marked for them, then three double teams, weighing upwards of three tons each, were led one at a time from one end of the bridge to the other, between the double line of carts. The horses were then taken off and the whole load, amounting to about seventy tons, was left standing for an hour while the whole of the bridge underwent a close inspection without finding anything out of place. In the meantime the carts were made fast to the two lines of chains attached to the stationary power erected at either end of the bridge and were then wound simultaneously off, the last of each line of carts passing one another in the centre of the bridge, the



the carts upon the north side going off at the eastern end and those at the south side going off at the western end.

On the seventh day of June, 1853, the stockholders held their first annual meeting after the shares having been distributed and paid for, about three-fourths of the total amount of £20,000 having been represented. They enacted by-laws, passed a motion to solicit help from the Province in completing the road, thanked the provisional Directors and elected their successors, as follows:—

CHARLES BROWN, President,	
RICHARD WHITESIDE, JR., Secretary.	
THE BANK OF NEW BRUNSWICK, Treasurer.	
JOSEPH FAIRWEATHER,	} Directors.
WILLIAM J. RITCHIE,	
JAMES D. LEWIN,	
WILLIAM K. REYNOLDS,	

Honourable Charles Simonds, who was one of the incorporators of the Company whose bridges fell, would seem to have lost all faith in bridge promoters. When solicited by Mr. Reynolds he refused to subscribe stock, but promised that should the promoter succeed in his enterprise he would donate him £100. Accordingly Mr. Simonds lived up to his offer, and in July, 1853, handed the lucky contractor the money.

The fondest expectations of the promoter must have been realized on the first day of September, 1853, when the right to collect tolls for one year was offered at public auction and brought the sum of £1,665, being about 9.27 per cent. on the £18,000 of capital stock subscribed. The bidder, Mr. Hartwell B. Crosby, was justified in paying this price, as the receipts, during February of that year, ranged from £5 to £7 per day. This elysian era was, however, not continuous. A storm did serious damage in the spring of 1858. The description given in Harper's Weekly of May 1st of that year with an accompanying picture of the bridge, as wrecked, and the Fredericton stage on the edge of the opening, is so vivid that it is quoted verbatim, as follows, viz:—



(*"Harper's Weekly,"* May 1st, 1858.)

On 24th March a violent storm raged throughout the Province. As night fell the wind became so violent that the flooring of the bridge over the St. John River was upset and thrown into the river. The girders soon followed the example; and shortly after dark a gap of some 200 feet divided one extremity from the other. Matters were in this state when the Fredericton Coach drove, as usual, upon the bridge. The horses, which were travelling rapidly, came to a dead halt. The driver, in the storm and darkness, could see nothing; and, not unnaturally, plied the whip with some vigor. To his amazement the horses stood stock still. He whipped afresh, more severely than before; but the animals did not flinch.

With some impatience the driver got off his seat, supposing that there must be a log in the way, or that the harness was in disorder; and intending to lead his team past the doubtful point. Meanwhile the travelers inside, who, in that storm, were not in the happiest frame of mind, were loud in their reproaches and abuse of the lazy animals.

On alighting the driver could find no log in front of his team. In fact, he could see not a yard in front of him. All was blank darkness. He advanced a few steps, and finding nothing that could justify the sudden stand of the animals, turned about, resolved to lead them forward, when a sudden flash of lightning illuminated the scene. The spectacle which then shone out made his blood run cold. He was standing within a few inches of the chasm of the bridge. One step more would have precipitated him into the abyss. Had the horses not stopped when they did the coach would have gone over, and the Norwalk catastrophe would have been renewed on a smaller scale.

One can readily realize the emotion with which the driver and passengers returned thanks to the Almighty for their providential preservation from an awful death.

In the year 1875 the Government of the Province, under the powers reserved to itself in the Company's charter, took over the bridge, paying the Company the sum of \$65,000.00, and from that time on it was a free bridge, travelled constantly by the public until the new steel arch built alongside was opened and the old landmark for ever closed to travel. The work of demolition began about August 25, 1915, and was completed September 13 of the same year.

Suspension bridges may now be classed among things of the past. Their flexibility which causes a rolling load such as a





locomotive to drive a wave ahead and produce the effect of a constant climbing effort, besides the racking strain on such structures, has caused their condemnation, and place has been given, by them, for the rigid type known as the Cantilever, which is of the same family and well suited to the carrying of heavy rolling loads.

In recognition of service rendered, the Provincial Government has left the foundations of the four towers which carried the bridge and, on the southern face of the southwestern one, has placed the two original inscription stones, one being "William K. Reynolds, Builder," and the other "Edward W. Serrell, Engineer." In addition to these stones, a brass plate superscribed with a picture of the bridge and subscribed with the following inscription is being prepared, viz:—

THIS TABLET  
Marks the site of the old  
SUSPENSION BRIDGE  
The first which spanned the River St. John.  
Erected after other attempts failed.  
It was for years a Toll Bridge  
Then made free to the Public.  
Opened for use 1853.  
Removed 1915.



## REMINISCENCES OF ST. JOHN FROM 1849 TO 1860.

REV. J. W. MILLIDGE, B. A.

In these notes if the personal pronoun is used and family affairs brought in frequently, I ask for the leniency of the brethren. In no other way can a true and life-like account of those distant times be reproduced by me.

My recollection goes back a little further than 1849, but it is somewhat hazy and is very little concerned with events outside of the nursery and infant school. But in "49" such startling events occurred as to stamp that year permanently in my memory. In the first place we moved into a new house in the May of that year, the first move since my parents' marriage. The house was of an entirely different design to any that had before been built in our city. Before that houses had no originality. One was as much like another as peas in a pod, and all were of a distressingly plain design. But in 1848, Mr. Stead, an English architect, descended on us, and my father was one of the first to employ him. The result was a building which attracted a great deal of attention. People came from far and near to see the "Swiss Cottage," as they called it. We had to leave the house we were in on May 1st and the new house was not altogether finished, so it was no uncommon circumstance for visitors to open a door and find us at a meal. They would retire much discomfited, while we rather enjoyed it. The house cost surprisingly little — only a thousand pounds (\$4,000). Times were bad, the best white pine was \$20.00 per thousand and wages very low. A good joiner could be had for four shillings a day. And an immigrant from Ireland could be hired for £50 a year to work about the place. I knew one who, on that income, paid rent down in Portland and brought up a large family. Some years after his wages were raised to £60 a year, but they never got any higher. An excellent cook was content with \$4.00 per month and a chambermaid and nurse \$3.00 each, and were glad to get it. When times, a few years after, improved a little,



I can remember that it was quite a matter of congratulation when millmen were paid \$1.00 a day.

The next important event in 1849 was the Orange riot of July 12th. Society in St. John at that time was cut up into numerous cliques and sub-sections, and all were animated with a spirit of animosity against each other. The population largely consisted of immigrants, and they brought the tribal spirit of antagonism with them to their new home. Fights were of common occurrence and minor riots not unknown, but all were eclipsed by the celebrated disturbance of the 12th July. A son of a man who worked for us was full of the great procession that was to come off on that day, so I was extremely anxious to go with him and see it. But my mother, who probably knew more about the danger than I did, strictly forbade my going. Had it not been for this prohibition I would have been in the middle of it. As it was I compromised by going to my grandfather's house, corner of Union and Dorchester streets, where I heard the guns going off, quite a respectable volley, and afterwards saw the procession marching through the city where everything was safe. This unfortunate affair caused a tremendous excitement, and the Orangemen were not allowed to march through the city for a number of years, the next procession being in 1876, when extraordinary precautions were taken. I was a sergeant in a battalion that held the Court House in that year. We were all fully armed with ball cartridge served out. I was in charge of a party that kept the Court House steps clear as the procession was passing. It seems to me that the precautions were quite needless; still the authorities, having had one scare, were not to be caught napping again. But by that time old animosities had pretty well died down, and people were contented to live and let live.

The last permanent impression '49 made on me was in September when our fine new house took fire. We had had a very wet night and in the morning my father determined to burn out the kitchen chimney. We were all extremely interested in the operation and after the chimney had flamed and roared for a time smoke was observed coming out of the valley in the



junction of the main house and the ell. By some strange oversight no ladders had been provided and there was a race to my grandfather's barn for one. When it was brought it proved to be rotten and collapsed as soon as any weight was put upon it. The flames spread and it seemed as if the house must go. Sir Leonard Tilley lived next door to the Valley Church of that day and kept the key. Mrs. Tilley — Sir Leonard's first wife — soon heard of the fire, and going up into the tower rang the church bell. This gave the alarm in the city and the engines came out, and there being an abundance of water in the brooks near by, in consequence of the rain of the night before, the house was saved. The entire roof was, however, burned off but the floors were so well deafened, that the fire could not get down before the engines arrived. When the house was repaired a zinc roof was put on, which lasted until three years ago, when we replaced it with one of galvanized iron.

It might be as well here to say something about the fires of St. John. The city was built almost entirely of wood. In fact the name "Stone Church," and the distinguishing appellation of the family who lived in what is now the Knights of Columbus Hall—the "Stone House Peters"—indicate the extreme rarity of construction in that material. One of my first recollections before '49, when we lived in Sewell street, was being taken out of bed, set on a table, wrapped up in a blanket and carried to my grandfather's. I remember seeing the flames coming out of the roof and meeting the engines running up to the fire. My parents were out to dinner somewhere, but so slow was communication then that they did not know anything about the fire till their return. A very large fire occurred in York Point in '49, and a large one in King street. I think the same year, part of the tower of old Trinity was burned by sparks from this fire and I can distinctly remember when the gilded vane and ball fell with a great crash. By great exertions the church was saved only to go up in flames in 1877. Very poor means for extinguishing fires were provided. The firemen were all volunteers and lived anywhere. Four or five bells of no great size were distributed through the city. If any one dis-





covered fire, he would run to one of these bells and ring it vigorously. Somebody else would hear it and ring another, so the firemen would be gradually aroused and would drag their engines by main strength and stupidity to wherever they thought the fire was. The foreman then would make many anxious enquiries for a well and one having been found, the suction pipe placed in it, the hose stretched, every one standing by would take a hand at the brakes, and a strong stream would be directed on the fire. But by this time the original building would be pretty well burned down and the firemen's efforts would be directed to saving adjoining buildings. There were very few hydrants in the city at that time, and the water was not always on. The supply came from Lily Lake, with a pumping station at Marsh Bridge. The reservoir was on Carmarthen street, the highest point of the city. The reason the water was not always on was that people would use too much and pumping would be too expensive, but I suppose that in case of a fire some one would turn it on if the fire were in the district served by the company's pipes.

Drinking water was sold in the streets by men who made a business of it. Two pails for a penny was the charge. Water for washing was caught from the roofs and every family had either cisterns in the cellar or hogsheads outside. All washing was done by the family. I do not know of a single laundry in St. John at that time.

Nothing of any striking importance occurred in "50," "51," "52," "53," except a great revival of shipbuilding, but as that has been very fully described by a writer in one of the papers not long ago, I shall not say much about it except to give some account of the celebrated ship "Marco Polo." She was a distinct departure from the common run of ships before her. She had three full decks, the upper being flush, no poop, or forecastle, but with small houses at each hatch. She was much sharper than any built here before. Considering the great number of fine ships that have been built there, the Marsh Creek is the most God-forsaken hole that could possibly have been discovered. The "Marco Polo" being so much larger than



any which had gone before her, it was decided to wait for the highest spring tides before launching, and to save time her lower masts were stepped, then her topmasts hoisted, with all the standing rigging set up. When the proper day came the launch took place with much cheering and demonstration, but the ship ran slap into the mud on the opposite side of the creek, and there stuck fast. All efforts to drag her off proved fruitless and when the tide went down she fell over towards the city and it was thought she was ruined. Then there was great recrimination. The owner blamed the builder and the builder blamed the owner, and both blamed the English concern who had given the order for her. She stayed in that position for a fortnight, till the spring tides came again, and then, considerable excavating having been done, came off quite easily. I can remember her distinctly lying in the mud, canted at an angle of forty-five degrees towards the city. She went to Liverpool, was fitted out for Australia, and did the passage in sixty-six days, breaking all records. She did the return trip in sixty-three days, and afterwards made the astonishing record, for a sailing ship, of going twice round the world by way Australia in a year. She did more than that, for she placed the character of St. John on a firm foundation that lasted for more than thirty years. The Wrights built some fine clippers and ended with the "Morning Light," the largest ship ever built in the Maritime Provinces and probably in Canada, 2400 tons, but she never distinguished herself as a sailer. They owned her themselves and perhaps gave her captain orders not to drive her to the extreme limit. Clipper ships soon tear themselves to pieces and damage cargo, and it is only when freights are very high indeed that the owners can stand it. This is not the place to discuss the causes of the decline of shipbuilding in our province. It is generally attributed to the steel steamship, but even if that had not come in there would have been a very serious falling off in the industry. In the sixties, even, it became very difficult to obtain timber for a large ship and any of you who may notice the wretchedly small logs that come to our saw mills now will easily perceive how impossible it would be to build any large vessels here. As



we took the shipbuilding trade away from the old countries, so some newer one would have taken it away from us. It would probably have been British Columbia or California.

1854 was a remarkable year, for in the first place the Crimean War broke out and the Imperial troops all went away, the prices of everything went up and wages with them. Flour was twelve dollars a barrel. I have no idea what sugar was. In fact very little refined sugar was used in those days,—brown, straight from the plantation in the West Indies, was in common use by those who could afford to buy it, but molasses was used by the working people for every household purpose, including sweetening the tea. In the second place we had an awful scourge in the cholera that devastated the city that year. It came in a ship, and finding a splendid field for its activity, in a single month had carried off over a thousand of our population. The city was almost deserted, every one who could get away left. We stayed where we were, being much further out of town than we are now, and our well being new was quite uncontaminated. The city richly deserved an epidemic. We talk of the horrors of the slum sections now, but they are purity itself compared with prominent streets then. Hundreds of domestic animals were kept; it was said, in some cases in the very rooms where the family lived. A dog died on King street and was left there several days and dead cats was considered a natural feature. After the cholera, when some attempt was made to mend matters a little, hand bills appeared with this inscription, "No pigs, and not more than two cows to be kept on any city premises." This was considered a very serious infringement on the liberty of the citizens. They wanted liberty to poison themselves as they had always done. There were also a few health police appointed, who wore this inscription in gold letters on a blue ribbon round their hats—"Board of Health." They especially provoked the animosity of the working classes, and many jibes were cast at them.

The business interests were booming, every shipyard working to its full capacity. Many more saw mills than we have at present, and some were working day and night. Large fleets of



sailing vessels filled the harbour in summer but scarcely any in winter, a complete reversal of the present state of affairs. Three banks managed our financial affairs — the Bank of New Brunswick, the Commercial Bank, and the Bank of British North America. They were small affairs compared with the present establishments. I knew most about the Bank of New Brunswick as my father was president of it for seven years. There were a cashier, a teller and two clerks. The president was not expected to give his whole time to the bank; there were two discount days a week, when the directors met and decided who was to get accommodation. The president had a limited power of discounting during the rest of the week. When my father was elected the salary of the president was £150 a year, afterwards it was increased to £200, but it never got above that during his term of office. My father would often bring home packages of bank notes to sign and we children were delighted to take each one as he signed it and place it so that it would not blot. He would bring home notes not worth more than a cent each, and take back next morning several thousands of dollars, all of which was extremely interesting to us. Of course you all know that our currency was in pounds, shillings and pence, in fact we used all kinds of currency and it was in a state of chaos. The only coins of our own were one penny and one-half penny, but we used English sovereigns, crowns, half crowns, shillings and sixpences, Yankee quarters and half eagles, dollars, quarters and dimes, Mexican dollars, a coin called a York shilling ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  d.), and any circular piece of metal that looked like silver, whether it had any inscription or not. The half crown passed for three shillings one and one-half pence, the shilling for one shilling two pence, the sixpence for seven pence, the Yankee money for its face value, so you can imagine the times we had making change.

1861 is a little beyond the date set for the conclusion of this paper, but as it was the year of the reformation of the currency I thought it better to transgress a little. The government of the province decided to introduce decimal currency and there was much foreboding 'and dismal prophecies of the difficulties we were all going to have, especially the workmen and people





accustomed to small transactions. I was clerk in the Millidgeville shipyard at that time, had about seventy-five men to pay off on Saturday and a number of others who were on what is called "jobs." When I drew the money from the bank, I went to the Custom House and got five dollars' worth of the new cents the government had ordered from England, went to the yard and paid every man without one word of dissatisfaction. One Saturday we were using pounds, shillings and pence, the next dollars and cents, the only difference being that the accounts were much more easily made up, and I believe that in all other concerns the change was just as easily made. The government afterwards publicly thanked the business men for the promptness with which they had adopted the new system.

The years "55" and "56," were uneventful, except that things were not going with such a rush, wages declined somewhat and prices fell; 1857, however, brought a great change. In May of that year the Mutiny in India broke out and a depression set in over all the business world. Ships in Liverpool could not be sold, most of the yards in St. John closed and those which kept open reduced wages fearfully. Men could get very little employment so became desperate. There was talk of opening soup kitchens, but things did not get as bad as that. Robberies and burglaries were frequent, and my father was stopped one night as he was coming home through the valley, which was then a most dark and desolate place. He frightened off his assailant and next day bought a revolver which was always kept loaded. November was a most gloomy month — fog and rain and failures depressed everyone, and then the whole community was startled by the McKenzie murders. McKenzie lived in an out-of-the-way place near Black River. He had some money which he would lend at very high interest. Slavin, his son, aged about eighteen, and Breen, went to his house one evening, murdered the whole family, including an infant in arms, secured all the money and set the house on fire. For some days nothing was heard of it and then it was supposed the house had burned accidentally and the family with it. The criminals, however, had not sense enough to keep their own counsel and let out the whole story. They were arrested, tried, and sentenced. Slavin



and Breen to be hung, young Slavin to imprisonment for life as he had not done anything but go with the others. Breen committed suicide in his cell. Slavin was hung in front of the jail and young Slavin released after twenty-one years.

The building of the railroad from St. John to Shediac, which rejoiced in the ambitious name, "European and North American Railway," afforded some relief, as many got work though at low rates of pay. Its construction was slow. After working a year they had not got to Torryburn, being held up by Lawlor's Lake. It seemed impossible to fill it up, people said it had no bottom, probably it was the crater of an extinct volcano. Finally rafts were sunk, well ballasted, and a road bed formed in that way.

I have been asked to give some account of the streets and roads of that day. They were very bad; sloughs of despond in wet weather and Saharas' of dust in dry. The dust storms that used to rage along King and Prince William streets on a windy day were maddening. Nothing was ever done to mitigate the nuisance. When water was sold by the bucket you can easily imagine not much could be spared for watering streets. It is strange salt water was not used, but nobody seemed to bother about it. The roads near the city were sometimes allowed to fall into a disgraceful state of disrepair; but the most flagrant instance of neglect I remember was on the hill leading towards the wharves at Indiantown. It was the result of a quarrel between the government of the province and the parish of Portland. The government would not grant any money as they claimed populous places should keep their own streets in repair, and as a man who held some parochial office told me, "the parish was not going to keep up a road for all the traffic of the up river counties that came to and from the steamboats, so they were going to allow it to get so bad as to be impassable." It was pretty nearly that when I saw it, but I do not know how the thing was finally settled. What is now Rockland Road had no special name, but the hill going down to the Valley Church was called "Gallows Hill" It was much steeper than at present as can be seen from the rocks through which it has been cut and the fill-in at the foot. The gallows, which had disappeared long before my time, was erected at the highest point, where everybody



could see it, and was not a temporary affair put up once in twenty years or so when required; but a substantial timber structure, and was one of the institutions of the state. Criminals were hung in chains and their bodies were left to decay or be eaten by crows.

I have heard my grandfather say, that when a young man he had often to make use of Gallows Hill at night and would put his horse to the gallop to get past the dreadful object as soon as possible. Truly I think we may say "we are better than our fathers," in some respects at least. In the early '50s there was no Parks street. Harris street at its upper end was a precipice only to be negotiated safely by a goat or active school boy. Millidge street was put through mainly by the exertions of Dr. Hamilton. Two houses at its foot happened to burn down quite opportunely and the doctor bought the land very cheaply and kept it till the city took it over from him at the price he paid for it. We all contributed,— my share was \$30.00, the family altogether must have given \$1,000— still the cost to the city was very great.

Time would fail me to tell all my recollections of those times and your patience would be exhausted listening to them. The difficulty of travelling, the slow receipt of news from Europe, the isolation in the winter, made us depend very much upon ourselves, so social entertaining was much more a feature of our life than today. The only means of getting anywhere except by stage coach was by steamboat to Boston twice a week in summer and not at all in winter. Canada was a foreign land to us. We knew there were two cities, Montreal and Quebec, and that was about all we did know. One could get to Montreal in two days, if all went well, by leaving St. John Monday or Thursday, but if a gale from the southward came up the steamer would put into some harbor and wait for fine weather, so then connection with the train at Portland would be missed and another day required. Liverpool was our great headquarters; all our ships went there for sale, most of our deals were shipped there. All the dry goods men went there annually on their way to Manchester to purchase stock; some went across twenty times without ever going to London.



## ADDRESS OF CHIEF JUSTICE H. A. McKEOWN AT THE UNVEILING OF THE HARDY TABLET.

On Tuesday afternoon, September 24, 1918, the Hardy Tablet was unveiled in the auditorium of the Court House, St. John, with befitting ceremonies.

Mr. D. H. Waterbury, Vice-President, opened the proceedings in a brief speech as follows:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:

We are assembled here today — The New Brunswick Historical Society, His Worship and City Commissioners and a number of prominent citizens — for the purpose of doing honor to the name of an early Loyalist citizen of St. John and province of New Brunswick — Elias Hardy.

Mr. Hardy was one of the first lawyers of the Provincial Bar, 1785. He was the second common clerk of the city. He had represented Northumberland county in the first provincial general assembly, later was a representative of the city and county of St. John.

Some years ago Venerable Archdeacon Raymond, ex-President of the society, wrote a sketch of Mr. Hardy's life, which, I believe, was read before the New Brunswick Historical Society and published. Subsequently the facts, coming to the knowledge of descendants and relatives of Mr. Hardy in the United States, very much interested them, particularly Jane L. Hardy of Ithaca, N. Y., and Charles Elias Hardy. They felt that the name of so worthy an ancestor, who was reposing in an unmarked grave, should not be forgotten. The fact that his name was not inscribed in any public way was realized and that he being a distinguished citizen and representative of St. John, it would be an appropriate and commendable act for them to arrange if possible for the erection of a suitable memorial in this city. They took steps in this direction which culminated in our gathering here this afternoon to unveil to the memory of Elias Hardy this fine bronze tablet which, with the permission of the authorities, has been secured in place on the wall of this old historic Court House.

Your Honor, as you have kindly consented at the request of the New Brunswick Historical Society to perform the usual function at the unveiling of the tablet, and as a paper prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Raymond is to be read by the secretary of the Society, I shall not prolong these preliminary remarks and delay the pleasure to the present assembly of hearing your Honor's address on the subject.





After the reading of Dr. Raymond's paper by the Secretary, His Honor Chief Justice H. A. McKeown delivered the following address:—

*Mr. President and Members of the New Brunswick Historical Society.*

GENTLEMEN: The Court has been pleased to observe the memorial which you have placed upon one of the pillars of this room in commemoration of the late Elias Hardy, Esquire, who, with eight other attorneys and barristers, were admitted to the bar of this province on the first day of February, 1785, and it has also heard with satisfaction the biographical sketch prepared by the Reverend W. O. Raymond, LL. D., and read by John Willet, Esquire, K. C., Clerk of the Court.

Believing as we do that the administration of justice is the most important function of the state, the Court is always alert to appreciate the services of gentlemen who, as solicitors or counsel, appear before it in the interests of parties compelled to resort thereto for redress. It is a fact well worthy to be remembered that at its inception the Court of this province, both bench and bar, was constituted of men of outstanding ability and power, and while the proceedings of this afternoon are with propriety devoted wholly to a consideration of Mr. Hardy, I have thought that it would be opportune to place upon the records of your Society some facts regarding the establishment of the Court, and concerning its first judges and practitioners.

On the sixteenth day of August, 1784, the King gave to Thomas Carleton a Royal Commission authorizing him to set off the province of New Brunswick distinct from Nova Scotia and appointing him governor thereof, and directing him to take steps to summon a legislature and to erect and constitute Courts of justice. Touching the jurisdiction of the Courts, the Governor of the new province was invested with: "full power and authority, with the advice and consent of his Council, to erect, constitute and establish such and so many Courts of Judicature and Public Justice within the province as he and they should think fit and necessary for the hearing and determining of all causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and for awarding execution thereupon, with all reasonable and necessary powers, authorities, fees and privileges belonging thereto." It has been well remarked by Mr. Lawrence, the historian, that the Supreme Court of New Brunswick has, by commission from the Crown, "all the power



"and jurisdiction of the three Superior Courts at Westminster Hall."

The full powers of the Court of Kings Bench, of Common Pleas and of the Exchequer Court of England were thus conferred upon the Court which was created by virtue of such authority, and lawyers regard with satisfaction the circumstance that this ample jurisdiction was established at a time when Lord Mansfield, then Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, one of the greatest of English judges, was passing under his hand that branch of the universal law of nations known as the Law Merchant; rejecting what was inapplicable or cumbersome, and incorporating its permanently valuable elements into the English common law by a series of judgments now regarded as classic, which created conditions rendering possible the vast expansion of English commerce during the nineteenth century.

On the first day of February, 1785, the opening session of the Court was held. Proclamation having been made, commissions under the Great Seal of the province were read appointing the Honourable George Duncan Ludlow, Chief Justice, the Honourable James Putnam, Senior Puisne Judge, and Colin Campbell, Esquire, Clerk of the Court. The two other puisne judges, the Honourable Isaac Allen and the Honourable Joshua Upham, were not present although there is good authority for saying that to both these gentlemen commissions had then been issued appointing them members of the Court.

Ward Chipman, Esquire, had been appointed by the home government as Solicitor-General for the province. The Attorney-Generalship had been bestowed upon one Samson Blowers, who, however, was not present and never became a member of the New Brunswick bar. The Attorney-Generalship of Nova Scotia having become vacant, he was appointed to that position whereupon Ward Chipman was acting Attorney-General of this province at the opening of the Court, and he with eight others were immediately sworn in as barristers and attorneys. The list of practitioners admitted to the bar on that day is as follows: Ward Chipman, acting Attorney-General, Bartholemew Crannell, Elias Hardy, Amos Botsford, Joseph Garnett, Colin Campbell, Samuel Denny Street, William Wylly, Timothy Wetmore.

#### INCEPTION.

As above indicated the first Chief Justice of New Brunswick was George D. Ludlow, who had returned to London from New York on the evacuation of that city by the British. Mr. Ludlow had been a judge of the Supreme Court there before the revolution, and fought during the whole revolutionary war as a colonel



in the loyalist forces. He came to this province with Governor Carleton as a member of his executive council as well as the head of the bench to be created. He was a descendant of General Ludlow, a trusted and able companion in arms of Oliver Cromwell and one of his most distinguished commanders. At the time of the American revolution a branch of the Ludlow family had resided in New York for about one hundred years, and after the unsuccessful attempt to hold that part of the country for the King, George D. Ludlow and his brother Gabriel accompanied the retiring governor to England, and both being appointed executive councillors, they returned to America with Governor Thomas Carleton to assist him in his work of maintaining British institutions upon this continent.

No reports of the judgments of the Court are available until the year 1825 — about forty years from its inception — consequently we have no record of the judgments or rulings of the first occupants of the Bench except in a few cases which, by reason of their importance or singularity, have escaped oblivion. But a perusal of the cases reported in the earliest volumes shows that the judges of those days were building on foundations well and truly laid by their unreported predecessors, and from these reports it is not difficult to estimate the character and quality of the work theretofore done.

I have mentioned that Chief Justice Ludlow had been a Supreme Court Judge in New York. He was fifty-one years of age at the time of his appointment to the Chief Justiceship of this province and he presided over the deliberations of the Court for twenty-four years. Until the capital of the Province was located at Fredericton, he resided at West St. John. Thereafter he secured a large grant of land a few miles above the capital where he lived in considerable style and dignity during the remainder of his life.

The portraits of many of the successors of Chief Justice Ludlow are hung upon the walls of the Supreme Court room at Fredericton, but thus far none has been provided of him who first held this high office. I have had the opportunity of seeing a reproduction of a miniature painting, which represents him as a man of slender build, of beardless face, with piercing black eyes, whose features are indicative of determination and power of will. He died at his home on the thirteenth day of November, 1808.

James Putnam, the senior puisne judge of the Court, and the last Attorney-General of Massachusetts Bay under the Crown, was born in Salem, Mass., in 1725. When the revolution broke out he was practising law in Boston and was one of the most



prominent citizens of that place, occupying a foremost position not only at the bar but in the financial and social life of the city as well. A graduate of Harvard, connected in marriage with the powerful Chandler family, with a lucrative practice and large possessions, all the influences of self-interest and prudence seemed to counsel moderation on his part. But he flung himself heart and soul into the struggle. He was a Colonel in the loyalist army and was present at the battle of Bunker Hill. At the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, he went to Halifax with the British troops and later sailed to New York and bore arms there in continuation of the struggle. His espousal of the loyalist cause so incensed the Massachusetts legislature that his return to the United States was forbidden by statute, and attached to such legislation was the penalty of deportation if the offender should disobey, and for a second disobedience on his part the penalty of death was to be inflicted. Of course all his property was confiscated.

When the loyalist forces withdrew from New York Mr. Putnam accompanied the retiring governor to London. He was appointed a member of Governor Thomas Carleton's new executive, council and senior puisne judge of the new province. Of the four judges who originally composed the Bench he was the only one who made his permanent residence in St. John. Being almost sixty years of age at the time of his appointment, it would seem that the exertion and privation of military life had weakened his vitality for he lived only five years after coming to this country, and died in St. John in October, 1789, aged sixty-four years, his death causing the first break in the original membership of the Court. His remains were interred in the old burying-ground near the Court House, not far from the south-east corner of the cemetery. To one standing near that corner, an iron railing inclosing a burial lot is easily visible. The railing is about five feet high, embedded in stone, and seems to be in perfect preservation. There is no break or entrance on any side, but on looking through the railing one can see a raised tomb, covered with a large flat stone resting upon four closely joined and unbroken granite slabs which comprise the four sides of the entrance to the vault wherein the remains of James Putnam were laid to rest over one hundred years ago. Since his burial the vault has been reopened to receive the remains of his wife, his son, his daughter, a grandchild and a great-grandchild; as well as those of Jonathan Sewell, vice-admiralty judge for the district of Nova Scotia. The Putnam tomb is the best preserved Loyalist landmark within the city, and where could it be better placed than within a stone's throw of the building where to this day British judges





and British juries sit to administer British law? This unselfish and patriotic man, who risked his life and all he had for the maintenance of British institutions, and who himself for five short years administered British justice within this province, now sleeps well almost within the shadow of the Court House where his successors in office sit today. Upon the covering stone is carved this inscription — "Sacred to the memory of "the Honourable James Putnam who was appointed a member "of His Majesty's council and a member of the Supreme Court "in the organization of the government of this Province at its "original formation in A. D. 1784. He had been for many "years before the war which terminated in the independence "of the United States of America, an eminent Barrister-at-law "and was the last Attorney General under His Majesty in the "late province of Massachusetts Bay. He died the 23rd day "of October, A. D. 1789, aged sixty-four years."

The third member of the Bench was Isaac Allen, whose name is the best known and most distinguished in the judicial history of New Brunswick. His grandfather was a Supreme Court judge in New Jersey when that state was a British province. At the commencement of the war Isaac Allen was practising law at Trenton, N. J., but he at once entered the conflict and had command of the Second Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers with the rank and title of Lieutenant-Colonel.

His adhesion to the Loyalist cause deprived him of a large property in Pennsylvania of which he was the then owner and which was declared forfeited by the executive council of that state, while against himself it was ordered by the same authority that he return to take his trial for treason or stand attaint.

Having fought throughout the entire war, at its conclusion he came with his family to Nova Scotia. He was appointed a member of Governor Carleton's council and the second puisne judge of the Court, whereupon he removed to New Brunswick and obtained a large grant of land a short distance above Fredericton where he resided during the remainder of his life. He served as a member of the Court until his death in October, 1806; during all of which time he also sat in the executive council of the province. He left one son, John Allen, who represented York county in the legislature for twenty-five years, and also filled the position of judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for that county, and whose son, Sir John C. Allen, was the Chief Justice of the province of New Brunswick for eighteen years and sat upon the Supreme Court bench from the year 1865 to 1894.

I think the most interesting New Brunswick relic of the war is a drum which accompanied Colonel Allen's men to battle and which is now preserved in the home of T. Carleton Allen, D. C. L.,



Registrar of the Court. Conspicuous in the hall of Dr. Allen's home at Fredericton, and above the doorway which gives entrance to his residence, this war worn remembrancer of the days of strife fills its honoured place. Something of the real presence of war envelopes it even yet, as it hangs there with its head partly battered in, its fastenings worn and frayed, its straps and ropes showing the rough usage of those years of conflict, while still legible, though half effaced, upon the drum head one may read — "2nd Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, 1777."

Joshua Upham was the fourth member of the Bench. He passed through the same stormy scenes of war and the ties which united these four judges must have been very strong. Each was an exile from his place of birth, each had suffered the confiscation of his property and each had passed through the fire of actual warfare. Mr. Upham was a native of Brookfield, Mass., and was born in the year 1741. He is in the list of Harvard graduates of the year 1763 and was practising law at Worcester when the war broke out. He received the appointment of junior major in the King's American dragoons, and bore an active part throughout the conflict. As in the case of the other judges he was appointed to membership in the executive council of the province as well as to a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court. It was he who presided at the session of the St. John Circuit in December, 1789, when two young men, Fitzgerald and Clarke, were indicted for burglary and on being found guilty were sentenced by Judge Upham to death by hanging. The sentence was publicly executed a short distance from where the Court House stands, on the eighteenth day of December, 1789.

He made his home at French Village, on the Hammond River in Kings County, where he had received a large tract of land, and the name of the parish perpetuates Judge Upham's memory within that county.

In the year 1807 Judge Upham went to England at the request of the other judges and with the consent of the executive council to draw the attention of the Home government to the smallness of the judicial salaries and to request an addition to the same. He succeeded in this mission and was thus instrumental in having the salary of the Chief Justice raised from £500 to £700 and those of the other judges from £300 to £500. But he never lived to enjoy the fruit of his mission. Being taken ill in London he died there in 1807 and he was buried in the old land to which he and his colleagues had given such ample proof of their devotion.

Mr. H. A. Powell, K. C., replied on behalf of the Hardy family.



# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

New Brunswick

# Historical Society

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No. 11

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SAINT JOHN, N. B.  
BARNES & CO., LIMITED, PRINCE WILLIAM STREET  
1927



## Officers, 1926-1927.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

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Since the issue of the last Bulletin, No. 10, (Part 1, Vol. 4), this Society has held their regular monthly meetings continuously at their meeting room in the Natural History Society Building, kindly offered by that Society. At these meetings short papers were read by Mr. O'Brien, Librarian; John Willet, K. C., Secretary; Henry Wilmot, Esquire, and others, on matters of local interest and which were at the time referred in the several newspapers of the day.

Our meetings called for reminiscences of the past, all of which are verified by the members present.

Since 1819, changes have taken place in the membership, and death has removed some of our valued and loyal members:

Past President Rev. J. W. Millidge, B.A., retired minister.

Past President and Treasurer, Hon. J. Russell Armstrong, retired Judge, Saint John County Circuit.

Rev. W. O. Raymond, Past President, Secretary of the Society, Historian and Author, in October, 1923, at Toronto.

James S. Flaglor, late Post Master, Saint John, retired.

T. C. L. Ketchum, Esquire, B.A., Barrister and Journalist, Woodstock, N. B.

George Blake, Esquire, late Chief Engineer Saint John Fire Department.

We have acquired the possession and control of the large model wooden ship, "Robert Reed," a type of the class of wooden ships or vessels built in Saint John and vicinity in the early sixties. It represents the class of ships owned by Saint John merchants; the Black Ball line trading between Saint John and Liverpool, Great Britain.

This model was built in 1853, and was used and exhibited in the great parade of Trades manufactures and mechanics in the procession in the City of Saint John on the celebration of the Turning of the First Sod of the European and North American Railway track on the 14th September, 1853. This model is placed in the Exhibition Building, Saint John, for inspection and exhibition by and with the consent of the Directors of the Saint John Exhibition Association.

The Society gratefully acknowledge the annual grant of the Provincial Government in aid of the publication fund.

JOHN WILLET,

SAINT JOHN, N. B.

Secretary.



# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## New Brunswick Historical Society

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EPITOMISED HISTORY OF SAINT JOHN, N. B.

BY JOHN WILLET, K. C.

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MENAQUASHI (PARRTOWN) AND ITS STREETS, 1927

Samuel de Champlain, born Bronage, France, was a sea captain and the son of a sea captain. He accompanied a Spanish fleet to Mexico and the West Indies, and on his return wrote an account of the expedition.

In 1603 he made his first voyage to Canada, being sent out by one De Chastes, on whom some territory in that country had been bestowed. In 1604-1607 he was engaged, together with De Monts (to whom De Chastes's privileges had been transferred), in exploring the Canadian coast, and in seeking a site for a new settlement. In 1608 he made his third voyage. In this year he commenced the formation of a settlement of Quebec. He was made Lieutenant-General of New France. Owing, however, to quarrels with the Indians, the settlement seemed likely to fail; but under the vice-royalty of the Duc of Montmorency, and still more under vice-royalty of Duc de Ventadour, it began to flourish. In 1629 it met with a reverse; Champlain being forced to surrender to an English fleet commanded by three brothers named Kirk. He was carried to England, but was restored to liberty in 1632. He returned to Canada the next year and died there in 1635. He published several volumes containing accounts of his work. His works were published in 1870. He came up "The Bay." He named it "La Baie Française."



Mr. S. E. Dawson in his book, "The Saint Lawrence," says the Bay of Fundy was known to the Portuguese as "Baia Fundo," (the deep bay) long before De Monts or Champlain named it La Baie Française. Mr. I. E. Chalifour, Chief Geographer of the Dominion, adds that the actual origin of the name seems to be obscure; but it is likely descriptive, as suggested above. Another authority, Mr. Hensley R. Holinden, Associate Archivist in charge of the Map Division at Ottawa, supplements this information as follows: "The name given by De Monts was Baie Française, whilst the depth of the bay was known as 'Fond de la Baie.' The English sailors cut out all reference to French ownership and took to the Fond de la Baie. This soon became Fond de Baye and finally 'Fundy.'" You will find the whole in Abbe Farland's "Histoire de Canada" in the last edition of Garneau's work, that edited by his nephew and Dr. Doughty's edition of Knox's Journal Champlain Society edition.

#### NEW BRUNSWICK

The founder of the House of Brunswick was Azo II, Marquis of Tuscany, in the eleventh century, who married Kemigonda, heiress of the Counts of Altorf, and sister of Welf or Guelph, thus uniting the two houses of Este and Guelph.

Guelph, son of Azo, married Judith of Flanders, who was descended from Alfred the Great of England. His posterity acquired Brunswick and Lunenburgh. The family is divided into two branches:

1st—Brunswick-Wolfenbützel (the German branch).

2nd—Brunswick-Hanover (from which are descended the reigning House of Britain).

Ernest Augustus, of the Brunswick-Hanover house, was created Elector of Hanover in 1692. He married Sophia, daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. Their son, George Louis succeeded his father as Elector in 1698, and was called to the throne of Great Britain in 1714. George I was the twenty-first lineal descendant of Azo, founder of the Royal House of Brunswick.



Caroline, wife of George IV, was the sister of Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick, 1771-1815, who was killed at Waterloo. It is therefor allowable to speak of the House of Brunswick — although Brunswick-Hanover would be more correct.

Every effort was made to give the name "Guy" to the new province, separated from Nova Scotia.

Edward Winslow was one of the leading agitators to change the name to "New Brunswick." His letters were submitted to the Secretary of State, and these, aided by other representations, resulted in the name becoming "New Brunswick;" the Royal House of Britain at that time being called the House of Brunswick.

Lord Sidney communicated the decision of the Imperial Government to Colonel or Governor Parr, in August, 1784, and the lands "lying to the north of the Bay of Fundy" were to be erected under a new form of government. The Government of New Brunswick was formed by Imperial appointment and decree, and on the eighteenth May, 1785, charter was granted.

New Brunswick, New Jersey, was called "Prigmore's Swamp." Later, in 1690, John Inian built a ferry across the Raritan River, and the name was changed to Inian's Ferry. In 1714 the present name was adopted in honor of the House of Brunswick. It was granted a Royal Charter in 1730, so whether named by the Loyalists or not, the origin goes back to the connections which the name has with the then reigning house and which would be extremely appropriate to a new settlement here. (See Perley History of New Brunswick).

On Saint John the Baptiste day, June 24, 1604, a French craft sailed up Saint John Harbour and River until it grounded. On board there were three famous men, the founders of "New France:" De Monts, Champlain and Poutrincourt.

Champlain claimed the honor to be the discoverer of this sheet of water and he named it "The Saint John."

De Monts and Champlain went to the St. Croix, and on an island in that river erected fortifications and buildings with a view of forming a permanent settlement. This was afterwards





abandoned and the colonists removed to Port Royal. There was established a settlement which became the headquarters of French power in Acadia.

When De Monts and Champlain came to Acadia they found the Micmacs living at Port Royal, and at the mouth of the Saint John River. In Champlain's time another tribe of Indians called the Malicetes occupied the upper portion of the Saint John River. At a later date this tribe extended their camps further down the river until finally they reached the mouth of the river; the Micmacs giving way to them and confining themselves to the Peninsula of Nova Scotia and that portion of New Brunswick which borders on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay Chaleur. These tribes were always friends and allies. The Indians at Passamaquoddy were Malicetes.

The Charter of De Monts gave him jurisdiction of the territory of Acadia, constituting the whole of Nova Scotia and the southern half of New Brunswick. The privileges did not yield profit and the monopoly of trade was revoked in three years when it had been granted to Poutrincourt, who had been with De Monts on his first voyage to Acadia. He obtained a grant of Port Royal from the King of France.

The English laid claim to Acadia on the ground of Cabots' discovery; and in 1612 James I gave Sir William Alexander a grant in North America, embracing the whole of the Province of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The territory was to be known by the name of Nova Scotia, and so continued until 1784, when New Brunswick was made a separate province; the name of Nova Scotia being confined to the Nova Scotia Peninsula. All this time Sir William Alexander, created Earl of Stirling, was Hereditary-Lieutenant, Admiral and Justice-General. On the death of James I, in 1625, Alexander obtained from Charles I a confirmation of the grant.

In 1629 Charles Saint Etienne de la Tour was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, with the title of Sir Charles Saint Etienne de la Tour, Seigneur de la Tour and Vaure.

In 1632, by treaty March 29, Port Royal was restored to the French and the fort that the Scotch had built was destroyed.



A commission was granted to Charles de la Tour July, 1631, appointing him King's Lieutenant-Commander in Acadia.

The New France Company sent ships and supplies and on March 27, 1632, Isaac de Razilly entered in a compact to put the Company of New France into possession of Port Royal. He took with him a train of men, one of whom was Charles de Menon, Seigneur D'Aulnay de Charnissay, a relative of Cardinal Richilieu, who became the life-long enemy of Charles de Saint Etienne.

Before De Razilly arrived in Acadia a French party came to Penobscot, where New Plymouth colonists had established a trading post, after La Tour had been dispossessed. The French, pretending they had just arrived from sea, had lost their reckoning, that their ship was leaky, and that they desired to repair her. The trading post being in a weak state the Frenchmen resolved to help themselves to the contents of the house, loaded their vessel with the goods. The French did not injure or imprison the Englishmen in charge, but when they had secured their plunder they set them at liberty. It is supposed Claude de la Tour was the head of the party and that he had taken this means to carry out the treaty and reimburse himself for his losses at Penobscot when taken from him by the English.

On January 15, 1635, Charles de Saint Etienne Sieur de la Tour was granted the fort, the habitation of La Tour on the River Saint John. During this year La Tour removed part of his establishment from Cape Sable to Saint John. Although the father of La Tour seems to have been a joint owner with his son of the land at the mouth of the River Saint John, and to have taken a share in the erection of the fort there, his name is not connected in any way with the subsequent events in the history of Fort La Tour.

D'Aulnay Charnissay, a young adventurer from Paris, came to Acadia some time prior to the erection of Fort La Tour.

When De Razilly became Governor of Acadia in 1632 La Tour and D'Aulnay were his Lieutenants, and on his death in 1636 D'Aulnay appears to have been appointed Governor of that portion of Acadia lying to the north of the Bay of Fundy,



while La Tour's commission as Governor extended over the whole of Nova Scotia.

D'Aulnay's fort was at Penobscot, but he had also a fort at Port Royal which had been transferred to him by Claude de Razilly, brother of the deceased governor. The actual transfer to Charnissay was not given until 1642, although Charnissay was in possession and treated the property as his own.

It thus appears that while La Tour's fort at Saint John was within the territory of D'Aulnay, the fort of D'Aulnay was within the jurisdiction of La Tour. This state of affairs caused endless jealousies in the minds of such ambitious and powerful men, and finally was the means of bringing about the most violent contests between them.

Fort La Tour, so ably and favorably defended by Madame La Tour, was situated at Portland Point, on the east side of the harbour of Saint John. Upon its site the Peabody house was built. It afterwards became the property of James Simonds, son-in-law of the said Francis Peabody. In this house James White lived for some years. The green mound near the nail factory at the shore end of Portland Street marks the site.

January 15, 1635, Charles de Saint Etienne, the Sieur de la Tour, described in the grant as Lieutenant-General for the King on the coast of Acadia in New France, was granted the fort and habitation on the River Saint John, five leagues frontage on the river and ten leagues into the country.

In 1635 La Tour was fully settled in the fort and he was the first white man that planted a colony on our shores.

The fur trade was a great source of profit. D'Aulnay did not look with complacency on the prospect of his rival reaping a benefit from Indian traffic in a place he regarded as properly his own. All D'Aulnay's energies were directed to the task of dispossessing La Tour and destroying his power. His influence in France with the great Cardinal Richelieu was a powerful means.

One accusation which was preferred against La Tour was that he was a heretic and therefor unworthy ruler of the faithful subjects of the King in New France. Whatever La Tour was



he was not a person of serious convictions on religious matters.

D'Aulnay's efforts in France against La Tour were not successful. On February 10, 1638, the King wrote to D'Aulnay, "You shall be my Lieutenant-General on the coast of Etchmins, beginning from the middle of the terra firma of Baie François therein towards Virginia and Governor of Penobsquis. Another government of the Sieur de la Tour, my Lieutenant-General on the coast of Acadia, shall be from the middle of Baie François to the Straits of Canseau. Therefore you are not empowered to change any arrangement in the settlement at the River Saint John made by the said Sieur de la Tour, who will direct his economy and his people according to his judgment, and the said Sieur de la Tour shall not attempt to change anything in the La Have and Port Royal nor in the ports thereto belonging."

D'Aulnay was not discouraged by his first failure from pursuing and injuring his rival. He visited France several times, and at last got a letter from King Louis with order directing La Tour to go to France and answer charges brought against him. In the event of La Tour refusing to obey this mandate, D'Aulnay was to seize his person, make an inventory of his effects and take possession of the fort and all his goods. This order was dated February 13, 1641; and ten days later La Tour's commission as governor was revoked by the King on the alleged ground of misconduct of his past.

D'Aulnay lost no time in taking measures for the execution of the mandate. A ship, the *St. Francis*, was sent to take La Tour to France; but La Tour informed the captain that the accusations against him by D'Aulnay were so false that he did not consider it to take so long a voyage for the purpose of refuting them, that he preferred to remain in his adopted country and had more faith in the security of his fort than in the impartiality of the tribunal by which he was to be tried. The *St. Francis* returned in August, 1641, without La Tour. Knowing that D'Aulnay would be the party entrusted with any expedition or means against him, he resolved to strike at the root of his rival's powers.

In November, 1841, he sent a representative (Rochetté) to





Boston with a proposal to aid in attacking D'Aulnay's fort at Penobscot. Rochette was received well. The Governor, Winthrop of Massachusetts, declined the propositions.

D'Aulnay went again to France, and in 1642 obtained an order from the King directing D'Aulnay to seize La Tour's fort and take his rival prisoner.

La Tour kept himself informed as to what was going on in France and was soon apprised of his danger.

In October, 1642, he sent his Lieutenant to Boston, carrying letters from La Tour to John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, desiring assistance from the people against his enemy Charnissay. No public action was taken. La Tour's Lieutenant met several merchants and made proposals to them with regard to opening up trade with his master. They sent goods to trade with the French Governor at Saint John. On the voyage back to Boston these merchants stopped at Pemequid, which was a common place of call between Acadia and Boston. They met Charnissay there. Learning that they had come from La Tour at Saint John he told them that La Tour was a rebel and showed them a copy of the order to arrest. Charnissay sent a printed copy to Governor Winthrop with a threat that if any of the merchants of Boston sent their vessels to trade with La Tour he would seize them as lawful prizes. This order was useless without an armed force to support it. La Tour was not a man to give up hope at the least show of danger.

But Charnissay had secured, while in France, a transfer of all the estate, property and interests of Isaac de Razilly in the Acadian ventures by deed dated January 16, 1642.

La Tour, disappointed in his hopes for aid from Boston, once more turned himself to the land of his birth and sent for support. His friends responded speedily and sent an armed vessel to him loaded with provisions and war materials and armed with 140 men. The name of the vessel was "The Clement," but before her arrival La Tour was almost ruined.

In 1643 D'Aulnay had completed his combinations against La Tour, collected his forces, set sail from Port Royal to attack La Tour. His armament was six ships and 500 men. La Tour



had not a single ship at his fort and the few small boats used in shore fisheries would be useless against D'Aulnay's force. La Tour knew his friends in Rochelle, France, would not fail him, and relying on speedy aid and support he presented a bold front and refused all terms of submission.

The Harbour of Saint John was strictly blockaded. Large vessels lay in the southwest channel between Partridge Island and the mainland, while smaller vessels rode at anchor on the opposite side of the island.

So both channels were commanded and La Tour was effectively cut off from the bay. After a month's strain the *Clement* made her appearance in the bay. La Tour saw, even with the support thus presented, he would not be in a condition to defeat his enemy, so he resolved on a bold measure to defeat his enemy and raise the siege. In the night, after the first appearance of the *Clement*, he passed through D'Aulnay's squadron in a shallop, leaving the fort to be defended by his men and embarking with Madam La Tour, set sail for Boston to solicit aid from the English; they were favored with fair wind and made a rapid voyage.

The arrival of the *Clement* in Boston was sudden and unexpected.

He again met the Governor, John Winthrop. He stated his difficulties and asked for assistance from the people against his enemy D'Aulnay. The authorities felt restrained from granting active aid to La Tour but gave him permission to enlist such men as were disposed to join him and hire such ships as he might require. He hired four armed vessels which were supplied by fifty-two men and thirty-eight cannon.

On July 14, 1643, all preparations were completed and La Tour set sail for Saint John. When they reached Saint John they found D'Aulnay's vessels still at anchor by Partridge Island and the fort safe. As soon as D'Aulnay saw this hostile fleet bearing down on them he slipped his cables and stood right home for Port Royal, closely followed by La Tour's force.

After a hard chase and sharp running fight across the bay D'Aulnay ran his vessels ashore.



Captain Hawkins, who commanded the New Englanders, sent a messenger ashore with a letter from the Governor of Massachusetts to Charnissay. This letter Charnissay would not open as it was not addressed to him as "Lieutenant-General for the King in Acadia." He refused to come to terms.

La Tour urged Hawkins to send a force ashore to attack the enemy. Hawkins refused to give orders, but signified that if any of the crew chose to go ashore with La Tour they might do so. Thirty responded and the united forces attacked Charnissay's position. Charnissay was defeated. The Boston vessels returned to Saint John where Fort La Tour had been suddenly freed from its blockade. While there a small craft belonging to Charnissay fell into the hands of the New Englanders laden with 400 moose and 400 beaver skins. The booty was divided between the crews of the Boston vessels and La Tour.

Before leaving for Boston one of the ships sailed up the River Saint John about twenty leagues and loaded with coal. This must have been Grand Lake coal. This is certainly the oldest coal field discovered in New Brunswick if not in America.

Charnissay, after defeat, went back to France to obtain stronger force to destroy La Tour. La Tour spent most of his time in Boston engaging in trade.

Lady La Tour went to England at the close of 1643. She chartered a ship to bring out supplies for Fort La Tour. She spent all the spring and most of the summer of 1644 in trading along the Nova Scotia coast so that they were six months on the voyage from Europe. Instead of going to Saint John with his cargo the captain brought up at Boston, where he arrived in September. Off Cape Sable the ship was boarded by Charnissay, but Lady La Tour was concealed and the vessel passed unmolested. At Boston Lady La Tour brought action against the captain and ship and recovered £2,000 damages upon which she took the ship in execution.

La Tour only partially succeeded in prosecuting trade relations with Boston. The authorities divided on the question and it was suggested that Charnissay be acquainted of the action of La Tour by letter. In answer to such notice Charnissay sent



a representative, M. Marie, whom Boston people strongly suspected to be a friar. He brought a commission under seal of the King of France showing the proceedings against La Tour were verified, and on behalf of Charnissay requested the magistrates to aid him against La Tour. They proposed a reconciliation between the rivals, to which Marie replied that if La Tour would submit he would assure him life and liberty; if he were taken he would be sure to lose his head in France; and as for his Lady, she was known to be the cause of his contempt and rebellion and therefor they could not let her go to him; but if they would send her in any of their vessels Charnissay must take her.

The result of the negotiations between the parties was that a treaty of peace was established, whereby they agreed to abstain from hostile acts against each other.

This cut off La Tour's hope of trade with New England and cast him on his own resources.

When this matter was being concluded La Tour was in Boston. Charnissay was at sea, hovering round Penobscot with his vessels to prevent his return to Saint John.

Fortune favored La Tour. He set sail for Saint John with provisions for the fort and in company with a vessel from New England similarly laden, he passed with a fair wind to a fort near Penobscot. Then when an adverse gale sprang up — he knew Charnissay would make for a harbor, he put to sea and stood for home where he arrived.

Meanwhile Lady La Tour arrived in Boston and commenced her suit against the Clement, recovered her verdict for £2,000, purchased supplies, hired three ships and determined to dispute the sovereignty of the Acadian seas with Charnissay, set sail for Saint John with her stores on board. She passed to her destination without being accosted or molested.

On her return, she found La Tour away trading in the bay, and in the fort two or three friars and other parties whom she had reason to suspect had been bribed by Charnissay to betray the place. These men she at once ejected from the fort, and they soon confirmed her worst suspicions. They went to





Charnissay and reported the weak state of the fort. Relying on the representations made Charnissay hastened to attack La Tour. He at once ran his ship up the harbour, moored her close to the fort and proceeded with cannon to attack. A brief and bloody contest ensued. Lady La Tour inspired the men in the fort with courage equal to her own, and the guns being well served Charnissay's vessel was greatly shattered in the battle.

He cut cable and attempted retreat but the east wind carried him up the river preventing his return. To prevent his ship from sinking, he towed her round behind the point below the fort and ran her ashore below Sand Point. This took place February, 1645.

On April 13 Charnissay again appeared before Fort La Tour. Disbarking his men he proceeded to attack from the land side at Negro Point and for three days was kept at bay by Lady La Tour and her fifty men.

On Easter Sunday, when the garrison was engaged in service, a Swiss sentry permitted Charnissay's forces to approach without giving an alarm. Lady La Tour at the head of her men opposed the attack and defended the fort vigorously. Twelve of Charnissay's men were killed and many wounded. Charnissay fearing a repulse, proposed honorable terms of capitulation which were accepted by Lady La Tour. Having obtained possession he hanged all the garrison except one man who was pardoned on becoming executioner for the others. With a rope about her neck, Lady La Tour was bound to witness the death of her brave men and was so ill treated that she died three weeks afterwards, leaving a young child who was afterwards sent to France in care of a nurse.

The ruin of Fort La Tour was complete. La Tour was compelled to take refuge in Boston, and afterwards Quebec, while his rival occupied his possessions and enjoyed the results of a large and profitable trade.

D'Aulnay Charnissay's principal residence was at Port Royal but his trade at Saint John was large. He was an exacting and disagreeable neighbor to the English settlers in Massachusetts Bay. He did not long enjoy his good fortune, for in the summer



of 1650 he was drowned in the river at Port Royal by the upsetting of a canoe. His affairs were in a state of great confusion. He owed large sums of money, and judgments were signed against him for supplies and money.

One Le Borgue had a judgment and finding no property in France to satisfy this claim resolved to come to Acadia in 1654 to assert his claim to the lands in Acadia and take possession. He was circumvented. A new force appeared in the shape of a fleet sent out from England by Lord Protector Cromwell to attack the Dutch settlements in America. When they arrived in Boston peace had been concluded between England and the Dutch; but previous to leaving England they had received instructions to act against the possessions of the French in America after the Dutch had been disposed of. This afforded the New Englanders an opportunity to drive the French out of Acadia. Five hundred men under command of Major Robert Sedgewick were raised in haste, and embarking on board warships they made for Acadia. Neither Port Royal or Fort La Tour was in a position to meet such a force and so the whole of Acadia passed into the hands of the English and was not restored until 1667.

It appears that La Tour's father had been connected with Sir William Alexander's scheme of colonization. Both father and son were baronets of Nova Scotia and both had received from him extensive tracts of land in Acadia.

La Tour was able to approach Cromwell, not only as a baronet, but as a grantee of an English King. The result of his efforts was the receiving in July, 1656, in conjunction with Sir William Temple and William Crowne from Cromwell a grant of the greater part of Acadia, including the whole coast of the Bay of Fundy on both sides and one hundred leagues inland. Temple was appointed governor of this domain.

La Tour afterwards sold his interest in Acadia and entered into private life.

D'Aulnay Charnissay was drowned in the river at Port Royal near his fort in 1650, leaving a widow and seven children all of whom went to France.



In 1666 Charles St. Etienne de la Tour, like his rival, was drowned at the age of seventy-four years and was buried in his beloved Acadia at Carleton, Saint John.

In 1667 Acadia was again ceded to France.

In 1690, in a war between Britain and France, Acadia again changed hands, but eventually became British territory by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. This treaty left the bounds undefined, causing further conflict. Nova Scotia was clearly mentioned, but the French contention was that Acadia was what was intended and that was only situate on the south and east of Nova Scotia.

In 1758 three ships and two transports with a Highland regiment left Boston with the object of capturing Fort La Tour. This regiment landed at Negro Point, cut their way through the woods, attacked and carried the fort by assault. The fort was then garrisoned by the British and renamed Fort Frederick.

In 1760 James Simonds came to Saint John and engaged in business but getting into trouble with the Indians, was forced to retire.

In August 1764, he returned, accompanied by James White, Jonathan Leavitt, Captain Francis Peabody and Hugh Quinton.

On the evening of their arrival at Fort Frederick, Carleton, another arrival presented himself in the person of the late James Quinton, Esquire, a farmer living on the Manawagonish Road, Parish of Lancaster, who was M. P. P. for Saint John County in the Legislature of New Brunswick.

Simonds and White built houses on the foot of Fort Howe. Peabody went up river and settled and founded Maugerville.

In 1763 townships had been granted on the Saint John River and elsewhere. We are interested in the townships of Parr on the east side of the Harbor of Saint John and Conway on the west side.

Parrtown was described: "All the lands and waters thereto adjoining, or running in by or through the same, bounded by a line to commence and beginning near Fort Howe at Portland Point at low water mark, and thence running a direct line to a small point or ledge of land at the causey by the old sawmill,



thence east northeast until a direct line shall strike the creek running through Hazen's Marsh on the east side of the Eastern District aforesaid, thence along the course of the said creek to its mouth, thence by a line running south nineteen degrees west into the bay until it meets a line running east from the south point of Partridge Island and along the said line to the said point, thence by a direct line to a point on the shore which is at the southeast extremity of a line running south forty-two degrees east from the River Saint John, to the Bay of Fundy and terminating the town lots of the Western District aforesaid, thence along the said line north forty-two degrees west to the River Saint John aforesaid and continuing the said course across the said river until it meets the opposite shore and from thence along the north shore of the said river at low water mark to Portland Point aforesaid, and every part and parcel thereof are and shall hereafter be a city incorporated of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen and six assistants, by the name of the City of Saint John."

Conway was described "as lying on the west side of the River Saint John, bounded on that side of the river and running back on the Bay of Fundy about ten or twelve miles." Within it is a good harbor called Musquash Cove, where a valuable tract of salt marsh, said to be 2,500 acres, and which in the opinion of many judicious persons are easily dyked, at the head of which is a river navigable for small vessels six or seven miles, and perfectly well calculated for mills. With these advantages it is recorded that the township may accommodate a considerable number of families. Although it is generally supposed that the upland is not very good, some of the best part of it on the peninsula nearest to Saint John has been formerly granted and settlement had been made.

Conway was called after Henry S. Conway, Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1783.

This grant was estreated.

On October 2, 1765, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Nova Scotia, there was granted to James Simonds, James White, and William Hazen and others, a tract of land from the





north side of Union Street West, west to the River Saint John, and north to the Kennebecasis River.

Statement as to White, handed to me by his grandson Louis D. Millidge, Esquire:

## JAMES WHITE

### LATE HIGH SHERIFF OF SAINT JOHN FROM 1816 TO 1847

To all persons who are at all familiar with New Brunswick history the names of Hazen, Simonds and White, the pré-Loyalist settlers, are very familiar.

Of the second generation, many of whom were more or less prominent in the community, not so much is known.

James White, the first of the name who settled in this part of America, married a daughter of Capt. Francis Peabody, and by her had quite a numerous family, most of whom died young, but one son (Jas. White, Jr.) and three daughters reached maturity.

The daughters were Mary Elizabeth, who married Sheriff Gabriel DeVeber, of Gagetown, Queens Co., N. B.; Susanna, who married Jas. Peters, brother of Charles J. Peters, Attorney-General of New Brunswick; and Sarah, who married one Halstead, and lived for some time in New York.

James White the elder, and Jas. Simonds, were brothers-in-law, Jas. Simonds having married Hannah, daughter of Capt. Francis Peabody.

The following obituary notice from an issue of the Saint John Globe will interest those who knew anything of the late Sheriff White, born 1770, died August, 1858.

"A good man has departed from among us, at the ripe age of eighty-eight years; and although such an event might naturally be expected at that period of life, yet we are pained to announce the death of James White, Esq., so long well known as the High Sheriff of the City and County of Saint John.

"No man while living was more honored or respected in this community, and his death leaves a void which with many will not easily be filled.

"The father of the deceased was one of the first settlers in this harbor, in which he landed with others on May 18, 1762, just twenty-one years before the coming of the Loyalists.

"On the day mentioned the frame and materials for a house, which the party brought with them, were taken on shore and set up at Portland Point. It was occupied on May 21, the party



meantime taking shelter in the Barracks at Fort Frederick, then occupied by a military force.

"A few years after the subject of this notice was fast approaching manhood when the Loyalists arrived and landed on the rocky peninsula, called by the Indians Munquois, upon which the greater part of this city now stands.

"The whole of Mr. White's long life has been here spent. He saw the foundations of the city laid, he grew up with it, and saw it advancing step by step from the felling of the first tree until it attained its present dimensions and dense population. Our city with all its improvements and modern advantages has thus sprung up within the lifetime of one man, who is now called to a better world, after a well spent life, and whose memory will long be cherished by many — very many — who are deeply indebted to him for acts of benevolence and disinterested kindness that can never be forgotten."

Sheriff White was born at Sheffield, on the Saint John River, and when he was about four months old, together with his mother, was brought to Saint John in a canoe by a trusty Indian.

He used to relate that upon one occasion, when he was a very young boy living at Portland Point, several vessels were sighted coming into the harbor. His mother was so alarmed that she took him down into the cellar of the house for safety. Their fears proved groundless, the visitors being merely traders peaceably disposed.

Of the first James White it was told that he could exert greater influence over the Indians than any other man in the settlement, they having the highest opinion of his honesty and integrity.

The trade with the Indians was chiefly by way of barter, the furs and other commodities which they brought in being taken in exchange for such supplies as they required.

Somewhat suspicious of the ordinary methods of weighing, it was usual for Mr. White to use a unique method of computation. Thus he would say, "Now, brother, when I put my hand on the scale it will weigh one pound, and when I put my foot on it the foot will weigh two pounds." This procedure always appeared to satisfy the Indians who felt that in dealing with Mr. White they received all to which they were entitled.

Until the date of his marriage Sheriff White lived in his father's old home at the head of the Marsh near Coldbrook, and here his sister, Mary Elizabeth White, lived with him, and acted as his housekeeper, prior to her marriage to Sheriff Nathaniel DeVeber, of Queens Co.



When about forty years of age Sheriff White married Elizabeth Cranston, daughter of Lewis DeBlois.

About 1856 Sheriff White stated to Thomas Millidge, one of his grandsons, that he had as a small boy, with his father, walked by a path in the woods (which is now Main Street) from Portland Point to the Market Square to see the Loyalists land on May 18, 1783.

It is related that upon one occasion a poor half-witted Irish boy stole a loaf of bread, for which he was sentenced by the late Ward Chipman to be hanged. Sheriff White did not consider that the nature of the offence justified such an extreme penalty, but the judge was inexorable, and as the governor would not exercise his prerogative, the sentence had to be carried out. This so enraged Sheriff White, that he and Ward Chipman were never again on friendly terms.

The late General Coffin whose residence was at the Nerepis was a great friend of Sheriff White and always stayed with him when he was in the city.

In 1768 troops were withdrawn from Fort Frederick, except a corporal and four men.

In 1774 the first representatives for the County of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia Legislature were Charles Morris, son of the Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia, and James Simonds, of Saint John.

In 1775 attempts were made at ship-building in the harbor in the summer of this year — the foreman was a Mr. Jones. The frame of the vessel was up and partly planked and the prospects fair for launching in the fall, but this was not realized. The vessel was being built at "Simonds Point," now known as "York Point," and burnt, totally consumed.

In 1777, on September 24, Mr. Michael Franklin, Indian Commissioner, made a treaty with the Malicetes and Micmaes at Fort Howe and succeeded in getting the treaty the Indian Chiefs in Boston had made and signed. The Indians were faithless, and again renewed their demands in 1779 but they were not satisfied until they had received promises of large presents. This was the last attempt at Indian war.

Fort Howe was held by a small force under command of Major Studholm.



Masts were exported from Saint John for the use of the Navy in 1781.

On January 21, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed between Britain, France and Spain. The Revolutionary War was ended and armies disbanded, many of the troops were removed from New England, New York, and other sections of America, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

New Brunswick was known as Sunbury County, in the Province of Nova Scotia, and this county was set apart and now established as "The Province of New Brunswick." Col. Thomas Carleton was appointed first governor July 28, 1784. He came to Parrrtown on November 12, 1784. Next day he took the oath of office and appointed his Council.

Parrrtown was named by Major Studholm and others in consequence of a letter from Governor Parr to Major Gilfred Studholm, wherein he makes the request pointedly, but says *that the idea originated in female vanity.*

A new plan was proposed, viz., that of incorporating the new towns at the mouth of the River Saint John and forming a city by the name of "Saint John," and thus practically preventing a serious representation from the people.

Letters patent were issued under the Great Seal of Nova Scotia by John Parr, Esquire, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, the Admiral of the same, etc., etc., etc., giving and granting and confirming unto the grantees severally the lots as numbered on the plan and drawn by the said grantees. These letters patent were issued and dated the fourteenth day of August, 1784.

The town was laid out in 1,454 lots and granted to the Loyalist families residing therein.

Grantees on the peninsula numbered 1,184 in Parrrtown, and 93 in the other grants on the west side of the harbor.

Parrrtown was plotted and planned by Paul Bedell and dated December 17, 1783.





The City and County of Saint John was established and defined by an Act of Assembly:

“All that tract or district of land situate in the Province of New Brunswick, bounded southerly on the Bay of Fundy, easterly by Hopewell Township, and on a line running from the northwest corner of said township due north in the county northerly by a line running east northeast and west southwest from the southern-most point of the Kennebecasis River where it joins the River Saint John and westerly by a due north line from Point La Proe in the Bay of Fundy as aforesaid;” and did thereby ordain, establish and declare that all and singular the lands and waters comprised within the line aforesaid should forever thereafter be continued and remain a district and separate county, and, including the City of Saint John, shall be called and known and distinguished by the name of the City and County of Saint John.

The County of Saint John was divided into townships or parishes and for our present purpose, the first town or parish was called and known by the name of Portland, bounded on the south by the Bay of Fundy and eastern shore of the Harbor of Saint John, and the several northern bounds and limits of the said City of Saint John, on the east by the eastern boundary line of Lot No. 1 granted to Samuel Hughes, continued to the northern boundary line, running from the shore to the Bay of Fundy north fifteen degrees west; on the north by the northern boundary line of said county and on the west by the eastern shore of the River Saint John and the limits of the said county.

On April 30, 1785, on the petition of the inhabitants of the Town or District of Parr lying on the eastern side of the River Saint John, and Carleton on the west side thereof at the entrance of the River Saint John aforesaid, both of which said districts are in the Province of New Brunswick in America, it was represented to Thomas Carleton, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over said province that they had by their exertions conquered many of the difficulties attending the settlement of the country, and that they were anxious to remove the remaining evils they at present labor under, part of which flow



from the want of a regular magistracy for the safe and orderly government of the district they inhabit. They also represented that they humbly conceived that an important step towards the desirable end would be granting them a Charter of Incorporation, under the sanction of which they might be enabled to ordain such bye-laws and regulations as their peculiar wants and rapid growth urgently call for. That the advantages to be derived from a charter empowering them to establish such ordinances as are requested for the good government of a populous place were so obvious they thought it necessary only to hint at them, and that the speedy administration of justice, both civil and criminal, would be greatly aided by erecting a Mayor's Court and Quarter Sessions, and they humbly hoped this consideration alone would be sufficient to induce compliance with their request, and confidently promised that their prudent use of the liberties would justify the favor.

These was thereupon given and granted unto the inhabitants of the said districts as they were thereby united, and the said districts and all the lands in, by or through the same, bounded as previously described.

The city was governed by a Common Council consisting of a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Councillors, with other appointed officers. The city was divided into wards. At first there were four on the east side, — Kings, Queens, Dukes, and Sydney; and two on the west side — Guys and Brooks; each with two representatives — Alderman and Councillor.

The Mayor at first was appointed by the Provincial Government until 1850. The first Mayor, Gabriel G. Ludlow, 1785. The last appointment by government, Henry Chubb, 1850.

In 1850 Common Council elected their own chairman — who was Mayor: Thomas Harding, 1851; William O. Smith, 1852. Afterwards the Mayor was elected annually, as were the Aldermen and Councillors.

On February 25, 1850, the Charter of the City of Saint John and the government thereof was changed by a bye-law; the office of "Councillor" in each ward being substituted by name of "Assistant Alderman."



In 1884 the office of "Councillor" was abolished, and instead each ward elected two Aldermen.

In time other wards were created. Kings was divided and Wellington created. Wellington was divided and Prince created.

The west side wards were originally Guys and Brooks; afterwards divided and Albert created.

In 1890 the Council was established as the Mayor and one Alderman for each ward, and two Aldermen-at-large.

In 1907 the Council was composed of Mayor, one Alderman for each ward and four Aldermen-at-large.

In March 26, 1912, the government of the city was changed and composed of a Mayor, and four Commissioners, elected by the people; the Mayor was elected for two years and the Commissioners retiring every two years.

In 1871 (by 34 Vic., c. 11, page 31) the inhabitants of the Parish of Portland becoming ambitious and not desirous of being considered longer as suburbanites, "asked for and secured, on May 17, 1871, 'An Act Incorporating The Town of Portland.'" It was divided into four wards numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and a fifth was added and erected March 21, 1878.

In 1883 the name of the Town of Portland was changed to that of the "City of Portland."

In 1888 An Act of Assembly was passed authorizing a vote to be taken by the inhabitants of the Cities of Saint John and Portland on the matter of extending the boundaries of the City of Saint John so as to include the City of Portland. The said vote was taken, resulting in favor of the union, by a large majority.\* An Act was passed in 1889 carrying the views and wishes of the inhabitants into effect, called The Union Act, 1889, which incorporated both cities as one and became operative on May 18, 1889 — the one hundred and fifth anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists.

\*Vote for City Union.

	For	Against
Saint John.....	1650	694
Portland.....	553	413
	<hr/> 2203	<hr/> 1107



By this Union Act, uniting these cities — Saint John and Portland — the wards of the latter were confirmed but under names instead of numbers: Victoria Ward known as 1; Dufferin Ward known as 2; Lansdowne Ward known as 3; Lorne Ward known as 4; and Stanley Ward known as 5.

Portland was called after William Henry Cavendish Bentinck third Duke of Portland,— Premier of Great Britain, from April 5, 1783,— till his defeat and resignation December 17, of the same year.

Many of the founders of the City of Saint John, and of the establishment and settlement of New Brunswick, were an educated, polished, refined and cultured class in civil, professional and military life.

There were Harvard men among them; notably Hon. Edward Winslow, an accomplished scholar and gentleman of fine presence and engaging manner,— a graduate of Harvard. He was appointed Master-Muster-General of the Loyal Forces with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in 1807.

Ward Chipman, also a graduate of Harvard College, who was appointed Attorney-General of New Brunswick in 1784, and others.

Attorney-General Chipman drafted the Charter of Saint John granted by the Governor of Nova Scotia. He was the first Recorder of the city.

On May 23, 1785, the Common Council ordered that the Mayor be requested to report at the next meeting of Council a proper device and inscription for the City Seal. On May 26, 1785, the Mayor, pursuant to request, laid before the Board a device and inscription for the City Seal, and the same being approved of it was ordered that the same be perfected, and the Mayor was requested to employ an artificer who may be capable of execution. This device was designed by Ward Chipman, Recorder.

The first Mayor was Hon. Gabriel G. Ludlow, appointed 1785 to 1795.





The first Common Clerk, Bartholomew Crannell, appointed 1785 to 1790.

The first Recorder, Ward Chipman, appointed 1785-1809.

First Chamberlain George Leonard, appointed 1785 to 1787.

As stated by late Dr. S. D. Scott, "This city, springing all at once where several thousands of Loyalists, escaping from New York and New England, camped on the promontory at the mouth of the noble river, there on the rocks and among the trees, the first huts and barracks were built."

"Chipman, who loved his Virgil so well that he used to quote him in private letters, being called upon to find a motto for the new city at once bethought of Virgil's account of the wanderings of Aeneas and of the time when seeking a place to found his new city, he came upon the site where Queen Dido, not yet infelix, was building Carthage, watching the ancient Tyrians bustling about like bees, extending the wall, building the citadel, rolling up the stones by hand, locating their houses, founding their theatre, comparing their fortunes with his own troubles and uncertainties, Aeneas exclaimed, "O fortunate people whose walls already are rising."

These words of Aeneas were adopted as the motto of Saint John and one reads on the records and stationery of the city to-day this line:

*"O fortunati quorum jam moenia surgunt."*

Saint John was the first incorporated city in the British Colonies, enjoying full corporate rights of self-government.

The work of the founders of city and provincial buildings and business was thoroughly and thoughtfully considered and planned before permanent buildings and improvements were commenced. The city was fully plotted.

Having now before us the plan of the city by Paul Bedell, dated December 17, 1783, we find the names of the streets as laid out on scale representing sixty feet in width, with the exception of two, (namely, King and now Broad) at 100 feet in width. Why?

There is no reason for this given that the writer knows of



but there must be a reason, and thus we are left to conjecture. At the time—the statement has been repeatedly made at different times by reliable authority—that there was an “Upper Cove” and “Lower Cove.” In the knowledge of the writer, as boys we had broils between the “Up Towners” and “Lower Covers.” The city must have been popularly divided into two divisions. Political elections aggravated this feeling of enmity. Feelings ran to riot. The result of the first election for assembly was so displeasing to the governor that he personally visited several places in New Brunswick, ending in his selecting Parish St. Ann on the River Saint John. This place was selected by him as the capital, and it was re-named Fredericton in honor of the Duke of York.

Outside communication with the outside world was by water, and landings would be at, near or in the coves—and to facilitate travel and traffic larger avenues of approach to or from such would be greater than elsewhere.

King Street, at the head of the harbor, would be the natural roadway for the greatest or most direct traffic to, with and from the Upper Cove, and therefore 100 feet would be allowed it. “Main,” then,—now “Broad”—for the same reason would be for the lower section of the city, bounded as it was by the Lower Cove and harbor, and so receive 100 feet in width. It also appears by the plan that only two streets of the peninsula—Union and “South,” afterwards “Sheffield”—ran from the harbor to Courtenay Bay, east and west, and only one north and south from the base of the peninsula to the Bay of Fundy,—Sidney,—under one name. All other cross streets named commenced at Sidney and ran east and west under different names.

There is no reason recorded for this course, but a reason there must have been, and we are again left to surmise.

Could it be that Sidney, its full length, and cut through and laid upon the ridge of the peninsula, would be a residential section of the city, having ample natural advantage for sanitary conditions, there being full opportunity for satisfactory drainage—north, south, east and west.

The Bedell plan carries us to the south side of Union Street



only. (This street was to be called Gilfred Street, after Major Gilfred Studholm, but this suggestion did not take.)

R. C. Minette's plan of 1818,—thirty-five years later,—takes in land to the north of Union Street from Smythe to Coburg Streets, and then north to Pond and the City Road, with the proposed extensions of Waterloo, Brussels and Erin Streets converging at Haymarket Square at the City Road, which was the boundary line between the Parishes of Portland and Simonds and the City of Saint John. No street in the city should be less than fifty feet wide. Looking on the plan south to north we find: All land south of Broadview Avenue (formerly Main) was retained by the Imperial Government and authorities for military purposes. Here was erected the Barracks and necessary adjuncts for harbor protection.

**BROADVIEW AVENUE.**—Running from harbor to Courtenay Bay, called "South" Street originally, but was re-named in honor of "Lord Sheffield," as a token of recognition of his services to the British North American Colonies in supporting the British Navigation Laws against the Baltic influences.

Lord Sheffield was by name Sir John Baker Holroyd. In 1781 he was raised to the Peerage of Ireland as Baron Sheffield of Dunamore. At a meeting of the Common Council, March 15, 1805, a vote of thanks of the Corporation was given to the Right Honorable Lord Sheffield for His Lordship's exertions by his late and former publications in support of the British Navigation Laws on which the prosperity of this and His Majesty's other North American Provinces so greatly depended. That the freedom of the city is humbly presented to His Lordship in a box to be made of maple, and that a picture from an engraved likeness presented to the Corporation by the Honorable George Leonard be enclosed in a suitable frame and hung up in grateful remembrance of his public services. George Leonard, of Massachusetts, Second in Command, was a member of New Brunswick Council, an active man, Legislator, Magistrate, Colonel of Militia, and Superintendent of Fisheries, died at Sussex, 1826.

For many years Sheffield Street was a peaceful place, with



a few cottages and much vacant land in the neighborhood partly occupied as gardens and for pasturage.

A great change came about in 1821 when the garrison was removed from Fort Howe, which place had been occupied by the military since the coming of the Loyalists in 1783.

The Barracks in Lower Cove was finished in 1831 and the 74th Regiment, Col. French, last regiment occupying Fort Howe, was removed to the new Barracks on land south of this street.

The Sheffield Street today presents but little resemblance to the Sheffield of sixty or seventy years ago.

The removal of the regular troops after Confederation, the destruction by the fire of 1877 of all buildings, the erection of the new Armory and tearing down and demolishing the "Old Rookeries" erected here after the fire, have made a vast change. Before these later dates the old rookeries sheltered and harbored a nondescript and lawless assemblage of both sexes who gathered here from all directions, following the quarters of the soldiers as is the custom of all garrison towns wherever the cantonments of the military are established, and where the sailors are closely allied.

These harpies congregated to prey upon the soldiers and pandered to the worse vices. All these changes have completely altered the character of the street. In those bye-gone days a Saturday night was little short of pandemonium. Dance halls were wide open filled with soldiers, sailors and others struggling and shuffling vigorously in rough and boisterous dancing to the tunes of squealling pipes and fiddles played by broken down old men whose only livelihood was stray coppers contributed by the participators in the fandango, eked out by a slight nightly contribution from the proprietor of the hall. The halls were brightly illumined with candles, and latterly with oil lamps.

Rum circulated freely, and as the nights wore on rows and fights became general and in order, resulting in severe injuries inflicted among those engaged in the strife.

The soldiers when hard pressed would unloose their belts on which were the brass buckles and fastenings, and swinging





round their heads, striking with force, inflict ghastly wounds.

The scanty police were sometimes unable to cope with the mob, and were frequently assisted by a military squad of from ten to twenty men, who patrolled the streets right after night fall.

After the military left, this section became a prowling ground for a low type individual who preyed on the deluded strangers who wandered down there under the impression that they were enjoying the fast life of the city.

This street had several bye names conferred on it: Kelly's Row was one; another the name of a Turkish city on the Danube which, during the Crimean War, had made a brave defence against the Russians, which so took the fancy of the boys \* \* \* they gave it the name of "Kalafat" after that city.

Freeman's Chanty of the day had a refrain:

"Oh hand me down my brand new hat  
Till I go down to Kalafat."

The Halifax Herald of that day once noted the fact "That Saint John away from home will be glad to learn that Kalafat has not yet been taken."

In 1911, on the motion of the Alderman of Sidney Ward (John B. Jones, Esq.), the name was changed to that of Broadview Avenue, but this name has never become popular and will not in the present generation at any rate. The original name "South" would have been more acceptable and was expressive.

VULCAN.—Off Charlotte Extension to Sydney. Saint John Iron Works situate on this street.

BROAD.—Running from harbor to Courtenay Bay. Originally named "Fanning" Street after Colonel Edmund Fanning of North Carolina, a graduate of Yale. Gazetted Colonel December 13, 1776; raised the King's American Regiment. Went to Nova Scotia, and on September 23, 1783, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. In 1786 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, which position



he held for nineteen years. He died in London, 1818. On his removal the name Main was substituted, and it so remained until after the union of the Cities of Saint John and Portland, when it received the present name, not to conflict with Main in the north end, running the full length of south of Portland to the river. The name Broad is appropriate, it, with King, being the only streets 100 feet broad.

BRITAIN.—Running from harbor to bay. This street was named "Saint Andrews" in the "Bedell" as well as "Minette" plans, in honor of the patron Saint of Scotland, but was changed to Great Britain Street about 1818, Saint Andrew being transferred to another street further north for special cause. The name was given the street full length to the bay as "Great Britain," but latterly the Great was dropped and so it carries this name to the present. The Lower Cove ran inland beyond this street at the west end from a point between Charlotte and Sidney. The west end is a fill up and made passable to the south end of Prince William,—Reed's Point. The Scotch Presbyterians of Saint John held service on this street until 1818.

SAINT JAMES.—Running from harbor to bay. Saint James Palace, London, was destroyed by fire in 1809 and no doubt to commemorate that building the name was given. It appears on the Bedell plan as the western end of the street from Sidney. The extension of the street from Sidney to the bay was called Stormont in honor of Right Honorable David Viscount Stormont, April 2, 1783, who was President of the Privy Council of England in the Pitt Administration.

HARDING.—From harbor east to Charlotte. In honor of Thomas Harding, an Alderman of Dukes Ward, 1805, and a son of William Harding, one of the grantees of the city lots—who drew lots Nos. 5 and 35. In 1859 this street was widened to its present dimensions.

PAGAN PLACE.—Germain to lots fronting on east side Prince William Street. This was the private property of William Pagan, who came to Saint John from New York in 1783. He represented Saint John in the first Legislature. He married



and was appointed by the Charter one of the Alderman of this city.

This property became the residence of William Wright, Esquire, Advocate-General, appointed 1846, and continued until his death in 1865. He practised law in Saint John, was a great Chancery lawyer, and was greatly interested in real estate. He owned property bounded on the south of the City Road from about half-way on the south of City Road to the junction of Gilbert's Lane and running back north to the Public Gardens. He died suddenly. All this real estate was the subject of a Chancery suit. The late William M. Jarvis was appointed Receiver of his estate. This property was planned and plotted and sold in building lots. Wright Street was called after him.

**SAINT ANDREWS.**—Running from Sidney Street to Carmarthen. The Scotch residents in Saint John, Presbyterian by denomination, in 1784 met and organized and appointed a committee to apply to the government for a grant of land on which they might build a church, school house, manse and poor house. The committee appointed by them petitioned and procured a grant of city lots of land lying now on the northern half of the block of land fronting on Saint James and the southern half of the block of land fronting on Mecklenburg Street between Sidney and Carmarthen, under the Great Seal of Nova Scotia dated the twenty-ninth day of June, 1784. To open up this block of lots, forty in all, a street was laid out. It received the name of Saint Andrews Street and it is so named in the Minette Plan, 1818.

Saint Andrews was then dropped from Britain which was continued to the bay.

**QUEEN.**—From harbor to bay. So called in honor of Queen Charlotte, consort of George III, from harbor to Sydney—as appears by the Bedell Plan—and from Sydney east to the bay, "Charlotte." It got its present name full length of street after Studholm had been dropped from present Charlotte Street.



DUKE.—From harbor to bay. The western end of this street was named "Bulkelly" and the eastern end from Sydney to the bay "Morris" on the Bedell Plan, and within the knowledge of the writer. Bulkelly was the name of Honorable Richard Bulkelly, who accompanied Cornwallis to Nova Scotia in 1749 when he founded Halifax. He was Secretary of Nova Scotia under thirteen successive governors until 1793, when he retired in favor of his son. He died at the age of eighty-three.

Morris was the name of the Honorable Charles Morris, the first representative of Sunbury County in the Legislature of Nova Scotia. He was the son of Colonel Honorable John Morris, Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia. In the "Minette" Plan, 1818, this street was still divided, but "Duke" had been substituted for "Bulkelly." Morris was continued for some time, and within the knowledge of the writer, when "Morris" was dropped and Duke extended from harbor to bay — on the site of the annex of the Victoria School was the Church of the Disciples of Christ and in the basement was one of the city schools taught by the late James, afterwards Dr. James Hutchinson, M. D., and the late Edward Manning, M. A. These gentlemen in the spring of 1858 went to Saint John Grammar School on the Corner of Horsfield and Germain Streets, succeeding Messrs. Blanchard and March. Dr. Hutchinson afterwards practised his profession in Saint John. Edward Manning went to Prince Edward Island and, returning, succeeded Mr. John March as Secretary of the School Board of Saint John.

The name is titular and called after the Duke of Kent father of late Queen Victoria the Good who visited Saint John in 1794.

ORANGE.—Sydney to bay. In honor of Frederick, Duke of Orange, who was Commander of the Hanoverian Army troops in the Napoleonic War in Belgium, as allies of the British under Wellington. He was killed at the Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1818. He was present at the Duchess of Richmond's ball in Brussels before the battle.

PRINCESS.—Harbor to bay. On the Bedell plan this street is noted as in two divisions — west of Sydney Street, Tyng; east of Sydney, "St. Georges."





On the Minette plan, 1878, the west had been changed to "Princess," and the east remained St. Georges. "St. Georges" was afterwards dropped and the name Princess Street applied to the full length.

Col. William Tyng was sent to Saint John in 1783 by imperial authority as Commissariat Agent for the Loyalists. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to allot the grants at Parrtown to the Loyalists. He left Saint John, retired to Gagetown (Queens County) about 1786; was Sheriff of Queens County. He died in Portland, Me., 1807.

Saint George was the titular Saint of England.

Princess was called in honor of "Princess Amelia," the youngest daughter of King George III, born August 7, 1783, died in 1810.

The west end of this street, from Germain to harbor, was a high precipitous cliff but on July 29, 1830, this block was opened for traffic. A team laden with cordwood ascended the hill that was left, to Germain Street with comparative ease. Rocky Hill had been cut down to a grade that was travellable, but it retains this surname to the present day.

HORSFIELD.—Germain to Charlotte. Named in honor of Thomas Horsfield, a loyalist who came to Saint John in 1783. He was one of the grantees of lots in Parrtown. He drew Lot No. 92. He was a well-to-do Brooklyn merchant. He was the first Warden in Trinity Church, in which a tablet was erected to his memory. He lived on Germain Street.

CHURCH.—From Prince William to Germain. Was so called on account of it being (as it is to-day) an approach to Trinity Church on the east side of Germain.

COOPER'S ALLEY.—From Cross Street to Prince William. On this small part of land was located the coooperage business of the port, which was of much importance to Saint John at this time. It was near to the then beach where Water Street (so called) is now located. Traffic was from this alley across Prince William to an alley on the west side of Prince William Street to Saint John (Water Street) which was the beach. This alley



was called at different times and ages, "Horsfield's," "Green's," and latterly Jardine's Alley.

**KING.**—Running full length to bay. This was a divided street. In Bedell's plan from harbor to Charlotte Street, and from Sydney Street to bay, "Great George." This was the main artery of the city for the Upper Cove, as it is to-day, up to Charlotte Street. Towards the eastern end of the street there was quite an eminence on which was erected a Block House for protection from attack, and a fire alarm for the protection from fire. Through this hill was cut a passage of about twenty feet width to connect with the bay. In the early sixties this hill was removed and the street reduced to its present dimensions to Courtenay Bay.

The name Great George was discarded and King Street East substituted. Why East? Is it not surplusage? Between "King and King Street East" is King Square.

**ELLIOTT ROW.**—Carmarthen to bay. In honor of Honorable Sir George Augustus Elliott, afterwards created Lord Heathfield, February 2, 1783, defender of Gibraltar and afterwards Governor thereof December 8, 1783.

**UNION STREET.**—Harbor to bay; the head of the harbor and part of the bay. The union of the waters and the baseline of the peninsula of Parrtown. The land to the north side of this street had been previously granted to James Simonds, James White and William Hazen. This is the north line on the Bedell plan. The Minette plan takes in land to the northwest and north to a cove and Pond Street. This street was first proposed to be called Gilfred Street in honor of Major Gilfred Studholm, and was the roadway between harbor and the county, but this did not take and Union Street was designated.

**YORK POINT** was situate at the harbor end of Union and was called after the Duke of York.

**SMYTHIE STREET.**—Union to Pond Street. In honor of Governor George Stracey Smythe, aide-de-camp to Wellington



at Waterloo, second Governor of New Brunswick in 1812. It was opened in September, 1839, and was reduced to its present dimension of fifty feet in 1877, after the great fire in Saint John of that year. The fire started at a point west of this street on a wharf property, and laid waste all the City of Saint John up to the corner house on the south side of Union (leaving that corner house and five houses on the west side of Prince William Street south and four houses on the east side of same Street, south) until it was stopped on the north side of King Street at house opposite Cross Street, where all houses south to the harbor were destroyed (except the Court House, Engine House and Gaol). All houses in a south-easterly direction from the corner of Pitt on the west side to Queen Street on the south were left standing.

DRURY LANE.—Off Union to North, was called after Drury Lane Theatre, London. This section of the city at that time was a residential quarter; military and officials lived here and it was quite a social centre. There was a theatre at the corner of this street at York Point in August, 1818. The military influence with the theatre patrons gave rise to the name.

MILL.—Off Union to the north to Paradise Row. Called so on account of its being the roadway to Simonds Mill at the site of the Canadian Government Railway Station, and on to Main Street.

## STREETS RUNNING NORTH AND SOUTH

PETERS WHARF.—Called after Hon. Charles J. Peters, Attorney-General of New Brunswick from 1828 to 1848, a period of twenty years; not in either Bedell or Minette plans. The beach was filled up, wharfed and timbered, and laid out for warehouses.

WARD.—Not in either Bedell or Minette plans; was named in honor of John Ward, member of the Legislature of New Brunswick, 1808, 1816, 1819. He was for many years recognized as the father of the city. On May 18, 1843, he was



presented by the city with an address being then ninety years of age. The street was opened on April 5, 1828.

**SAINTE JOHN STREET.**—Irregularly called Water Street; from harbor to Market Square. Not in the Bedell plan, but is marked on the Minette plan as Saint John Street. It was formerly a beach or flat of sea-shore and was filled up, wharfed and built upon, made a street and planned to-day as Saint John. Name indicates surroundings, with wharves and slips for water traffic. Formerly it only ran to Duke Street but was extended to Reed's Point as at present in 1866.

**DOCK STREET.**—Called, as name indicates. Does not appear in the Bedell plan. At that time it was land covered with water. It appears, however, in the Minette plan, for in the time between the plans, 1783-1818, the land had been made up by filling. All this section of the city was beach or flats. It was widened on September 20, 1839, and made fifty feet. After the Saint John Fire June 20, 1877, it was further widened to the extent of twelve feet on the eastern side line and continues the same width to-day sixty-two feet to Union and joins Mill Street.

**NELSON.**—North Wharf to Union. In honor of Lord Nelson the hero of Trafalgar, 1805. It was widened in September, 1839.

**PRINCE WILLIAM.**—From harbor to Union. In honor of Prince William, brother of George III, afterwards King William IV. He also held the title of Duke of Clarence. He followed the sea, was an admiral and was known as "The Sailor Prince."

**CROSS.**—Between Church and King. On both plans—Bedell and Minette's—and name indicates circumstances. This short street runs parallel with Prince William and Germain, and was widened to fifty feet in 1855. Benedict Arnold lived on the west corner of this street and south of King; Lot No. 406, from 1787 to 1791. Afterwards Hon. Attorney-General Bliss bought house and lot for £350. In 1811 it was purchased by Charles McPherson. It was converted into stores and was known as the Bragg building.





CANTERBURY.—Running from Church to Princess Street. Was opened in 1855. Was called Canterbury after the Governor of New Brunswick, popularly known as Thomas Manners-Sutton. Was extended to Saint James Street in 1877, and further extended in 1878 to Britain.

GERMAIN.—From harbor to Union. In honor of George Sackville; born January 26, 1716, created Lord George Sackville, 1720-1770; Lord George Germain, 1770-1782, died August 26, 1785. He was a soldier as well as statesman. Was in the Pitt Administration, 1777. At one time it was the street of churches—Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptists.

CHARLOTTE.—From harbor to Union. On Bedell's plan the word "Studholm" appears, as also on the Minette's plan. This was a main street running north and south. At the time Queen was extended to Courtenay Bay its full length, the name Charlotte was substituted for "Studholm." It is titular and was called after the Queen Consort of George III.

Major Gilfred Studholm was born near Dublin where he owned a small estate. He entered the army and in 1776 was given a commission in Loyal Nova Scotia volunteers. He was gazetted a captain July 15, 1776, in the Royal Fencible Americans and rendered effectual service in repulsing an attack by the rebels on Fort Cumberland. In the fall of 1778 he was ordered to the mouth of the Saint John River where he built Fort Howe and remained in charge as Major until the arrival of the Loyalists. He was actively employed in assigning lands to the different corps as they arrived, his assistant being Lieutenant Samuel Denny Street. He was a member of the first Council of the province. As a reward for his services he got a large grant of land in the Parish of Studholm, in Kings County, to which he retired, and where he died on October 16, 1792, at the Millstream at the age of fifty-four years.

SYDNEY STREET.—From harbor to Union. As it appears on the Bedell and Minette plans runs on the crest of the peninsula. In honor of Right Hon Thomas Townsend, created Lord Sydney, March 4, 1783, and who was Secretary of State in the



Pitt Administration. He was a man of imperial ideas. He founded a British Colony in New South Wales, Australia. The name Port Jackson, the then capital of that colony, was dropped and changed to Sydney, in his honor. Sydney, Cape Breton, also honored him.

MECKLENBURG.—Off Sydney to the bay. Called after Sophia, Queen Consort of George III. The Queen's father bore the title of Duke of Mecklenburg-Sterlitz. The name was bestowed in honor of the birthplace of the Queen.

LEINSTER.—Off Sydney to the bay. In honor of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, born October 15, 1763, served in military life at Fort Howe, Saint John, in 1784. Bishop Inglis writes in his diary, "I met Lord Edward Fitzgerald, an agreeable genteel young man." Lord Edward Fitzgerald's story is a tragic one. A disappointment in love induced him to come to New Brunswick. William Cobbet was a sergeant in his regiment and he spoke highly of him. Lord Fitzgerald was a patriotic young Irishman.

CARMARTHEN STREET.—Harbor to Union Street. In honor of Right Honorable Francis Osburne, Marquis of Carmarthen and Imperial Secretary of State December 3, 1783.

WENTWORTH.—Harbor to Union. Called after Governor Sir John Wentworth, second Governor of Nova Scotia in 1792. He was the last Royal Governor in New Hampshire and held the commission of the Surveyor of the King's woods in America. He came to Nova Scotia with the Loyalists and was an intimate friend of the Hon. Edward Winslow, one of the founders of the province, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick.

PITT.—Harbor to Union. In honor of the Honorable William Pitt, Prime Minister of England, 1784.

CROWN.—Not on Bedell plan, but on Minette's; from Union to between King and Leinster — now to the harbor. The origin of the name is uncertain and purely speculative. It has been all filled in along the Courtenay Bay shore the full length.

So far Bedell plan.



Minette plan, 1818:

**NORTH.**—Running east and west from harbor to George Street. In honor of Lord North, Earl of Guilford and Secretary of State in the Pitt Administration, 1783. Besides it incidentally happens that at this time it was the northern street of the city and to the county line at Pond Street.

**POND.**—East and west to City Road. Called after the Mill Pond, of which it was on the southern bank to the north line called the City Road.

**CITY ROAD.**—The main thoroughfare from the county into the city, and marks the boundary line of the city and county.

**GEORGE.**—Off Union to Pond. . Called after King George III.

**HAZEN AVENUE.**—Off Union to Carleton Street. Practically a continuation of Prince William Street, through the Chipman grounds, when such was partitioned off and sold into building lots to open this block of land and called Hazen Avenue by the heirs of the property.

**CHIPMAN AVENUE.**—A cross street parallel with Union and Carleton Streets and called in honor of the owner of this lot at one time, Hon. Chief Justice Chipman.

**CARLETON.**—Running east and west parallel with Union to Coburg. After Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in New York, and knighted Baron April 11, 1786. He was appointed Governor-General of Canada and elevated to the peerage as Lord Dorchester August 15, 1786.

**PEEL.**—Off Union to Carleton Street. In honor of Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of England, 1833, who was born February 5, 1788, died July 2, 1850. In 1809 he was returned to Parliament. In 1810 he became Under-Secretary of the Colonies; 1812 Secretary for India; 1818 he instituted the Irish Constabulary which were named "Peelers," and this name was extended to the police generally.

**WELLINGTON ROW.**—Off Union to Carleton Street. Continuation of Germain Street for one block — Union to Carleton.



Was called in honor of Duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Was planned Wellington Street, but was changed to Wellington Row 1818.

DORCHESTER.—From Union to City Road. This street was laid out by Ward Chipman, by dividing the block of land between Wellington and Coburg Streets. So called on the Minette plan of 1860, now known as Wellington Row and running north to the City Road, but the course was diverted at the corner of Sewell Street, to the eastward to face the Passenger Railway Station of the E. and N. A. Railway at Pond Street, on the south side, by the Common Council on the petition of the agents and attorneys of the owners of land on the northward and westward of the northern extension as at present established by Act of the General Assembly, 32 Vic., c. 65 (1869), on October 25, 1882. The depot was removed later westward to face on Mill Street and there is now a freight station at this point.

COBURG.—From Union to Hazen's Castle. Titular after Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, who was Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, born 1840; died 1861.

SEWELL.—Off Coburg to Pond. In 1811 Ward Chipman purchased from the Honorable William Hazen a block of land beginning at the lot occupied by St. John Church, Carleton Street, head of Wellington Row, thence along Carleton Street to Coburg, thence down Jaffrey or Jeffries Hill, thence past where now stands St. Paul's Church, thence northwest to Jenny's Spring, thence south to the place of beginning; in all thirty-six acres, for £600, and one of the streets laid out in the block was named Sewell Street, after a citizen of Saint John who died Chief Justice of Quebec.

GARDEN.—Off Coburg to City Road. After a garden cultivated by William Jaffray or Jeffrey at the foot of the hill or near the City Road. This street was long and popularly known as Jeffrey's Hill. To show the advance made in 1824, Alexander Wedderburn, Secretary of the New Brunswick Society, gave notice that the New Brunswick Society's Annual Cattle Exhibition and Competition will take place on the second October on





the heights near Jeffrey's Garden precisely at twelve o'clock. In the sixties the triangular lot between Coburg and Hazen Streets was a field from which balloons were let loose, a sight for large and interesting crowds. To this day it is spoken of as Jeffrey's Hill.

**HAZEN.**—From Dorchester to Hazen's Castle. In honor of Hon. Robert L. Hazen, long Recorder of the city and member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, who built the large wooden house at present owned and occupied by Hon. Sir J. Douglas Hazen, Knight, Chief Justice of New Brunswick.

**CHARLES.**—Dorchester to Rock, north. In honor of Charles Hazen, Esquire, son of the Hon. William Hazen.

**ROCK.**—A continuation of Charles, north, running parallel with City Road. The name indicates surroundings.

**WATERLOO.**—Off Union to Wellington Market or Haymarket Square as now called.

“There was a sound of revelry by night.”

The revelry by night here referred to was a grand ball given by the Duchess of Richmond, whose husband was Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond, who at that time was the British Ambassador in Brussels to the Kingdom of Belgium. At this ball, in honor of the Duke of Wellington, in Brussels, were the Duke of Richmond, Wellington with his staff including Frederick, Duke of Brunswick and William, Duke of Orange, who had each commands under Wellington. Brunswick was in command of the German allies, and Orange the Hanoverians. Word by message was given to Wellington in the progress of the ball of the movements of Napoleon. At once the command was given to Brunswick and Orange to join their respective commands. The ball was broken up. Wellington at once retired to join Blucher, and the order of march commenced.

Brunswick was killed at Quatre Bras June 16, 1815. Orange was killed at Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

The Duke of Richmond was appointed in 1818 Governor-General of Canada. In the early summer of 1819 the Duke



visited Sorel, Quebec, then a military post, and was bitten by a young fox that a soldier had in confinement. He proceeded to Kingston and from this place proceeded through the wilderness for a considerable distance on foot, to near where Ottawa is now located, the journey being made for the purpose of looking over the route for the projected Rideau Canal. Near Ottawa he was seized with hydrophobia with which he had been infected by the bite of the fox and after a few days of great suffering died on August 28, 1819, in a settler's shack in a little clearing near where is now the Town of Richmond, Carleton County, Ontario. The body was conveyed to Quebec and buried in a vault in the walls of the Anglican Cathedral. The first and only Governor-General of Canada in office and the first buried in the country of service.

From Union Street to the Roman Catholic Cathedral the street is filled in with earth and stone fourteen or fifteen feet deep to make even the present elevation.

The hill beyond was called Vinegar Hill, a building at the foot thereof being used for the manufacturing of that liquid.

PETERS.—From Coburg to Waterloo. In honor of the Hon. Charles J. Peters, Attorney-General of New Brunswick, who owned land from Union to this street running north along Coburg. He was the son of James Peters of Gagetown, N. B., was born in 1772, came to the province with the Loyalists. He was Attorney-General in 1828 and held office until his death in 1848. He owned a block of land bounded on the south by Union Street, running up Coburg northerly and northeasterly to the northeasterly corner of this street and down Peters to Green's Alley. To improve and open up this block of land he laid out this street, and for a right of entry to the rear of his lots fronting on Union, Coburg and Peters, opened an alley on the east side. He built his house, which is now the Knights of Columbus' property, in 1824. Stone Church, the Court House and his house were built in the same year.

PADDOCK.—Coburg to Waterloo. In honor of Adino Paddock. Doctor Adino Paddock was formerly of Boston, son of



Major Adino Paddock, who planted the Paddock Elms in Tremont Street, Boston. In 1779 he went to England, studied medicine and surgery. Returning to America he became surgeon in the King's American Dragoons. Settled after the war at Saint John, N. B., but later went to St. Mary's, York County, where he died.

CLIFF.—Coburg to Waterloo. The name indicates the surroundings.

GOLDING.—From Waterloo to the western boundary of Hazen Castle lot. In honor of John Golding, a merchant in Saint John who owned land on this street running to Hazen boundary line. He built and lived on the corner of Waterloo and this street. His family settled on the River Saint John. "At Golding's" yet.

REBECCA.—Running parallel with Waterloo from Golding to the rear of the property of the Roman Catholic Bishop. This street was called after his daughter, Rebecca by name, who was killed on board a woodboat or schooner sailing from the harbor for up river. While passing through the river at the falls a large boulder broke away from the surrounding overhanging cliffs at the falls, fell on board and killed her.

CASTLE.—Off Waterloo to the rear of Hazen Castle. The rear approach to the residence.

WHITE.—Off Waterloo Street to the rear of the General Public Hospital. In honor of James White, one of the grantees of the lands already referred.

HOSPITAL.—Off Waterloo to entrance of the General Public Hospital grounds and popularly known as Cedar Hill.

ALMA.—Waterloo to City Road. After the Battle of Alma, Crimea, September 20, 1854.

DELHI.—Waterloo to City Road. After the Siege of Delhi, India, Mutiny September 20, 1857.

BRINDLEY.—Waterloo to City Road. In honor of Miss



Deborah Brindley Hazen, daughter of the late William Hazen, one of the grantees already referred to.

RICHMOND.—Off Waterloo to Saint Patrick. In honor of the Duke of Richmond, Charles Lennox, who was Minister-General of Ordnance in England in 1782, a great friend of the Duke of Wellington. It was at the Duchess of Richmond's Ball that the news came to Wellington of Napoleon's movements. Reference has already been made to the "Sound of revelry by night." Also of the death of the Duke as Governor-General of Canada.

EXMOUTH.—Off Richmond running parallel with Waterloo to Brussels Street, now "Prince Edward." Edward Pellen, Viscount Exmouth, British Naval Officer, born 1757. He went to sea at thirteen years of age. He really was a midshipman in the "Blonde" during the American War. He attained great success, was created Vice-Admiral in 1809. In 1821 he retired into private life and died January 3, 1833. He fought in the Battle of Champlain and York and with gallantry and skill saved "The Carleton," under whose command she was doing good noble service.

MIDDLE.—Off Waterloo to Brussels. Owner's choice, being the centre of a block of land running north on Waterloo and Brussell Streets.

CROW ALLEY.—Off Waterloo to Brussels. Public but not recorded.

BRUSSELS.—Union to Wellington Market or Haymarket Square. On the second day of August, 1921, the name of this street was changed by the Common Council on the petition of the property owners and residents to "Prince Edward." Changing the name of a street will not enhance the value of the property thereon nor increase the interest therein beyond sentimental purposes; besides it affects the description of properties, causes unnecessary trouble and expense in conveyancing and for other reasons. In this case had it been necessary to consult His Royal Highness, and he knowing the reasons given and the





circumstances, he would no doubt have declined the proffered honor and have at once replied that he would in no way countenance such an act nor would he have been a party to the obliterating the name of an important factor and chapter in the history of the Battle of Waterloo. By all means for good and sufficient reasons let the Common Council restore the name to the original.

**CLARENCE.**—Off Brussels to Albion. In honor of the Duke of Clarence who became King William IV of England.

**BRUNSWICK.**—Off Brussels to Albion. In honor of Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick, commander of the German allies under Wellington and who was killed at Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815.

**HANOVER.**—From Brussels to Albion. Titular after one of the titles of King George III, elector of Hanover. The title ceased on the ascension to the throne of England by Victoria, for by the Salic Law no female can rule in the Hanoverian dynasty.

**SAINT PATRICK.**—Union to Clarence Streets. In honor of the patron Saint of Ireland.

**ERIN.**—Extension of Saint Patrick to Wellington Market, Haymarket Square. The Gaelic name for Ireland.

**WELLINGTON MARKET (Haymarket Square).**—The termini of the County Road and junction with the city streets, Waterloo, Brussels, Erin, City Road and Gilbert's Lane. Named from the fact that the produce of the county, hay and wood, were here weighed and measured, public scales having been here erected.

On March 26, 1856, it appears that owing to the increase of Saint John and the trade thereof, it became absolutely necessary to establish a market place for the sale of hay and wood. The Common Council were authorized to buy a parcel of ground for the purpose of establishing a hay market. On March 13, 1897, to remove any doubts as to whether the city could use such ground for any other purpose than that of a hay market, legislation was procured that this lot should lease as a Public Market,



then known as "Wellington Market," and be used as a Public Square or for any other purpose the Common Council may from time to time decree advisable.

**SAINT DAVID.**—Union to Clarence Streets running parallel with Saint Patrick. In honor of the patron Saint of Wales.

**ALBION.**—Clarence to Courtenay Bay, running parallel with Erin. Roman name for England.

**COURTENAY.**—Saint David's to bay. After the bay which was named in honor of John Courtney, who was appointed and gazetted Master-Surveyor of Ordnance in the Pitt Administration, April 29, 1783, and was designated to the waters in the Des Barres survey in British North America. There is a difference in the spelling of the name here, and the name by which he was appointed and gazetted.

**MAIN.**—The main avenue from the River Saint John at Indiantown and the outside counties of the province by way of river, Douglas Avenue, Adelaide Street, and other branch streets and roadways at Mill and Paradise Row. Originally planned "The Road to Indian house." Name indicative of use.

**LONG WHARF.**—Off Main Street, south. A roadway to the Long Wharf now in the possession of the C. N. R. System.

**ACADIA.**—Main to C. N. R. Called in honor of the Branch Colony in the Maritime Provinces.

**PORTLAND.**—Main to C. N. R. Originally planned "Portland Point Street." The road to the old fort erected by Charnissay. On the change of the name of "Portland Street" to Paradise Row the word "Point" was dropped.

**CHAPEL.**—Off Portland to Chatham. Called after the Methodist Church or Chapel in those days on the corner of this street and Portland.

**HIGH.**—Between Simonds and Chatham. Called on account of it being on the crest of the hill, as its name indicates.

**CAMDEN.**—Between Portland and C. N. R. Charles Pratt, Marquis, born 1714, called to bar 1738. He distinguished



himself by his exertions in behalf of the American Colonies, and in 1766 was Lord High Chancellor. Died April 18, 1794.

CHATHAM.—Between Simonds and C. P. R. In honor of Lord Chatham, who was William Pitt, Prime Minister of England, elevated to the peerage 1776.

SIMONDS.—Main to Hilyard. In honor of James Simonds, one of the grantees to the north of Parrtown already referred to. This is the oldest street in Saint John.

BROOKS.—Parallel with Main and between Simonds and Sheriff. Was first only a private right of way from Simonds to the rear of houses on Sheriff.

Was called Snipe Street, popularly. By the purchase of a lot on Sheriff and demolishing the building it was enlarged on the west end and was adopted as a street, and was called after a school teacher, Brooks by name, who lived on this street. He was the father of the present Mayor's clerk.

ANN.—Off Brooks Street parallel to Simonds, between Brooks and Main. Called in honor of the youngest daughter of James Simonds already referred to and known to the younger generation as Nancy Simonds.

SHERIFF.—Between Main and Hilyard. Called after James White, son of one of the grantees already referred to, the fifth High Sheriff of the County of the City and County of Saint John. Appointed 1816 and died 1858.

MURRAY.—Main and Hilyard. In honor of the son of one of these grantees, William Hazen, Murray by name.

HARRISON.—From Main to Hilyard. In honor of Reverend Canon Harrison, first rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, in the north end.

HILYARD.—From Portland to Chesley. In honor of Henry Hilyard, Esquire, second Mayor of the City of Portland and Mayor at the time of the union with Saint John in 1889. He was the Financial Manager of the firm of the Thomas Hilyard & Sons, general business, on the Straight Shore, ship-building, ship repairing and milling.



STRAIT SHORE ROAD (officially known as Chesley Street).—A continuation of Hilyard running west to the Suspension Bridge. A futile attempt was made to change the name of Chesley. The Strait Shore Road speaks for itself, implying length and narrowness of the thoroughfare. It was called after John A. Chesley, Esquire, a prominent member of the City of Portland Council. He was one of the commissioners who formulated the basis of union between the two cities. He was also a member of Parliament representing the County of Saint John at Ottawa.

MERRITT.—Off Bentley and running with Chesley. In honor of one Nehemiah Merritt.

BENTLEY.—The general contour of harbour and the Strait Shore from the Mill Pond at the western end of Paradise Row at its junction with Main Street and continuing along the south side of Main Street westerly to Indiantown presented a different appearance from the present. In 1824 native growth of small trees and shrubbery lined the sloping banks of the harbor and river with no unsightly piles of lumber, mill refuse, shanties and tumble down wharves, marring the river and harbor front. The old brick building still standing on the upper side of the Strait Shore Road was in early days at the Bentley Street Corner. It was at that time considered a spacious mansion. It was built and owned by one John Bentley, a Loyalist who drew Lot No. 130 in the city lots. He was a merchant in old Saint John, who had a place of business between Princess and Church Streets. This house was chosen by a committee of citizens as the summer residence of the Governor in Saint John, when the Governor, Sir Howard Douglas, came here. He was well liked in Saint John for his urbanity, kindness of manner, his taking real interest in the welfare of the city and province, which was fully appreciated by His Excellency.

DOUGLAS AVENUE.—Main to Bridge. In honor of Sir Howard Douglas, Governor of the Province in 1824. He paid a visit to Saint John. The occasion was marked by many important functions, a civic address and felicitous reply and





many other ceremonies. A few days after the festivities, he sent to the City Hall the following additional letter, which no doubt is still preserved among the city's archives:

MY DEAR SIR: CARLETON, October 5, 1824.

The favorable and pleasing impression made upon me on approaching and landing in the City of Saint John will always be remembered with corresponding satisfaction directing itself towards the persons who were deputed to receive me, the population which greeted me and the beautiful site of the city in which I had the pleasure of forming your acquaintance. My impression in regard to local circumstances confirmed me on a review of the city that I cannot resist the inclination I feel to point out the only circumstance of a nature not pleasurable, which I will venture to impart before habit shall have power to lessen the surprise, and permit me to say, the disgust with which I perceived that pigs and hogs are permitted to go at large in the beautiful City of Saint John, disfiguring its neatness, polluting its streets, depositing nuisance and exhibiting indelicate offence in all the thoroughfares of the town.

I have referred to the Charter of Saint John in hopes that I should find myself empowered to correct an evil to which in such a case I should instantly put a stop. But, though I find no such right of interference I will not doubt the effect which the honest avowal will have in appealing to the proper authorities against the continuation of so intolerable a nuisance and to express my conviction that no inhabitant of the city can for a moment permit the purpose for which their offensive indulgence has been tolerated to be put in competition with the disagreeable and disgusting effects of such a practice.

Whilst pointing out this permit me to observe that building materials laid on the streets should be restricted to such spaces as will have the thoroughfares clear and keep the streets free from rubbish as is the case in all cities and towns, and when added to these corrected measures the streets of the City of Saint John shall be improved as they may easily be by road making process, cleanliness and commodiousness befitting the great and rising importance and which character every inhabitant will, I am persuaded, be unwilling to blemish and ambitious to establish.

Believe me, dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sgd.) HOWARD DOUGLAS.



This is the main avenue and the artery connecting the city with the county north and west to Saint John.

CLARENDON.—Off Douglas and parallel to Main. In honor of Duke of Clarendon, an eminent and accomplished British statesman in the sixties. He died in his office as Foreign Secretary in Lord Russell's Administration, among his boxes and papers, devoting his every faculty of mind and time to the public service. He died June 27, 1870.

ALEXANDRA.—Douglas to Chesley Street. In honor of Queen Alexandra, Queen Consort of King Edward VII. Queen Mother, dearly beloved; died November 20, 1925.

CEDAR.—Main to river, Marble Cove. Growth of cedar trees on hill facing Marble Cove.

KENNEDY.—In honor of James Kennedy, a member of Town Council of Portland, merchant and contractor. Memorial fountain to his memory erected at Indiantown Wharf, opposite Bridge Street.

FORT HOWE.—In honor of Sir William Howe, the Commander of the British Forces in New York at the time of the evacuation in 1778, succeeding General Gage. At his own request he was recalled in 1778 and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. Born August 10, 1720; died July 12, 1814.

ELM.—Running parallel to Main. Called for a forest of elms growth at one time covering this locality. Set out October 10, 1890, and before that date was known as "The Black Spring Road."

MAGAZINE.—From Elm to Barker. Situate back of Fort Howe and was popularly known as "The Military Road." The Magazine is at the back or northern side of the fort and on this account the name was given.

LANSDOWNE AVENUE.—Continuation of Elm Street north and named after the ward of that name.

DURIAM.—From Main north. In honor of John George Lambton, Earl of Durham. Born April 12, 1792, appointed



Governor-General of Canada after the rebellion of 1837. He unfortunately adopted measures which were held to be beyond his conferred powers. These measures were disapproved of by the House of Lords. He became so deeply incensed by reason of their act that he returned to England without awaiting recall and the government marked their disapproval of his course of conduct by directing that the customary salute on arrival be denied him. He reported direct to the Queen and his policy was practically justified by being adopted by his successor. He died in Cowes, Isle of Wight, July 28, 1840.

ELGIN.—Main Street to Bryden. In honor of James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. Born in 1811. Was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1846 and for eight years administered government by applying the constitutional principles of the Mother Country. His frank genial manners begot him goodwill and he was the most loved man in Canada. He was commissioned to China and made two visits, and on his return the second time he was appointed Governor-General of India. He died in India November 20, 1863, and was buried there.

METCALF.—Off Adelaide to Holly Street. In honor of Baron Metcalfe. Born in Calcutta, January 30, 1785. He was diplomatically in India, and was transferred to Jamaica. Was successful in both capacities, but resigned on account of his health. Returned to England in 1842. In 1843 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada and raised to the peerage in 1845; died September 5, 1846.

POKIOK.—From bridge parallel with river. Indian name meaning "The River that runs through narrows."

SPAR COVE.—Off Pokiok, north, parallel with Adelaide Road. Wood for spars.

BELVIEW.—Off Pokiok, north. Name indicates situation.

VISHART.—From Adelaide west. In honor of son-in-law of Henry Simonds, Count Vishart DeBury.

TECK.—Between Lansdowne and Dufferin Avenues. After Francis, Prince of Teck, who married Princess Mary of Cam-



bridge, March, 1866, and father of Queen Mary, Consort of King George V.

ADELAIDE.—Main to Millidge Avenue. In honor of Queen consort of William IV. Married July 11, 1814; died December 2, 1849.

MILLIDGE AVENUE.—Continuation of Adelaide to the Kennebecasis. After Thomas Millidge, Esquire, one of the councillors of the Town of Portland who married in 1840, a daughter of Sheriff White.

VICTORIA.—Off Adelaide to Holly. In honor of Queen Victoria the Good.

NEWMAN.—Off Adelaide to Holly. After John Newman, who lived on the Sandy Point Road. The brook running through this tract of land from Lakes Howe, Dark, Crescent and others, on or off the Sandy Point Road to the river, also bears his name. The street was established in October 10, 1890.

BRYDEN.—Adelaide to Holly. After James G. Bryden, local land owner and resident.

ALBERT.—Main to the north. After Prince consort Prince Albert. Born August 26, 1819; married February 10, 1840; died December 14, 1861.

CUNARD.—Main to Newman. After Thomas Cunard, one of the old residents of Indiantown.

HOLLY.—Main to Sand Cove Creek. In honor of Shadrack Holly, Esquire, first Mayor of the City of Portland.

BRIDGE.—Main to Spar Cove Road. After the bridge crossing Newman's Brook to the river.

PARADISE ROW.—East from Main to Wall Street. This street is planned by Minette as Portland Street. In the fifties this was an ideal residential street, in the city yet in the country. On the north side of the street there were many wealthy and well to do citizens who built their homes on lots one hundred





feet front running north. These homes were erected 150 feet or more from the north line of the street and fine lawns were made facing the south and the street in front. It was the finest street at that time about Saint John. The residents were ship-owners, ship-builders, merchants and manufacturers. It was a relief and pleasure to them when they got home to have privacy and comfort and in that they took great pleasure. It was to them "Paradise." It is an important street now and is the way mostly chosen to get to the east and north of the city. Street-cars on a double track cross here on the northern circuit.

FOUNDRY LANE.—Paradise Row to C. N. R. lands and freight sheds.

SOUTHWARK.—Paradise Row to C. N. R. Practically unused. Uncertain.

LOMBARD.—Parallel to Paradise Row, along C. N. R. lands. Called after Ptolemy Lombard, who was the land agent of the Hazen Estate property. He was an Englishman and he may have had in mind Southwark of London and so attached the name above referred to. He died March 19, 1857, aged sixty-nine years.

DORCHESTER STREET EXTENSION.—This was the northern terminus of Dorchester Street, Saint John, as laid out by the Hazen Estate, before the deviation of that street in 1869.

HARRIS.—Off Paradise Row to Rockland Road. In honor of James Harris, Esquire, the owner of Harris Foundry & Car Works, and now C. N. R. property. He was one of the first councillors in the Town of Portland.

CANON STREET.—Harris to Wall. Called in honor of Canon De Veber, first rector of St. Paul's Church (Episcopal) almost opposite this street. He was rector of the parish for thirty-seven years.

MILLIDGE.—Paradise Row to Rockland Road. In honor of Thomas Edward Millidge, Esquire, and a member of the first Council of Town of Portland already referred. The follow-



ing sketch is related by the surviving member of the Milledge family Lewis D. Millidge:

### THOMAS EDWARD MILLIDGE

Mr. Millidge came of an old English family which has been prominent in the affairs of the State of Georgia ever since the first of the name who came to America, landed with General Oglethorpe in 1733, as his secretary, friend and adviser.

Millidgeville, the former capital of Georgia, bears the family name; and the University of Georgia, at its founding at Athens, received from the family estate the gift of a tract of 640 acres of land.

The grandfather of the subject of this sketch was Surveyor-General of the colony of New Jersey, and on the outbreak of the American Revolution, joined the Loyalist forces as a Major of Skinner's dragoons. He remained in the army until the end of the war, and came with the Loyalists to Nova Scotia and settled at Annapolis, and was member for Annapolis County in the first House of Assembly at Halifax.

His son Thomas came to Saint John and started business, and in 1801 he married Sarah Simonds (one of the daughters of James Simonds) who was the mother of Thos. E. Millidge. Mr. Millidge served five years in a large business, and was then assisted by his father to go into business for himself. As the city was growing steadily he did very well. The demand for wooden ships being good in England he started building and generally sent three vessels to Liverpool every year for sale. Eighteen hundred and fifty-five was a year of great depression in Saint John as there was no demand for ships in England and in consequence all the ship-yards ceased building. There was not much work for the ship-carpenter. The N. B. Government started building the E. & N. A. Railway and many good carpenters went to work on it at sixty cents a day. However times improved after the Indian Mutiny and ship-building started again, after many of the builders had lost nearly all their money. Mr. Millidge lost over \$100,000.00 and had to commence again on borrowed money.

After building at Millidgeville for thirty-three years he had built 100 square rigged ships there, the end of the ship-building came in Saint John, never to be again started, as steel had finally replaced wood in the construction of ships.

In 1840 T. E. Millidge married Sarah, daughter of Sheriff White.



Mr. Millidge was born in 1814 and died in 1894.

When the Town of Portland concluded to build Millidge Street, they said that the people in that locality must give \$650.00 as a subscription before they would undertake the work. This was accordingly done, Mr. Millidge giving the most of that sum.

Mr. Millidge was President of the Bank of New Brunswick for six or seven years prior to 1855.

CHUBB.—Off Paradise Row south. In honor of Henry Chubb, who was the owner of property in this locality. One of the publishers of "The Saint John Courier," one of Saint John's earliest newspapers. Last Mayor of Saint John appointed by the government. Born 1787; died 1850.

MOORE.—Almost parallel with Rockland Road and joining same at angle. In honor of a man by the name of Moore, who owned property here, and extending back southerly to Main Street.

KITCHENER.—Rockland Road to Barker, along the eastern side of Fort Howe. In honor of Field Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Britain's greatest general, drowned at Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands; at the explosion of H. M. Sts. Hampshire, on his way to northern Russia to interview Russian powers in respect to the German war.

BARKER.—Continuation of Magazine Street or Military Road. Named October 10, 1890, in honor of George A. Barker, Esquire, Mayor of Saint John at the date of the union of Saint John and Portland, 1889. The first Mayor of Saint John to die during his term of office.

SOMERSET.—Running from Barker Street north towards the Kennebecasis River. Called after Fitzroy James Henry Somerset (Baron) from 1788; died 1855. He was an English General, raised to the peerage as Baron Raglan. Entered the army in 1804. In 1807 he was attached to the staff of Sir Arthur Wellesley. He accompanied Wellesley to Portugal first as Aide-de-Camp, then as Military Secretary. At Waterloo he lost his right arm and quickly acquired the facility of writing



with his left. He was appointed Military Secretary to Wellington who was Master-General of Ordnance till the death of Wellington who was Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces. He was appointed Master-General of Ordnance and shortly afterwards raised to the peerage and sat in House of Lords as Lord Raglan. In 1851 he was appointed to the command of the English troops sent to the Crimea, Russia. He died June 28, 1855.

WELLESLEY.—Running from Adelaide Road to Sandy Point Road west and east. Called after Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. Born in 1769. He descended from the family of Colley or Cowley, which had been settled in Ireland for centuries. The Duke's grandfather assumed the name of Wesley on succeeding to the estate of Gerritt Wesley, a kinsman of the famous divine. In the Duke's early letters the family name was spelled "Wesley," the change from Wesley to Wellesley was made in 1790. He entered the army as ensign of 73rd Regiment in 1797, became Major of 33rd and purchased Lieutenant Colonelcy of same regiment in 1793. Before he was twenty-one years of age he represented the family borough Trum in the Irish Parliament. His first experience of active service was in 1794-1795, when the British forces were driven out of Holland. In 1796 served India. In 1792 Col. Wellesley's eldest brother, Lord Mornington, was Governor-General of India. Quitted India 1805 (now Sir Arthur Wellesley) and returned to England. In 1808 took a command, went to Spain and Portugal and took part in the Peninsula War. In 1815 Wellington and Blucher were appointed to invade France and the last lap of the Napoleonic War was entered on and was ended June 18, 1815, at Waterloo. Went into politics, Prime Minister 1827; died September 14, 1852, and was buried under the dome of St. Paul's in a manner worthy both of the nation and of the men of the day.

ROCKLAND.—Formerly Fort Howe Road changed from Rockland Road to Rockland Street. Name indicates surroundings. Gallows Hill was applied to the east end of this street. Public executions took place to the west of Holy Trinity church.





CRANSTON AVENUE.—Rockland north. In honor of the wife of Sheriff White, Elizabeth Cranston DeBlois.

MILITARY ROAD (Magazine Street).—The road used by the military to Fort Howe and Magazine.

CEDAR GROVE AVENUE.—Cranston Avenue to Park Street. After a cedar grove through which it was cut.

MOUNT PLEASANT AVENUE.—Park to Lily Lake. The situation and view gives name.

HAWTHORNE AVENUE.—Unofficial.

SANDY POINT ROAD.—To the entrance on the south to Rockwood. Hawthorne hedge being planted on the west side of road. Mount Pleasant on the east.

PARKS.—Rockland Road to Mount Pleasant. Formerly known as Cradle Hill.

WALL.—Garden Street to bluff of rock facing north. Called after wall of Rock Bluff.

BURPEE AVENUE.—Wall to Mount Pleasant. Named by the Town Council of Portland October 10, 1890, in honor of Hon. Isaac Burpee, first Chairman; afterwards Minister of Customs in Federal Parliament and Representative for Saint John County.

WINTER.—Wall to Stanley. One of the seasons.

SAINT PAUL.—Off Winter to Burpee Avenue. After St. Paul's Church property at the junction at Winter and Wall.

SPRING.—Winter to south Mount Pleasant. One of the seasons.

FACTORY.—Winter to C. N. R. grounds. Approach to Cotton Mills.

SUMMER.—Winter to south Mount Pleasant. One of the seasons.

AUTUMN.—Winter to C. N. Ry. grounds. One of the seasons.

JOHNSTON.—Winter to C. N. Ry. grounds. After the



owner of the property in this section. Charles Johnston, sixth High Sheriff of Saint John County; appointed in 1847, died in 1858 in the forty-seventh year of his age.

WRIGHT.—Called after William Wright, Esquire, referred to in Pagan Place.

GOODERICH.—Off Wright to Seeley Street. In honor of Viscount Gooderich, Prime Minister of England, 1825. A great friend of Wellington.

SPRUCE.—Off Wright to Seely Street. Named October 10, 1890, by City Council.

PROSPECT.—Off Wright to Seely Street. Fine full view of Courtenay Bay and surrounding County to the east of Saint John.

PINE.—Wright to Seely. Name of tree.

SEELY.—Parallel to Wright and the south boundary of Public Gardens. In honor of William Seely, a prominent man in Portland affairs, both as a parish and town, and owner of land here

STANLEY.—Off City Road to Wright Street. In honor of Governor-General of Canada, Lord Stanley of Preston, June 11, 1888.

CELEBRATION.—Off Stanley to C. N. Ry. grounds. The scene of the turning of the sod on the occasion of breaking ground on construction of the then E. & N. A., now C. N. R. to the west, 1853.

CLYDE.—Off City Road to railway grounds. There was a lot of land owned by the Saint Andrews Curling Club. This club for years played in open air on Lily Lake. They purchased a lot adjoining the railway grounds, and to have access to same they opened up this right of way and gave it its present name.

MEADOW.—Off City Road to Forrest Street. Arising from conditions of situation.

FORREST.—Parallel with City Road on the south of railway grounds. Was formerly called Brook and was changed to



Forrest after a member of the Town Council of Portland, John J. Forrest by name.

CITY ROAD.—From Pond at the foot of Garden Street to Haymarket Square. The boundary line of the city with county of the City and County of Saint John. The main roadway for travel and traffic from and to the city with the county.

BLAIR.—City Road to Rock Street. Called after George Blair, a constable and city marshall, who lived on this street.

RICHEY.—City Road to lands of General Public Hospital. Called after the owner and builder of the first house on this street, James Richey by name. He was a painter by trade.

GILBERT'S LANE.—Off Haymarket Square to Lily Lake. Called by Henry Gilbert, and was the approach to the residence of Henry Gilbert, Esquire, afterwards Davenport School, and thoroughfare to Public Gardens, Park and Lily Lake.

MARSIL.—Off Haymarket Square to Creek. Name indicates situation and conditions.

KIMBALL.—Haymarket Square to Creek. Called after John Kimball, who had a wool warehouse here. The business is carried on to-day by his son, George A. Kimball.

ROTHESAY AVENUE.—Marsh Bridge to Rothesay, Kings County. Originally and popularly called the Marsh Road.

SHORT.—Off Rothesay Avenue to Creek. Called on account of its length.

FREDERICK.—Off Rothesay Avenue to Creek. In honor of Frederick I. Doherty, a prominent member of the Town Council of Portland. He was a shipbuilder and was popularly known as "The Snoot Buster."

#### ON THE WEST SIDE OF HARBOR, CARLETON

POND.—Harbor to county line. After mill pond.

DUNHAM.—Harbor to county line. In honor of land owner and former member of the Common Council.



CLARENCE.—Harbor to county line. In honor of Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William IV.

SUTTON.—Harbor to county line. In honor of the Governor of New Brunswick, Sir Thomas Manners-Sutton. He was Governor of New Brunswick in 1854 when he was thirty-seven years of age, and continued in office till 1861. He succeeded to the title Viscount Canterbury in 1869, and died in 1877.

SUFFOLK.—Harbor to county line. After the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts, of which Boston is the chief city.

PROTECTION.—At harbor front. Called as a breakwater protecting the wharves and ships on harbor front. Crossing of this street was legalized to and for such purposes by the C. R. R., 1914.

GERMAIN.—Harbor to county line. In honor of Lord George Germain, Viscount Sackville, 1782.

SAINT JAMES.—Harbor to county line. After "Saint James" Palace, London.

QUEEN.—To Watson. In honor of Queen Charlotte, consort of King George III, married September 8, 1761, died November 17, 1818.

QUEEN SQUARE.—Between Saint John and Saint James Streets. In honor of above.

MINETTE.—After R. C. Minette, D. L. S., who made an authorized plan of the city, 1818.

SAINT JOHN.—Union to county line. Called after the City of Saint John.

ALBERT.—Minette to C. P. R. In honor of Prince Albert, Prince, consort of Queen Victoria.

SAINT GEORGE.—Commences Ludlow and runs to county line. In honor of England's patron Saint.

TOWER.—From Union to Martello Tower. Roadway to the tower on Lancaster Heights.





CHARLOTTE.—Union to county line. In honor of Queen Charlotte, consort of King George III.

RODNEY.—From Union to county line. In honor of Sir George Bridges Rodney, Baron, 1792, English Admiral, born February 19, 1781, died May 24, 1792.

WINSLOW.—Union to county line. In honor of Hon. Edward Winslow, a judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, 1807. In 1776 he was appointed General Master-Muster of the Provincial Troops from Nova Scotia to West Florida. He took a prominent part in the division of Nova Scotia to form the Province of New Brunswick. Was a member of the first council of the province. He and his family were grantees both in Parrtown and Carleton. He drew Lot No. 80 in Parrtown and 202 in Carleton. Died May 13, 1815.

GUILFORD.—From Union to county line. Called after Lieutenant Gilfred Studholm, Reference to him under "Charlotte." This street is properly "Gilfred" and is so marked in the original plan of Carleton.

DUKE STREET.—Union to county line. In honor of the Duke of Kent referred to in "Duke," Saint John.

KING.—Union to Courtney Hill. So called in honor of King George III. In 1859 this street was extended 640 feet with the same width as at present, ninety feet wide.

PRINCE.—Union to county line. In honor of Prince William, afterwards William IV.

WATER.—Along water front. Name indicates situation.

UNION.—Harbor front to Middle. Called in commemoration of the union of Parrtown and Carleton to form the City of Saint John. In the words of the Charter, "to the inhabitants of the Town or District of Parr lying to the east side of the River Saint John, and Carleton on the west thereof, at the entrance of the River Saint John aforesaid, both which of districts are in our Province of New Brunswick in America."



MIDDLE.—From Union to Fort Frederick ("Old Fort"). On account of it being on the ridge of the point to the fort.

MARKET PLACE.—Saint John Street to river. The market place.

VICTORIA.—From Saint John to railway grounds. Titular.

LUDLOW.—Harbor to river. In honor of the Honorable Gabriel Ludlow. He drew three lots in Carleton, 196, 197 and 198, where there was formerly a garden worked and used by the French, and for many years after a fine orchard was in evidence. He was a member of the first council in New Brunswick, and on the organization of the City of Saint John he was the first Mayor. He resigned his office of Mayor 1795. In 1803, in the absence of Governor Carleton, he was sworn in President of Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. He died in 1832 in his eightieth year. He lived in Carleton and was buried in the old cemetery adjoining the Presbyterian Church on Courtney Hill, and a tombstone is there visible.

WATSON.—Harbor to river. In honor of Sir Brook Watson, born at Plymouth in England in 1735. His parents died when he was not more than ten years old. He was sent out to Boston. He was sent to sea, and at Savannah had a leg bitten off by a shark while bathing in the harbor. In 1750 he came to Cumberland County, N. S., where he was employed in military service under Col. John Winslow. During the Revolutionary War he was Commissary at New York, 1781-1783. At the peace he retired to England, when he was not long after elected to Parliament. He was knighted, became Lord Mayor of London. He was a great friend of Elder Edward Winslow. He did a large business with Saint John. In 1786 he was appointed agent at London for the government of the Province of New Brunswick.

LANCASTER.—The boundary line between the City of Saint John and Parish of Lancaster.



## STREETS CLASSIFIED

ROYALTY .....	17
King, Queen, Princess, Prince William, Prince Edward, Duke, Charlotte, Adelaide, Victoria, Albert, Hanover, Brunswick, Clarence, Mecklenburg, Orange, Coburg, Prince.	
GOVERNORS AND ADMINISTRATORS .....	7
Carleton, Smythe, Douglas, Wentworth, Ludlow, Wins- low, Sutton.	
MILITARY AND NAVAL .....	6
Wellington, Nelson, Elliott, Rodney, Kitchener, Carle- ton.	
BATTLES.....	4
Waterloo, Brussels, Alma, Delhi.	
SAINT JOHN CIVIC OFFICIALS.....	8
White, Sheriff, Hazen, Simonds, Olive, Barker, Forrest, Minette.	
SAINTS.....	6
St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. David, Saint John, St. James.	
IMPERIAL STATESMEN.....	19
Pitt, Sydney, Germain, Canterbury, Carmarthen, Leinster, Richmond, Exmouth, Stanley, Gooderich, Elgin, Somerset, Durham, Metcalfe, Peel, Courtenay, Brook, Watson, Guilford.	
COUNTRY NAMES.....	5
Britain, Albion, Erin, Acadia, Southwark.	



PROMINENT LOCAL CITIZENS	30
<p>Horsfield, Harding, Paddock, Peters, Sewell, Gilbert, Wright, Millidge, Burpee, Seeley, Blair, Hilyard, Harrison, Bentley, Chesley, Harris, Merritt, Holly, Cunard, Kennedy, Parks, Lombard, Golding, Kimball, Simonds, Charles (Hazen), Frederick (Doherty), Brindley (Hazen), Ann (Simonds), Rebecca (Golding).</p>	
LOCAL OBJECTS AND FEATURES	29
<p>Cliff, Rock, Pond, Meadow, Marsh, Bridge, Garden, Mill, Tower, Magazine, Dock, Short, City Road, Union, Prospect, Belleview, Paradise Row, Mount Pleasant, Chapel, Church, Castle, Canon, High, Celebration, Rockland Road, Market Place, Main, Broad, Broadview.</p>	
SEASONS	4
<p>Winter, Summer, Spring, Autumn.</p>	
TREES	5
<p>Elm, Cedar, Spruce, Pine, Hawthorne Avenue.</p>	





## SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF CHARLOTTE COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK

REV. J. W. MILLIDGE, M.A.

The aborigines found by the first white men visiting these shores were, of course, Indians of the Algonquin, Micmac, and Malicete tribes, and were in a constant state of warfare and feud which prevented all approach to anything like civilization. They lived by hunting and fishing, but as in winter such means of livelihood often became precarious, many of them resorted to the deep indentations on the sea-coast of what is now Charlotte County, Oak Bay, Bocabec, and other places, where in winter a comfortable subsistence was available. Thickly wooded hills came down to the salt water shutting off the cold north and west winds, numerous springs and streams of fresh water always flow into the bays, and above all, an exhaustless supply of clams could be obtained from the flats at low water.

Large piles of the shells of these bivalves are found to-day where the ancient inhabitants had their winter encampments, and fragments of pottery, stone, axe-heads and bones of the deer, cracked open to extract the marrow, are occasionally dug up from these deposits. A remnant of these tribes still occupies its ancient home, but its number is constantly diminishing, and its extinction is only a question of time.

Meanwhile it is pleasant to state that as a whole these children of the forest have been kindly treated by the whites, and have lived in peace with all men. They never took the warpath against their invaders, nor committed any great crimes against their persons or their property. They are not industrious, but by hunting, fishing, basket and canoe making, and an occasional job in river driving, they manage to get a living, by them deemed comfortable.

In Havre de Grace, France, on April 7, 1604, Sieur de Monts, Baron de Poutrincourt, Count de Orville, Champlain, priests, Huguenot ministers, and about a hundred others; sailors,



soldiers, artisans, and servants; these intended founders of a new empire sailed from Havre de Grace, April 7, 1604, and safely crossed the Atlantic. Having reached America, the next care of DeMonts was to find a suitable place for his settlement. After carefully examining the densely wooded coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and discovering the Harbor and River Saint John, the account of which is deeply interesting, but must be omitted, as this paper concerns Charlotte County only. Why DeMonts did not settle at Saint John is a mystery; perhaps it seemed too bleak and rocky. Having sailed from there down the Bay of Fundy, passing the Wolves, which he named the Magpie Islands, from the great number of those birds found there, some of the young they captured and ate, finding them very fair eating, as good as pigeons. From the Magpie Islands they went to a river on the mainland called "La Riviere Des Etchemins." Near the mouth they discovered a small attractive island which they named the "Holy Cross." This island, now called Dochet, is in latitude forty-five degrees six minutes north and longitude sixty-eight degrees seven minutes west. It was at that time about a mile in length, and thickly covered with cedar trees. It was summer. The genial air was fragrant with the sweet odors of the forest. The birds were singing. The river seemed alive with fish; while moose and deer in large numbers roamed in the woods of the mainland. Here was a paradise; they thought. And here at once they decided to locate and build the city of the future. The water around the island would be a safe barrier against savage foes, and a commodious place for shipping. Wharves would line the shore. Splendid buildings would arise on the land. Wealth, luxury, art, science, religion, would adorn and glorify the gorgeous capital of a new realm. Never was there a location more inviting and promising. Accordingly, in July, 1604, they landed on this beautiful island and began their work. Trees were felled, streets and squares laid out, foundations arranged, cannon mounted, and even a small church and a cemetery provided. The site of this resting place for the dead has long since been washed away. This incipient city was on the north-



western end of the island, where some faint traces of its foundations are still visible. In the autumn, a portion of the party returned to France for supplies and recruits, and seventy-nine persons were left to guard the little village and to experience the rigors of winter. They were well clothed and provisioned, without fear and full of hope. Hardship, suffering and death were not in their pleasant programme. Winter approached. The fierce winds arose and wrenched the faded leaves from the trees. The air grew sharp and cutting. The birds fled to their southern homes. The snow sifted down, and wrapped the dead and frozen earth in its white shroud. Great blocks of ice were piled on the shore, or hurried by in the black angry water. Communication with the mainland became difficult, and fresh water could not be easily obtained; fires could not keep out the awful cold. It became so intense that the wine froze, and had to be dealt out by weight. Day and night these poor exiles shivered as with ague. Scurvy attacked them. Nearly all were sick, and before spring, thirty-five of them were carried to the little cemetery. The romance ended. Everyone of the emaciated and frost bitten survivors were fully convinced that that bleak island was not a suitable place for a great city. The buildings were taken down, loaded into vessels and carried to Port Royal, N. S., now Annapolis; and in August, 1605, they all left never more to return. There can be no doubt that the winter 1604-1605 was one of exceptional severity. As a rule the winters are mild and open. The writer of this paper lived for thirty years within sight of Dochet Island, and during that somewhat extended period there were only two winters that could be at all compared with that one. But last winter, 1922-1923, resembled it. The writer saw on January 3rd the American cutter "Ossipee" breaking out thick ice off the public wharf, St. Stephen, in order that some coal laden schooners at anchor below Dochet might get up and relieve the fuel situation in that town and Calais. And Passamaquoddy Bay was frozen so solidly that some men came over from Deer Island to St. Andrews on the ice one morning and returned in the afternoon, a very rare occurrence.



There was one result from DeMont's occupation of Dochet Island of great practical importance. Owing to the ignorance of colonial affairs of the British Government, much doubt was felt about the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine. Had they been alert and sent a frigate from Halifax to smoke out a nest of Yankee squatters at Machias, there would have been no trouble and the eastern boundary of the State of Maine would have been the Kennebec River; but this was not done and the Americans claimed the Magaguadavic, and some even the Saint John as their boundary. By the treaty of 1783, it was agreed that the St. Croix River should be the line. Subsequently, however, a doubt arose involving which of the larger rivers of Maine was the St. Croix. All admitted that it was the river near whose mouth was DeMonts island; but where was that island? The few white men settled in Charlotte County, N. B., or Washington County, Me., knew nothing about it, the Indians had no traditions concerning so transitory a settlement, especially as it was no concern of theirs; and Champlain's maps were too imperfect to give a correct idea of the locality. The changes wrought by nearly two centuries of forest growth and decay, of rasping tides and chemical decomposition, had of course obliterated every visible vestige of the old French settlement. But search was made, and in 1798, after a long and careful examination, the Commissioners appointed to trace the boundary line discovered beneath the underbrush, ledge and sand on Dochet Island the unmistakable remains of the foundations of DeMonts' houses. That settled the question, and Canada obtained a valuable slice of territory including the important Island of Grand Manan.

For a hundred and fifty-five years the county remained as empty as before the coming of the French, when, it is said, Alexander Hodges, Joseph Parsons and one Prebble, settled at Pleasant Point not far from Eastport in 1763; in the same year James Boyd and James Chaffery came to Indian Island. In all probability these were the first permanent white settlers in the St. Croix valley. In 1769, James Brown and Jeremiah Frost located at St. Andrews. But the real settlement of the county,





began in 1784, when the Loyalists, after the American Revolution, began pouring in. The settlement of St. Andrews resembled that of Saint John. In 1784 many hundreds of dispossessed Loyalists arrived and at once laid out a town site. The peninsula they selected was much more attractive than the one chosen in our case; the ground sloped beautifully from the highest point to the bay, without any irregularities, or monstrous rocks, no swamps, or muddy streams. The climate also is much better, and while the large timber trade existed St. Andrews threatened to be a formidable rival of Saint John. But evil days were ahead. Changes in export regulations permitted St. Stephen to capture most of the trade. The emancipation of the West India negroes destroyed the lucrative trade carried on with these islands, the ship-building industry never flourished as it did in Saint John. Several attempts at manufacturing that looked promising at first came to nothing, a rope walk, a brewery, and a paper mill, all, one after another, were closed. The Charlotte County Bank failed after a troubled existence of a few years, and many attempts by prominent citizens to advance the interests of the community were also unsuccessful.

At a very early period, only a year or two after the opening of the first really successful railway in England, the Liverpool and Manchester in 1830, a company was formed in St. Andrews to construct a railway to connect that town with Quebec, and though little was done at first, trains were run as far as Chamcook in 1851. Several stoppages of the work occurred from want of funds, but by 1857 the line was open as far as Canterbury, before a single mile of railway was open in Saint John. As an independent road it was not very much of a success, but since its amalgamation with the C. P. R. considerable freight has been carried. But the development of St. Andrews as a summer resort by that great corporation has brought much prosperity to the place, and during the tourist season two trains daily are run, quite a contrast to three trains a week before the amalgamation.

The real settlement of the rest of the county also began in 1784, when several persons of His Majesty's 71st Regiment,



with others from Nova Scotia, Massachusetts and elsewhere, united in a coporate body, called the "Cape Ann Association" and obtained a grant of a large tract of land in what is now the Parish of St. David. This grant was given to David Clendenin and 147 others. Many of them, and some accompanied by their wives and children, in that year and the next, permanently located on the grant. Among them were William Moore, William Vance, Thomas McLaughlin, Reuben Smith, Samuel Thomas, Josiah Hitchings, Francis Norwood, Nathaniel Parsons, David McAlister, and others whose names cannot be ascertained. The descendants of these people still occupy farms in St. David, and the writer of this paper is personally acquainted with many of them, finding them sterling characters all through. William Moore, who appears to have been the most wealthy and energetic of them all, built a saw mill and grist mill, on Dennis stream, at the locality ever since called "Moore's Mills," and some attention was soon paid to lumbering. The farms yielded bountiful harvests, the river and streams were alive with fish, and the forest with game, the industrious women wove all the cloth needed for garments; there were no taxes to pay and expensive fashions to follow; their houses were warm and comfortable, and the thrifty colonists had no reason to complain of their wilderness homes and enjoyments. They ought to have been, and probably were, a contented and happy people.

The Town of St. Stephen owes its origin to a company led thither by Capt. Nehemiah Marks. He was a native of Derby, Connecticut, and was a man of marked ability and energy. He joined the British forces in the Revolutionary War. At its close in 1783, in company with many other Loyalists, he sought a home in Nova Scotia. He was allowed a pension of £96 a year, and had talent enough to win success anywhere. Not finding in Halifax an opening that was suitable to his energy and ambition, he left that city and with 104 others sailed in a small vessel to St. Stephen. They landed June 24, 1784, in front of the present town and pitched their tents along the bank of the river. Having assisted his people in building log houses and making preparations for the coming winter, he returned to Halifax to



obtain from the government grants of land and other assistance. He was successful. The government being anxious to have the provinces remaining loyal to the Crown, well peopled, willingly granted to each actual settler 100 acres of land, a generous supply of farming tools, and regular army rations for three years. Not long after Jones and Morrison, Royal agents, surveyed and laid out the land into village lots and hundred acre farms; and one each of these was given to each man. The colonists were now fairly started and their prosperity seemed to be assured. Before their rations ceased, they would have abundant time to fell the trees, prepare the soil and raise a supply of food. But serious obstacles were in the way. Some of the men had been in the army long enough to acquire a distaste for the steady habits and hard labor needed in clearing the land and cultivating the soil. Others knew nothing about the farming, and were able to accomplish but little, even though diligent. Others were intemperate, and therefore worse than useless as citizens. Three careless years passed away; the rations ceased and hard times began. Little provision had been made for this emergency; the improvident people had but little money to purchase supplies, and no good market was near. Haggard destitution soon set in. Food, clothing, tools, glass, nails, became alarmingly scarce. Of course in this privation there was much suffering, sickness and discouragement. But "necessity is the mother of invention." By the skillful use of wooden pegs, comfortable houses and furniture were constructed without nails. Shoes were made of raw hides taken from the moose and deer. The hunter and fisher brought in food. Farming began in earnest, and soon yielded a fair return. Flax was raised and wool grown. The lumbering business began to be pushed with vigor, and vessels came with merchandise to barter for the timber. At first none of these vessels were owned in St. Stephen, but in 1797 Alexander Golden built a small schooner in St. Stephen, and two years later, Joseph Porter built another. These were the first vessels built on the river above St. Andrews. In 1800 Capt. N. Marks died. And here ends the pioneer age of St. Stephen.



Since that time, slow but steady progress has marked the passing years. During the nineteenth century the lumber trade brought much prosperity; that has now completely disappeared and most of the manufactured lumber sold in the town comes from British Columbia; a large export of pulpwood brings in considerable money to the farmers who cut it on their own places and haul it during winter when nothing can be done on the farms. Whatever it brings in is spent in St. Stephen and other towns, so although not so spectacular, probably as much or more ready money is brought into the country as in the days when lumbering flourished. But it is in manufacturing that the present and future of St. Stephen is assured. An immense cotton mill, at Milltown, practically the same town, employs 500 hands. It is driven by the St. Croix, so no expense for fuel is necessary; raw material can be delivered by water within a mile or two, the manufactured product can be sent away by three railroads, numbers of employees can be obtained from three towns. Ganong's confectionery is a live concern sending its productions as far as the Pacific coast. The St. Croix Soap Works manufacture the well known "Surprise Soap" used everywhere. All these industries are causing a great development, and the town is extending back from the river, so the future seems to be assured. These activities provide a capital market for the produce raised by the farmer of Charlotte County, so there is no need of the cry so often heard, that nothing can be sold.

St. Stephen and Calais are in different countries, one under Monarchical Government, the other under Republican, yet they have the same water system,— St. Stephen supplying Calais, the same electric light, street railway and gas,— Calais supplying power for St. Stephen. The citizens fraternize on all occasions, our people celebrating the 4th July with much greater ardor than they do Dominion Day. Many marriages have taken place between the young people of both towns, so there is little possibility of the existing harmony ever being disturbed.





## GEORGE W. ORSER AND THE "ORSERITES."

BY M. L. HAYWARD, HARTLAND, N. B.

New Brunswick has not yet attained to the highly specialized industrial development of the Eastern States, neither do we possess the buoyant optimism of the "last great West," but, whatever our deficiencies along other lines, we have no dearth of churches, creeds, sects, denominations and religious organizations. The prominent ratepayer or defaulter of any fair sized New Brunswick town, who remains at home on the Sabbath day, must admit that he does so from choice, and not because he cannot find a gathering of congenial worshippers, be he Greek or Barbarian, Jew or Gentile, Unitarian or Vegetarian.

All these churches, however, at least the prominent ones, have certain points in common. They existed long before the Province of New Brunswick was born or thought of — they were transplanted to our virgin soil, and their centres of religious gravity are beyond the confines of the province. The Jew looks to Zion — the Catholic to Rome, where the successor of St. Peter rules a vaster spiritual Empire than has been. The Methodist honors the memory of the English Wesleys — the Presbyterian loves the heather, the sound of the bagpipes and the name of the Scottish John Knox, while the Christian Scientist rejoices in the faith once delivered to Mary Baker Eddy.

While this is true, the Province of New Brunswick can truthfully claim that we have one Church that is native to the soil — founded and organized in New Brunswick by one of the native born, incorporated under the laws of the province, and confining its religious efforts in a large measure to its particular sphere of influence in the Counties of Carleton and Victoria and the northern part of York.

The founder of this organization was George W. Orser, and it is proposed to give herein a brief account of his life and personality, with especial reference to the sect which he founded and fashioned during its early and formative years.



This George W. Orser was a son of William Orser, and the family tradition is that William Orser was a New York Loyalist, born at Sing Sing, New York, in 1762; that he was of Dutch descent, his parents having been born in Amsterdam; that he came to New Brunswick and married Mary Blake, the first white female born on the Saint John River of English parents, and that her father was killed by the Indians during the disturbances growing out of the American activities on the river during the Revolutionary War.

William Orser's name does not appear in Sabine's Loyalists, in Kelby's List, nor in the Loyalist Claims, but I conclude that he was a Loyalist for the following reasons:

1. The family tradition is clear-cut and positive.
2. In the case of *Currie vs. Stairs*, 25 N. B. R. 4, one of the vital points involved was whether William Orser's descendants were British subjects, and his grandson, Moses P. Orser, testified without objection that William Orser was a Loyalist.

The family tradition also says that William Orser and Mary Blake were married in or about the year 1802, and came up the Saint John river in canoes in search of a home, bringing with them a family of twelve children, the offspring of their former marriages divided on the ancient and honorable basis of fifty-fifty; that they stopped at the Mouth of the Beccaguinic River where Orser had taken up a grant of land, and spent the first night under their canoes near the springs that now furnish a portion of the water supply for the Town of Hartland, which is built upon the original William Orser grants, and which claims him as its first settler and the founder of the town.

The attitude of this town today towards this same William Orser is a striking example of the New Brunswick viewpoint. If Orser had fought under Washington and been the first settler in an American town, some prominent feature thereof would bear his name, his monument would occupy the centre of the Public Square, there would be an "Orser Day" set apart on the local school calendar, and his descendants would be inflated with ancestral pride. When the Town of Hartland was incorporated and the streets thereof named, the writer urged upon



the committee in charge the propriety of recognizing William Orser as our first settler, and a former resident of the town made a similar plea on behalf of William S. Nevers, a later and prominent citizen, but both suggestions were rejected, the committee preferring such threadbare names as Main, High, King, Queen and Prince.

One of his descendants, however, it is said, still has the axe wherewith William Orser is alleged to have cut the first tree on his domain, and which, says T. C. L. Ketchum in his recent and interesting *History of Carleton County*, is exhibited with as much pride as if it were a battle-axe used to chop off the head of a fellow Christian.

George W. Orser, the son of William and Mary, was born at Hartland, then known as the "Mouth of the Beccaguimic," on June 27th, 1813, was reared under pioneer conditions, and suffered from the lack of educational advantages that beset the early settlers. The facts regarding his life and religious activities herein set forth are largely taken from the "Life of George W. Orser," written by his nephew, Rev. Charles H. Orser, published in 1914, and a book which enjoyed a considerable local circulation in Carleton County. The style is rather prolix, and exhibits that species of hero worship that distinguishes Boswell's Johnson, as well as the bitter type of religious prejudice prevailing during the period covered, but it is accurate in the main and contains a great deal of really valuable information regarding early conditions on the upper Saint John. Any quotations in this paper not specifically identified are taken from this book.

"At the age of fifteen years he was truly and happily converted, having passed through the work of regeneration and experienced the spiritual birth," says his biographer already referred to. "Soon after his conversion he felt the call of God, to go and labor in his cause," and for a year or more he steadfastly preached to the people the unsearchable riches of Christ's Kingdom. At one of his services he preached for three hours in succession without any break. "The audience," his biographer tells us, "was shrouded in tears and fears." (Orser's Life, 18).

After this favorable and precocious beginning, owing to his



youth and the fact that he was without the surroundings of church government and the fellowship of the Christian ministry, and where they were not to be obtained, he became discouraged, confined his work to a more private capacity, and ceased his public calling for several years.

At the age of twenty years he married Abigail Shaw, a daughter of Reverend Jonathan Shaw, one of the ministers of the church then known as "the Church of Christ," which afterwards assumed and bore for many years the name of Free Christian Baptist, and which some years ago merged with the Baptists to form the United Baptist body.

In passing we may remark here that the rivalry between the Free Christian Baptists and the regular Baptists, differing as they did largely on the question of foreordination and the final perseverance of the Saints, was especially keen. In 1838 Rev. Edward Manning, one of the "Fathers" of the Baptist denomination, in reporting on a missionary tour to the Baptist churches along the Saint John River, says: "Some of them have nearly, if not quite, lost their visibility; and another denomination, called 'Freewillers,' have taken the ground. They style themselves 'The Christian Church.'—O, this is distressing, to see those little hills of Zion neglected and given up to a lamentable sterility." (Bill's History of the Baptists, 137).

Shortly after his marriage Mr. Orser again took up the ministry, was baptised by his father-in-law, and for several years "laboured with much power and blessing and the results were manifold in the saving of precious souls. He laboured on, and in the year 1843 he was engaged in a gracious revival in his own community."

The result of this work was that in May, 1843, he was ordained by Rev. Charles MacMullin, Samuel Hartt, William Pennington and Jonathan Shaw, four prominent ministers of the Church of Christ whose names are still "household words" in certain sections of Carleton County, to quote a well worn phrase. At that time this particular body of people had no organization nor church name, and Mr. Orser was declared a regular ordained minister of the Church of Christ with full power to assume the duties of an ordained minister.





As a result of this revival at Hartland a number of converts were baptised by Mr. Orser, including his wife and his only son G. Elijah Orser, his "oldest brother, Stephen, was the first with him to break water," as his biographer phrases it, and as further result a church was organized at Beccaguimic, or Hartland as it is now called. G. W. Orser was one of the charter members, and in 1854 this sect was incorporated by the New Brunswick legislature under the name of Free Christian Baptists.

Following his ordination and the organization of this Hartland church, "the Reverend G. W. Orser soon became the leading minister in Carleton County and his services were much in quest and sought after by his Christian friends. So popular had he grown among the people of his choice that he soon began to get the cold shoulder of some of his brethren that were not so much sought for as he." (Orser's Life, page 23.)

This feeling of friction continued to develop in the denomination, and, "to many of the men he stood in connection with in the Free Christian Baptist Conference, he became the dark horse, so to speak, and a thorn in their side. He would not be saddled and rode where they wanted him to go. Friction became apparent in the body proper. Threats were resorted to and a spirit of intimidation soon was sweeping over the country, and through the churches, relative to the audacity and daring of this supposed unruly black horse. The real bone of contention proved to be not that he, Mr. Orser, was disloyal to his God or the principles of Holy Writ, nor could they fault his strict adherence to the doctrines that he strictly honored, but he did not join up with some of the new methods introduced by some of his brethren, and declared by them to be necessary for the furthering of the best interests of the Free Christian Baptist body." (Orser's Life, 70.)

The foregoing quotation gives the keynote of the dispute. It was the old case of a house divided against itself into two opposing parties, one favoring innovations, changes and reforms, the other preferring to walk in the old ways, and to stand fast in the faith once delivered to the saints. G. W. Orser was the leader of what we might call, without any political significance,



the Tory faction, a Puritan of the Puritans, and strenuously opposed the (then) modern theories, especially, "salaried ministers, a time limit for such amount of dollars as the churches obligated themselves for; no salary, no preaching. A free gospel and free access to it were the righteous principles of his heart. He had lived in that freedom and he could not be bound. Neither have the free principles of the Gospel so far as he could prevent it be bound by fetters of men or denominational rule. What he started with he would preach and teach, and to God's glory and his own credit as a preacher he kept that principle through life, and died with it after forty and more years of strenuous efforts. He died game. His steadfastness for a free gospel to the poor lost him his position after some years of struggle with his Free Christian Baptist brethren." (Orser's Life, 71.)

The foregoing quotations, of course, set forth the "Orser" side of the controversy, and the Free Christian Baptist people were equally zealous in upholding the righteousness of their cause.

"George Orser was stubborn, headstrong, domineering and overbearing. He 'drove his stakes' in the conference and the rest of the ministers had to knuckle to him. It was a case of one man making himself the 'boss' of the entire denomination, so there was nothing to do but turn him out," is the argument which I have heard expressed around Free Christian Baptist firesides in my more youthful days, and the controversy ran true to the form of those doctrinal difficulties which in time past have disrupted some of the larger denominations which we might designate as the "Big Four." Individual churches, families and neighborhoods were acutely divided with G. W. Orser as the storm centre; funeral services attended by ministers of the opposing factions sometimes partook of the nature of joint debates and at times the controversy even took on a political tinge.

"We could have elected him if it hadn't been for the d—— 'Orserites,'" I once heard the ardent supporters of a Baptist deacon declare at the close of the poll in a parish election.



To enter into the merits of the controversy at this time would be unprofitable; to decide who was in the right of the matter would be impossible; but the result was that Mr. Orser was forced out of the Free Christian Baptist denomination under circumstances which reflect some of that wisdom of the wily serpent which is supposed to go hand in hand with the harmlessness of the gentle dove.

According to Rev. C. H. Orser in his reminiscences accompanying his *Life of G. W. Orser*, Rev. Aaron Kinney was one of G. W. Orser's sturdy opponents in the Free Christian Baptist Conference — a dispute arose between them in connection with the Hartland Church, of which Mr. Orser was pastor. At the General Conference held at Waterville in 1874 a committee of five members was appointed with authority to deal with the matter, and it is safe to assume that Mr. Orser's enemies felt that the Lord and the Conference had delivered him into their hands.

At this time Mr. Orser was not the only minister connected with the Hartland church. Three young and regularly licensed ministers of the Free Christian Baptist denomination were members, and it happened that they were all Orsers and relatives of G. W.—Charles H., a son of his brother Edward and the author of the *Life of G. W. Orser* referred to herein; Moses P., a son of his brother J. Moses; and G. Elijah, the only living son of G. W. Orser.

The committee evidently found that the Hartland Church was strongly "Orserite" in sentiment before the word was coined, and, following the example of worldly and grasping corporations, a reorganization was decided on; out of the original membership of thirty-eight two only were taken into the reorganized church — and the remaining thirty-six, including Rev. G. W. Orser and the three Orser ministers already referred to, were left out. Then Rev. G. W. Orser was dismissed from the Conference on the ground that he was not in good standing.

This proceeding naturally brought Mr. Orser before the public in and beyond the sphere of his spiritual influence, and it may not be out of place at this stage to say something of the



man himself and his personality and characteristics — a difficult task to even the professional historian with a mass of documentary material to draw from — doubly so in this case, with nothing except tradition and memory in their most precarious and fragmentary form, and colored by religious prejudice, favorable and otherwise.

However, certain points seem clear, and although absolutely nothing in the way of his sermons has survived — his preaching was entirely extemporaneous and he no doubt regarded notes in the pulpit as one of the works of the Devil — he was undoubtedly a speaker of remarkable power, a natural orator, and it is probably not exaggerating to say that with the advantages of education and a wider stage he would have compared favorably with the great pulpit orators of his time.

He was evidently a keen debater and rather enjoyed giving and receiving hard knocks. It is safe to assume that his public utterances were often a skilful blending of the evangelical and the polemical. In speaking of a funeral sermon which he preached shortly after his separation from the Free Christian Baptist denomination, we are told that, "He had some target before him in the persons of five ministers of the Free Christian Baptist body. For him at that time he seemed to steer clear of personalities, but without doubt some of his shot, hot as it was, found a stopping place near those targets. At least so they reported after the service." (Orser's Life, 98.)

"Some few times in my experience, laboring with him, have I seen the lofty heads lowered under his scathing and scoring wit and sarcasm," says his nephew biographer.

As the result of the impressions and opinions of the man which I have endeavored to harmonize, I have often felt that in the give and take of heated discussion Mr. Orser was somewhat of the forceful type of the late Sir Charles Tupper, and would have taken a high rank politically, if he had labored in the legislative halls of the Devil instead of in the vineyard of the Lord.

In his religious views he was strongly evangelical, strenuously opposed to changes and innovations, and anything approaching





pretence or "side" evidently aroused his ire. His disposition was, I think, somewhat peppery where matters of principle were concerned. In his general make-up he was inclined to be "quick turned" as the people of his day and generation would say.

"Plainly," says Rev. C. H. Orser, "he was the wrong preacher to undertake to pull very much, especially where he had no orders to go."

At the same time Rev. C. H. Orser's book, page after page, extolls his modesty and retiring disposition, his kindness to the younger ministers, and his unassuming manner to those not so highly endowed as he.

Absolutely nothing in the way of a portrait of the man is or ever was in existence, as he refused, as a matter of principle, to have a picture taken, and did not approve of picture taking generally, including it in his general and sweeping condemnation of "graven images," but he was, I am told, rather tall, full faced, light complexion, and with eyes reflecting a keen intellect and an active disposition.

The frequent charge that he was opposed to Sunday Schools is not true. I have been assured by reliable parties that they have attended Sunday Schools under his charge, although he probably insisted that they should not overshadow the preaching services.

Following the separation from his former church affiliations there came, we are justified in inferring, a period of hesitation on the part of the dismissed clergyman. "He seemed just a little dazed, not that he thought for a moment that he had done wrong, but he scarcely could get out of the idea that he had been dealt wrongly and unchristianly by those with whom he had former connection with. And to be deprived of church and a church home, that he had justly laboured to provide himself and others with, he seemed to feel just as bad for others as he did for himself." (Orser's Life, 89.)

We can imagine his dismissed brethren crowding around him, the long and anxious evening consultations, the urgent requests that he continue in the work, and build up a new church for those who had been driven into the spiritual wilderness, and



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for a man of Mr. Orser's undoubted energy this period of inactivity could not last long. Shortly after his dismissal he was called on to preach a funeral sermon at Knowlesville in the County of Carleton, and it is characteristic of the spirit of the time that we are told that, "One of his then personal enemies followed him to that appointment," and, encouraged by his favorable reception, in the month of November, 1874, he began a series of revival services at Carlisle in the Parish of Brighton, about ten miles from his birthplace, and here he organized the first church of the new denomination under the name of the Free Baptist Church, with thirty-three charter members.

A few days after the close of the Carlisle campaign Mr. Orser started in at Hartland, and "here his staunch old brethren and sisters," meaning thereby those former F. C. Baptists who had been left out in the reorganization already referred to — "gathered around him and pressed him to organize then and there, a church, taking the new name of the church at Carlisle," and this church, we are told, "gathered in all the outcast that lived in Hartland." (Orser's Life, 92.)

He met there, his biography tells us, "the same old opposition in full array," and that "one of his greatest opposers was his youngest brother," showing that Carleton County took its religion as seriously in the seventies as it did its politics in later years during the strenuous days of Carvell, Flemming and B. F. Smith.

M. P. Orser was a member of the New Hartland church, and was licensed to preach by it — C. H. and G. E. Orser were licensed by the Carlisle church, and in December, 1875, the four Orsers began a religious campaign at Lower Wakefield where G. W. Orser resided at that time, and about midway between Hartland and Woodstock on the western side of the River Saint John.

"Here those four Orsers commenced to survey the walls, finding them in a dilapidated condition. Yet by divine direction they decided to rebuild, not on the old wall, but gathered of some of the old stones and put them with others into the new spiritual building. That, then and there, was instituted into a church for another name." (Orser's Life, 93.)



During the progress, or rather at the inception of the campaign at Lower Wakefield, M. P. and G. E. Orser were ordained to the regular work of the ministry by the laying on of hands of Rev. G. W. Orser, assisted by Rev. Herman Shaw, a Baptist minister of Maine, C. H. Orser was ordained at Carlisle later, so that the first four ordained ministers of the Free Baptist denomination were all Orsers and relatives of the original founder, and it is not surprising that, while they were officially named Free Baptists, they were commonly called "Orserites" by their opponents and the general public, and the expression is still a significant one to many of the old members of the denomination.

In less than a year from the beginning of the movement Mr. Orser was instrumental in organizing, not the seven churches of Asia, but seven flourishing churches in Carleton and Victoria Counties, and in July, 1875 or 1876, the Free Baptist General Conference of New Brunswick was organized at East Florenceville in the County of Carleton, consisting of the four Orser ministers, the Rev. Elijah Sisson, and delegates from the following churches: Carlisle No. 1, Hartland No. 2, Lower Wakefield No. 3, Perth No. 4, Windsor No. 5, Wicklow No. 6, and Monquart No. 7.

Rev. M. P. Orser was elected the first moderator and S. Hayden Shaw, a prominent layman of the Hartland church, was the first clerk, and at the close of this conference a new church was organized at East Florenceville.

At this first conference it was decided to hold quarterly meetings with the various churches, and in October, 1875, a meeting was held at Greenfield in the County of Carleton, the Presbyterian brethren opening their church for the gathering, and Rev. Gideon Estabrooks, a Baptist stalwart of Carleton County and two other ministers of the same denomination, attending in a friendly capacity. It is interesting to note that a Baptist minister assisted Rev. G. W. Orser in his first ordination service, and from the beginning a very different feeling existed between the Free Baptists and the Baptists on the one hand and the Free Christian Baptists on the other — a circum-





stance that is easily accounted for by the fact that the Free Baptists felt that they had been unjustly exiled from the Free Christian Baptist body, and had no such feeling towards the regular Baptist. Besides, if we may assume that religious ordination does not remove all traces of human nature, the Baptists did not object to seeing their Free Christian Baptist rivals harassed by a flank attack from those who had formerly been in spiritual communion with them.

We may also note that at Greenfield the new denomination "had the open opposition of one of the Free Christian Baptist ministers, he visiting and trying to persuade the people to have nothing to do with such a bad lot as would attend our quarterly meeting, if we were entertained by them." (Orser's Life, 121.)

In January, 1876 or 1877, a quarterly meeting was held at Lower Wakefield, "on the old battle ground." "Now after one year, here we are with a vast crowd of dyed-in-the-wool Orserites. My! how it pleased our hostile friends to give us that beautiful cognomen," Rev. C. H. Orser tells us, recalling the days when the word Methodist was applied to that people under somewhat similar conditions.

At this gathering George W. Orser was, of course, the central figure, and at the morning service on the Sabbath day he delivered "one of the greatest sermons in effects, that can be recorded so far in the history of the Primitive Baptists," preaching from John 7:37-38.

"For one hour and thirty minutes the labor and intellectual opening of the spiritual meaning of this prophecy was never more spiritually illustrated or more powerfully delivered by mortal man since the days of Jesus' proclaiming it," says his interesting biographer. "There, standing in the presence of his audience, we behold the face of this many sided preacher, his indomitable will power forging to the front in his every utterance, the shining face, denoting what power or influence, was moving him. The high flights of altitude to which he arose in that most memorable sermon, and carried his audience to. The immediate results of the Holy Spirit's power over the conditions of his church. The spiritual results of such an attitude upon the spiritual. The



genuine principle that might and ought to be the fruit and experience of all churches. He seemed to revel for an hour or more in portraying the glories and beauties of the presence of Holy inspiration, and the possibility of the people of God claiming those divine rights and living in them. That any description of this scene, in a word picture, will fall far short of correct description, but the stamp is there as a fixture on the hearts of very many who had the privilege of this great luxury on a spiritual basis." (Orser's Life, 127.)

During this time the Free Baptists had not remained on the defensive. They were planting new churches, and shortly after three former Free Christian Baptist ministers joined the new body, Revs. S. E. Sprague, E. W. Hartley, and Harvey Hagerman, so that when the second general conference met in a barn in Upper Kent in 1876, "we were not all Orsers now, and to our people it must have sounded strange indeed to hear anything or any one addressed or referred to but an Orser." At this time a total membership of 775 and 19 churches reported, and apparently one church at least had been organized in the State of Maine.

At a quarterly meeting at Hartland in October, 1876, a new church was dedicated, and we can appreciate the proud statement that, "this was one of the days of days to the Primitive Baptists."

In January, 1877, a quarterly meeting was held at Perth in the old Free Christian Baptist church, but whether we are to infer from this that the church was partly abandoned or that the spirit of opposition between the two denominations was beginning to die out, is difficult to say, but there was some difficulty at this session, "caused by the little Baptist minister, Skinner. But like a gentleman he made his apology. He was set on by one who dare not do so himself, but like other opposition, it had an end, possibly for the glory of God, and the betterment of us all." (Orser's Life, 169.)

In July, 1877, at the yearly meeting held at Monquart twenty-four churches reported, and there were seven ministers outside of the four Orsers, which, says C. H. Orser, was "not a very



poor showing for a few preachers to make. You will remember, also, that we were not preaching all the time. We had our farms and families to look after, and we did not get very large returns financially from our flocks. They, many of them, were building churches and had very much on their hands for the first ten or twelve years, so that we had to look largely to our farms for the support of our families."

"I hope our young men will not get above any honest employment if the needs of their homes demand it," Mr. Orser concludes. "Our denomination was founded with preaching, praying, tears, and sweat, sore heads, sore hearts, sore hands, and sore feet. Our wives had it just as hard as we, and some of them just a little harder."

In the meantime the new denomination was extending geographically. At a quarterly meeting held at Carlisle, January, 1879, churches at Deer Island and Mars Hill, Maine, were received into the conference, and a new church building at Carlisle was dedicated "built out of the free gifts of the people. All the material for its construction were furnished from Carlisle products."

At this meeting Rev. W. A. Morang was ordained, and the ordination sermon by Rev. G. W. Orser "was replete with the necessary instructions, doctrinally and practically, for the benefit of the young minister, accompanied by the proper spiritual guidance in his after life."

In 1882 at the conference held at Monquart, Carleton County, forty-two churches reported, in 1883, we find that a committee consisting of Rev. M. P. Orser, S. H. Shaw, and Joseph Orser were appointed to prepare a Treatise of Faith for the Denomination, and Rev. Elijah Sisson, the first minister of the denomination outside of the Orsers, was dropped from the list of ministers and church membership.

During all these years at the various conferences and quarterly meetings Rev. G. W. Orser was of course the central figure, but at the annual conference at Upper Wicklow in, apparently, 1884, he was unable to attend on account of illness, and it was evident that his life work was drawing to a close. In that year



he made a visit to Deer Island, but in it resulted no benefit to his health; on the way home he stopped at Canterbury Station where special services were being held, and there he gave his followers to understand that his work was done. He was evidently suffering from a form of paralysis, and we are told that he had lost his ability to preach or take part in any business, secular or religious. He attended a meeting at Canterbury, asked Rev. C. H. Orser to preach, attempted to speak after the sermon, but could not repeat the text from memory.

In speaking of the service afterwards, Rev. C. H. Orser quotes him as follows:

"I do not think that I ever heard Brother Charles preach so well in my life. Oh, how I love these young brethren. I want you to help them all you possibly can, for you will have to depend on them now. No doubt I will soon leave you all. How much these young men helped me. How well they have stood around me, when friends and sympathizers seemed so few. But my God has given me scores of proved friends in my last years, for which I can praise him."

On that occasion his followers evidently realized that their leader would not be with them long, and we can imagine that the way looked dark before them. "Oh, hard for us to give him up. How dark it seemed for us to go on without him. His great interest for his brethren and the churches had affiliated them so strongly to this superior and powerful preacher, and such a leader of men. His was the God-given ability to lead others. He was so careful and kind-hearted to his little flock. To turn our minds away from and realize that he was no more on earth, the thought of this stung us to the very centre of our being," says C. H. Orser on page 214 of his book. "His utterances on this last occasion of meeting in general meeting has lived with us all these years, and as we pen this bit of history concerning the man, above all others, in our confidence and esteem as a preacher of righteousness I am fully satisfied that all Primitive Baptists who have come in personal contact with G. W. Orser and sat under his ministrations will not find fault with my eulogy or estimation of this worthy man and preacher." (Page 216.)





These Free Baptist people, we must remember, were ordinary everyday folk, travelling the ordinary paths of life, but at this time they must have felt as the followers of Gladstone, Macdonald or Laurier did when they began to realize that the "Grand Old Man" or the "Knight of the White Plume" had reached the milestone that marks the summit of the journey and had begun to travel the sunset western trail.

Early in 1885 his health improved, and he was able to attend a service at the Carlisle church; here, in the cradle of the denomination, he preached his last sermon, and, C. H. Orser tells us, "his strength and mind carried him on in his sermon for thirty minutes, seemingly in his old time life and vigor." Then "his strength of voice failed him and he sat down, seemingly quite exhausted from the labor of that sermon. But how seemingly fitted for him to preach his last sermon where he really began his labors in building a new denomination. I have ever believed," Mr. C. H. Orser declares, "that God had this arrangement in charge," and in the preceding ten years he had gathered together forty-five churches with 2,000 members, and twelve ministers who had aided him in accomplishing that work.

In March, 1885, Mr. Orser suffered from a third stroke of paralysis and passed away at Mount Pleasant in the Parish of Peel where he had lived for some time. His funeral services were held in the church at Hartland, Rev. W. A. Morang preached the funeral service and he was buried in Lower Wakefield where he had founded his third church and lived for some years. His friends have placed a beautiful monument over the grave, and the house in which he lived a short distance from the graveyard is still standing.

Following Mr. Orser's death, Rev. D. E. Brooks and Rev. Addington Giberson took the lead in the denomination, which continued to grow steadily but slowly. Mr. Giberson, we may note, was himself of Orser descent, his mother, Lydia, having been a daughter of Edward Orser and a granddaughter of William, the Loyalist progenitor.

During the intervening years the records are rather scanty but in 1889 a church at Lowell, Massachusetts, was received



into the conference, showing that the denomination was extending geographically at least, and in 1883 or thereabouts a body of people in the western part of Nova Scotia, called Free Christian Baptists and under the leadership of Rev. Samuel W. Bennison, affiliated with the New Brunswick denomination.

Finally the Free Baptist people decided to become incorporated by the name under which they had sailed for nearly a quarter of a century, and on February 25, 1897, Mr. C. L. Smith, one of the members for Carleton County, presented to the Legislature a bill to incorporate the Free Baptist denomination, and, on March 3, Mr. John Sivewright presented the petition of Rev. Dr. Joseph McLeod, the leading Free Christian Baptist minister in New Brunswick, against the bill.

On March, 15th Mr. Smith committed the bill and the report of the decision may be found on pages 131 and 132 of the Synoptic Report of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly for the year 1897.

"Mr. Smith said this bill was promoted by the religious body that was quite numerous in the Counties of Carleton and Victoria," says the official report. "They had properly advertised the bill in the press. After the bill was brought before the house opposition had developed to it on the ground that the title proposed was an infringement upon the right of the Free Christian Baptist church of New Brunswick. Mr. Smith quoted from several religious and secular newspapers to show that this was the commonly accepted title of the latter body. He thought there was a sufficient distinction between the two names. The Free Christian Baptist church had been allowed the choice of a name and the same privilege should be allowed the promoters of this bill."

Mr. Sivewright, one of Gloucester's members, took the lead in opposing the bill on the ground that "it was an attempt to filch the trade mark of another denomination," and read many extracts from newspapers to show that the Free Christian Baptist church was frequently known as the Free Baptist church.

"This society had a right to be incorporated," said Mr.



Sivewright, "but it was unreasonable and unfair that the Free Baptists of the province should be robbed of their name by a few Orserites of Carleton County. The various Protestant churches did a grand work, but don't let us manufacture any more of them," he declared, which produced the time-honored "laughter." "In Nova Scotia and the United States," he went on to say, "the body of Christians which affiliated with the Free Christian Baptists of New Brunswick was incorporated under the name of the Free Baptists."

Mr. A. E. Killam, one of the Westmorland County members, "strongly protested against the bill as an infringement upon the rights of the Free Christian Baptist denomination. It would greatly confuse matters in Westmorland and other eastern counties."

The famous H. H. Pitts of York said the bill "was a slur upon every Free Baptist in New Brunswick. Under the Act for incorporation of companies under letters patent, the government was very particular to refuse incorporation of companies bearing similar names to that of companies already existing, and the same rule should be applied in this case," and in conclusion he moved that the further consideration of the bill be postponed for three months.

Dr. Silas Alward, one of the Saint John members, suggested that the name be Orser Free Baptists, to which Hon. Mr. Tweedie objected, and Messrs. Porter and Beveridge of Victoria favored the bill. Mr. Smith stated Orser Free Baptist was acceptable to Dr. McLeod, Mr. Hill, of Charlotte, opposed the bill, and finally progress was reported with leave to sit again.

On March 10th Mr. Smith recommitted the bill and the further discussion may be found on page 139 of the Synoptic Report.

"Mr. Smith read extracts from letters of Rev. Messrs. Orser and A. D. Giberson," says the report, "showing that these people were the only Free Baptists in New Brunswick and that they were simply asking for incorporation by the same name as they had gone by for twenty years. He also read the report of Rev. Joseph McLeod, who was a delegate from the Free Christian



Baptist Conference to the Free Baptist Conference during the past year, and claimed the reverend gentleman in his own report recognized them by their own name, the name under which they seek to be incorporated. He was glad to see the Christian spirit so prevalent in the reverend gentleman's report upon the doings of this other Christian body and he thought the same good feeling should be continued, and these gentlemen allowed the name they ask for. But whether they gained their point or not they would still continue their good work under the name of Free Baptists and if the bill did not carry they would again be to this legislature asking for the same privilege now enjoyed by other denominations. In conclusion Mr. Smith read from the Consolidated Statutes of 1854 the incorporation of the Free Christian Baptist Church of New Brunswick to show that this was the name voluntarily taken by the friends on the opposing side."

Mr. Sivewright again took the lead in opposing the bill. "He quoted from the Religious Intelligencer, the organ of the Free Christian Baptists, to show that all meetings and conventions they were designated as Free Baptists. The word 'Christian' was not considered as an expletive, and being so, was now generally dropped by that denomination of Christians. The legislature should treat fairly the appeal of those who had petitioned for a recognition of their rights and not of an insignificant sect of seceders to usurp their name and say: 'We are the Free Baptists of New Brunswick, and the parent body which we left have departed from the faith and are renegades and apostates from the tenets and dogmas of the Free Baptist Church.' The Orserites do not believe in the ordination of their clergy."

Mr. Smith promptly and properly contradicted this statement.

"Well, they do not believe there is any warrant in the Bible for missions or Sabbath Schools, and ridicule the idea of an educated ministry," Mr. Sivewright replied. "The pastorate consists principally of those engaged in farming during the week and who occupy the pulpit on Sunday. Cincinnatus was called





from the plough by the senate of Rome to drive back the invader and save the country, and on the same principle the Orserites take their pastor from the plough to save their religion and repel the inroads of the devil. The Honourable member from Carleton, the promotor of the bill, had worked with great earnestness and energy to carry this bill, and deserved the cordial thanks of the body who desired incorporation. His zeal and efforts will be ineffectual. The little craft he had launched will have to be called back for repairs, and when she started again on her voyage he hoped she would meet a gale and be shipwrecked unless she had her proper name painted on her prow," Mr. Sivewright concluded, and moved that the chairman leave the chair and "report progress."

Mr. H. H. McCain, another Carleton County member, said he would like to see the bill pass. "The people who desire this legislation were a most deserving body of Christians," he said, "and he did not see in what respect the passage of this bill would interfere with the Free Christian Baptist church. The legislature should give the promotors of this bill a fair chance. They did not want to steal the title which the Free Christian Baptists claimed, and he did not think the passage of the bill would in any way injure the Free Christian Baptists. He had had a communication from Rev. E. Brooks declaring that the promotors of the bill positively refused to accept the title of 'Orser Baptists.'"

The refusal of the Free Baptist people to accept the proposed title is easily understood. They were zealously loyal to the memory of G. W. Orser as the founder of their denomination, but the term "Orserites" had been applied to them in derision by their opponents, and while they might in time have accepted the title, even as the Methodists adopted their name, not to mention the Whig and Tory parties, the Free Baptist people refused to be forced to accept the name at the behest of their religious rivals, so the bill dropped and was not heard of again during the session of 1897.

When the legislature met in 1898 the Free Baptists were again on hand, and Mr. W. F. Dibblee, one of the members for



Carleton County, presented the legislature a petition signed by Mayor Hay of the Town of Woodstock, ex-mayor W. S. Saunders, Stephen B. Appleby, Rev. W. F. Chapman, J. F. Garden, F. B. Carvell, H. A. Connell, A. Henderson (none of whom were members of the Free Baptist denomination), and 350 other ratepayers of the County of Carleton in favor of a bill incorporating the Free Baptist denomination of New Brunswick.

This bill was again opposed by the Free Christian Baptist denomination on the ground that the names of the two denominations being so similar confusion was liable to arise, that the Free Christian Baptist denomination having been incorporated, was entitled to protection for its legal corporate name under the legal principle applicable to trade mark cases, and they defeated the bill by a manoeuvre which shows that all the political acumen of the province did not reside in the heads of the politicians thereof. On the twenty-fifth day of February, the same day that Mr. Dibblee introduced his bill to incorporate the Free Baptist denomination, Mr. Carpenter, one of the members for Queens, introduced a bill to change the name of the Free Christian Baptist Conference to the Free Baptist Conference of New Brunswick.

Naturally this procedure led to considerable irritation and a feeling somewhat remote from one to brotherly love.

"If we are trying to steal your corporate name, as you allege, why do you attempt to change that name and take the one that we have used without objection for nearly thirty years?" The Free Baptist supporters asked with considerable show of reason.

Mr. Carpenter's bill was agreed to on the third of March, and, consequently, the Free Baptist people had no ground to stand on, their desired name has been appropriated by the legislature to another sect, and the Free Baptist people were called on to agree to another name or to go nameless and discredited. A meeting of some of the leading ministers was held at Hartland to talk over the matter, and we can infer that it was an anxious one. Finally on the suggestion of Rev. S. W. Bennison, the name "Primitive" was selected, and on March 17, a bill was agreed to to incorporate the Primitive Denomination of New Brunswick.



After incorporation under the new name the former Free Baptist body flourished quietly and made steady progress, and the present standing of the denomination may be best indicated by the following statistics kindly furnished to the writer by Rev. A. H. Hatfield, one of the younger ministers of the denomination who is rapidly coming to the front.

The approximate total church membership is about 2,500, of which about four-fifths are in New Brunswick, and the balance in Maine and Nova Scotia in equal proportions. "I feel safe in saying that we have a nominal following of 3,000 people or more," says Mr. Hatfield.

Number of ordained ministers, ten; number of licentiates, five.

Total number of church buildings at least thirty-seven.

"We have about twenty-six church buildings in New Brunswick erected, with about five or six new ones under consideration, some of these have already laid their foundations. There are quite a few organized churches, in places, where as yet, they have no church buildings," says Mr. Hatfield.

Such is an imperfect review of the history of the Primitive Baptist body down to the present time. The ancient name of "Orserites" has been dropped entirely, and the new name has been heartily adopted by the denomination and, from the outsider's standpoint, would seem to be more appropriate and expressive than the one for which they contended so strenuously, and of which they claim to have been unjustly deprived, as they are a "Primitive" body in the strictest and better sense of the word.

They are almost exclusively a rural church, and it is safe to say that there is not the name of a single rich man on any Primitive Baptist Church Book at the present time.

Their belief is equally primitive, and is of that type of evangelical protestantism which existed between 1800 and 1850. The entire church membership believes the old Testament and believes it literally. They have not weighed the respective merits the old fashioned Christianity, on the one hand, and Darwinism and the higher criticism on the other, and decided



in favor of the old ways. It is no slur upon their church membership to say that the bulk of them do not know that Darwinism and the higher criticism exist.

There is some truth in Mr. Sivewright's charge that they ridiculed the idea of an educated ministry, in the sense that they feel and feel very strongly that a degree from an institution of higher learning is not an absolute qualification for preaching the gospel. One of their clergymen took a course at an academy, but is, I believe, the only one of their ministers at the present time who has had this advantage, and all of their ministers in the past have been self educated men who received no schooling beyond that provided by the ordinary schools of their time and locality. At the same time, many of them were men of real intellectual power. The writer, who is not one of them, has heard some sermons preached by some of these "uneducated" ministers in remote localities in Carleton County which will compare favorably with the efforts of many college graduates in the more prosperous denominations.

There is also something in the charge, if it may be called a charge, that many of their ministers engage in secular occupations, and as Mr. Sivewright said, leave the plow for the pulpit, although, as the general standard of living improves an increasing number of the ministers have found it possible to devote all their time to church work, but it is safe to say that in the modern year 1922 there is not a kid-gloved preacher in the denomination and not one of them who would not be willing at any time to turn his hand to honest and manual toil, feeling that if Paul could pay his way by making tents it is not beneath the dignity of a Primitive Baptist minister to cultivate the soil of his native province.

Moreover, the reason for this condition is an honourable one, as it arises from the fact that the denomination is still loyal to the principle on which George W. Orser separated from the Free Christian Baptist body, namely, a free gospel and no stated salary for a minister. "We believe if men are worthy and called of God, God will impress his people with the needs of his servants and make the necessary provision or, in other words,





simple faith in God. These years of high prices have surely been a test, but God is true," one of their clergymen says in response to an inquiry as to their present system along this line.

The charge that they do not believe in Sunday Schools is also an unfounded one, as the following extract from their church covenant will show :

"We will sustain the benevolent enterprises of our denomination and church, such as missions, education, Sabbath Schools, moral reform, and all other which tend to the glory of God and the welfare of men."

"I would say that about one-half of our churches have Sunday Schools," Rev. Mr. Hatfield informs me, which is a good showing considering the fact that the churches are practically all in country places, with a scattered membership, and where Sunday Schools are not as easily maintained as in towns and villages.

In conclusion, I trust that the foregoing rambling paragraphs, may be of some slight interest to hearers and readers, that this paper, imperfect as it is, may shed a little new light upon a really interesting phase of the local history of Carleton County, and that those of us who adhere to larger and more prosperous denominations may ever retain a kindly feeling towards the kindly and honest Primitive Baptists — New Brunswick's first and only native denomination.



## HOW SAINT JOHN CELEBRATED IN THE GOOD OLD TIMES

WHEN THE FIRST SOD WAS TURNED FOR EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN  
RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

PROCEEDINGS OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1853, RECALLED

JOHN WILLET, K. C., MARCH, 1922

(Compiled from Newspapers).

The weather on Wednesday was most propitious for the imposing demonstration which took place in this city on the occasion of the turning of the First Sod of the European and North American Railway. For some days previous the steamers from every quarter were crowded with passengers who came to witness or to take part in a ceremony which has been so much talked of and from which so much is expected. Ample and comfortable accommodations were, however, provided for all who came. At early dawn a salute was fired from Fort Howe by the Militia Artillery and soon after eight o'clock members of the different trades and other bodies were seen hurrying to their place of meeting to join in the procession which had been previously arranged according to the following programme by the Chief Marshal, Charles Johnston, Esq., High Sheriff, and a committee of the Railway Company.

### CITIZENS ON HORSEBACK

In uniforms and with banner

High Sheriff of the City and County of Saint John

The Grand Marshal

Asst. G. Marshal

Asst. G. Marshal

President and Directors of Mechanics' Institute

Preceded by Grand Banner of Institute

BAND OF H. M. 76TH REGT.

### TRADES

HOUSE CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

With banners and a work shop in full operation, drawn by horses

Uniform: Full dress, white apron, emblem of trade



## SHIP CARPENTERS

- Marshal, Grand Union Banner, carried by four Standard Bearers in uniform, followed by:
- No. 1—Foreman and operatives in uniform from James Smith & Sons' Yard with banner and model of the Marco Polo, drawn by horses.
  - No. 2—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. F. J. Ruddick's Yard with banners.
  - No. 3—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. W. & R. Wright's Yard with banners and a ship, the model of the "Guiding Star," drawn by four horses.
  - No. 4—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. Storms' & King's Yard with banners.
  - No. 5—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. McLachlan & Stackhouse's Yards with banners and a model ship, drawn by horses.
  - No. 6—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Mr. Alexander Sime's Yard with banners.
  - No. 7—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Mr. John Fisher's Yard with banners.
  - No. 8—Foreman and operatives in uniform from J. McDonald & Co.'s Yard with banners and A Ship on the Stocks Ready for Launching, drawn by four horses.
  - No. 9—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. W. & J. Olive's Yard with banners.
  - No. 10—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Mr. J. Nevin's Yard with banners and a full rigged ship, drawn by four horses.
  - No. 11—Foreman and operatives in uniform from W. Potts & Sons' Yard with banners and A Ship on Stocks in Course of Construction with operatives at work, drawn by four horses.
  - No. 12—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Mr. John Thompson's Yard with banners and A Ship on Stocks in Course of Construction, drawn by four horses.
  - No. 13—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Messrs. Ruddick & Hillyard's Yard with banners.
  - No. 14—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Thompson & Stackhouse's Yard with banners.
  - No. 15—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Brown & Anderson's Yard with banner and A Ship on Stocks in Frame, drawn by four horses.
  - No. 16—Foreman and operatives in uniform from Joseph Sulis & Sons' Yard, with banners.



## BLACKSMITHS AND FOUNDERS

Marshal, with Banner

A Blacksmith's Car

A Moulder's Car

An Engineer's Car

A Steam Engine all in full operation

Uniform: In full dress with blue rosette and badges

## PAINTERS

Marshal, with Banner

Uniform: In full dress with rosettes of the three primitive colors. Gold palette suspended from necks.

## MASONS AND STONECUTTERS

With Banner Marshal

A Brick Press, A Stone Cutter's Yard, drawn by four horses with workmen in full operation.

Uniform: In full dress with emblems of trade, white apron trimmed with blue.

## BAKERS

Marshal, with Banners

Uniform: Black coat, white vest and trousers, drab hat, white gloves, white apron trimmed with blue.

## PRINTERS

Marshal, with Banner

A printing press in operation, drawn by horses, printing and distributing Celebration Songs.

## CORDWAINERS

Marshal, with Banners and a Representation of King Crispin and Queen Crispiana on a carriage drawn by horses.

Uniform: Full dress, white gloves, drab apron trimmed with blue.

## TAILORS

Marshal, with Banners and a Representation of Adam and Eve in the Garden, on a carriage drawn by horses.

Uniform: Full dress with blue scarf.

## MILLERS

Marshal, with Banners

A Flour Mill in operation on a carriage, drawn by horses.





## RIGGERS AND SAILMAKERS

Marshal, with Banners

## CABINET MAKERS

Marshal, with Banners and a Work Bench with workmen in full operation.

A carriage with Furniture, drawn by horses.

Uniform: Full dress, carrying Mahogany Staff.

## MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF FREDERICTON

## MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF SAINT JOHN

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF PORTLAND CONVENTION

## ENGINEERS OF E. &amp; N. A. RAILWAY

## BAND

## PORTLAND FIRE COMPANIES

Ass't. Grand Marshal

No. 1 Portland Engine Company with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Blue shirt trimmed with white, black trousers, glazed hat with gold band.

Portland Engine Company of Messrs. R. Rankin &amp; Co., with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: White shirt, blue trousers and glazed hat.

## CITY FIRE BRIGADE

Chief Engineer on horseback

No. 1 Wellington Engine Company with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Blue shirt trimmed with white and red, black trousers and glazed hat — name of engine.

No. 3 Engine Company with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Blue shirt trimmed with white, black trousers, red hat with motto

No. 2.

BAND

No. 4 Engine Company with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Blue jacket trimmed with scarlet, white trousers, black hat with gold band and motto Phoenix No. 4.

BAND

No. 5 Engine Company, with engine and hose carriage, tender, etc., drawn by horses.

Uniform: Blue shirts trimmed with white, white trousers, black glazed hat with number.



No. 6 Engine Company, with engine and hose carriage.

Uniform: Green shirt trimmed with gold, black trousers, gilt helmet hat, white belt.

No. 7 (Carleton) Engine Company, with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Red shirt trimmed with blue, white trousers, glazed hat.

No. 8 (Carleton) Engine Company, with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Blue shirt, black trousers with red stripes, black hat.

Hook and Ladder Company, banner, drawn by horses.

Uniform: Blue jacket, black trousers trimmed with red, black glazed hat with gold band.

No. 9 Carleton Boys' Engine Company, with engine and hose cart.

Uniform: Yellow shirt trimmed with red, black trousers.

Portland and City Juvenile Engine Company, with engines.

#### POLICE MAGISTRATES OF SAINT JOHN AND PORTLAND

#### MAGISTRATES OF CITY AND COUNTY

#### FARMERS FROM PARISH OF WESTFIELD, KINGS COUNTY

#### ASSISTANT GRAND MARSHAL

#### MILLMEN

Marshal, with Banner

Uniforms: White shirts, black trousers, black belts and glazed hats.

#### MESSRS. REED & WRIGHT'S BLACK BALL LINE OF SAINT JOHN AND LIVERPOOL PACKETS

With banner and a full rigged clipper ship, with a screw propeller steamer following in the rear, drawn by horses.

#### BRANCH PILOTS OF PORT OF SAINT JOHN

Marshal

Uniform: Full dress, band on hat, with motto, carrying spyglasses and speaking trumpets.

#### ASSISTANT GRAND MARSHAL

#### BAND

#### FREEMASONS

In full costume, with banners, paraphernalia.

#### ASSISTANT GRAND MARSHAL



## DESCRIPTION OF EMBLEMS, ETC.

The House Carpenters and Joiners made a very respectable appearance. In their workshop, which was fitted up on a large wagon, drawn by four horses, men were busy in their various occupations of the craft, and a sash machine was at full work.

The Ship Carpenters were one of the largest and finest bodies in the procession. The men from the various yards were dressed in appropriate uniforms and some of them bore emblems of their trade with several standards on which were inscribed appropriate devices and mottoes. Models of vessels in various stages of construction were drawn on wagons, suitably decorated. The model of the world renowned "Marco Polo," from Messrs. James Smith & Sons' yard; the beautiful model of Messrs. W. & R. Wright, "Guiding Star," about twenty feet in length, completely timbered, etc., and a vessel on the stocks with the men actually at work from the yards of Messrs. W. Potts & Son, attracted, and deservedly, much attention.

The banner of the Blacksmiths and Founders was a woman leaning on an anchor. Motto, "By hammer in hand all arts do stand." Second banner, an anchor and chain. Motto, "Fear not, it will hold fast." In this body were comprised the Edge Tool Makers, whose banner bore various devices, edge tools, etc., and the motto, "'Tis by our aid all work is done." The Farriers with appropriate banner and motto. The grand banner of the body bore the usual devices — the arms and the mottoes — for the general benefit. This body made a fine showing and mustered about two hundred strong. After them and belonging to the same body came the men from the foundries, with their banner, numbering over three hundred men, those from the foundry of Messrs. Harris & Allan with blacksmiths and moulders at work, from the Fleming & Humbert with a steam engine at work, and those from the Eagle Foundry, (Mr. Smith's). One of their banners bore the arms of the trade and the motto — Industry and Benevolence Unite in Friendship.



The Painters mustered about fifty strong and made a very respectable appearance. Banner, painters' arms — shield supported by St. Luke, their Patron Saint; and a leopard. Motto — *Amor Honor et Obedientia*.

The Masons and Stonecutters mustered about one hundred and fifty strong, and looked well in their neat dresses. The brickyard was hard at work throwing off bricks. The stonecutter plied the chisel and mallet busily, and on one car was borne barrels of cement, plaster, etc. Their banner showed an arch with a railway train passing over it.

The Bakers numbered about ninety, and were inferior in appearance to no body in the procession. Their banner was, sheaves of corn, and men, in working dress. Motto — For the Good of All. They bore gilt peels, dockers, etc.

The Printing Press was drawn by greys. Supporting the canopy were the figures of Faust, Guttenberg, Caxton and Franklin. The car bore the inscription: "Knowledge is Power."

Attending on the press was a devil in proper shape, horns, hoof and all. The following is a copy of the song composed by Mr. Redfern, which was thrown off as the procession moved along:

Well may Pleasure rule the day —  
 Banners wave and music play —  
 Worthy Craftsmen lift the head,  
 March along with measured tread —  
 Civic body, learn'd profession,  
 Join the holiday procession.  
 Well may guns our ears assail —  
 Most suspicious epoch, hail!

Let New Brunswick shout and sing?  
 Autumn's changed to cheerful Spring:  
 Spring of hope, a day more bright,  
 Dawns upon our ravish'd sight;  
 Doubt and Fear and dark dismay  
 Fly before its cheering ray —  
 While we turn the railway Sod  
 Let us give due thanks to God!





God, who gives to active man  
Hands to work and skill to plan,  
Means to guide o'er earth and ocean,  
With amazing locomotion;  
Places lightning in his hands,  
Bids it fly at his commands;  
Light the streets, outrun the mails  
Through the seas and terra's vales.

Archibald and Jackson cheer,  
Stephenson without a peer;  
Man unborn shall sing their praise —  
Laud their names in joyful lays,  
Blazen them in history's pages,  
Hand them down to future ages;  
Cheer them now as Brunswick's friends  
Till the Welkin rings and rends.

Brunswick late, though not the last,  
Now "the Rubicon is pass'd;"  
Mount the fiery, reeking steed,  
Try his mettle, power and speed;  
Let his rider be but steady,  
Never reckless, rash nor heady;  
Then will town and country cousins  
Fill the trains by countless dozens.

When the cars shall take the track,  
What a rush to Shediac!  
There will be many a shell fish lover  
(Like a greedy cow in clover),  
Gulp his oysters with a gust,  
Fill his paunch and swell his bust;  
Then return with evening's train —  
Take his tea at home again.

Hobson, you may hang your lip,  
Hang your harness with your whip;  
Soon will cease your occupation,  
When the rail cars take the station;  
When you see the steam horse start,  
Go and burn your lazy cart;  
Turn old Dobbin out to grass —  
Cry in "doom" "alas, alas!"



What our eyes this day behold,  
Other nations, young and old,  
Deem no novel thing nor odd,  
What to them the starting sod;  
All to them is time mis-spent  
If it turn no dime or cent.  
Then for dollars what a strife?  
Dearer these than limb or life.

Oh, the folly! oh, the crime,  
Staking life on speed and time;  
Mowing human souls away,  
Like a gambler's cash at play.  
Human souls are too much worth  
As a stake for aught on earth;  
What to these are richest gems,  
Gold or pearls or diadems?

Though in time we be behind,  
Let us all their losses mind;  
Double tracks are good defences,  
Yet far better sober senses.  
Never trust an engineer  
Fond of spirits, wine or beer;  
Put the liquor law in force,  
Let no tavern mark the course.

Worthy strangers, while we pay  
Honor to this happy day;  
While we honor you no less,  
Let us not forget the press:  
High as the power of steam;  
Great as is the Railway Scheme;  
High above electric wires,  
Still the glorious Press aspires.

Guttenberg and wizard Faust,  
Your high fame will ne'er be lost!  
Bursting through the mist of time,  
Still it shines in every clime:  
Where's the man that has not heard  
Caxton's name and Franklin's words;  
Great illustrious honored names,  
We will ne'er forget your claims.



Splendid fount of love and light;  
Bulwarks of a people's right!  
Gibbet for the base transgressor  
Scourge of tyrant and oppressor;  
Friend of science, art and knowledge,  
Aid of author, school and college;  
Source of human happiness —  
Hail transcendant, peerless Press!

The Cordwainers are, in nearly all cities, a strong and respectable body. On this occasion they numbered about 250 and maintained the old renown of the gentle craft.

King and Queen Crispin were dressed in royal style and did no discredit to the characters.

The Tailors are also generally a large and well looking body, and so on this occasion they looked exceedingly well in their rich dresses and nice scarfs. They numbered 150. Adam and Eve stood their part well. They were followed by a Golden Lamb another trade banner. Two camels, with the motto, "*Concordia Parvae res Crescent.*"

The only Millers that turned out were those from the Botsford Mills, of which Messrs. I. & R. Reed are proprietors. They were twelve in number, dressed in uniform. Their banner, Ruth Gleaning in the Cornfield. Motto, "The Earth Shall Yield Her Increase." Obverse view of the Botsford Mills at Little River. Motto, "Peace and Plenty Crown the Earth."

They had a mill in full operation. This was worked by the motion of the wagon on which it was drawn, the wheat being by this means elevated into the hoppers, then passing between two stones and ground into flour. It was attended by the miller, Mr. Lake, and his gang.

The Riggers mustered 100 strong: dressed in frock coats and white trousers. Banner, ship with riggers at work. Motto, "Go On and Prosper."

The Cabinet Makers, ninety strong, made a very creditable display. Their warerooms contained many rich articles of furniture and their workshops with men at work. Both looked



very well. Banner with a figure of Justice and mottoes on the obverse a sideboard, hands-locked, and the motto, "Love and Unity."

The Directors of the Mechanics' Institute, the Mayor and Corporation of Saint John, the Police and County Magistrates, the Executive Committee of the Portland Convention, Railway Engineers, etc., and the President and Directors of the European and North American Railway Company all appeared in carriages provided for the occasion.

Among the Executive Committee of the Portland Convention were John A. Poole, Esq., of Portland, and Judge Chandler, of Maine, well known and tried friends of the great work.

#### THE ENGINE COMPANIES

No. 1 Portland Company numbered 70 strong, headed by hose cart and band; the company of Rankin & Co., about 120 men; City No. 1, "Wellington," 60 men; No. 3, "Queen," 60 men; No. 4, "Phoenix," 60; No. 5, "Always Ready," 60 men; No. 6, Faugh-a-Ballagh, 70; Nos. 7 and 8, Carleton, two fire companies, were about 70 each.

Their engines were drawn by horses. Two of the Fredericton companies were also on the ground, No. 1 with about 25 men and No. 2 with 40 men. They are a fine body of men. They had with them a splendid hose cart, built altogether by a Fredericton mechanic, and which attracted so much attention at the Provincial Exhibition.

The Saint John companies had their usual banners, decorations, etc., with their engines, hose carts and tenders fitted up with the greatest taste and care, and No. 6 had a magnificent new hose cart built by C. E. Bunting & Company — a beautiful piece of workmanship, but No. 5 decidedly bore off the palm for the style in which they got up their part. First came their tender, ornamented like all the others and drawn by two black Shetland ponies, led by colored boys in white dresses and turbans, etc. Then the beautiful engine, drawn also by four gray horses, led by four colored grooms, etc. After this followed their Curator in ancient costume — knee breeches, silk stockings,





silver buckles, etc. This turnout was really a magnificent one, the company having also brought a fine band from Boston expressly for the occasion. The appearance of the whole brigade was highly creditable and nothing was wanting on their part to render the procession what it was.

### THE MILLMEN

Those to whose labors and energies and powers of endurance the country owes so much made a great display of their strength and numbers, mustering 1,000 strong. We believe all the mills in the neighborhood were well represented.

Banners, mill, circular saw at work, etc., etc., "Deals, the Export of Saint John." Besides these the men of the Mosquito Cove mills had a private banner.

Messrs. Reid & Wright's "Black Ball Line" exhibited a banner, on the front side of which was the pioneer packet ship "Middleton," lying at the Custom House wharf discharging goods, and a screw steamer with the "Black Ball" flying at her masthead coming up the harbor. Motto, "Speed and Safety," "Trade and Emigration." Obverse, a locomotive called the "Robert Stephenson" is seen in the fore-ground, with a Black Ball packet ship and a screw propeller in the distance. Motto, "Onward: The Age of Enterprise." This was followed by about 50 seamen, the crews of the packet ships "Joseph Tarrett" and "Essex," now in port, dressed in blue shirts, white trousers and glazed hats with the Black Ball painted on the hat.

Then came the four Canadian ponies, drawing a full-rigged clipper ship named the "William Jackson," and a screw steamer with the Black Ball flying, followed by 100 men in similar dress to the seamen, comprising the discharging and loading gangs of the Black Ball line. During the progress of the procession firing was kept up from a small brass cannon on board of the "William Jackson."

The Pilots numbered 25 men strong. They appeared what they have so often proved themselves, a respectable, intelligent body, worthy of the great trust reposed in them.



The Freemasons closed the procession. There were several lodges, the members of all numbering probably 300, with their banners, emblems, badges and elaborate paraphernalia under the command of the Right Worshipful the Hon. Alexander Keith, the Grand Master.

It was after ten o'clock before all the bodies had taken up their places in the procession. The number of men who took part in it is estimated at 5,000, and with the vehicles in which some of the number of the emblems of the trades were conveyed, extended a mile and five-eighths, the whole taking an hour to pass any one place. After passing in order through a portion of Sydney, Union, Dock, Prince William, St. James, Germain, King and Charlotte streets, and the Market and King squares, the procession proceeded by the way of Brussels street to the Celebration Grounds in the Valley, near St. Paul's Church. Here a neat pavilion had been erected for the occasion on which was inscribed, "The European and North American Railway," surmounted by the City Coat of Arms and decorated with flags, evergreens and railway shovels.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and suite arrived on the grounds about one o'clock and was welcomed with a Royal salute fired by a Company of the Royal Artillery, immediately after which the President and Directors of the European and North American Railway advanced in a body, and Robert Jardine, Esq., the President, read the address:

May it please Your Excellency

The President and Directors of the European and North American Railway in New Brunswick thank Your Excellency for so promptly accepting their invitation to aid in celebrating the commencement of the great work entrusted to their charge, a work not simply of local or colonial, but, we venture to add, of national interest.

It will form a link in the mighty chain which is to bind Great Britain more closely to her colonies and perpetuate feelings of amity with the Great Republic of the Western World.

The thousands that crowd the hills around us, the deep enthusiasm pervading every class, the existing feelings of hope and pride which animate every face proclaim to all that results are anticipated from this work which language is powerless to convey. From Lake Huron to the Atlantic the course for the iron horse is laid, and the wealth which is to enable ourselves



and children to develop the rich resources of our province and to spread civilization through our broad lands comes from the homes of our fathers. Though we cannot claim the balmy air of other climes, yet Providence has placed around us in rich abundance all that can stimulate to industry and reward enterprise — exhaustless forests, rich mines, invaluable fisheries, productive fields, wide spreading rivers, and a climate healthy and invigorating. The plague and the pestilence which at periods decimate the fairest portions of the earth, the convulsions which rock mighty cities from their foundations, to us are unknown.

Our winters are severe, but they retard not our labors, and we may fairly call the attention of Your Excellency to the success which has attended the exertions of our artisans and mechanics. Our ships now hold a proud position in the mercantile marine of England and may vie with the foremost specimens of naval architecture the world has hitherto produced, our agricultural capabilities are daily becoming more apparent and when, by means of that great work the commencement of which we have met to celebrate, our facilities of intercourse shall have been increased and the tide of immigration directed to our shores, we may safely assure to the industrious immigrant a home which will leave him no cause to regret the land of his maturity.

But there are some events Your Excellency foreshadowed on this occasion which we cannot pass over in silence. At present our sister colonies and ourselves, though under the same flag and enjoying the same free institutions are comparatively strangers to each other, our interests disunited, our feelings estranged, our objects divided. From this work, from this time, these differences must pass away, a more intimate union, a more lasting intercourse, must now arise and the British provinces become a powerful, a united portion of the British Empire.

For the attainment of these great ends, the legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have wisely passed most important measures, which, preserving unfettered their revenues and without burdening their people, have nevertheless induced the eminent capitalists of England to make these provinces the field of their great railway operations, and we cannot but congratulate Your Excellency that an undertaking so auspicious of our future welfare should have been projected, fostered and matured during Your Excellency's administration of the government of the province.

In conclusion we beg to express our sincere wishes for the health and happiness of yourself, Lady Head and family, and to request that Your Excellency do now proceed to turn the first sod of the European and North American Railway.

By order of the board,

R. JARDINE, *President.*



To which His Excellency replied as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

I can assure you that it is with the most sincere pleasure and satisfaction that I have accepted your invitation to take part in the ceremonies of this day.

However unworthy I may be to represent our Sovereign on this occasion I feel sure of one thing — I can utter no wish for the prosperity of New Brunswick which is not heartily concurred in by our gracious Queen.

I am fully conscious, Sir, of the vast importance of the undertaking this day commenced. I see around us a vast multitude of men who fix their eyes on this spot as the centre from which they hope that the results of successful industry and intelligence may spread as in increasing circles throughout the length and breadth of your country. You speak of the resources of this country, I have during my stay among you seen something of these resources. I have travelled many of your forests and tracked many of your rivers. I sympathize fully with the anticipations of future prosperity which you express.

I believe that under the blessing of a gracious Providence a great future await these provinces. I earnestly pray that this railway may be one of the means for promoting so grand an object — that it may draw closer and closer, the ties of common allegiance which makes all these provinces part and parcel of the British Empire — that it may teach the people of Canada, of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island the great fact that their interests are identical, and inspire them with a desire of unity of purpose and unity of action such as has not yet existed. If these sentiments prevail, I have no fear for the future greatness of British North America. You have justly said therefore that our meeting is one not of mere local character; but there is still another point in your address which requires to be more specially noticed.

We have now the pleasure of welcoming among us a distinguished officer of the United States navy.

I rejoice in this opportunity of assuring him as the representative of his country, that we hope to find in this railway an additional pledge of perpetual friendship and mutual intercourse between two great nations. The more we know one another the more sure we are to cherish these feelings and to appreciate the benefits of commercial intercourse. Our blood and our language are one and I heartily trust, Sir, that the harmony and good feeling which now exist between us may never be broken.

It will always be a source of pleasure to me to think that I have during my administration of this province been concerned in the commencement of this railway. It will, moreover, be a further source of gratification to recollect the kindly welcome which you have this day given to myself and Lady Head and for this I desire, Sir, again heartily to thank you.





The Rev. Dr. I. A. D. Gray, Rector of Trinity Church, then offered up the following appropriate prayer in his usual eloquent and impressive style:

O Infinite God, who are most high over all the earth, who from Heaven Thy dwelling place regardest the children of men, apportioning the bounds of their habitations and measuring to them as Thou seest fit, thy manifold blessings; to Thee in all undertakings we would approach in lowly adoration, acknowledging Thee as the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, "upon whom we depend for life and breath and all things. It is by Thy Sovereign appointment, O Father of Mercies that our lot is cast where wholesome laws and equal rights and true freedom prevail; and in an age when so much is discovered and effected for the advancement of human happiness. It is from Thee, the "Fountain of Life," that wisdom entereth into the heart of man, that knowledge enriches his soul, and that through his agency blessings are multiplied around us. O grant that in the day of our prosperity we may never forget the hand that gives it, that we may ever ascribe the praise where it is justly due, remembering "that every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights." We offer to Thee our grateful praise for having so far prospered the design which has called us together on this occasion, and pray that under the blessing of thy Providence it may in due season be happily brought to its completion, and we further pray that when it is completed it may, through Thy continued favor, provide the substantial interests of our province, of our sister colonies, and of those countries beyond our Empire, with which we stand in close and amicable relations. Grant that it may advance not merely wealth and population and arts and commerce, but harmony, peace and friendly intercourse between man and man.

May that intercourse, as it extends from nation to nation, be maintained under hallowing influence of the religion of Christ, leading men of different countries to live as members of one great family under one God and Father of all until from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof "Thy name, O Most High, shall be glorified."

Finally, O Lord of Heaven and Earth, Who dwelleth in the beauties of holiness, we ask that as we have acknowledged Thy Providence in the beginning of this work, so we may Thine authority in all of the time.

May those who preside over it be influenced by the principles of pure benevolence, duly considering the interests of their fellowmen, careful in the provisions they make for the safety of human life. May they ever recognize the supremacy of Thy Law, the honor of Thy Gospel, and the pre-eminence of that Name which is above every name in Heaven and Earth; even the name of Jesus Christ, Thine Eternal Son, to Whom with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be Glory, Majesty and Dominion world without end. Amen.



After which the first sod of the European and North American Railroad was most gracefully and skilfully raised and thrown into the wheelbarrow by Lady Head, amid the vociferous cheers of the surrounding multitude within the hearing of some 18,000 to 20,000 individuals. The Masonic ceremonies usual on such occasions were performed by the Right Worshipful the Hon. A. Keith, of Halifax, Provincial Grand Master, and those having been gone through with, the whole was concluded with the singing of the 100th Psalm, accompanied by the Portland Brass Band.

His Excellency and Lady Head, with other distinguished visitors, including Commander Shubrick and other officers of the United States men-of-war *Fulton* and *Princeton*, then returned to the pavilion, when the Mayor and Common Council of the city presented the following address to His Excellency, which was read by His Worship the Mayor:

May it please Your Excellency, Mr. Mayor, Aldermen and Commonality of the city of Saint John have undue gratification in meeting Your Excellency on this interesting occasion — one full of so much hope for the future to the people of this province.

We do most sincerely congratulate Your Excellency that this great scheme of railway has been commenced and so far progressed under your administration of the government of this province, and we most sincerely hope that Your Excellency may be permitted to witness as our Lieutenant-Governor the full completion of the work and beneficial results that we have a right to expect will follow the introduction of this modern mode of locomotion — results which have been realized from the adoption of similar works in other places.

We also respectfully request through Your Excellency to be allowed to congratulate our fellow subjects in this province on our flourishing prospects and our hope of future benefit by the extension of railways in directions not now contemplated, and which will connect in iron bands with our neighbors on every side. The effect of such communications and facilities of transport will enhance the value of our productions in places where but for such facilities they would be but of little worth and cheapen that which we require to import and to distribute through the interior of our province. We also believe that with such facilities for moving people and transporting good, intelligencies will follow in the train and be extensively diffused through the length and breadth of the land, and be a greater benefit by far than the mere mercantile profit, which is so generally looked for as the grand result to be desired.



That our hopes and wishes may by the Omnipotent Power that governs all things be permitted to be realized and that the same beneficent Power may grant Your Excellency, Lady Head and your family wealth and happiness is our humble and sincere prayer.

By order of the Common Council,

JAMES OLIVE, *Mayor*.

To which His Excellency replied as follows:

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN:

It is now between five and six years I first landed in this city. At that time all interests were depressed and your commercial prospects were clouded and gloomy.

On the present auspicious occasion I see by signs which admit of no mistake this state of things has passed away.

A gracious Providence has blessed your enterprise and industry and has poured out its favors on all around us.

It is difficult for me to express the pleasure which this result inspires. I see around me the marks of comfort and prosperity which have shed their influence on the home of the ship's carpenter and the mechanic as well as on the prouder mansion of the successful merchant.

It is my earnest prayer that this prosperity may continue and that the enterprise which we this day commence may, under Providence, be the means by which wealth and intelligence are diffused throughout your land.

I agree with you that it is impossible to overcome the importance of this undertaking, and I do indeed congratulate myself that I have been permitted in the course of my administration to assist at the solemn observance of this day.

Most heartily do I thank you for your kind wishes towards myself and family and for the desire which you express for the completion of this great work.

My stay in New Brunswick depends on the commands of our gracious Queen, but whenever I may leave you and wherever I may go I shall retain a lively recollection of the welcome which you have this day given me on the part of the City of Saint John.

The Governor then retired and the assemblage commenced to disperse, the various trades reforming in line and marching through Portland, Dock and King streets to King Square, where they separated.



## THE WHEELBARROW AND THE SPADE

The Wheelbarrow and the Spade used at the first turning of the sod were in appearance quite in keeping with the other arrangements required for the celebration of the auspicious event, both being unique and beautiful in design and workmanship.

The barrow in outline represented the form of a lion, the forepaws grasping the spindle of the wheel, the hinder feet answering the supports to the barrow, the tail with its graceful curves forming the handles. The outsides and feet of the barrow are of black walnut richly carved, the inner sides and end being birdseye maple. The bottom is of butternut, thus affording a combination of woods peculiarly pleasing from the contrast they exhibit.

The wheel of the barrow is of black walnut, encircled by a brass rim which with other castings used in its construction were from the brass foundry of Mr. Hayward. The blending of the different woods were happy and effective, the black walnut of which the exterior is composed being the growth of our sister Province of Canada, while the birdseye maple interior and the butternut bottom on which the first sod was placed are the woods of our own province.

The Spade in design is both elegant and substantial, presenting in its appearance beauty and utility combined. The blade is of polished steel manufactured by E. J. W. Broad of this city. The handle is of black walnut, handsomely carved. In the centre of the carving is a silver shield, the manufacture of Mr. John Barry, which relieves and forms a beautiful contrast with the dark wood by which it is surrounded. The woodwork of the wheelbarrow and spade was manufactured at the cabinet making establishment of Messrs. J. & G. Lawrence and are splendid specimens of their workmanship.

As we understand that for the present the wheelbarrow and spade will be deposited in the museum of the Mechanics' Institute, it will be needless for us to enlarge further on the subject





than to advise all who are desirous to see these beautiful implements to avail themselves of the opportunity that will be offered them for so doing.

### THE LUNCHEON

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor arrived at the Custom House Building at a quarter before 3 p. m., and at 3 the doors of the banquet room were opened. It is calculated that upwards of 700 persons were present. The chair was filled by R. Jardine, Esq., President of the E. and N. A. R. Co. On his right sat His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Betts, Mr. Neal, of Portland, etc., and on his left Commodore Shubrick, William Jackson, Esq., M. P.; John A. Poor, Esq., Hon. J. W. Johnston, Esq., late Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, etc.

Among the strangers present besides Messrs. Jackson and Betts, were Capt. Lethess, London; Mr. Bidder, Superintendent of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada; Mr. Roberts, Engineer; Hon. Adam Firrie, Canada; J. D. Gibb, Esq., Montreal; Mr. Morris, Montreal; Mr. Clapham, Quebec; Mr. McIntosh, Toronto; Mr. Ravenal, South Carolina; Mr. Thresher, New Orleans; Hon. Ruel Williams, Augusta, Me.; the Mayor of Portland, Me.; Mr. Morton, C. E.; Mr. Bailley, New York; John Neal, Esq., Portland; Ald. Furbish, Col. Thomas Warren, Hon. B. McCable, Mr. Edward D. Upham, Mr. F. B. Liddy, Mr. W. Kershall, (Canal Bank), Mr. W. B. Benson, Mr. Joseph Ring, Mr. Sowerby, members of the City Council, Portland; the Mayor of Calais, Me.; Judge Chandler, Calais, Me.; Hon. George Downs, Mr. E. Barnard, Calais, Me.; Mr. Pike, ex-Mayor; Col. Bian Bradbury, Collector, Eastport; Mr. A. Hayden, Mr. J. Shadod, R. Charborne, Hon. Freeman H. Morse, Mr. Levi H. Lowell, Calais; Hon. Alexander Keith, Halifax; Hon. J. E. Fairbanks, Halifax; Hon. Statet Brown, Yarmouth; Hon. John Morton, Cornwallis; George E. Morton, Halifax; Henry Fryer, Esq., Halifax; John W. Cade, M. P. P., Digby; Thomas Killam, M. P. P., Yarmouth; Hon. Mr. Coles, Prince



Edward Island; Doctor Courey; members of the Executive Council of New Brunswick, several members of the Legislative Council, Hon. D. Hanington, Speaker and nearly all the members of the Assembly, the Mayor and Corporation of Saint John, judges and high sheriffs of several counties, several officers of the U. S. frigates Princeton and Fulton, several officers of the Garrison, Mr. King, contractor for the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway; Mr. Beatteay, C. E.; Mr. Giles and the engineers of the E. and N. A. R. Co., etc.

After partaking of the repast, the first toast given was, of course, "The Queen," which was drunk with all possible honor and amid enthusiastic cheers.

His Excellency Sir Edmund Head then rose and said that he did not rise for the purpose of repeating the expression of his gratification on this occasion, or of again asserting the great pleasure he felt in viewing what he saw around him, because he had already told them to-day what his feelings were. But he would remark that when he first came here, six years ago, the state of the province was very different from what it now is. Some change had taken place since then. He had watched its progress with great satisfaction, and this feeling came with double force when he witnessed the kindness, the cordiality and friendliness which had been displayed on this great occasion.

He could only say that his own opinion of the importance of this meeting had not been exaggerated and he looked forward with the utmost confidence to the future prosperity of New Brunswick in connection with the proceedings of this day. He had already uttered on paper and read to them this morning his sentiments on this subject, but he had thought it right now to repeat in a more familiar manner that those written remarks were his own genuine sentiments. There was now present very near him a gentleman of well known ability and prominence from the sister Province of Nova Scotia, who had witnessed the memorable proceedings of this day, and he (Sir E. H.) wished that that gentleman might carry away with him an earnest hope that a unanimity of action should now prevade all the British American Provinces, and that New Brunswick, Nova Scotia,



Prince Edward Island and Canada should be proud of the collective name of British North America. But not to be mistaken he must observe that he was far from entertaining any feeling but that of the greatest friendship towards our neighbors on the western border, of whom such a distinguished member and officer (alluding to Commodore Shubrick, who sat near His Excellency), was now present. It was our duty and our interest to cherish the feeling and the hope that peace between Great Britain and the United States should be perpetual, so that the advantages respectively possessed by the two countries might be perpetually interchanged. Respect for law and order was a characteristic of both countries and he hoped that the conduct of all on both sides the border would continually show that they all belonged to the same race. These were sentiments intimately connected with the railway scheme which was hereafter to form an iron link between these provinces and the United States, and by means of which facilities for intercommunication were to be extended in both directions. His Excellency concluded amidst thunders of applause by proposing the health of the President of the United States, which was immediately drunk with all possible honor and vociferous acclamation.

The chairman then gave as a toast Commodore Shubrick and the United States Navy.

The gallant commander on rising to respond observed that as far as the toast was personal to himself he could give nothing in return but his thanks. With regard to the navy of the United States perhaps it did not become him to say much. At home they usually called it "The Infant Navy," and he supposed it was considered as an infant Hercules. It was very far from a full grown Hercules at present and therefore they must have the infant gradually to develop himself. But he would say a word or two about the service to which he belonged. A very extravagant idea existed in the United States of the state of the fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of the state of affairs between the fishermen of these provinces and the fishermen of the United States. It was supposed they were all preparing to cut each other's throats, that swivels, bowie-knives and revolvers



were the order of the day among these and that therefore it was necessary to send vessels of war on both sides to keep the peace. But he found no such thing when he came among them. He found them fishing together side by side, in perfect amity and if anything annoyed them it was that the men-of-war came there with their revolvers and paddle wheels to scare the fish and hinder their business. And what did he find when he came here? On returning from a short cruise and on his way home his anchor had hardly touched ground when a committee came on board to invite himself and his officers to be present on this interesting occasion. For his part there was nothing farther from his thoughts than the being so invited. He had not thought about the subject and therefore he was prepared to say but very little about it.

But he found the people here preparing to build a railway to bind the State of Maine, and if the State of Maine then the whole of the United States (because they were all united together as one and individual) to the Province of New Brunswick. The railroad was a necessary consequence of their natural position and connection. The provinces and states were naturally one in interest and in sympathy. You could not separate them, immaginary geographical line could not do it. God had made them one, and those whom God had joined together man could not separate. There might be, as doubtless there were, points of differences between the different peoples and their institutions and customs, but these must be worn down and gradually assimilated. It was the business of those who made the laws to do this, he did not know how it was to be done, but he supposed it would be done and he thought the time was not far distant when it would be effected. He would not detain the company any longer in saying what might be much better said by others present, but he would beg leave to offer a sentiment, viz.: "Prosperity to the Great European and American Railroad."

After the gallant commander's toast had been duly honored the chairman proposed Our Sister Provinces and Our Guests.

A unanimous call was immediately for the Hon. J. W. Johnston, late Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, to respond to





this toast, who accordingly rose for the purpose. Commencing, however, in a low tone of voice, we could not distinctly hear the honorable gentleman's first words and repeatedly through his long and eloquent speech the buzzing of subdued conversation in the room prevented many observations from reaching us.

Mr. Johnston, after noticing the gratifying manner in which he had been called upon observed that he thought he might say on behalf of all the sister provinces that the kind sentiment expressed in the toast was entirely reciprocated by them and would be gratefully acknowledged.

On behalf of Nova Scotia he could say with more assurance and on the part of himself with the most grateful and heartfelt thankfulness. It was impossible to witness the celebration of this day without having prominently brought to memory the meeting three years since, a meeting which had justly filled a large space in the celebrations of the day at that time; because unquestionably, at that Convention of Portland the ground was prepared and the seed was sown which they had seen to-day brought to successful germination and he looked forward and saw it advancing to maturity and crowned with fruit of great abundance, he could feel expectations of highest order, but they must still look backward to the Convention of Portland as having been the great originator of this scheme. Sagacious minds had there formed the great idea which the minds assembled here were now prepared to carry into operation. Persevering energy had been put forth for the purpose of maturing the great scheme and those present would recognize the Convention of Portland as having devised and originated it.

The great undertaking was not one of provincial but national interest. Of the three parties who met at Portland, New Brunswick had the honor of being the first to carry out her part of the arrangement. For a short time, perhaps, she had faltered from the principles which should actuate Colonists, viz., the duty and necessity of being the carvers of their own fortunes; but under happy auspices and under powerful and friendly influences and assistance she was brought back in due time to her first purpose and now with her company formed, her legis-



lation matured and her arrangements made she was seen engaged in carrying on the work. (After some other observations in the same strain which had not perfectly reached us, Mr. J. continued.) Another of the parties of the Portland Convention, the State of Maine, had the honor of originating this great scheme and at the time when the Convention met she had already taxed her energies to the promotion of the great work. Since then she had slackened in her efforts but he now looked upon her as a giant refreshed (he would not say with wine) and to her eternal honor she had lately redeemed all her pledge and was now fully prepared to go forth to the completion of her work and assuredly from the energy, perseverance and skill which she had exhibited we might feel full of confidence that her course in future would be marked with the like energy and determination. Of the third party of that convention (Nova Scotia) perhaps it might be as well that he should say nothing. (Laughter.) But if clouds and darkness hung over her head they were but the natural concomitants of the political differences which had disturbed her repose and impeded her progress. But might we not take hope the same energies and principles which had been witnessed elsewhere, would hereafter so effectually work that railway committees of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would fairly work together and as the rainbow brilliancy emanates from the darkest clouds we might hope that the future of Nova Scotia would equally evince a brilliancy in striking contrast with the past. It would not become him to say much of the benefit which New Brunswick would be likely to derive from this railroad, but there were some prominent features which could not escape notice. The work which was this day begun was indeed desired to minister to the benefit and progress of this province.

He saw on the northern border a land superabundantly fertile, waters teeming with fish and throughout the province extensive and valuable forests. Yet as regards the wealth and prosperity of New Brunswick these resources had hitherto been comparatively ineffectual; but the railroad was destined to render them fertile and productive in the highest degree. Could



it be doubted that when the railroad should be completed the waters and the coasts, the bays and the rivers and the forests and the lands of this province will be rendered increasingly and abundantly profitable, and that this great work will therefore be a universal benefit as regards the province and of particular benefit as regards the City of Saint John. It would be so undoubtedly, and who would doubt that these benefits being brought to Saint John could stimulate the energies of the citizens.

And who that had seen the energy, the industry and the public spirit manifested by them on this great occasion could doubt that they are prepared to exert themselves so wisely and so well as to reach that position which the good Providence of God (he believed) was about to place within their reach. But there was one aspect to which the consideration of provincial railways was to be presented that in his mind had always thrown almost into the shade commercial and material advantages. He must be blind who had not eyes to see the manifold instruments which the Providence of God is at this moment using for the purpose of bringing into connection the divided families of men. He (nor I) had always considered it was one of the most honorable characteristics of the railroad that it was planned and conceived by men who belonged to different governments and countries and it was so planned for the purpose of bringing them into closer connection with each other. But there was also an aspect of a minor character which touched his mind. He looked upon railroads being formed in all these provinces as highly necessary agencies in affecting a measure which was of the first importance in the prosperity of British North America. He referred notably to the union of these provinces by the material iron band, but also to a closer union of confederation as one colony. To his mind the advantages from such a measure, both as regards our position with reference to foreign countries, as regards our Parent State and as regards ourselves, would be so great that he considered this as a measure of supreme and overwhelming importance. Indeed, he had not eyes to see nor ears to hear, nor judgment to understand any objection to a scheme so palpably fraught with benefit to these provinces.



It might seem out of place that he as an inhabitant of one of the smaller provinces should venture to advocate such a scheme. He remembered that some years ago when certain delegates from Canada came to Halifax he was very much amused to perceive that arguments from the little Province of Nova Scotia were looked upon pretty much as a young man with a little purse would be looked upon by his elder brother with a full one. It was just at the time when the spoils from the casual revenues had been realized. The delegates were rather purse-proud, and it seemed to be thought rather presumptuous for Nova Scotia to utter an opinion. But he trusted that a time was now coming when all prejudices and all local influences would be forgotten, that Canada would overcome all such distinctiveness and that association with her sister colonies of smaller means and dimensions would even by her be looked upon with favor and Mr. Johnston viewed the railroad as a measure of the first importance in effecting such a connection. Mr. Johnston then proceeded in humorous style to compare the efforts of small countries to enhance their own consequence and magnify their dimensions to what is commonly seen when a being of less than ordinary dimensions and stature endeavors to make up for his miniature size by assuming a straightened figure, a pompous strut and a look of importance, and argued that such was often the effect of small colonies in their individual politic efforts. But when these provinces shall become united in one — under one sovereign indeed, as at present, but also under one general local government — under the same laws and institutions, and actuated by the same interests and policy; and when we see them respected in such a confederation by the other nations of the earth as inhabitant of such a country I will feel that there will be necessity for making himself of importance for the purpose of giving himself his just position in the world. He (Mr. Johnston) looked on the work of this day with a double interest because wherever railways were spoken of with interest in British North America this question of amity and connection was mixed up with them; and they were looked upon with greater and double interest as being a joint work, better than





anything we could individually accomplish. He most earnestly hoped and prayed on behalf of those whom he represented that this great work would fulfil the largest expectations of those concerned in it and that they would justify themselves most signally by their ultimate success.

The Hon. Mr. Coles of Prince Edward Island next spoke, but there was such a confused noise of conversation all around that we could hear but few of the honorable gentleman's remarks.

We understood Mr. Coles to observe that Prince Edward Island could necessarily take no further part in this railway than to appreciate its importance and benefits. That colony would benefit by it from the increased connection and traffic which it will create between the Island and this province. The people of Prince Edward Island appreciated the enterprise of those of New Brunswick in carrying out an undertaking in which they had sacrificed all political differences to effect. All parties had united in this work, and it was gratifying to him this day to see the bone and sinew of New Brunswick turning out with unanimity and heartiness to do honor to this great occasion. He believed that those who had so turned out felt as he felt, that this great work would be a lasting benefit to all. It would be a lasting benefit to Prince Edward Island and to all these provinces. The Islanders had heretofore been in the habit of exporting their produce to Halifax, whence it was reshipped to New Brunswick, but for the last few years he said they had found a direct market for themselves in Saint John; and whereas their exports in 1848 were valued at £140,000 in 1852 they amounted to £800,000. They found in New Brunswick a ready market for all their produce; all they wanted was a market, and that market would be vastly increased by the facilities afforded by the railroad. Then Mr. Coles made some further observations of a similar nature which the increasing murmurs of conversation prevented further hearing.

Dr. Conroy, of P. E. Island, then rose, but the same difficulty prevented our catching many of his remarks. Dr. C. eulogized Mr. Johnston's speech and hoped that all the provinces would unite heart and hand in making us one people. He felt that



"little shall I grace any cause in speaking of myself," but he could not but feel that he spoke today with more pride than ever he spoke before. He felt proud of being a humble link in the chain — the railway chain — that will bind us all together in bonds of amity. Dr. C. also eloquently expressed his sense of the spirited and amicable proceedings of the day, and the patriotic and loyal sentiments that had been uttered, which, he said, made him feel proud of being a British subject, and he trusted that a truly British heart would be found as prevalent in Prince Edward Island as many others had of the British Dominions (the conversational confusion around us was such, however, that we could not catch the concluding observations of Dr. C.)

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor then rose and said that there appeared to be one omission in the toasts, not because the persons had been forgotten or their services not appreciated; these services had been attended to by the learned gentleman from Nova Scotia, when he said that the man must be blind who could not see that the nations of the world were being drawn closer together; new ties were being formed and who were forming these ties? How were these ties being made? To whom were we in this province indebted for them? Whose fostering care was it to which we might look forward for these hopes to be realized? It was the aid and assistance of British capitalists brought forward and offered when we were almost despairing of success in this enterprise. If the capital were drawn entirely from our own resources either our commerce must for a time stand still, or we must put an end to all other enterprises. Unless this capital came into the country (as it had come on terms which would prove doubly advantageous) how were we to get the money for any public works? If a man had £500 or £1,000 which he thought he might invest in railway works he must draw it from his bank or from the merchant who had it in use, and thus his capital would be thrown out of profitable employment. Other operations must in the meantime stand still, if we could not get the money for such public works externally. Therefore, said His Excellency, "You and your



sons (for I have no personal interest in the matter as I do not belong to the province") will look forward with thankfulness to those gentlemen who have come forward at this moment to your aid, in this great and important work.

Two of them are present here today; they are largely engaged in other projects of a similar nature, not only here but in other countries as well as elsewhere on this continent, and I think it incumbent on us to express our sense of their valuable services by drinking the health of Messrs. Peto Brassey-Betts and Jackson.

After the toast was proposed by His Excellency had been drunk with enthusiastic and continued applause, Mr. Jackson rose and replied as follows:

In acknowledging the toast which has been proposed by so illustrious an individual and received in such a gratifying manner, I feel some difficulty; but I do not feel any difficulty in expressing the gratification which my partners and myself have experienced in witnessing the efforts made co-operating with us in this enterprise. We have seen a will, a heart thrown into the whole of your operations and a fixity of purpose which can only end in one way. That gives to us who may be said to be the capitalists alluded to by His Excellency (and I speak with diffidence and deference and representing the capitalists of England). It gives to us a confidence greater than I can express. It gives us an assurance that among you the general benefit is to be considered before the private interests; it gives us an assurance that the same spirit will be acted upon throughout and that every man will patiently wait for his turn to come before thinking of self. I came here last year a stranger, I came quite unprepared to see what I have seen; I came as a practical man versed in commercial affairs, and having for thirty-six years been hard at work at the plough. I came to see and hear and learn, but all that I have heard or read of or seen or witnessed does not come up to what I have seen in these British provinces.

Here (Mr. Jackson) was interrupted by a long roar of vehement applause.

I came here that I might be useful — first, to myself, don't be mistaken; I did not come here on the narrow minded principle of merely selfish interest, regardless of others, but working on the true principle that he who works for himself can only do so effectually not by working at the cost of others but for the benefit of others. I have travelled through all these provinces and I will challenge any man in this room to say that he has gone through all the same districts, that he has seen the same scenery or witnessed as much of



these provinces as I have. I have gone through them on the principle that my friends and partners will ask me on my return "Have you seen all these things that you speak of?" and I am prepared to say "I have." To use an American piece of phraseology, "I am properly posted up."

Your wives and babies are unequalled; your forests and fisheries are inexhaustible; your soil is fat, producing subsistence for man even while he is destroying it, for in these young countries man destroys while he creates. Your indomitable self-will and energy are beyond all praise and will assuredly lead you on to prosperity and wealth. One portion of your great province is a fertile producer of food; another portion produces every mineral necessary to the interests of mankind, and these want only the combination of one with another, the uniting of them together, to render them abundantly available. You have within you the means of attaining a great greatness and you must attain it. Therefore when I came here last year I did not hesitate in meeting your wishes, in promoting your interests and in making a profit for ourselves.

That profit may be long in coming, but our children will enjoy it, and the principal being in honest hands we may safely trust it with you. I took the measure of New Brunswick, of Nova Scotia and of Canada. I said: "It will never do for conflicting interests to exist here, the work can only be done by a combination of all the provinces." It was said there would be difficulties in New Brunswick. I saw none. In Canada there was much greater difficulties; there were conflicting interests to be reconciled, there were the jealousies of various localities to be overcome. But what has happened there? We have brought about the amalgamation of the whole: all these interests are now united. There is not one of them that is not satisfied: all are united in one great combination to carry out the whole project.

There are many in this room who can witness that I have never lost sight of the Lower Provinces or of your interests.

You have only occasion to sink your own local differences, all your conflicting prejudices and feelings. Do not look at this district or at that district, but at the whole province. Let us feel that New Brunswick without Maine is useless, let the iron band move over all alike, and you will find that yourselves will be infinitely greater and more prosperous than can now be conceived. The works in Nova Scotia will be simple and easily effected. We have thought it our duty to lay before you a comprehensive scheme, and I intend to do so before I go away from hence to entreat you to sink all your differences and to establish a railroad through the northern and the southern districts of this province. No doubt many of you have read the speech of that eminent man, Mr. Stephenson, at Toronto. He spoke impressively of the folly of legislation which has been experienced in these matters in the Mother Country, arising from conflicting interests, and legislation and legal expenses he showed that from sixty to seventy millions of money have been thrown away in these contests. Now, you cannot afford that. We came here courting no man's favor and fearing no man's frown. We have had





railway experience in every part of Europe and are therefore well versed in the business; and in this undertaking, of which the first sod has been turned today, we feel that we have a right to speak. We have a right to give our views clearly and explicitly. They are not the views of today or of a few days, but the views of every day since I left you last year.

We have also since then taken the views and opinions of others, of men of eminent experience and judgment, and we can only say that if dropping all local feelings and differences, and forgetting all sectional prejudices you will unite together, with us, we will carry the whole thing through for you. But there must be no want of confidence, for that we will not overlook. We stand on our character and if you dispute that you drive us out of the country. We stand on that and we have a right to it, for we have earned it by long experience and practice. We will stand on the scheme advanced by Mr. Poor at Portland. You must give a little now that you may reap much. We will carry the railroad through the whole of your province, which will redound immensely to the good of all. I am glad to see many here from various parts of the province apparently approving of our propositions. But if you think you can do better, then at once tear off the seals from the contract and annul it. But there is not one single word of that contract which we will ever deviate from in the slightest degree; and under that contract we will make a railroad through your province which will be a pattern card for your sister province to come and look at. We will deal with you as we have ever dealt with others and will come to you with our character in our hands requiring your entire confidence. Every thing that we have hitherto done in New Brunswick shows that we have the fullest confidence in you. We believe that there is a fixity of purpose in you worthy of being trusted, and one great proof of that is that the right and hard bargain that you have made with us. That we consider as a guarantee of your entire sincerity and good faith. (Here from the bustle around us we lost a few words.)

I do hope and trust that this railroad, which will unite the provinces, will have the effect that has been shadowed forth by previous speakers.

I have heard but one feeling in Canada, of a desire to meet this question fully, fairly and freely; and I think it but right to state that if ever you come to meet this question of provincial union, Canada is prepared to do her duty; and I believe that Nova Scotia is equally prepared. I have had the honor of interviews with the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on this subject, and think I may say that the project is favorably viewed by the government at home.

In Canada, so strong is the desire to open further and more rapid communication between the provinces that Canada is prepared to make great sacrifices to effect this measure.

If you are prepared to meet her in a kindred spirit; if you will only forget the past and will only endeavor to remember what will benefit all the provinces unitedly there can be but little doubt of a successful arrangement of



the matter. I can tell you that your honest indomitable perseverance and industry have given you a high character in Canada; and if you only go on in the same way you will effect a most important change in your situation. You have a land teeming with riches; you have within yourselves resources of unparalleled extent and value, and if you only go on in the right spirit you will leave to those who are to follow you such an inheritance and possession as any portion of the world might envy; and if you meet Canada in that spirit your united efforts and resources must result in rapid prosperity and greatness.

I may not have another opportunity of paying my respects to so many of the inhabitants of your province, but I feel assured that when we meet again I shall feel at home among you; and it will give me the greatest pleasure to meet again. When I come again I hope that all will meet together with good feeling and unanimity; that all will act together with good intention to unite in promoting the permanent prosperity of the province at large, which will assuredly promote our own individuality. The surest way to attain our ends is to study the good of the public at large in all our projects and enterprises.

Mr. Jackson sat down amid thunders of applause, which were repeated again and again.

Immediately after which His Excellency Sir Edmund Head and suite, the American naval officers and many others retired at 20 minutes past 5 p. m.

Hon. J. H. Gray proposed the health of John A. Poor, Esq., which was drunk with enthusiasm.

Mr. Poor rose to respond and observed that not one now present could look forward to any expectation of witnessing another occasion like this, which had brought them together. He might well feel proud of having taken any part in a measure which had united on an occasion like this so large an assemblage from so many different quarters for one great purpose. The Portland convention was a kind of "love at first sight." When first they met together they felt all the tenderness, all the differences, all the blushing bashfulness of young lovers. They looked forward with diffidence when they made their first proposition. But how had that call been responded to? His own noble government on one side and the noble provincial government on the other side had made mutual advances, and he looked forward with confidence that the two countries would soon be indissolubly united. A little further courtship might



do them no harm, but he looked forward with confidence to a connection which would render them inseparably one. He might perhaps be misunderstood; he was no politician he hoped, and expected that the present political relations between the two countries might long continue. The great and glorious government under which he lived owed to the parent country those institutions and principles which had made the United States what they now are, which had reversed the figures of their number and increased them from thirteen to thirty-one, and he believed that if it had not been for the presence of a greater power on this continent the United States would not have been what they now are, because they would not have had the stimulus and emulation which have actuated them. He believed that under the providence of God they owed more to the government of New Brunswick than to all the other provinces put together from the continual intercourse and traffic between the two countries. The people of both owned a common origin, they had a common interest and a common destiny. They were bound to become one in all those purposes for which life was to be desired. This was not a question of government, of politics or of banner. On one side the glorious banner waved which for a thousand years had braved the battle and the breeze; on the other side was the glorious flag of the thirty-one stars, in all its beauty and splendor and the adherents of both felt that they both belonged to the same family, they were kith and kin of the same blood, and it behooved them to keep together for all national and beneficial purposes. If he had only lived to see this day he would say that he had not lived in vain. The ties which had long existed between the two countries, ties social and commercial, would now be commended, the proceedings of this day would strengthen those ties of friendship and good feeling that ought ever to prevail between them. He could not but congratulate his own countrymen and those of this province. What had they seen today for the first time? A great international communion.

From the farthest States of the South, from the oldest State in the Union (South Carolina) and from the youngest State of



the Union, members of their respective populations this day formed part of this great aggregation of a kindred race they meet together as part and parcel of the great scheme which was begun on the eighteenth July, 1850. They all had a common origin, a common interest and let that community of feeling continue forever. Let them each like the stars that travel in the heavens round the Sun as their common centre regard with one common feeling Old England as their parent and their centre of attraction. They all wanted the products of each others territories, let them that reciprocity commodities be extended and they would all enjoy together the rich products of the north. (Long continued applause here drowned the voice of the speaker during several sentences.) They knew that to a few sturdy minds who never had faltered they owed this great project which they had now seen promoted and established this day. The various parties concerned in the project had been gloriously represented here today but he wanted to hear from the different States whose citizens were now here present. He would therefore propose as a toast the Union of the States, the Union of the Provinces and the common interests of all.

In reply to this toast Mr. J. W. Thrasher of New Orleans, rose, but from the causes already mentioned we can give but a slight sketch of his excellent speech. Mr. Thrasher said he was here from one of the most Southern portions of the American Union and representing one of the most advanced portions of what is called Young America, for the purpose of uniting with New Brunswick in the measure which had brought this assembly together, that of making the first stroke in the European and North American Railway. No one came with more cheerful heart and willing feet than he did. The people of the South contemplated with no petty jealousy the great scheme of those of this province were now carrying out.

(After some figurative observation on this point, Mr. Thrasher proceeded to say that.) The ties that were now being created between the countries would bring them nearer to Old England, and with carrying out the views which most of the South had been accused of having entertained, and Young America hailed





with delight the event which the present assembly were now about to commemorate. He would not now touch on abstract principles, but on the practical working of such deeds as they had that day seen done. The new lights of civilizations which were now dawning on the world taught us that true patriotism did not consist in a blind egotistical love of country, to the exclusion of all other feelings and principles; but in the increase of mutual ties of interest and concord; in the augmentation of the reward and dignity of labor; in the diffusion of knowledge and power; in the extension of the rights and principles which first saw the light of day at Runnymede in the government and elevation of man in the broader career of human progress. These were the principles which he hoped to see carried out not only on the northern frontier, but on the southern boundaries of the United States and even in that Isle whose shores and whose sons he loved so well. Cuba had already tasted some of these sweets of progress. Her railroad now extended hundreds of miles; her steam and water power were seen on every hand; the issues of her press elevated more widely among her people than those of the Mother Country did among hers; and the products of her industry were found in every part of Christendom; and having tasted some of the sweets of progress she longed for the whole benefit of its commission. They all knew that those high principles of Young America could not be carried out at all times and by all means (other than peaceful means might be necessary and would that it were not so) but none the less did Young America hail the event and commemoration of this day. We had formed here today a tripartite convention which should endure to the end of time. He could not forget in this auspicious moment his native state and the part she had taken in this great enterprise, the Pine Tree State had taken the lead in this noble enterprise and might she ever lead where the nations would proudly follow. He rejoiced on the occasion of forming such ties of amity which should ever characterize the communications between our respective countries; the principles which engendered them were of the highest and most enlightened order and



he might well exclaim "How beautiful are the feet of those on the mountains who bring glad tidings with great joy."-- "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

Mr. W. Jack then made a few observations to the hospitality of the Ladies of Portland to the visitors from New Brunswick at the Convention of 1850 and proposed as a toast, The Ladies of the "State of Maine."

The toast was pleasantly responded to by John Neal, Esq., of Portland, and in the course of his remarks, he observed that there was one aspect of the times which had not been touched upon. There was a cloud gathering in the north (of Europe), a great battle was yet to be fought, and where the legions of the north should be in the field, England and America must be found side by side; they must trust each other and co-operate together. Let there be perpetual peace between these two great nations, their people must all become preachers of peace, that was the doctrine for them and for their children. Those now present had heard the gallant Commodore Shubrick state how peacefully he found their fishermen employed in amity and good-fellowship; although the newspapers, those privileged ruffians, represented such a totally different state of things. He (Mr. N.) had actually heard that the other day an American fisherman entered complaints before the authorities here against Commodore Shubrick, supposing him to be a British Commander. (Laughter). To find these naval commodores laying their ships side by side in friendly communion, preaching peace to all around, ought to fill all of our hearts with thankfulness and urge us to re-echo the sentiments that had just been uttered -- "Peace on earth, good-will towards men."

After the above, the Mayor of Portland, the Hon. J. H. Gray, Mr. King, (the contractor for the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway), John Wilson, Esq., the Hon. John Robertson, Mr. S. Binney and the Hon. E. B. Chandler briefly addressed the remaining guests, but we could no longer see to take notes.

The health of the chairman was proposed by John Kerr, Esq., and responded to, when the party separated, apparently much pleased with the entertainment.



## THE FIREWORKS

Commenced about seven o'clock with signal rockets in the triangular field at the top of Jeffrey's Hill. This part of the fete was under the management of Messrs. S. K. Foster and Charles V. Foster, who deserve great credit for their exertions in the matter, as the display gave general satisfaction to the assembled thousands. About half-past seven some of the finer pieces were concluded. The following is the list of pieces:

Rockets, single and in fights, from half a pound to six pounds. Palm trees, with wheels of variegated fires. Crown, variegated fire. Plough, variegated fire. Maid of the Mist. Polka Pigeons. Mechanic's Arm with Hammer, variegated colors. Great Railway piece with motto, Success to the Great Railway Battery, filled with serpents. The Palm Trees were ignited by the Pigeons which were sent to them from the opposite side of the field. This operation seemed to please the spectators very much.

## THE BALL

The new building recently erected by Mr. Stewart for a foundry and named for the once "The Railway Pavilion," situated near the Valley Church, was fitted up on the occasion as a ball-room in the most beautiful manner, the sides of the main apartments being lined with glazed cotton — pink, blue and white alternately. It was brilliantly illuminated with gas, which added greatly to the general effect. A temporary gallery for the musicians was fitted up at one end of the building, and a raised platform with couches on the opposite side was fitted up for His Excellency and Lady and other distinguished guests. The pillars and beams were also gaily decorated with flowers and spruce and we feel confident in stating that it would have been very difficult to have fitted up a more magnificent ball-room even for Royalty. Shortly after nine o'clock the company began to assemble, when dancing commenced and was kept up with great spirit, and by half-past ten the pavilion appeared to be quite full. About this time there were about 800 persons present and the scene was most imposing. On the raised platform stood His Excellency and Lady, surrounded by his suite,



Commodore Shubrick and officers of the American squadron, and a number of elegantly dressed ladies, while the centre portion of the pavilion was crowded with the dancers, among whom might be seen many beautiful ladies, as also officers in uniform. The band of H. M. 76th Regiment occupied the gallery, and we need not inform our readers that the music was highly appreciated. A building near the pavilion was set apart as a refreshment room, where the company adjourned from time to time as they felt inclined, and enjoyed delicacies of the season, and for those who preferred it, there was plenty of sparkling champagne and other wines. A portion of the building was set apart for a dressing room for the ladies, and a card room was provided for the gentlemen. We regret to state, however, that about one o'clock in the morning, and just when the company was beginning to break up after spending the most agreeable evening of one of the most brilliant days ever witnessed in New Brunswick, the gallery occupied by the band gave way, the beam supporting it breaking completely through the middle at a place which it was afterwards found out had been worm eaten. Some of the ladies standing in that locality were severely injured. Mr. Rainford, a young gentleman in the Hon. John Robertson's office, was knocked on the head by the main beam in its fall and was carried away quite insensible, in which state he lay for several hours. There were some medical gentlemen present who were unremitting in their attentions to those who were injured. The scene which ensued beggars description, some ladies fainted, while others were running eagerly about to see if any of their relatives and friends had suffered injury. After some time, however, order was restored and the company quietly dispersed, with many regrets that this accident should have occurred at the conclusion of the festivities of the day. We learn that Mr. Rainsford is much better, and that good hopes are entertained of his recovery. It is extremely fortunate that the accident happened so late in the evening, when the number present was comparatively few, and it is surprising that although all the bandsmen fell or slid down to the floor, none of them received more than slight bruises.





LIFE AND TIMES OF DR. JOHN CALEFF, A PROMINENT  
LOYALIST

BY HENRY WILMOT

In beginning this paper it may be well briefly to refer to conditions prevailing in the American Colonies during the Revolution.

The position of the Loyalists after the Declaration of Independence was indeed a painful one and showed the impossibility of neutrality.

Probably a large portion of the American people would gladly have remained neutral, but the Declaration left no neutrals, he who opposed independence became, *ipso facto*, an enemy of liberty.

Frequently members of the same family joined opposite sides resulting in the deplorable misery of fratricidal strife. Thus by the action of Congress, thousands of peace loving citizens were classed as enemies, rebels and even traitors, because they declined to relinquish their rights as British subjects, and swear allegiance to a new and self-constituted authority.

Dr. John Caleff, the subject of this sketch, son of Robert and Margaret Stanniford Caleff, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in August, 1725. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, a distinguished divine at that period of colonial history. She lived but a short time, dying at the early age of twenty-two years. In 1750 he married Dorothy, daughter of Rev. Jedidiah Jewett and Elizabeth Dummer his wife, both of Rowley, Mass.

The records in the family Bible, now in the possession of Miss Helen Mowat of Beech Hill, St. Andrews, show there were eleven children by this marriage, of whom this narrative chiefly concerns Mehitable, fifth daughter, born in 1768 and who married Captain David Mowat of St. Andrews.

It may be stated here, that Dr. Caleff was connected by birth or marriage with many of the best families of the colonial



period, and notwithstanding the unpopularity of such a course, he steadfastly adhered to his convictions, and was loyal to his King first, last and for all time, as his grandfather Robert had been in his stand against the witchcraft delusion of that period.

He was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature at the date of the Revolution; and was one of the seven famous Recinders.

As a result of his activities on the Royalist side, he was proclaimed a traitor, and later on a large price was set upon his head. Before the removal of his family from Massachusetts Dr. Caleff was sent by the Penobscot Loyalist Association on a delegation to England, with the object of establishing the Penobscot River as the north-eastern boundary between British and American territory, a number of Loyalists had settled along the latter river, supposing they would be within British territory, but later on were compelled to remove to St. Andrews and other places further north. He remained in England two years and had been very hopeful of success for some time, when, on a certain morning, upon entering the office of Lord North, Premier of Great Britain, who had used his utmost influence in support of the Penobscot boundary, he was greeted by the latter with the exclamation, "Doctor, doctor, we cannot secure the boundary, the pressure is too strong."

Just here, a brief reference to the boundary question may be in order. The American plan in dealing with Great Britain, seems to have been to claim, in the first instance, everything in sight, on the principle of "heads we win tails you lose" afterwards, generously conceding something.

The dispute over the Oregon territory began in 1827 and was not finally settled until 1846. The extremists in Congress claimed the whole Pacific coast up to Russian territory, their slogan being "fifty-four forty or fight."

Great Britain claimed from the mouth of the Columbian River, but finally compromised on the forty-ninth parallel, thereby surrendering a magnificent domain, that had long been under her flag.



The British commissioner was quoted as saying: "The country was not worth fighting for anyway, since, while the rivers swarmed with fish, the blamed salmon would not rise for the fly."

The north-east boundary dispute became acute soon after the arrival of the Loyalists, and as we have been told, the pressure became too strong to admit of a reasonable settlement, and the final award by the King of the Netherlands in 1842, practically conceded the whole American claim.

Again, the same tactics seem to have prevailed in the settlement by arbitration of the Alaska boundary in 1903.

Lord Alverston, the British Commissioner, coincided with the American contention, and the Canadian arbitrators refused to sign the award.

The writer's father, when referring to a resolution favouring annexation to the United States, once moved in the House of Assembly by a member for the County of Saint John, said, that the descendants of the Loyalists at that time, would have resisted such a movement by force of arms.

The late Sir George Parkin, who, as trustee of the Rhodes scholarship fund, became intimately acquainted with political and social conditions in the United States, was strongly of opinion, that a higher type of civilization would result, by the two great branches of the Anglo Saxon race on this Continent, working out their destiny separately, on different lines, rather than by union or annexation.

But to return to our narrative; before Dr. Caléff sailed to America, his wife, who appears to have been a vigorous and resourceful woman, fearing violence at the hands of the Revolutionists, prior to her husband's return, chartered a small sloop, which she loaded with furniture and personal effects, and set sail with her family for what is now New Brunswick, but then practically a wilderness. During their trip up the Bay of Fundy, a thick snow storm prevailed; after much exposure they managed to land at Red Head, the intrepid mother and young children making their way with great difficulty to Parrtown, as Saint John was then called.



In the meantime Captain David Mowat, realising, the serious position in which Dr. Caleff would find himself, should he attempt to return to Ipswich, chartered a vessel, and after cruising off the coast for some time, managed to intercept the vessel in which he was returning, and took him off. They landed somewhere on the coast of Maine, disguised themselves as Indians, and finally managed to reach Parrtown, after swimming the rivers and enduring many hardships en route.

It would appear that Captain Mowat was not entirely disinterested in his efforts on the doctor's behalf, since as already mentioned, he afterwards married his daughter, Mehitable. Mention may be made that at the close of the Revolutionary War, Jedidiah, son of Dr. Caleff, returned to Rowley, Mass., and held the property of which his father was the owner for some time, but matters were made so uncomfortable for him, that he was obliged to leave Rowley and return to New Brunswick, abandoning the property, which was subsequently confiscated by the American Government.

While residing at Parrtown Dr. Caleff lived at Lower Cove, then an entirely detached settlement from Upper Cove, of which the present Market Slip formed the centre, and at the time, there was no way of communication between the settlements, excepting by way of the beach. He was attached to the garrison at Fort Howe as surgeon and physician, and for a time as acting chaplain, and was obliged daily to make his way there, climbing over rocks and through bushes, sometimes in winter wading through snowdrifts up to his armpits.

In accordance with his position, he wore the regulation uniform of that time, a blue coat with large brass buttons, and some of the latter are still in the possession of the Mowat family.

About 1791 Dr. Caleff removed to St. Andrews, and built a house there at the upper end of the town, in front of which were planted elm trees, some of which are still standing. The late Edward Jack, whose mother was related to the Mowat family, wrote much in his life time concerning old times in Charlotte County.





He states that, when in England, Dr. Caleff became acquainted with Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, a pious and charitable lady, who sent by the doctor on his return to New Brunswick, a large collection of Bibles and hymn books, he having informed her, that the Loyalists had lost most of their books during the war.

To quote further: "Dr. Caleff was one of the Puritan gentry of Massachusetts, was highly educated and wrote admirably, with brevity and simplicity. He died before my remembrance, but I was well acquainted with his daughters, who lived to a great age, as well as with his son, who owned what is now known as Fry's Island, where he resided for a long time."

It may be of interest to add that the writer, when a small boy visited his relative, Mr. Harry Mowat at Bayside and has a distinct recollection of seeing Miss Sarah Caleff who resided with her nephew, and who, as stated by Mr. Jack, died there at a very advanced age.

The late D. Russell Jack, in "Acadiensis," states that Dr. Caleff took part in the siege of Louisburg by the New Englanders, on account of which he left in manuscript, now unfortunately lost. He was also present at the siege of Penobscot, the only published account of which is to be found in the library of Harvard College.

In conclusion it may be related, that the subject of this sketch, departed this life in October, 1812, and in the old churchyard at St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, can still be seen the elms he planted, a century or more ago, and which stretch their branches lovingly, over the moss grown tombs, of Dr. John and of Dorothy his beloved wife.



# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

New Brunswick

# Historical Society

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No. 12

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COMPLETING VOL. IV WITH INDEX

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SAINT JOHN, N. B.  
BARNES & Co., LIMITED, PRINCE WILLIAM STREET  
1928



## Officers, 1927-1928.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

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Since the publication of the last number of its Collections, the New Brunswick Historical Society has taken part in several events of historical interest. One of these was the unveiling of the monument in memory of the Hon. Gabriel G. Ludlow, first Mayor of Saint John, on Friday, May 18th, 1928, on the site of the grave of the famous Loyalist, at the old graveyard in the rear of the West Saint John Kirk, marking the observance of the 145th anniversary of the landing of the United Empire Loyalists at Saint John.

During the Revolutionary War Gabriel G. Ludlow was Colonel and Commandant of DeLancey's Third Battalion. At the close of the war he came to New Brunswick and settled at Saint John, where he held the office of Judge of Vice-Admiralty and was a member of the Provincial Council. In 1785 he was appointed Mayor of the city of Saint John by the Provincial Government, which position he held until 1795. From the year 1803 until his death in 1808, Colonel Ludlow administered the Government of the Province during the absence of the Lieutenant Governor, Thomas Carleton. During this period he was also Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in New Brunswick.

On August 27th, 1928, at the Customs House, Saint John, two bronze tablets were unveiled to the honour and memory of Robert Foulis of Saint John, inventor of the world's first steam fog whistle in 1854, and Benjamin F. Tibbits of Queens County, N. B., inventor of the world's first marine compound engine in 1842.

During the past year the Society has lost two valued members by death: John Willet, K. C., Clerk of the Saint John Circuit Court, who was for many years an efficient secretary of this Society, and Edward L. Rising, President of the firm of Waterbury & Rising.

Meetings were held regularly during the past year at which a number of valuable papers were read.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Provincial Government for their annual grant, to the newspapers of the province for their generous support, and to the Natural History Society of New Brunswick for the use of their rooms in which the Society has met during the year.

The present number of the Collections completes Volume 4, the index at the end covering the last three numbers.

SAINT JOHN, N. B.,  
September 25th, 1928.

WILLIAM MACINTOSH,  
Secretary.





# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## New Brunswick Historical Society

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### HISTOIRE DU MADAWASKA

Record of the Youngest County of the Province Told in  
Book Form

VENERABLE ARCHDEACON RAYMOND, LL.D. (1921)

It is a lamentable fact that in New Brunswick our county history has been neglected; the history of the province as a whole has received some attention, and in this connection the following names are worthy of honourable mention: Peter Fisher, C. L. Hatheway, Robert Cooney, Dr Robb, Dr. Gesner, Moses Perley, Alex. Munro, Wedderburn, Hannay, Lawrence, Edward Jack and a few others of later date.

But county history has not received the attention with us that it has in the neighbouring Province of Nova Scotia.

Until within a year past, the only municipal division of New Brunswick of which the history has appeared in book form is the City of Saint John. Here, one history was attempted some thirty-five or more years ago by the late D. R. Jack, who was then little more than a school-boy.

Some very creditable attempts have been made from time to time in various periodicals and in local newspapers to provide reliable information concerning the history of different parts of the province, one of the most valuable contributions being that of James Vroom covering the early history of the County of Charlotte, published in the "St. Croix Courier," some twenty years ago.

But the fact remains that until the year 1920, no county history had been published in book form, save Mr. Jack's rather inadequate little book on "Saint John."



It is quite remarkable that when, at length, another book of the kind appears, it does not deal with one of the old and well-known counties of the province, but with the youngest of them, all, the County of Madawaska, and that it should also be the work of two young men of Acadian ancestry, born within the county and printed in their mother-tongue, which is not English, but French.

Madawaska is situate at the extreme northwest angle of New Brunswick, and is a district regarded by the majority of our people as isolated and comparatively unknown; yet this district of our province has produced a history of its own and a very readable one, too. It is a nicely printed volume of 450 pages.

The initial step in this achievement should be credited, in all fairness, to a young school-teacher, Prudent L. Mercure, of Ste. Anne de Madawaska. I had the pleasure, some twenty years ago, of furnishing the young man with such information as I possessed, which was considerable, and of stimulating him in the task of collecting more.

Born and living in my boyhood on the Upper Saint John, I was, more or less, in touch with the Madawaska country in my young days, and naturally interested in it. My relatives, of the name of Beardsley, lived for years above the Grand Falls.

In the course of time Madawaska has suffered the fate of the ancient kingdom of Poland, and, like the Gaul of Julius Caesar's day, is divided into three parts (*omnis Gallia est divisa in partes tres*). The Madawaska district now includes Madawaska, N. B., Madawaska, Me., and Madawaska, Que. But in spite of its political division, the district has produced, in book form, a history of its own. The facts relating to its early history were gleaned chiefly by Mr. Mercure, with the valuable aid of Senator Therriault, of Lille, Maine, and some few others. The accumulated materials have been discreetly edited and put in good literary form by the Abbe Thomas Albert, of Shippegan, Gloucester County. The Abbe, being a native of Madawaska, doubtless the writing and editing has been to him a congenial task. Mercure died not long since, whilst employed in the Department of the Dominion Archives in Ottawa, and did not



live to see the publication of the book. The consummation of the undertaking was due almost entirely to the public spirit and generosity of Senator Patrick Therriault.

I do not propose at this time to enter further into a consideration of the contents of this very interesting book, but to give some idea of the style and manner of it will quote, in translation, the following passage, which tells the not unfamiliar story of the destruction of the Mohawk war-party at the Grand Falls as it was told the first Acadian settlers of Madawaska by the Indians, nearly 150 years ago. I quote now from the "Histoire de Madawaska," page 12:

"The Madawaska tribe of Indians occupied the valley of the Saint John, from the Grand Falls upwards as far as Seven Islands, including the valley of Lake Temiscouata. Their chief resort, from time immemorial, was at the mouth of the River Madawaska. Their village here was fortified with a strong palisade formed by large pieces of wood planted in the ground, which constituted an enclosure almost impregnable to the enemy.

"The Indians on the river below, as also those of the Penobscot and Kennebec, sought refuge within this fortification when an invasion was threatened by their enemies.

"Although far removed, the Iroquois were their inveterate enemies, and on various occasions they were engaged in bloody conflicts. Indian traditions record two great raids of the Mohawks, who burned their fort and massacred a large number of the occupants. The most notable of these war raids was that of 200 Mohawks from Upper Canada, bent on exterminating the Malecites. The Iroquois attained the River Saint John by way of the Etchemin, which falls into it at a little Malecite village at the mouth of the Slagash, and killed all of the inhabitants there.

"When they arrived at the Indian town of Madawaska, the brave Pemmyhaouet, Grand Sagamore of the Malecites, with a hundred of his warriors, immediately organized for the defense of the fort. The combat which ensued was one of the most memorable of which there is mention in the Indian legends. The brave Pemmyhaouet fell in the struggle and his son was



mortally wounded. As fast as the defenders fell under the arrows and tomahawks of their assailants, their wives and daughters took their places. It was only after an engagement of several days and when overpowered by the arrows and spears of the enemy that the brave defenders abandoned the place.

"The ferocious Mohawks found in the ruined fort, hidden in a corner of the enclosure, two women, who demanded death as a deliverance. These were Necomah, the wife of the old chieftain, and Malobiannah, the fiancée of the son of Pennyhaouet. The Sagamore's son had succumbed to his wounds and the two women had braved the wrath of the Mohawks in order to give the rites of sepulture to those dear to them.

"Intoxicated with their success the Iroquois resolved to pursue their ravages as far as the lower valley of the Saint John, but they were unacquainted with the navigation of the river; so, seizing the two captives they carried them with them as guides for their expedition.

"When night came on the bark canoes were tied together and left to the guidance of the young Malobiannah—Necomah, the wife of the old chief, being already dead of grief.

"Malobiannah, weeping her fiancée, weeping also the misfortunes of her nation, yet cherishing in her heart the desire of revenge, resolved to sacrifice her life to avenge those she loved, and at the same time to save from disaster her brothers of Medoctec and Sukpaque, the Indian villages below.

"She led the flotilla on towards the murderous falls. At some distance from the gulf one of the warriors, among those worn out with fatigue and wrapped in deep slumber, was aroused by the distant roaring of the falls and asked the guide what was the cause of the disquieting sounds that he heard. 'It is the noise of a small tributary,' she said, 'that here joins the Walloos-took.'

"The Mohawk, reassured by the calm reply of the girl, resumed his slumber, whilst the flotilla was being drawn rapidly on towards the abyss.

"They were now, indeed, only some hundreds of feet from the gulf. A current, swift and powerful — the current of death





—(*le courant de la mort*) drew them onward to the brink, and the sound of the mighty cataract thundered in their ears. Realizing their imminent peril, they sprang from their canoes, but it was too late. Hurling their maledictions they disappeared amidst the foam of the raging waters, hearing meanwhile the cry of triumph of the heroic maiden, in which she mingled the name of her lover and the nation she had avenged.

“The Malecite heroine has been sung in the languages of the Abenaki, the English and the French, but what a rich theme is here for the future writer of romance of Madawaska.

“Greek history, so full of chivalrous deeds of every sort, affords nothing more noble or sublime than the sacrifice, so unselfish and so little known to fame, of this obscure daughter of the forest.”

Since the above article was written, an excellent History of Carleton County, by T. C. L. Ketchum, Esq., barrister and journalist of Woodstock, has been printed by “The Globe, Limited.” The author was a member of N. B. Historical Society, and his death took place a few years ago.



A CHAT ON THE WAY FROM THE CITY TO GONDOLA  
POINT ON THE BEAUTIFUL KENNEBECASIS

DAVID H. WATERBURY (1920).

Shall we leave the city by narrow Brussels street\* with its street car track and shabby houses, although it is the great avenue and the gateway to the city, or by the more historic Waterloo street, with its better class of buildings? Waterloo street, then!

Before turning up Waterloo street, observe the Golden Ball on building at the south-eastern corner of Sydney and Union. There has been a golden ball on a building here, and the place has been known as "Golden Ball Corner" for over one hundred years. A Mr. Hopley came from Ireland about 1815 and at this corner erected a building of dimensions adequate to include a theatre as well as a tavern. Later, at the rear, was added a place for a menagerie or horse show. It is stated this was the first theatre constructed in Saint John, and was no doubt small, yet of sufficient importance to attract, or to have the honor of the presence of that celebrated actor, the elder Booth, who played here in 1841. Mr. Hopley, in keeping with the times, or in commemoration of old customs, placed on the corner of his building a golden ball as his sign. In olden times, when education was not as general as at present and many people could not read, inns and commercial houses of necessity had signs which could be easily understood by the wayfarer, such as the "Red Lion," the "Crown and Anchor," the "White Horse," etc., etc., and here we have, though without the same necessity, the "Golden Ball" on this corner.

Commencing at Union street, which was at one time the limit of the city as originally planned in 1783, Waterloo street did not get its name as such until after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. It was hardly to be classed then as a street. It was the commencement of the "Westmorland Road," and the chief or

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\* Since named Prince Edward Street.



only outlet from the city on the east, and was nothing more than a rough country road, steep and with rocky ledges and depressions through which brooks ran or in which puddles stood. A brook rising at the higher ground to the north ran across it to Union street and there was quite a large pond in the vicinity of what is now the corner of Waterloo and Paddock streets. This was a favorite resort of skaters in winter. Some called it Paddock's Pond. There has been much labor and expenditure in putting this street into tolerably good shape.

Of the westerly corner of Waterloo and Union streets, where Mr. Porter's store now stands, I have not at present information as to the first building erected there. There was in the vicinity, I believe, a brickyard or pottery and a tannery. Of the eastern corner the earliest recollection is of a triangular building with a shop in it kept by a Mr. Justice. One of his articles of merchandise was molasses candy, and, Oh! such candy. Has anything ever been made since to equal it? Molasses candy of boyhood, made at a time when molasses was molasses.

Continuing along Waterloo, the first street to the left is Peters street, opened up in 1819; the next Paddock street, shortly after. Cliff street was possibly opened up a little previously to 1819. In this vicinity the land north of Waterloo street was owned, a portion by the late Hon. C. J. Peters and another part by the late Dr. Adino Paddock, hence the naming of the streets Peters and Paddock. Two or three buildings in the vicinity are interesting, but of minor importance.

The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception: A cathedral may have been contemplated by Bishop Dollard, the first incumbent of the diocese, who died in 1851. But the conception and carrying out of the erection of this fine edifice was by Bishop Connolly, who succeeded him and who was consecrated at Halifax in 1852. The ceremony of the blessing of the cornerstone of the cathedral took place on 25th April, 1853. It was some years after the completion of the main building that the spire was erected. This was in 1872. The beautiful work in bas-relief on the facade representing the Last Supper is a copy of the great work by the celebrated Leonardo da Vinci. The golden cross which surmounts the spire was renewed about 1902.



This cross is nine feet high; arms six feet across. From the ground to the top of the cross the height is two hundred and forty feet. This is a beautiful land mark. At times when a low fog or haze obscures the main building and spire, the golden cross, illumined by the sun above the haze, appears, seen from elevated parts of the city, as if alone or unsupported in the atmosphere, and the effect is remarkable and inspiring.

Opposite the Cathedral on the right is Richmond street. In the early days of the city this vicinity was frequently called Vinegar Hill. The place was not defined by any boundaries or authority, and the name is now never, or very rarely, heard. One given origin of the name was that a vinegar factory was in the vicinity and probably there was such. Another statement is that the hill was called after a somewhat historic place in Ireland; one or two families from that locality having immigrated here and taken up residence on it.

On the right, a little beyond the Cathedral, on the brow of the hill, opposite Golding street, is the Waterloo Street Baptist Church, organized 1842. Elder Hartt was the first pastor. Farther down, on the left, on the corner of Alma street, is St. Mary's Episcopal Church; the corner-stone of this was laid Ascension Day, 9th May, 1861. Rev. M. Swabey was the first minister.

Going down this steep hill, which is over one hundred feet high, look after your brake lest you run into a street car or other vehicle at the foot, where we find Haymarket Square. Near the foot of the hill on the right hand formerly stood a farmers' hotel.

Haymarket Square is not, like many places, named without rhyme or reason. It is justly entitled to its name as it was in early days a hay market; a large flat muddy field before the branch track from the Intercolonial Railway was run through it and around the Courtenay Bay shore on the east side of the city to the harbor docks. In the fall of 1883, the centennial year of the landing of the Loyalists, the Haymarket Square Club undertook the improvement and beautifying of the central part of this square, laying out walks, sodding, planting trees, etc., and





about 1887 erected the drinking fountain on the western extremity, which has since been removed to the eastern extremity as you see it. At the southerly side of the square is the connection of Brussels street with the Marsh road.

Brussels street was named after the Duke of Brussels, one of the German allies of the Duke of Wellington. "*O tempora! O mores!*" Waterloo street, or the Westmorland road, which at the time of the opening up of Brussels street, was the only outlet at the east, was very steep and rough and one may imagine what the conditions of the district where Brussels street now runs must have been when the first road was run over that steep hill. Nevertheless, to escape that hill, people were making their way, avoiding the boggy or marshy land, as much as possible, by skirting the foot of the hill; also attempting to drive past it.

The construction of a roadway was imperative. It can easily be realized that the founding of this street under the conditions was a difficult and expensive undertaking.

Near the junction of Brussels street and Union is the old Brussels street Baptist Church, built first for a mission, 1847, dedicated 1849, organized as a church 1850. The first pastor was the Rev. Samuel Robinson, or Father Robinson, as he was popularly called by his congregation.

After this digression we resume our position at Haymarket Square and proceed to the Marsh Bridge, constructed over what has been called, from the earliest settlement, the Marsh Creek, although there was an Indian name for this stream, which at present I regret I am unable to give. This is an historical spot at which we will stop a moment.

In 1788 the New Brunswick House of Assembly voted a sum towards the expense of building a bridge across the Marsh Creek. Hazen, Simonds and White, owners of the marsh, supplemented this, and James Simonds undertook the building of the first marsh bridge or aboideau. Previously there had been some dyking done of the marsh, and a large portion of it reclaimed by the shutting out of the tide. The width of the aboideau built in 1788 is given as seventy-five feet at the bottom and twenty-five feet on top. Long before, near the mouth of the creek in



this vicinity, there was a French grist mill, and tradition also places on the left further up the creek the site of a French shipyard. The vessels built here would be small, but the fact indicates the fluvial conditions existing at the time.

Not long after the completion of the aboideau, two saw mills, operated by the tide, were built in this vicinity by Mr. Simonds. Evidently the venture was not successful, as they were practically ruins before 1812. There has been in the past considerable controversy over the responsibility for the maintenance of this aboideau and the proportion of cost to be borne by the city corporation, owners of the marsh and the provincial government. A better understanding may now prevail and the bridge be maintained by the local government, city and Canadian Northern Railway. There has also been an interesting controversy over the meaning of the word aboideau applied to the construction, which was for the purpose of shutting out the tide water from the marsh at high tide by flood gates, as well as for providing a way over the creek. This present substantial structure, principally of concrete, was completed in 1910.

Looking to your right at the head of Courtenay Bay are the former sites of several of the old shipyards, where some of the largest and finest wooden ships in the world were built, which carried the name and fame of Saint John to all parts of the world. Here were the shipyards of W. & R. Wright, Nevins & Fraser, John McDonald, the Smiths, King, Storms, Cruikshank & Pitfield, Dunlop and others. A good view of East Saint John can be obtained and of the great breakwater being constructed to make a harbor of Courtenay Bay; also a glimpse of the Alms House, County Hospital, and the Reformatory, and the large stone building once a provincial penitentiary.

As we proceed along the Marsh road, past Courtenay Bay, you may observe on the left towards Rockwood Park the location of what was once called Gilbert's Island, of which very little remains. The railway authorities have pretty well removed it to enlarge the railway yard which is now called the "Island Yard" commemorative of the rocky projection which undoubt-



edly was an island at one time; a very picturesque spot with its trees, rugged banks, etc. Layers of shore sand and shells have been found on it in excavations.

We leave the old Westmorland road which turns to the right and on which near this junction is the Church of England Burial Ground, opened about 1828. Before taking this newer road over the marsh, which has by resolution of council, October, 1912, been named "Rothesay Avenue," mention should be made of the great flood on the marsh.

In the year 1854 (year of the cholera) the fall freshet after a period of torrential rains was extreme; the river overflowed its banks in the vicinity of Drury Cove and inundated the marsh to such an extent that a large lake was formed extending from the foot of Waterloo street to the rising ground at what is now Brookville. Passengers by stage, farmers, gardeners and milkmen on their way to the city had to abandon their vehicles and resort to whatever conveyance could be obtained over the flood. Mails, freight and passengers were taken on in boats at the foot of Waterloo hill and landed beyond the Manor House at Robertson's, Brookville. The Marsh has experienced nothing like this since, and if any such inundation had occurred previously no record appears to have been made of it.

Among the more prominent industries to be found in this section of the road, or in fact in the city, two may be named:

The McAvity's "Maritime Plant" Brass and Iron Machine Shops; brass, iron and steel foundries with spur lines of railway. The plant occupies about ten acres of floor space. Work of this kind was suspended during the war and the plant turned to the manufacture of ammunition, shells and castings. Orders had been received for about 850,000 shells 9.5 and 9.2. A great quantity was shipped before the closing of the war, about three hundred thousand in 1917-18. Since the close of the war these plants have reverted to their manufacture of valves and fittings, great quantities of which are exported.

The Crosby Molasses Co. storage plant has a capacity of 7,500 puncheons. This firm is now building two immense steel



storage tanks in the city with a total capacity of 600,000 gallons; doing a large business with the Maritime Provinces, the Province of Quebec and shipping largely to the West.

At the junction of the Marsh road with Russell street, which connects with the old Westmorland road, is the property formerly called "Jardine's" and even at this date old timers so speak of it. The residence, built by Mr. Robt. Jardine, a prominent citizen of Saint John, about 1843, was, with its spacious and beautiful grounds, one of the most notable and possibly one of the finest suburban residences in the province at the time. It was then considered away out of town; was a land mark and place of public interest. Time has changed conditions, here as elsewhere, commercial enterprises have encroached on it; nevertheless, some of its old time distinction remains.

The One Mile House is on the left opposite Jardine's and the cross road. This, at one time, was a popular resort as a tavern. It was also known as Ward's, who was probably the first proprietor. How long previous to sixty years ago its history extends, the writer has no present record. Beyond on the hillside is Fernhill Cemetery, endowed by nature with all possibilities for a grand and exceedingly lovely resting place for the remains of those whose labors are over. Much has been done by the cemetery company to add beauty and convenience of walks, shelters, fountains, etc., to the grounds, and much more may be done. There are many notable features and elegant monuments within its bounds. The grounds comprise about two hundred acres and there are some fifty-two miles of avenues and paths. The cemetery was first opened in 1848. The first burial was that of Miss Georgianna Campbell, in that year. There are now resting in their narrow beds within this beautiful cemetery about eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty. Verily a City of the Dead.

A short way past Fernhill, and running off at a right angle over the marsh, over the bridge across the creek and up between the hills is a by-road leading to Ashburn Lake, a beautiful spot where there is the well found club house of the Ashburn Lake Fishing Club.





Just beyond on the main road, is St. Bartholomew's Church, Anglican, built in 1915; in charge then and since of Rev. R. T. McKim.

After passing the one mile house, the road onward to the three mile house, broad, level and straight as an arrow, was considered the speedway of Saint John for many years. It was unique in its way. Probably no such stretch of roadway could be found in America to excel it for driving, and full advantage was taken of this in the old days for racing, particularly in winter, and before automobiles became so common and street car tracks were run along it. The Marsh road here was broad enough to accommodate five or six horses abreast and it was an exciting spectacle to witness a brush among the fastest trotters of the city, well driven by their owners, either on the way to the "Three Mile House" or returning home after an afternoon's fun.

Among the many famous horses exercised on this road in the early days were the white stallion "Jehu," which was exceedingly fast as well as very beautiful, owned by Mr. Geo. P. Sancton. The chestnut gelding "Wolfe," owned and driven by Archibald Brown, quite an expert driver. The brown gelding "Moose," owned and driven by Isaac Campbell. The black gelding "Pig," a pacer, and able to hold his own with the best of them, was owned by George Stockford, then High Constable. Mr. George A. Barker, the first mayor of the city, after the addition of Portland, 1889, was one of the owners of the famous grey gelding "Crown Prince." He also owned and drove the beautiful bay mare "Vanity." There were others of lesser rate. A decade later we had John Fitzpatrick with the chestnut stallion "Mambrino Charta," a magnificent horse; Chas. W. Bell who had developed "Crown Prince," 2.25, "Flying Dutchman" and a host of other horses, all of which were a credit to him. Thomas Furlong owned and drove the roan gelding "Andy Johnson," 2.32, and was an enthusiast in horses and racing. Barzillai Ansley, agent of International Steamship Co., always kept good horses and drove them with skill, owning among others a pair of black horses closely matched that were the admiration of all. Mr. Ansley also owned the white mare "Lady Furbush," one of



the fastest trotters of her day, raised in Maine. Another conspicuous figure on the speedway in winter was Stephen T. Golding, livery stable keeper, who drove many a good one and whose office in town was the rendezvous of all the horsemen. D. C. Clinch drove the cross matched team composed of the grey mare "Wildflower," and black gelding "Patsy;" also "Regal Pandect," 2.22 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and others.

After an afternoon's racing up and down the road and "between heats," those of a convivial turn adjourned to the "Three Mile House," kept by Daniel McAvoy, a genial soul and first rate host, who could mix a hot Scotch or get up a game supper equal to any. No one came away from McAvoy's the "worse of wear," the hot whiskies being carefully mixed and not ever strong. Many old timers now look back with regret to those halcyon days when the jingling of sleigh bells as the trotters moved back and forth at a 2.40 gait or better, and the cheery shouting of the drivers and spectators along the roadside was so inspiring.

Our road goes on past the Golden Grove Road, which turns off to the right, and quite near the junction of these roads and a short distance apart are the Three Mile House and Moosepath Driving Park, the latter promoted 1870, opened August, 1871. The first name of the railway siding near the Three Mile House was "Moosepath," and after this the driving park was named. The racing track is a half mile oval, very good, but considered a little heavy. It is fenced around and has a grand stand of about four hundred capacity; the regulation judges' stand and appurtenances. Many celebrated horses have been seen on it and notable races have taken place. The bay stallion "Nelson," made the trotting record for this park in 1893 — 2.17 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Somewhere in the early part of last century there was on the Golden Grove Road, and not far from its junction with the Marsh, an inn or tavern called "Frog Pond," no doubt so named on account of the existence of a first-class and extensive article of the kind in the immediate vicinity. This inn was a popular resort for pleasure, sleighing and dancing parties, and I am informed that occasionally honeymoons were spent there. I



believe the place was considered quite respectable, but accidents or incidents are possible any time or place, and "Frog Pond" was not an exception and a boisterous party or fight was not unknown there. Old folks of a generation or two ago became reminiscent of "Frog Pond."

The first or original Three Mile House was on the left side of the road opposite the site of the later one. It was a long, low, one and a half story building; a typical old country inn. Its last proprietor was Daniel McAvoy. After the passing of the utility of this house, the present Three Mile House was built about 1864, a building much more commodious. The first proprietor was the same Daniel McAvoy, and here was the mecca of the military and civil-sports, horsemen, men of leisure of the city and surrounding country, American tourists, and it was not without its patrons in the professions, commercial lines, manufacturers, bankers and brokers. Here were geniality, generosity and jollity; exchanges of views and news; hot toddy or their favorite beverages at the bar or the side tables; lunches or meals, card rooms and billiard room; such a resort and conditions as could not now be found, could not exist with prohibition. The place has since been re-named "Glen View," and is of a more private character.

Just beyond is the plant of the J. A. Pugsley & Co., Ltd., for assembly, retail and general repair of automobiles, large brick buildings having about 36,000 square feet of concrete floor space.

Over a century old, now a popular public resort and called "Ye Manor House" has been considerably altered in the last few years. The construction of this large substantial stone edifice was commenced the first years of the last century (about 1815) by Mr. Cudlip, an officer of the British Navy, who had married the daughter of John Waterbury, one of the loyalists. The late John Waterbury Cudlip, a prominent citizen, was a son. The Manor House later became the property of Mr. George G. Gilbert, a noted sporting man in his day. For a number of years the late Mr. John McAvity resided there and cultivated the extensive farm in connection with it; later Mr. Henry Drummond. It is stated that the late Dr. Inches, one time President of the N. B. Historical Society, was born in this house.



In this vicinity summer houses and permanent residences are going up and the suburb is now called "Glen Falls," named after the small fall of a brook flowing from the hills beyond. For a distance of two or three hundred yards past Glen Falls the road runs over a flat, sedgy ground and then turns sharply to the left and we are at the end of the great marsh. Turning again to the right we go up the rising ground of Brookville, four and one-half miles from Saint John. The picturesqueness of the place appeals to you at once. A charming little hamlet of pretty residences, most of them of a substantial or permanent class with their lawns, hedges and shade trees. The pretty little Methodist Church, built in 1910, was a gift to the denomination by Mr. W. B. Tennant. The road we passed on the left, just before reaching Brookville, leads to Drury Cove on the Kennebecasis River. Summer residents also find this a pleasing resort.

There are some who think Brookville is far enough from the city for a suburban residence. Others believe it too near as it is subject to fog from the bay at times. This is no doubt true, but the fog is not an unalloyed detraction as it is believed to be the cause of the beautiful complexion of the Brookville ladies. This statement being made in the presence of a Rothesay lady she promptly asserted that fog also got as far as Rothesay, to which she was assured that the fact was perfectly evident and a generous quantity of fog at that.

Leaving Brookville we cross the bridge over the Canadian National Railway track. The highway here has been most commendably improved. Formerly narrow, crooked and rocky and the cause of many accidents, it has been within the last year or two straightened and widened very considerably; given a good top and is now quite up-to-date.

Lawlor's Lake: Note where the railway track crosses this small pond approximately three hundred feet wide. To state the length of time and cost of filling and effort to get a foundation for the track here, one would run the risk of being considered a prevaricator, the amount would be thought fabulous. The place began to be considered the bottomless pit or that it went through to the antipodes. A statement of possible credence is that it is part of the crater of an extinct volcano.





A few yards further up the road the dark old looking excavation in the lime stone hill is the place from which stone used in the construction of the Cathedral was taken, nearly seventy years ago.

In the immediate vicinity is the Provincial Lime Company's plant. Here lime rock is excavated and crushed for pulverized lime for soil purposes and pulp mill purposes. The lime kilns in the vicinity are now operated by the company and twenty to thirty men employed. The old original lime kilns were built and operated by the late George Hornbrook about the middle of the last century.

We have now reached Torryburn, some six miles from the city, a quaintly pretty hamlet. Whence its name? The brook or burn is in evidence, but whether anyone named Torry lived there is a question.

The substantial and venerable looking stone and brick building on the west side of the railway track with its fine grounds extending to the shore of the bay is the home of Mr. Keith Barber and formerly occupied by his father, the late James Barber. Eastward of the track on the hillside is a similar residence, the property of Messrs. Peters & Sons. Both places were erected some time about 1845 by the late George Hornbrook. A number of other rural residences are of recent erection.

The Clairmont House, lately destroyed by fire (1919), was a feature of this place and had an interesting local history. It was a two and a half story brick house, with pitch roof; some fine trees in front of it. It had its bar, barns and horse baiting stalls and equipment for a good class of inn. It was built about 1863. Its first proprietor was Chas. Watts. He left it about 1867. Afterward Mr. McGowan for a number of years occupied it as a public house, and it was during his time that the celebrated "Tyne" or Renforth crew, English champions, put up at it and trained for the race with the Paris crew, 1871. Conditions afterward varied with the different proprietors of the tavern. While the house was generally quite respectable, at times it was considered somewhat shady and fights and bloodshed occasionally sullied its reputation. However, it was generally a popular



resort. At the time of its destruction a dancing party of persons from the city was in progress and somewhat boisterous. That night the place was entirely destroyed by fire, only portions of the brick walls left standing.

The famous Paris crew, composed of Saint John men who had won that title and the rowing championship of the world at Paris, France, during a great exhibition there in 1867, was challenged by the celebrated English "Tyne" crew in an effort to obtain the championship, and the race was arranged to take place on Kennebecasis Bay.

As stated, the "Tyne" crew put up at the Clairmont House. The Paris crew put up at Johnson's Tavern, then on the hillside near Appleby's Wharf, a little above Torryburn, about seven miles from the city. Both crews trained strenuously and on the 23rd day of August, 1871, the race came off, resulting in a victory for the Paris crew, and also the lamentable death of the English former champion, James Renforth, stroke of his crew, caused by his exhaustive and heroic efforts to win. Renforth collapsed in his boat. The Paris crew had passed them about two-thirds of a mile from the start. Renforth was carried ashore to the Clairmont House, where he died about an hour after. The event cast a gloom over the city. It was deeply and sincerely regretted. The race was for a distance of six miles (three miles with turn) in best boats, four-oared crews. The training place of each crew had been visited by many persons from the city, and at the time of the race many from the provinces, United States and even from the other side of the ocean came to witness it.

The remains of the old Appleby Wharf are still to be seen. At this place there was, about the middle of last century, a ship-building yard and a number of vessels were built here by Mr. Appleby.

The Bishop's Picnic Grounds at Torryburn are perhaps the most popular and largest attended of any such in the province. There is a spur line of railway running to the grounds, which are quite extensive, continuing to the shore of the river. These fine grounds are provided with all appurtenances for picnicing, and



their use as such dates back to the summer of 1860, when the first picnic was held. About one hundred yards beyond the Torryburn railway station the county line crosses the road and Kings county is entered.

We come now to the beautiful rural hamlet of Renforth, most picturesquely located on the hillside and shore overlooking the bay, pretty summer houses, and some of more permanent construction, all with their verandahs, flower beds and shrubbery. The place has grown in the last fifteen or twenty years. Its quaintly pretty little Anglican Church "St. James the Less" was built 1911, and is in the parish looked after by the Rev. Canon Daniel. The new wharf here, built in 1917, is one of the best on the river. It is approximately 150 feet in length.

Renforth was named after the celebrated English oarsman, James Renforth, who lost his life in the rowing race between the Tyne and the Paris crews in 1871, the story of which has been told here. Commemoration of the name was a fitting recognition of his heroic effort. Under the railway bridge here is the winter road to the Kennebecasis and on the shore nearby once stood a celebrated tavern known as Godfreys. Sleighing and dancing parties frequently made this their objective. This place was generally called "Poverty Hall." I have not learned the origin of the singular name, but that there was little indication of poverty about it. In this vicinity was one of the first, if not the first, trotting park constructed in this province. Also, the first militia training camping in the province or possibly in Canada after Confederation. After Mr. Godfrey, the place was kept by Mr. Doran until it became untenable with age or the business outrivalled by the Clairmont House.

Riverside: Here on the hill with its fine and extensive grounds is the new home of the Riverside Golf and Country Club just about completed and presenting an ideal elevation for such a building, spacious and substantial. The cost of the structure is given as about thirty thousand dollars.

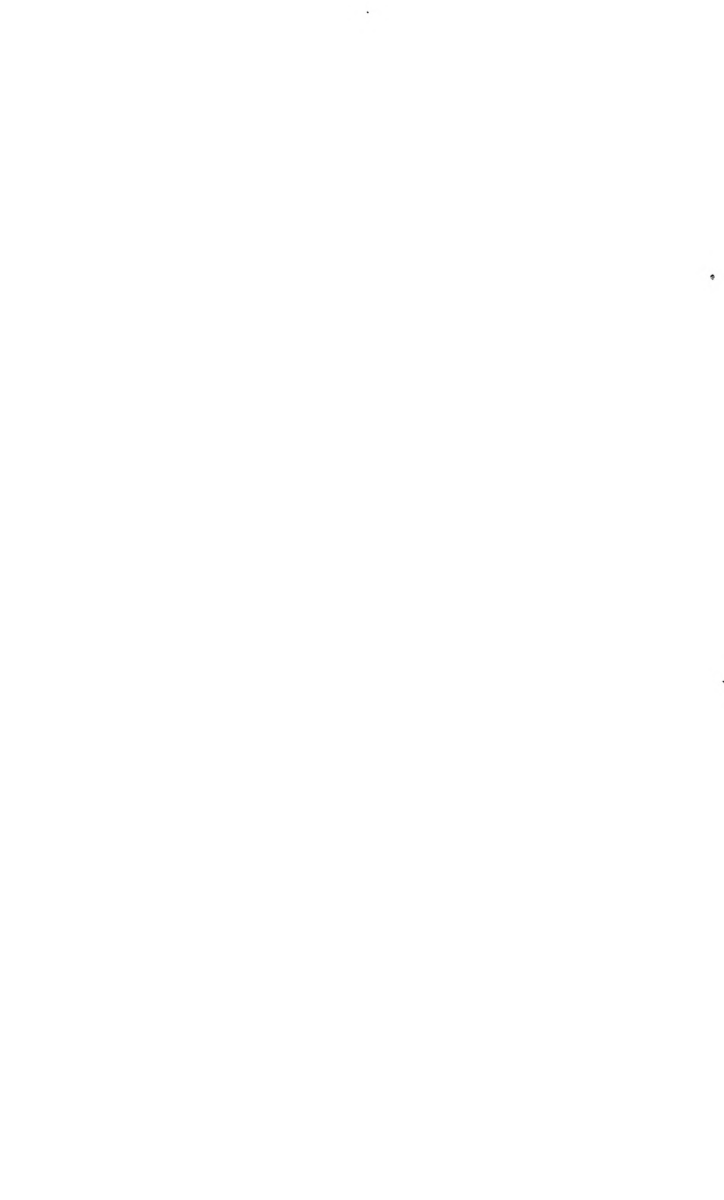
In 1860 when H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Cornwall and Rothesay (late King Edward VII) visited Saint John, part of the entertainment arranged for the occasion was a



trip by steamboat to points on the Saint John River and Kennebecasis Bay. On the Kennebecasis about six miles from the main river and nine from Saint John where is a beautiful cove was considered the place from which the Prince should get a view of the magnificent bay and beautiful surrounding country. The steamboat "Forest Queen," gaily decorated and commanded by Capt. Chas. Hatheway, was provided and the Prince went aboard escorted by a guard of honor selected from Captain McLaughlan's Artillery Company, of Carleton. Mr. Isaac J. Olive, of the Marine Department, was one of the guard of honor and perhaps the only one now living. A short stop was made near Appleby's Wharf after which the boat proceeded up the Saint John River. I am informed that a small wharf was built at Rothesay by Hon. John Robertson, expressly for a landing place for the Prince. This was the forerunner of the present fine long wharf.

The European & North American Railway, one of the first built in America, had just previous to the Prince's visit been laid from Saint John to Shediac, passing close to the shore of the bay. Appleby's Wharf, or Riverside, so called, was one of the stopping places on the line but at that time there was no platform or stopping place where the Rothesay railway station now stands. There was an old wharf in the vicinity. I am informed that there was a small platform or stopping place a little farther up the line than Appleby's Wharf called "Kennebecasis," perhaps only a temporary arrangement.

Mitchell's map, which was used in negotiating the Treaty of Paris, 1783, and also in settling the question of the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, terminated by the Ashburton Treaty, 1842, appears to be an authority. On that map the name of the river is spelled "Canabeki." The Indian language having no alphabet, the spelling of Indian words by the early settlers was necessarily phonetic and varied. The word "Canabeki" or "Kenebeka"—Snake, with the addition of the Indian diminutive—sis, thus Kennebecasis—Little Snake—is quite appropriate for the small river which winds its way down the valley to the bay, but applied to this magnificent bay would not be so. However, the name now as adopted will probably





remain for ever and aye, but the present pronunciation is incorrect if the Indian manner is to be considered; that was the short sound of *a* and the accent on the last syllable or diminutive *sis* — Kennebecasis — not as generally pronounced now with the long sound of *a* and accented — Kennebec-a-sis.

At this time the locality was beginning to be considered by Saint John people in comfortable circumstances as a most desirable place for summer residences and as a resort for picnic parties or pleasure excursions. There were a few farm houses there and also residences of two or three city families. It was not until after the first Prince's visit that the district was named Rothesay, after one of the titles of His Royal Highness, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay.

Among the early residences of note: The residence of Mr. Joseph Allison, formerly the old Wiggins house; residence of Mr. Mackay, formerly the Cudlip house; the Troop house, now the property of Dr. W. W. White; residence of General Domville, now occupied by his son, Senator Domville; Hall, Fairweather, Almon residences, etc. Passing the charming grounds of the Domville residence, which is a gem of landscape, and crossing the picturesque bridge over the brook, the place assumes the character of a village or small rural town of remarkable beauty. Its first class main road and pretty by-roads and lanes; the numerous beautiful homes and summer residences, with their well kept lawns and hedges, ornamental and fine old trees appeal to one. An atmosphere of comfort and refinement pervades the place.

The Kennedy House, the local hotel, is not far from the railway station. The residence of Lieutenant-Governor Pugsley, still nearer, has lately (1919) been the scene of a garden party arranged for and honored by the visit of the second royal prince to the district: H. R. H. Edward, whose natural, gracious and manly bearing has endeared him to all Canadians.

Rothesay has a consolidated school, a commodious brick building, up to date in its appurtenances, built in 1910.

There is also the Rothesay Collegiate School for boys, and "Netherwood," a private school for girls.



There was a yacht or boat club here over twenty-five years ago, but it was small. The present prosperous club, with its large active membership and many fine yachts and motor boats is a feature of the place. A very pleasant sight is the pretty and various boats at anchor in the cove.

The fine Anglican Church, St. Paul's, has as rector the popular Rev. Canon Daniel. This church was built a year or two previously to 1868, jointly by Anglicans and Presbyterians, and first used jointly for years. Rev. Dr. Donald was first minister. The Presbyterians now occupy their own place of worship here.

As we pass along new houses are seen in the course of erection, and here the road descends rapidly and crosses a highway bridge over a brook which shapes its course beneath the railway and on to the river.

The railway-bridge, with its stone piers, is in the immediate vicinity of the Fairvale siding and under this bridge the road leads into the village of Fairvale. A road at the left runs to a cove on the river and along this and at the cove are many summer houses and some of more permanent construction. The main road onward for about half a mile gives an occasional view of the river, and is bordered on both sides with handsome residences and pretty summer homes.

Fairvale, about nine and three-quarter miles from the city, may be considered a rival of Rothesay. While but a few years ago, as late as 1905, there was little more to be seen than farm land and the old time farm houses, the obvious qualifications of the place for summer residences, the beauty of the location and scenery have impressed many of the city people effectively and the growth has been rapid. It is stated that the transfers at the railway siding, (for it is little more than a siding at present) are greater than at Rothesay and the need of an adequate and up-to-date station house is imperative and I believe one has been promised. Fairvale has two outing clubs. One has a fine club house, formerly the Gard house, a short distance from the station. Another club has a large property further up the main road upon which a club house may soon be erected. From all points along



the road is obtained a view of a beautiful country, but when the point is reached at which the bay comes into view the beauty is enhanced to an inspiring degree. Gems of scenery and grand panorama of hill and dale, woodland and river and varying horizon are presented along the entire road.

Continuing we cross a fine new bridge over a brook, and ascending the gently rising ground view the road running down to the old Titus shipyard. This bridge and environment; meadow, brook, dells and fine trees, is another of the gems of landscape and immediately beyond it on the right is the pleasant residence of Miss Catheline, the popular post-mistress; the post office is attached to the residence. On the left nearly opposite is a large frame building now fitted up as a summer residence, but first erected as a house for ship carpenters employed in the shipyard mentioned.

The valuable property, comprising several acres and residence of Mr. Carter, is at the junction of the main road and the one to the river bank; a beautiful location. Here are well kept grounds, a good orchard and all that appears desirable for a pleasant country home. Further along the by-road to the river, Mr. Carter has erected a number of summer cottages.

The old shipyard on the shore, which is in part meadowlike, was once the scene of considerable activity in the building of vessels during the time of flourishing wooden shipbuilding between the years 1850 and 1890, before the days of iron ships. The place was generally known as the Titus shipyard. I believe that Mr. Richard Titus was the pioneer of this industry here and quite a number of vessels were built of varying sizes, some of them barques. In 1885 when the industry was drawing to a close, the last vessels built there were the "Valetta," a schooner of ninety-nine tons, and the "Adeline," a three-masted schooner of one hundred and ninety-three tons; the latter built for J. F. Watson and V. S. White by Henry Titus, son of the former ship-builder.

Continuing along the road, just beyond the post office, we see on the left a cluster of summer cottages and camps and a lane running down to the shore. In close proximity is "Hillhurst



Hotel," the home of Mr. Thos. B. Roberts, about eleven miles from the city. Here is a popular resort and a fine property with a nursery of fruit trees and near the hotel Mr. Robert's store and summer restaurant. "Summer Hill" increases its elevation directly opposite and extends along the easterly side of the road for some distance. From the top of this hill a glimpse of the City Cathedral spire is obtained. On the right the little Baptist Church in a dent in the hill, the church built in 1854, and opposite on the left is "Sunset Grove" where the writer occasionally hangs up his hat. Between that and Hillhurst Hotel is a small public wharf built by the local government and at which the boat when running to Hampton stops to land or take on passengers and freight, if requisite. It is also a landing place for yachting parties and various boats and canoes. At this wharf is a small pretty sandy cove, a favorite resort for bathers. On this part of the road the best views of Long Island and the smaller island and cove, Moss Glen, Clifton and other notable features across the river are here presented, and the bay takes on a lake like aspect. At Moss Glen a sailing vessel, the "Ada A. McIntyre," 423 tons, was launched in 1918, and another vessel is now seen under construction here.

All the way from Torryburn to Gondola Point the locality is remarkable for its wonderful sunsets, the indescribable glory of coloring and cloud effect. There are also the most delightful reflections in the bay when the surface is perfectly calm, the features of the banks, foliage and shores reversing and matching so perfectly and distinctly that patterns are suggested for unique works of art. Here the sky, land and water meet to exchange smiles of recognition and reminiscences which the atmosphere gathers up and blends in mystic hued refulgence and casts upon the liquid mirror of the bay in challenging rivalry. Then the rainbows! At times the complete arc is seen of wonderful vividness, both extremities apparently nestling and melting into the bosom of the bay.

Continuing along the road, with its varied foliage, cedar seems to love the place; it is in evidence everywhere. We pass the old Kierstead house, which is over a hundred years old,





standing on the bank where the water of the bay at times reaches its wall. Opposite on the hillside is another old time house, now occupied by Mr. Arthur Marr. This is a typical old time homestead, most picturesquely situated with its barns, orchard, fields and pasture land running over the hill to the back road.

Now one of the prettiest parts of the road is reached, the branches of the large willows extending over it, giving the effect of an umbrageous avenue.

High up on the hill overlooking the world, or at least a very lovely portion of it, is an old picturesque building, now the residence of Mrs. Pettingil, a popular member of the community, organist of the Baptist church. This colonial home, with its number of great chimneys and fire-places, is still large though not of former dimensions. The barns and appurtenances are reminiscent of old times. Within the residence are antiques of furniture which are the envy of visitors. All along the road are old time farms and houses dotting the hillside or on the river bank, with here and there the summer homes of later arrivals.

St. Luke's Anglican Church is beautifully situated on the steeply rising ground, a short distance from the road and on a cross road which takes its undulating, winding way over hill and dale toward the railway station at Quispamsis. The church was built 1832, or just previously, and consecrated 1835 by Bishop John Inglis. The first minister was the Rev. Wm. W. Walker. It is now in charge of Rev. Canon Daniel.

The burial ground adjoining the church has a number of fine monuments sacred to the memory of departed residents of the locality, many of them of Loyalist families.

Flewelling's Wharf is about twelve and a half miles from the city. Generations of local history might be a term applied here. Neither time nor space will permit the story of this old wharf on the banks of the Kennebecasis; its comedies and tragedies and locally notable events. Here is the typical country general store, with its post office and dreamy atmosphere. Here also can be obtained marriage licenses and a Justice of the Peace. In this vicinity is the summer home of Dr. G. F. Matthew, late of H. M. Customs, and other pleasant homes, and the road continues with never lessening charm.



The old Merritt Homestead on the Hill: The property is of considerable extent, including Gondola Point, and owned by one of a family which was amongst the oldest settlers of Saint John of loyalist times. The old house, even before the present repairs were undertaken, had preserved its air of quality and distinction.

We have arrived at Gondola Point, about fourteen and a half miles from Saint John, the loveliest place at the end of the loveliest road out of Saint John. The bay narrows here to the river. A steam cable ferry for passengers and vehicles plies between the point and the opposite shore. The early settlers made the passage in small canoe-like boats or dugouts, which they called "gondolas" to distinguish them from fishing boats or freight scows. The frequent use of these boats at the point no doubt gave the name to the place.

The symmetrical wooded point and charming cove, with their beautiful, deep, sandy border laved by the gently deepening water and the wooded recesses of the hillside combine in a delightful resort for bathers and pleasure parties. Directly across is Clifton, with its wharf and pretty hillside homes and church. Adjoining it a little farther up the river is Reed's Point, of controversial bridge fame. The bridge across the river here was destroyed some years ago.

Just back of the river shore, between the hills, nestling in its vales and ridges, is historic Kingston, the former shiretown of Kings county and one of the earliest settled places, dear to the hearts of the Loyalists.

The up river perspective with its vanishing point near Hampton gives an enchanting view difficult to describe; the ideal and despair of artists. The soft blue haze thinly veils the greens and purples of the hills; the golden sheen of the sunlight reflected by the surface of the water pervades the atmosphere. The varied views of bay, hill, dale and forest, headland, cove and island are fascinating. A visitor having exclaimed, "This equals the grandest Italian scenery," received the reply in accents of astonishment, "Italian scenery, indeed! Why, man, it equals the grandest New Brunswick scenery."





BRIGADIER-GENERAL. ROBERT MONCKTON



INCIDENTS  
IN THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK

VENERABLE ARCHDEACON RAYMOND, LL.D.

(Brief statement on the occasion of the approaching visit of the Prince of Wales and addressed to His Royal Highness at St. John's, Newfoundland, during August, 1919.)

The Saint John River was discovered by the great explorer Champlain on the 24th of June, 1604 — the natal day of St. John the Baptist — and named, in honor of the day, "la riviere Saint Jean." The event is duly recorded in Champlain's very interesting narrative, published in 1612, and a plan of the harbor is also given which is easily recognized.

Champlain describes the remarkable falls at the mouth of the river where the battle, old as the centuries, is waged twice in every twenty-four hours between the outflowing waters of the mighty river and the inflowing tide of the Bay of Fundy. The river is the largest that enters the Atlantic between the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico, a sea-board of more than 3,000 miles. The tributary streams of the River Saint John penetrate every one of the fifteen counties of New Brunswick, with the exception of Gloucester, and also seven counties of the Province of Quebec and four of the State of Maine. So that the waters of twenty-five counties find their way into the Atlantic through the narrow outlet between the lofty cliffs, only about 250 feet asunder, at the mouth of the Saint John. The view of the falls at certain stages of the tide, as seen from the new bridge, is a very remarkable one and greatly admired by tourists. The name of the river was given also to the harbor and eventually to the City of Saint John.

The ter-centenary of the discovery of the River Saint John was fittingly celebrated by the citizens on the 24th of June, 1904, and a fine monument of the great explorer Champlain, (who is known as "the Father of Canada") now stands on Queen Square. It was erected in honor of the ter-centenary which ante-dates by





four years the ter-centenary of the founding of Quebec by the same illustrious explorer in 1608. The festival at Quebec in 1908 was honored by the presence of His Majesty King George V, then the Prince of Wales.

For 150 years the French kept possession of the Saint John river valley. The period of history under the French regime is picturesque. On the shores of this harbor Charles La Tour, in 1630, built his fort and held sway as a feudal chief for some years despite the efforts of his rival, d'Aulney Charnisay, to dispossess him. Taking advantage of La Tour's absence Charnisay attacked the fort, which was bravely defended by Madame La Tour at the head of her little garrison. It was eventually taken by the treachery of a Swiss sentinel, and the unfortunate Marie La Tour was brutally compelled to witness the execution of her brave soldiers, standing herself beside the scaffold with a halter about her neck as though she were a vile criminal. She died broken-hearted a few weeks later, and her ashes and those of her husband lie somewhere within the limits of our city. She is known as "the Heroine of Acadia."

It was not until the 16th of September, 1758, that a British expedition, under the command of Colonel Robert Monckton, took possession of the French post at the mouth of the river, and the valley of the Saint John passed finally into the hands of the English. Monckton built and garrisoned Fort Frederick, on the site of the old French Fort (opposite Navy Island, in Carleton). He was second in command, under Wolfe, next year at the taking of Quebec and was severely wounded on the Plains of Abraham.

Under the protection of Fort Frederick the first English-speaking settlers, from Massachusetts, established themselves on the shores of the harbor just under the shadow of the towering limestone rock, which is now called Fort Howe. The peninsula, which today forms the principal part of Saint John, was originally so rocky and forbidding, with its wild crags, swamps and ravines, that it remained without inhabitants until the close of the American Revolution in 1783. During that year no less than 14,000 loyal exiles, chiefly from the old colonies of Massachu-



setts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, came to settle on the River Saint John. Many of them had served on the side of the King during the war in the British American regiments. At least 25,000 men of all ranks were enrolled in these loyalist corps. Thousands of loyal subjects were proscribed and banished for their loyalty to the mother country and their possessions confiscated. Others again voluntarily sacrificed their possessions and all the endearments of the land where they had been born and bred and came to the wilderness of New Brunswick to begin life anew under the British Flag. These exiles were the United Empire Loyalists. Their motto — "Faithful alike to God and King."

Saint John may be said to have been born in a day.

Sir Guy Carleton provided a fleet of transports at New York, which took on board the loyalists who had chosen Saint John as their destination. On the 26th of April, 1783, upwards of twenty vessels sailed under convoy of British Frigates from Sandy Hook, New York, and after a wearisome voyage arrived safely at the River Saint John. Some days were spent in clearing away the brush wood and erecting hurricane houses, tents, and other rude shelter, and on the 18th of May, 3,000 of the loyal exiles landed in the wilderness on the site of the city. The prospect was indeed unpromising. As one of the loyalists says in simple words: "Nothing but wilderness before their eyes, the women and children did not refrain from tears." But

'Twas British wilderness  
 Where they might sing,  
 Long live the King,  
 And live defended by his laws  
 And loyally uphold his cause.

'Twas welcome wilderness,  
 Though dark and rude,  
 And wild and unsubdued,  
 For there their hands  
 By hated treason undefiled,  
 Might win for them they loved  
 A HOME on British lands.



During the ensuing months vessels continued to arrive from New York. Some of them came singly, others by two and threes. Towards the end of June there came the "Summer Fleet" with two thousand loyalists, and on the 26th September arrived the "Fall Fleet" with upwards of 3,000 people, mostly officers and soldiers of the loyalist regiments with their wives and dependents. Many of them passed their first winter in hastily built cabins, some in canvas tents, merely thatched with spruce boughs. They suffered grievously. Many died of cold and exhaustion and lack of proper food.

The loyal sentiments of the founders of Saint John is manifest in the place names they chose. The wards, into which the city is divided bear such names as King's, Queen's, Prince, Duke's, Victoria. The streets bear such names as King, Queen, Prince William, Princess, Crown, George, Charlotte, Victoria, Duke, Britain, Brunswick, Hanover, Clarence, Albion. The two principal squares are King Square and Queen Square. Both are laid out after the pattern of the Union Jack, the paths as in the diagram.

The sentiments of the founders survive in their descendants. Our fathers fought in 1776-83 to maintain, if they could, the unity of the Empire, and came here that they might remain under the British Flag. Our sons have died on the fields of Flanders and of France in behalf of the Empire, and of human liberty, "Faithful alike to God and King" as their forefathers were.

Two years after the city was founded in 1783 it was incorporated on its natal day (the 18th of May) by the Governor-in-Council, and the Charter afterwards received the Royal approval. The charter was modelled on the lines of that of the City of New York under British rule. Saint John remained for almost fifty years the only incorporated city in British America. Today it claims the distinction of being the oldest incorporated city in the Empire outside the United Kingdom, although its charter has been greatly modified in the course of time.

In days when wooden ships controlled the commerce of the world, Saint John owned more tonnage than any port in the



world save Liverpool, London and Glasgow. There were in Saint John and its vicinity twenty-five shipyards giving employment to several thousands of workmen. In those days our people built their ships, owned their ships, sailed their ships, and insured their ships. Mindful of her past the city is now making a strenuous effort to develop its harbor and to make it one of the national ports of the Canadian Dominion.

The city has had to overcome great difficulties in laying its water mains, gas pipes, and sewers in the solid rock, in cutting down precipitous cliffs and crags to render the streets passable, in building wharves sufficient to accommodate ocean-going ships of large size in a harbor, where the tide rises some twenty-six feet. The growth of the city has been hampered by destructive conflagrations, notably the Great Fire of 1877 in which more than half the business part of the city was destroyed, some ten miles of streets left in blackened ruins, \$25,000,000.00 of property consumed and 20,000 people rendered homeless.

Saint John at its incorporation adopted as its motto, "*O fortunati quorum jam moenia surgunt.*"

The founders of the city caught the spirit of the poet Virgil, as embodied in these familiar words, and built their city in defiance of all natural obstacles of crag and cliff and rugged rock.

In the same spirit Saint John in 1877 Phoenix like arose from her ashes and is today a much better built city than before the conflagration.

In the same spirit she has expended some millions of dollars in developing and enlarging her harbor, gradually over-coming natural obstacles and making it the winter port of Canada. Just 150 years ago the first small vessel was built and launched in our port. The builders were somewhat discouraged at the outlook and talking of removing to some place with a larger population and a better outlook. They were encouraged to remain by James White, one of the pioneers from Massachusetts, who said "Cheer up, lads, don't be discouraged; why ships will come here from England yet." And they have come.

Saint John has endeavored to live up to the motto of her founders—"Faithful alike to God and King"—by greeting





with a joyous welcome seven members of the Royal Family of England.

In 1794 she entertained His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria. In 1860 she welcomed the late King Edward, then the Prince of Wales, who was escorted to the Chipman Mansion, Union street, in which his Grandfather, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, had been received as a guest more than sixty years before. As the Prince entered the grounds some thousands of school children sang "God bless the Prince of Wales," and threw flowers in his pathway. They sang an additional verse to the National Anthem.

"Hail, Prince of Brunswick line,  
New Brunswick shall be thine,  
Firm has she been.  
Still loyal, true and brave,  
Here England's flag shall wave  
And Britons pray to save  
A nation's heir.

The Prince of Wales was then a young man, only eighteen years of age, but, even at that early age, displayed the marvellous tact and courtesy that in later years rendered him so beloved by the people.

In the course of the next few years Saint John was honoured by visits from Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, and somewhat later by a visit from the Princess Louise and her husband, the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada.

The visit of His Majesty King George V and our Gracious Queen Mary in 1901, as the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, is comparatively of yesterday. They were joyfully and loyally welcomed by the city of the loyalists.

Lastly we had the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who came to us in the dark period of the late dreadful war to bid us be of good cheer. We recall today the words of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the Canadian House of Commons,





OLD CHIPMAN MANSION



"When Great Britain is at war, Canada is at war," and remember the thrill that passed through the community on the memorable 4th of August, 1914, when it was learned that the British Empire had cast in its lot with France and Belgium in the most momentous crisis in the world's history. This province and this city have given the flower of our young manhood amongst the 500,000 Canadians who enlisted to fight the Empire's battles. Today there is hardly a town, or parish, or village in New Brunswick that has not some of its sons laid to their final rest in the far-away fields of Flanders and of France, while others have returned to us to bear through life the daily burden of dependence on the care of others consequent upon the wounds they received.

Saint John welcomes the coming of the Prince of Wales not only as the Heir-apparent to the Throne, but as one who in the trenches has shared the experience of our own brave lads, and can say with truth the words immortalized by the late King Edward VII., and repeated by thousands who have made sacrifices during the war, "*I have done my bit.*"

Saint John, as the commercial metropolis of New Brunswick, welcomes the coming of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and regrets that his visit is not a longer one.



## EVENTS OF THE DECADE, 1860-1870

REV. J. W. MILLIDGE, B.A. (1921)

The end of 1860 found New Brunswick in a fairly prosperous condition; shipbuilding was beginning to revive after a somewhat prolonged stagnation, and some ships sold in Liverpool at good prices. There was much activity in the deal trade, and a large trade in produce was carried on with the United States. This state of affairs was suddenly ended on 12th April, 1861, when the Southern rebels fired on Fort Sumter, and at once ended all possible chance of a peaceable settlement of the difficulties between North and South, and ushering in the bloody war which raged for four years between the two sections of the Republic. But the shot fired on that April day had, also, a far-reaching influence on our own fortunes.

By stopping a British mail steamer, the "Trent," and taking prisoners two Southern delegates (Mason and Slidell) to European Governments, the Empire was brought to the verge of war with the Northern States, and though their Government backed down and surrendered the delegates, appearances were so threatening that the Imperial Government sent out large reinforcements to Canada. As, by this time, navigation on the St. Lawrence being closed, they nearly all had to pass through Saint John; and our harbour, in the winter of 1861-62, presented a lively spectacle. Steamer after steamer arrived, filled with troops and munitions of war. To the citizens, who, at that time, had rarely seen an ocean steamship, and never more than a regiment of soldiers, the activity and bustle were very exhilarating; especially as we were not paying a cent; and, on the other hand, were coining money for the supplies and transportation needed for this large body of troops.

At that time there were no railways of any great importance in the province, so the soldiers were sent forward by sleds on the highways. The outbreak of the American rebellion had caused





a serious decline in our lumber trade, and hundreds of men and horses would have been idle had not an unexpected source of employment offered itself. Two days were occupied on the trip to Fredericton, and the remainder of the journey to River de Loup, where the Grand Trunk Railway was reached, in equally easy stages. So perfect were the arrangements and so good the provisions furnished that although it was the depth of winter not one death took place.

When it was decided, in London, that a contingent should be sent out, some brilliant genius at the War Office remembered that in New Brunswick and Canada the snow was pretty deep at this season, and the artillery would have great difficulty in dragging their guns on wheels. So Woolwich was set to work in a great hurry making sledges, as they were called, and which, when landed in Saint John, caused uncontrolled laughter among all who saw them. They were made of two planks, sniped off at each end to resemble sled runners, and connected by very inadequate crossbars without any braces; each plank had several wings of no great strength attached to the sides by staples. Had a gun been on one of them and a slew encountered on the road, the entire outfit would have collapsed. They were, of course, never used, and were piled up for some time back of the Custom House, in all probability being used for fuel in the end.

Volunteering became very popular among the young men. The Government supplied arms, but the volunteers bought their own uniforms and paid the expenses of their drill-halls and instruction. Several varieties of uniform could be seen at any general parade, as the men paying for their uniforms decided what should be their colour and cut. The one exception was the artillery, which always conformed to the Royal Artillery in this matter. I belonged to Captain B. Lester Peters' battery, and can testify to the immense benefit derived from the drill and the esprit de corps developed. As the war went on the Imperial Government sent out peremptory orders to the Provincial Governments to do something for their own defence, so the New Brunswick House passed a Militia Act, calling out



every able-bodied man between sixteen and sixty, and dividing the country into districts, under the command of colonels, with smaller districts under captains, and as everyone was profoundly ignorant of all military matters it was determined to establish a Camp of Instruction at Fredericton in 1864. As a preliminary an Officers' Corps was established at Saint John to instruct young men anxious to distinguish themselves. I joined this corps and when the camp was opened at Fredericton received a lieutenant's commission. We were to stay there one month, July. Men were collected from all over the province. The pay of a private was fifty cents a day, with all rations. A red serge tunic, with blue cap of same material, was served out to each man; but they had to provide their own pants and boots, which did not always make for uniformity.

How to get us all there was the next problem; the only railway of any importance was the European & North American, a very high-sounding title, but only 108 miles long, between Saint John and Shediac. All the men from the North Shore, from Albert, Kings, Saint John and Charlotte Counties were transported by this line to Rothesay, where a spur ran out to a wharf at that time; here the steamer Sunbury was waiting for us, and embarking, were soon on the way down the Kennebecasis to the Saint John, where we made frequent stops to pick up detachments at the various landings. Fredericton was reached about dark and we were marched to the Exhibition Buildings and grounds at the back of the city. Next morning we were licked into some sort of shape, forming two battalions of six companies each and a battery of artillery. A captain of the 15th Regiment was commandant, with the temporary rank of Colonel, to give him precedence over the two militia lieutenant-colonels, whose tactical knowledge left much to be desired. Non-coms from the 15th instructed the men, working very hard to initiate them into the mysteries of the goose step and forming fours, and in two or three days the men could march fairly well. Old muzzle-loading rifles were served out; in fact, there were no other kind then, the men being taught much useless drill as to loading and the use of the ramrod. In about a fortnight we



were considered sufficiently advanced to undertake battalion movements and then the fun commenced — companies finding themselves unexpectedly in awkward situations. About the end of our time it was decided to have a great field-day, the 15th Regiment to be brigaded with us. Then a puzzling situation, indeed, developed. Our battalions were numbered 1 and 2. It could not by any stretch of imagination be expected that an Imperial regiment should be No. 3 battalion, coming after a rabble of colonial militia who, three weeks before, scarcely knew right foot from left. So it was decided that the 15th should be No. 1 battalion, and ours 2 and 3. But then another difficulty at once arose; we had become accustomed to the word of command: "1st battalion do so and so, 2nd battalion, advance" and so on, that it was feared the field-day would end in confusion worse confounded if the numbers were suddenly changed. This situation worried the senior officers considerably and we juniors were earnestly exhorted to keep our ears open, and try to remember that although we were No. 1 battalion, we were not No. 1, but No. 2 for this day only. Finally, at the last moment, the day before, some bright genius discovered a way out of the difficulty. Our numbers were to remain as before and the 15th Regiment was to be the 15th. The field-day came off without a hitch. We were inspected by the Lieutenant-Governor,\* who told us that he had never seen such a splendidly well-drilled body of men, which led us to believe that he was either saying the thing that was not, or that he had seen very little of this country's defenders.

We all had a splendid time; no serious breaches of discipline, and no sickness whatever; the surgeons had nothing at all to do, and the Provost-Marshal very little. I remember, one day, a captain of a rural company came to the Commandant in a state of great excitement, saying that one of his men had just deserted, and wanting to know what was to be done. "Nothing," said the Commandant, "let him go."

The people of Fredericton were very sorry to have us go. Atherton, who kept the hotel of that name, and catered for the officers, said to me the day we left, "We are going to buy a few

\*Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon.



thousand feet of cheap boards." "What for?" I asked. "To board the city up after you go," he said. We returned to our homes the same way we came. The Sunbury took us to Rothesay, and the European & North American Railway the rest of the trip.

In the autumn an attempt was made to put into practice what we had learned at Fredericton. Bills were posted everywhere calling the militia to muster on the flats at Courtenay Bay on a certain day when the tide would be out. By this time I was captain in the 2nd Battalion, Saint John County Militia, and had all the territory north of the settled part of Portland, as it was then called, to the Kennebecasis, round by Boar's Head to Indiantown, for my company. I appointed four reliable men as sergeants and scurried round and obtained uniforms for them of those we had at the camp. I also borrowed sabres, from a place, I have forgotten, for them. When we were all assembled, near Scott's Corner, we were a motley looking crowd. The officers and sergeants made some attempt to get them into column of fours, and we marched down Main street in remarkably good order considering everything. Someone got hold of an old tin kettle and it was thrown from one to another throughout the whole company; no notice was taken of this, however, and it was soon dropped. When the place of muster was reached, the field officers were there, mounted; the rolls were called and some attempt made at battalion drill, wheeling into line and back again into company formation. Nearly 2,000 men were present, and this muster was kept up for several years, but gradually fell into disuse. Those that did not attend were fined, prosecution being attended to by the Colonel and Adjutant.

Very lively times were experienced in Saint John between 1860 and 1870, socially, commercially and politically. The Imperial troops made things lively socially. The Confederate cruisers, who played havoc with the northern shipping, gave a great boost to our ship-building industry, and startling changes in our political status were inaugurated.

I said, in the opening pages of this paper, that the shot fired at Fort Sumter had a far-reaching effect upon ourselves. There is a monument in St. Ann's Church, Fredericton, to the memory





of Captain Pipon,\* Royal Engineers, who was drowned in the Restigouche, while on a survey to locate the boundary between Canada and New Brunswick. Such a statement could never be made again, and one very cogent reason why it could not, was that shot fired at Fort Sumter on 12th April, 1861. No amount of argument could ever have brought about Confederation; but the logic of a common danger soon accomplished it. Here we were, four or five separate provinces without any kind of unity or basis of common action for defence against aggression. Two important sections, the Government of one having lasted sixty-two years, the other twenty years longer, and not knowing where their boundary was until determined for them by the Royal Engineers, in the habit of passing all kinds of hostile tariff acts. All this was changed in the course of two or three years into a firm alliance, where measures of defence could be taken with some hope of successful resistance. Of course, a stiff political opposition was put up, but Confederation carried eventually, and in the spring of 1867, Queen Victoria signed the British North America Act, which made us a nation.

SACRED  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
\*CAPTAIN JOHN HODGES PIPON,  
OF HER MAJESTY'S CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS,  
OF NOIRMONT MANOR HOUSE, ISLE OF JERSEY,  
AGED 28 YEARS,

WHO WAS DROWNED IN THE RIVER RESTIGOUCHE, ON THE 28TH OF OCTOBER,  
1846, WHILST ENDEAVOURING TO SAVE THE LIFE OF A FELLOW-CREATURE.

He was employed, at the time of his death, in conducting the exploration  
survey for a railway to connect the British North America Provinces,  
and as Her Majesty's Commissioner for the settlement of the  
boundary between Canada and New Brunswick.

His early death and melancholy fate will be a source of deep and lasting  
sorrow to his many attached friends.

His best memorial is in the hearts and affections of those who  
knew and loved him.

The Province of New Brunswick has erected this tablet to his memory,  
to testify to his friends and the distinguished corps to which he  
belonged, its respect for his character and its  
regret for his loss.

RESURGAM



The events of that stirring time are too well known to need rehearsal, but one very dangerous episode should not be passed over. At the close of the War of Secession a very large number of men were disbanded, and some of them, Fenian sympathizers, were organized into a marauding force. No actual invasion was attempted in our province, but we were very uneasy for some time, and steps were taken to protect the border. Many inhabitants of St. Andrews and St. Stephen sent their silver and other valuables out to the country to be buried, for protection from the raiders. In Saint John we awoke one morning to find a number of houses with the word "pull" chalked up on the doors; this caused considerable alarm, but nothing came of it; it was probably a practical joke. About 1870 it began to be realized that the days of the wooden sailing ship were over, and most of the shipyards ceased operations. Considerable unemployment ensued, many men left the city, the population began to decline and it was some years before other industries arose to take the place of our leading one. In all probability ship-building would have died a natural death in a few years. The large timber was all cut off, and imported timber would have been far too expensive, as it proved in the case of the few vessels built here in late years by the aid of large Government subsidies.

Confederation proved its practical value in the late War, and although many grave mistakes were made, Canada's share of the Empire's defence was not unworthy of the brightest jewel in the British Crown. We have to face many problems and some dangers, but shall surmount them all, and may look forward confidently to a larger, healthier and more beautiful city than in the past.



## CONCERNING A NAME

VENERABLE ARCHDEACON RAYMOND, LL.D. (1921)

Our great master-poet Shakespeare says, "What's in a name?" Sometimes there is a good deal in a name.

As a boy I used to carve the initials W. O. R. with my jack-knife, as all boys will, in various public places, but never liked to be asked what the O. stood for, because the reply was usually greeted with derision. My second name was Odber, and the only person of this name known to my school-fellows was a certain Odber McMichael, who was, I believe, rather a notorious individual, whom it was never my fortune to meet.

In the course of time, however, I became a little curious to learn the origin of the name in New Brunswick, but it was not until recently that its origin was really discovered. It goes back seemingly to the beginning of Saint John as an incorporated city, and involves a rather curious story.

Saint John was incorporated on the 18th of May, 1785, just two years after the "Landing of the Loyalists."

It then received a so-called "Royal Charter," drafted by Ward Chipman, Solicitor-General, along the lines of the Charter of New York. The Charter is older by more than half a century than that of any other Canadian city; and it has probably been oftener amended than that of any city in Canada. Under this Charter Colonel Gabriel G. Ludlow — lately commander of the 3rd battalion of DeLancey's Loyalist Brigade — became the first mayor, Bartholomew Crannell first common clerk, and Ward Chipman, first recorder. A common council, constables and other functionaries were appointed.

The incorporation of the city was co-incident with the establishment of a number of business houses in Saint John. Among these was the firm of "Hall, Lewis, Odber & Co." Their advertisement appears in an old newspaper as early at least as 1786.



Some of the accounts of the firm, beautifully kept by Mr. Odber, the junior partner, are preserved among the manuscripts in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa.

The junior partner was manager of the business in New Brunswick. His name in full was Thomas Treadway Odber. He was, I think, an Englishman by birth, a man of ability and culture, who soon made his place in the community. He is mentioned quite often in old letters of the period. (See Winslow Papers, p. 335, under date November, 1786.) The firm had a branch of their business in Fredericton and Colonel Edward Winslow, who had just gone there, sent letters by Mr. Odber to his friend, Mather Byles, Jr., in Saint John.

Mr. Odber was evidently a friend of Captain Elijah Miles of Maugerville, who was a half-pay officer of Col. Ludlow's battalion of DeLancey's Brigade.

We find in the Rev. John Beardsley's register of baptisms, the entry of the baptism of a son of Elijah Miles, by the name of Thomas Treadway Odber. This occurred soon after the parson came to Maugerville in 1786. This young scion of the Miles family, Thomas Treadway Odber Miles, grew up to be a leading man in the Maugerville community. He was a colonel in the militia, as his father had been, and also the principal parish magistrate, specially licensed to solemnize marriages. As his full name was rather cumbersome to use as a signature, in view of the amount of legal business he was called upon to transact, he usually signed his name Thos. Odber Miles. Squire Miles took to wife, March 11, 1815, Sarah A. Carman, a sister of Samuel Carman, my grandfather, and the latter named one of his sons Odber Miles Carman, after his Uncle Odber Miles. From my uncle the name of Odber was handed down to me.

After a time the firm of "Hall, Lewis, Odber & Co." ceased to do business in New Brunswick and Mr. Odber probably returned to England. His name, however, lingers among us still.

As german to this subject it may be mentioned that the oldest established business in the province today is that of A. Chipman Smith & Co., on the west side of King Square in





Saint John. It was founded about 1790 by Dr. Nathan Smith in a little shop in St. James St., adjacent to his residence in Lower Cove. Dr. Smith served in the American Revolution as surgeon in DeLancey's Loyalist Brigade and received a grant of 550 acres of land just below the old Indian town of Meductec, in the grant to DeLancey's 1st battalion, in the Parish of Woodstock.

His son, William Howe Smith, was also a physician, and married into the Miles family of Maugerville. In consequence of the relationship thus established with Thos. Odber Miles, the doctor named his son William Odber Smith.

The residence of old Dr. Nathan Smith in St. James St. was a landmark in Saint John until the Great Fire in 1877. From it the old front door with its antique knocker — both of them brought from New York in 1783 — was saved at the time of the fire by Dr. Smith's grandson, William Odber Stewart.

There was near the old home, in early days of the city, a pond, known as "Dr. Smith's Pond," where the boys used to skate, undisturbed by constable or police.

Dr. William Howe Smith, after the death of his father, removed the drug shop from St. James St. to the Market Square, foot of King St. He died in 1822, at the age of forty-five years, and his son, who was then only a lad of eighteen years of age, successfully carried on the business until his death in 1871.

During this period the Irish immigration gave Saint John a big *boost* and the young druggist attributed not a little of his success to the initial letter O in his name. The Irish immigrant commonly read the name on the sign over the door, *William O'Smith* and patronized him accordingly.

They also helped elect him mayor of Saint John, a position that he filled with much acceptance for several terms, and which in later years was ably filled by his son, the late A. Chipman Smith.

Among other things for which the City of Saint John has to thank A. Chipman Smith was the erection of the present Country Market on Charlotte St. As the old Country Market at the



foot of King St. was moved up the hill to Charlotte St., so did A. Chipman Smith move the drug business from Market Square into the new market building, where it still continues in his name, being in the one hundred and thirty-first year of its continuous existence. The next oldest firm is probably that of J. & A. McMillan on Prince William St.

[As seven years has passed since the above paper was written, A. Chipman Smith & Co. are now (1928) in their one hundred and thirty-eighth year in business.]



## THE FIRST EARL OF SHEFFIELD

TIMOTHY O'BRIEN (1924)

At a Court of the Mayor, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of Saint John, in Common Council assembled, at the City Hall of the said City, on Friday, the fifteenth day of March, 1805, present: His Worship the Mayor, William Campbell; Aldermen, Gilbert, Johnston, Garrison, Whitney; Assistants, Miles, Wetmore, Harding, Ketchum and Lingham; it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Corporation be given to Right Honourable Lord Sheffield for His Lordship's exertions by his late, as well as by his former publications, in support of British navigation laws, on which the prosperity of the Empire at large, and, more particularly, of this and His Majesty's other North American Provinces, so greatly depends.

*Resolved*, That the freedom of the city be humbly presented to His Lordship in a box, to be made of wood of this country, and that a picture, from an enlarged likeness of His Lordship, presented to this Board by the Honourable George Leonard, Esq., be enclosed in a suitable frame and hung up in the City Hall, in grateful remembrance of his public services.

*Resolved*, That the recorder of this city be requested to transmit the foregoing resolutions in such manner as may be most respectful, requesting His Lordship's acceptance of the gratitude of this Court."

The City Hall was the name given to the building on the Market Square. The basement, at first, was a general store; the first flat, with entrance from King St., was occupied as the City Market; the upper storey, with the platform the length of the building, was used for the Courts and the Council Chamber from 1797 to 1830, when they removed to the new Court House opposite the King Square. In 1837 the structure was taken down, to give place to the brick building, burnt in the fire of 1841. In this the civic offices were in the second storey; the lower sections being occupied by butchers and as a country market, with a section of the basement as a lock-up.



Hon. George Leonard, whose name appears in the resolutions, throughout his life, was a great friend and admirer of the Honourable Edward Winslow. His name frequently appears in the Winslow Papers (1776-1826), published in 1901, under the auspices of the New Brunswick Historical Society, and edited ably by the late Rev. Dr. W. O. Raymond, M. A. Mr. Leonard hailed from Massachusetts, and was second in command of the Associated Refugees. In 1783 he was one of the agents employed in locating the loyalists on the River Saint John. He was a member of the Council of New Brunswick; in the Legislature, as a magistrate, colonel of the militia, and the execution of the very difficult office of Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries, he was active and fearless. As a churchman and as one of the commissioners of the New England Company for the civilizing and christianizing the Indians he was equally energetic. His death took place in 1826, at Sussex Vale. On a tombstone, in Sussex, erected to the memory of Lieutenant Andrew Stockton and his wife, Hannah, it is stated that the couple were married in the City of Saint John, then called Parrtown, 4th April, 1784, by the Honourable George Leonard. It was the first ceremony of the kind in the town. Mr. Leonard was one of the grantees of Parrtown, and drew Lot 39; it extended half way up Union St. to Prince William St., and Lot 38 was drawn by his son. On the two lots a fine residence was built and the grounds tastefully laid out. The house stood back from Dock St., with lawn and terrace in front. For many years that section was the fashionable one in Saint John. On the arrival of Governor Carleton, in 1784, the Leonard house was prepared for him.

The original name of Sheffield St. was "South St.," a name suggestive of being the southern of Parrtown streets. In 1911, the name was once more changed and called Broadview Avenue. The land south of Sheffield St. was outside of the bounds of Parrtown. From 1820 to the removal of the Imperial troops, following Confederation in 1867, it was occupied by them.

William Campbell, who presided at the Council meeting, was born in Worcester, Mass. He went from Boston to Halifax with the British army in 1776, and from there to New York. At the





peace, in 1783, he went to Nova Scotia, and three years later settled in Saint John. He was a native of Argyleshire, Scotland, and died in 1823, aged eighty-two years. Mr. Campbell was the second mayor of Saint John, and served twenty years as the chief magistrate. He was, also, the postmaster of the city, and resigned both offices from old age, the city giving him a pension of £100 per annum for seven years till his death. In those days when a citizen died without heirs, the Mayor and Council attended the funeral. "They stood by the grave of William Campbell, in 1823, and they should stand there now and look at the neglected grave and broken tombstone," declared a speaker at a meeting in 1883, celebrating the centenary of the landing of the loyalists. His predecessor was the Honourable Gabriel G. Ludlow, who occupied the Mayor's Chair from 1785 to 1795. Hon. John Robinson, who died in office in 1828, was twelve years mayor. Messrs. Ludlow, Campbell and Robinson between them held the office of chief magistrate for forty-two years. The appointments were made by the Provincial Government for sixty-five years, 1785-1850, and during the remaining twenty-three years there were fourteen other gentlemen selected. In 1850 the Common Council began electing the mayor and since 1854 they have been chosen by the citizens.

Saint John's Masonic Lodge, on 30th November, 1887, erected a stone to Mr. Campbell's memory, in the Old Burying Ground, to replace the original one.

Under date of 5th March, 1807, Honourable George Leonard, among other matters, informed Lord Sheffield that the Legislative Council had closed their session the previous day. "I take," he wrote, "the first moment to inform your Lordship that I laid before the House of Assembly, your Lordship's letter, with which I was honoured, and which was listened to with much applause by the whole House — the galleries, being full of people from different parts of the country, joined in the acknowledgement and thanks for the services rendered the Colonies by your Lordship. The sum of £150 was immediately voted to cover all expenses for your Lordship's picture to the Colony, and a place in the Province Hall assigned for its being hung. The House



also voted an Address to His Majesty on the subjects of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy (now in possession of American subjects), the loss of the carrying and illicit trade, etc., etc. This important paper, which I am anxious for your Lordship to see, as a corroboration of the facts stated in your Lordship's book on the navigation system, confirms my statements to the ministers for years past."

When the full-sized portrait of His Lordship arrived in due course from England, it was placed behind the Speaker's chair in the House of Assembly. It remained there until the summer of 1820, in which year a Coat-of-Arms was purchased for the House of Assembly by the Province Agent, in London. On its arrival, by order of His Excellency, Lieutenant-Governor Smyth,\* it took the place of the Earl of Sheffield's portrait, which was removed to the Government House. That proceeding did not meet with the approval of the members of the House of Assembly, as the following extract from its proceedings discloses:

"HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

Wednesday, January 31st, 1821.

Mr. Ward Chipman moved the following order:

Ordered, That the portrait of Lord Sheffield, which has been removed from its former place over the Speaker's chair, be, forthwith, restored to the same."

On the question the House divided: Yeas, twelve; nays, eleven.

Saturday, February 3, 1821.

On motion of Mr. Chipman,

Resolved, That the portrait of Lord Sheffield, instead of being restored to its former place over the Speaker's chair, as directed in the resolution of Wednesday, last, be placed in such other part of the House as the Speaker may direct.

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\*In the south transept of the Cathedral, in Fredericton, there is a fine marble tablet to the memory of Lieutenant-Governor George Stacey Smyth. A beautiful medallion at the top shows the strong features of the resolute old soldier, whose sculptured sword recalls the field of Waterloo, where he was A. D. C. to Wellington.



On the return of the portrait to the Province Hall, it was placed by the Speaker, William Botsford, in the Speaker's room, leaving the Royal Arms behind the Speaker's chair. For twenty years the portrait remained undisturbed, but shortly after the arrival of Sir William Colebrook, to assume the governorship in 1841, the portrait, at his request, was sent to the Government House. The picture was nearly ruined by His Excellency's boys, having made it a target at which they shot arrows. After Sir William left the province, the Honourable Robert L. Hazen, on learning its state, had it sent to Boston, to be repaired. On its return it found a place, until the night of the fire, 1880, in the Legislative Council Chamber in the Province Hall. Since the abolition of the Upper House, so-called, the portrait has found a resting place in the Provincial Building.

Writing from Fredericton, August 28, 1806, to Lord Sheffield, the following statement was made by the Honourable Edward Winslow:

“The sober and sensible part of the community knows how to appreciate your Lordship's exertions. The intelligence of the bounties on fish and the arrangements for convoys was received here with every mark of gratitude and satisfaction. These favours were considered as an earnest of that justice which we have always been taught to look for from our political parents. By your Lordship's public declarations, justice has been done to the character of the country and its inhabitants, and they have revived those principles of loyalty which were beginning to droop. I brought out with me one of your Lordship's books for Mr. Botsford and one for Mr. Leonard, and a third (unbound) for myself. To gratify the public at large, I have caused it to be published by chapters (commencing with the seventh) and I have taken the liberty of introducing the first number by an extract from Mr. Alley's pamphlet. The editor of a new paper, 'The Fredericton Telegraph,' is now reaping the benefit of the publication by an increased demand and extended circulation of his paper.”





THE FIRST EARL OF SHEFFIELD





the sheriffs, in making no return, led to their being committed to Newgate, by order of the House of Commons. On a re-election, Messrs. Holroyd and Yeo had a large majority; their opponents were returned by the influence of the Corporation officials; but on petition, Messrs. Holroyd and Yeo were declared duly elected.

When the famous petition from the Protestant Association was presented to the House of Commons by Lord George Gordon, on June 2, 1780, Holroyd laid hold of Lord George, saying: "Hitherto, I have imputed your conduct to madness, but now I perceive that it has more of malice than madness;" adding, at the same time that if any of the mob made an entrance to the House, he would instantly inflict summary vengeance on his Lordship as the instigator. Holroyd, at the head of a detachment of the Northumberland Militia, was active in suppressing the riots that sprang from the noble Lord's action.

On January 9, 1781, Holroyd was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Sheffield of Dunamore, in the County of Meath, and on December 17, 1783, as Baron Sheffield of Roscommon. While an Irish peer, he sat as a member of parliament for Bristol, and took an active part in the debate, especially in opposition to Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of slavery, in 1791, and in favour of union with Ireland, on April 22, 1799. On July 29, 1802, he was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom as Baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, Yorkshire. Finally, he was created Earl of Sheffield and Viscount Pevensey, in the peerage of Ireland, on January 22, 1816. He served as president of the Board of Agriculture in 1803, as a privy councillor and a Lord of the Board of Trade in 1807. His death took place on May 30, 1821.

Earl Sheffield married, first, in 1767, Abigail, only daughter of Lewis Way, of Richmond, Surrey; by her he had one son, who died young, and two daughters; she died in 1793. Secondly, in 1794, Lucy, daughter of the late Earl of Chichester, who died without issue the following year. Thirdly, on January 9, 1798, Anne, daughter of the second Earl of Guilford, K. G., by whom he had one son, George, the second earl, and one daughter.



Sheffield Estate and Sheffield Place was regarded as a model of farming, and he was considered one of the leading authorities of the time on commerce and agriculture. He made the acquaintance of Gibbon in 1764, at Lausanne, Switzerland, a city which, since the Great World War, has assumed international importance, became his most intimate friend and edited his posthumous works. The famous historian said of him: "The sense and spirit of his political writings have decided the public opinion on the great question of our commercial intercourse with Ireland. He has never cultivated the arts of composition; but his materials are copious and correct, and he leaves on his paper the clear impression of an active and vigorous mind." The greater part of Gibbon's published correspondence was with Sheffield. The friends are both buried in Fletching Church, in which parish Sheffield Place stands. His numerous writings justify Gibbon's praise, says a well-known contributor to the Dictionary of National Biography. "Many of his pamphlets are contained in the pamphleteer," he adds. He wrote: (i) "Observations on the Commerce of the American States," 1783; 6th edition, 1784. This was written in opposition to the bill introduced by Pitt in 1783, proposing to relax the navigation laws in favour of the United States. It was the beginning of a long controversy and finally led to the abandonment of the scheme. Gibbon declared that "The Navigation Act," the palladium of Great Britain, was defended, and, perhaps, saved by his pen. (ii) "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade and Present State of Ireland," (intended to prove that Irish prosperity could only be maintained by a friendly connection with Great Britain). (iii) "Observations on the project for abolishing the slave trade," anon, 1790; 2nd edition, with additions and the author's name, 1791. (iv) "Observations on the Corn Bill," now defending in Parliament, 1791. (v) "Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works," edited, 1786; other editions in 1814 and 1837. (vi) "A Speech on the Union of Ireland," April 22, 1789. (vii) "Remarks on the Deficiency of Grain," occasioned by the bad harvest of 1799-1800. (viii) "Observations on the Objections Made on the Export of Wool from Great Britain to Ireland,



1800." (ix) "Strictures on the Necessity of Inviolably Maintaining the Navigation and Colonial System of Great Britain," 1804. (x) "The Orders-in-Council and the American Embargo Beneficial to the Commercial and Political Interests of Great Britain," 1805. (xi) "On Trade in Wool and Woollens," 1813. (xii) "Report of a Meeting at Lewes Wool Fair," 1813, (a similar report also in 1816.) (xiii) "Observations on the Impolicy, Abuses and False Interpretation of the Poor Law," 1813. (xiv) "On the Trade in Wool and Woollens, including an Exposition of the Commerical Situation of the British Empire." (xv) "A Letter on the Corn Laws," 1815. (xvi) "Remarks on the Bill of the Last Parliament for the Amendment of the Poor Laws, with Observations, etc.," 1819. (xvii) "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon," published posthumously, 1826.

Sheffield's son and grandson succeeded as second and third Earls, the latter, 1832-1909, being a well-known patron of cricket, with whose death the earldom became extinct. The Irish barony, however, under a special remainder, passed to the fourth Baron Stanley, of Alderney, who thus became Baron Sheffield of Roscommon.



SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE CITY OF SAINT JOHN  
AND PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK, 1870-1880

REV. J. W. MILLIDGE, B.A., (1922)

There is not the slightest doubt that the decade between those dates was a disastrous one, perhaps, to the whole world, certainly to the continent of North America.

A frightful hurricane, known as the Saxby Gale, had, on the 4th October, 1869, levelled most of the forests on the sea-board of New Brunswick and Maine, blown down many homesteads and barns, killing numbers of stock animals, and wrecking some fine ships. The after-effects of the gale were felt very seriously in the following spring; the papers of May and June are full of accounts of fires in the woods, when the blow-downs got in a blaze, and nothing could be done to stop them, owing to the tangled condition of the fallen timber. Several villages, like Lepreaux, Digdequash and Second Falls went out of existence, while St. George, Baring and other places lost a great part of their population. Frightful conflagrations took place; one at Chicago, 8th October, 1871, when, in what was the greatest fire of modern times, 2,124 acres were burned over, \$196,000,000.00 of property were destroyed and 250 people lost their lives. In Boston, 9th November, 1872, another great fire occurred, not, however, attended with any loss of life; hundreds of warehouses, filled with costly goods, banks, offices, churches, etc., involving a loss of \$80,000,000.00, were consumed; and our own fire of 1877, of which more will be said later. In July, 1870, war broke out between France and Prussia, in which the former, totally unprepared, was hopelessly defeated, suffered the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and condemned to pay the enormous indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. Then were sown the seeds which produced the late desperate war forty years later.

In our own city and province much business depression was felt. The wooden ship-building industry was dying, and, al-





though some fine ships were still being built, every one could see that it would not last much longer. Crowds of men no longer thronged the shipyards, only a few of the best and most reliable men being retained. Several subsidiary trades were also effected; sailmakers, riggers, boat-builders, blacksmiths, painters and even carvers were forced to close. This latter trade catered to the custom of having a figure-head on every ship, a custom which had come down from remote antiquity, for we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 28, v. 11, that St. Paul, on his journey from Malta to Rome, took passage in a ship whose sign was Castor and Pollux, that is, two heathen gods who were supposed to direct the ship safely over the pathless deep. When steam took the place of sails, it gave the death-blow to this old superstition; but it also took the bread out of the mouths of several families in Saint John. The Commercial Bank had failed before the decade began, but its effects were still felt, and a failure for \$125,000.00, with a dividend of \$0.25 on the dollar, may be attributed to it. Another failure for \$85,000.00, with a dividend of \$0.05 to the dollar, was the result of dabbling in Wall St. funds; a new thing, which led to much distress among those who had entrusted their little all to the speculator. All this commercial depression had a singular effect upon the city, which I heard ably expounded by the late Silas Alward, K. C., at a lecture in the old Mechanics' Institute (winter course of 1875). He said we were suffering in two directions: The men of means, who had made their money exploiting the resources of the country, were leaving for Liverpool and London, where they could invest their capital more profitably, and the strong, able-bodied workmen, who, really, were the upbuilders of the nation, were obliged to go where work could be had.

In 1873 a tremendous collapse in business in the United States took place, which had a bad reflex action upon New Brunswick business. Several firms engaged in the United States trade collapsed, and one spectacular failure took over \$350,000.00 out of one of the banks and closed several saw-mills. At one time there were fourteen of these mills below the falls, some of them very large and employing about one hundred men each;



now there is only one that saws at all steadily. These mills not only gave a great deal of employment but supplied an immense amount of cheap fuel for the people. Lath edgings, which often included substantial pieces of wood, could be had for the cost of hauling, twenty-five cents a load for a short haul; fifty cents for a longer one. I have often purchased a whole year's kindling wood for ninety cents, while last October, one load cost me \$5.55; the five cents the driver explained, was for sales tax.

These mills sometimes blew up; one notable explosion occurred in May, 1871, in Kirk and Daniel's mill, situate just where the C. N. Railway shed is now on Long Wharf. The mill was shut down for breakfast, when one of the three boilers over the sawdust furnace exploded, tore through the end of the building, turned end over end, and landed 200 feet out in the pond; another took the opposite direction through the engine-room, out at the back of the mill. These explosions were always attended with loss of life, but the singular fact about this one was that the two, who lost their lives, had no business in the mill. One was a little girl of ten years, who had come for water to a tap between the sawdust and main boilers, and was scalded to death; the other, a boy, of twelve, picking up chips in front of the mill, was struck by the flying boiler and killed instantly. A still more singular circumstance was that a sawdust wheeler, who was standing on the top of the furnace, within six feet of the exploding boilers, escaped with scarcely a scratch. But generally some of the firemen lost their lives on these occasions.

An item from the "Daily Telegraph" of June 10, 1871, breaks the otherwise somewhat gloomy chronicle:

"A rare sight was witnessed yesterday in the harbour, the wind blowing from the north, above Sand Point, and from the south, off the beacon. Large vessels were seen sailing up and down, each with square yards and schooners were seen approaching each other 'wing and wing.'"

Here is another item from the same copy:

"A very charming young lady of this city who is so very fond of her dear Augustus that she cannot go shopping without



seeking some little present for him, learned that Messrs. Page Bros., (now Ferguson & Page) had a new article which she was determined to purchase for him. Walking along King St. with a friend from the country, exclaimed: 'O! here is Page Bros. store.' 'No,' said the other, 'this store seems to be kept by Mr. Jewellery.'"

Following Confederation the last Royal Governor left the province, and the Imperial troops were removed from Saint John and Fredericton. These measures were deeply deplored by very many, but, in reality, they were not to be regretted. The governors kept alive aristocratic and reactionary conditions that should have no place in a new country. The governor's wife usually managed the social activities of Government House and there was much discontent manifested at her decisions. For instance, during the satrapy of Sir Edmund Head, Lady Head decided that no retailers or their families should be invited to the social functions. "The line must be drawn somewhere, you know." There were in Fredericton at that time two brothers; one sold groceries retail, the other sold alcoholic liquors, wholesale. The retailer's family was strictly excluded from Government House; the wholesaler's warmly welcomed. One of the regrets expressed for the withdrawal of the troops was the loss of the money they expended, but that was only a drop in the bucket, and our province had to contribute \$40,000.00 a year towards their upkeep, so the balance after all was not very much in our favour. And then their moral influence was not of the best. The troops at Fredericton, however, performed one very useful function without ever leaving the barracks. That city is a great lumbering center, and in the spring hundreds of river drivers are paid off almost simultaneously. The combination of numbers of men shut up in camps in the woods all winter, plenty of money and unlimited rum — had it not been for the presence of the soldiers — would have reproduced the conditions over in Maine where the river drivers, the first night after their arrival, worked off their superfluous energy in pulling the town to pieces, caring nothing whatever for the small civil force that might be brought against them. But in Fredericton, where a strong party of well-



armed men could be brought against them in a few minutes, the rioters confined their depredations to the low dives where they obtained their liquor. However, the governors and troops have all gone, leaving nothing to recall their memory but some dilapidated barracks and the white elephant of Government House, long since abandoned by the Lieutenant-Governors, who did not relish spending their entire salary in the upkeep of a building that had outlived its usefulness. By this time it would have been tumbling down had it not been for the Great World War. With some alterations it made a capital hospital, where many returned invalids were treated; but only a government with unlimited resources could afford to keep it up. I was all through it last winter; down in the basement were three large boilers, and the fireman said it took two tons of coal a day to keep the building warm. In old times it was warmed with wood, taking 500 cords a year paid for by the province.

The next excitement was the celebrated boat-race on the Kennebecasis when Renforth met his death in so tragic a manner. Aquatics from this time seemed to decline, and what had once been a very favorite pastime became almost non-existent. Our oarsmen were once celebrated over the whole English-speaking world, but now, since the advent of the motor boat, scarcely a man can be found who can row decently.

Nothing very startling occurred from this time until 1877, when a large part of the city went up in smoke. Histories of this calamity are easily accessible, so only the barest account will be given here. Wednesday, 20th June, dawned beautifully, a high wind was blowing, but the day was very fine. About noon dense clouds of smoke rolled over the city; some uneasiness was felt, but it was soon discovered that the woods were on fire towards the northwest. This had scarcely passed over when a warehouse on a wharf in York Point caught fire. A woodboat was discharging baled hay into this warehouse and it was set on fire by sparks from Kirk & Daniel's mill. The fire soon got out of control and cinders, carried by the high wind, spread the fire all over the south-eastern part of the city, distracting the efforts of the firemen. It was hoped that the brick and stone houses





in the business section would prevent too great a spread of the conflagration, but the masses of wooden buildings all burning together produced such a heat that the internal woodwork of the brick houses soon took fire, and they burned as readily as the others. All the afternoon and succeeding night the fire raged, no efforts being made to stop it, as they were seen to be useless, and were directed to the saving of what effects could be carried to a place of safety. But much of what was removed was afterwards destroyed. The whole atmosphere seemed to be full of heat. I saw a piano that had been carried into the centre of Queen Square, far from any burning houses, burst into flames, and my own beard at the same time was set on fire by a flying cinder. People were pretty well distracted but there was no panic. Many looking for a place of safety went to Reed's Point Wharf, and might have been trapped there had it not been for the International steamer, which took them all aboard, fed them and landed them on the Island. Another boat of the same line, on the way to Saint John, kept her steward department busy cooking food to be distributed to the distressed people on her arrival. The next day the city presented the appearance of a bombarded place; the walls of most of the stone and brick buildings were still standing, while piles of smoking debris smouldered for more than a week. Several lives were lost. Garrett Cotter and Peter McGovern were killed by a falling cornice. James Kemp and Thomas Holmes put some things they had saved in an old boat and started for Carleton; the bottom of the boat broke and they were drowned. Mrs. Coholan was smothered on Smythe St. All that was left of Mrs. Bradley were some bones, found on her door step, after the fire. The remains of Richard Thomas were found on the site of R. O'Brien's saloon, Germain St. Robert Fox, Haymarket Square, not having been seen since, has been pronounced dead. Mrs. Reed, Lower Cove, could have been saved if the fire had not crazed her. Her two sisters, the Misses Clark, lost their lives, one of them burning in her house, corner of Sydney and Main Sts. In a short time relief measures were instituted in hundreds of cities and towns, and soon a steady stream of all sorts of



commodities poured in. Much of the stuff was of very little value; it was stored and distribution made in the Victoria Rink, on City Road. The manner of the distribution of the clothing was, to say the least, peculiar; a man stood on a platform with a barrel at his side. The rink was crowded with men and boys. He would take out a hat, for instance, throw it as far as he could. Someone would grab it and leave; then he might throw a vest in another direction, and so on, until the barrel was empty; another would then be handed up and the process repeated. The report that free food and clothing could be had for the taking soon spread abroad, and a great number of loafers and hoodlums made their way to Saint John. A man, whose name I have forgotten, soon after this came from Chicago and straightened out matters, so that the relief was distributed more impartially. A large amount of money had been subscribed, and under his supervision, much of it was invested so that it produced an income for the sufferers for many years. Just after the fire a patrol of militia, to which I belonged, was instituted, and kept down any attempt at rowdyism, and two companies of the 97th Regiment came round from Halifax, camped on Chipman lawn, but not being needed, soon went back again. A small warship also came and landed a party of sailors, with a gun, which did good service blowing up standing walls that might have been dangerous. The basement wall of the Post Office on Princess St., however, resisted all their bombardment; shot after shot was fired against it without making the least impression. A very different building it was from some of those which went up to replace those that had been destroyed. Large numbers of United States bricklayers came down to work at the re-building; they could walk right around our men laying brick, but sometimes before they finished a building, it would come down by the run, the mortar never getting a chance to set. A notable case occurred on Prince William St., where a building fell and seriously damaged Messrs. McMillan's new store, breaking a large hold in the south wall. A lawsuit was the outcome of it.

A feeling akin to despair settled down on the people after the fire. Just when most of the means of subsistence seemed to be



slipping away, to have their homes, their places of business and their churches taken from them, as in a moment of time, seemed too much to bear, and many people seemed to think that the city would fall into same state of inanition that St. Andrews, Shelburne and Louisburg had fallen. But a better spirit soon prevailed, many buildings were run up, and no failures of importance occurred. The loss was about \$28,000,000.00, with insurance of over \$7,000,000.00.

Quite apart from the Great Fire, 1877 was remarkable as a year of fires. In September a large fire swept the corner of Union and Waterloo Sts., destroying a good many buildings. Then, in October, a fire started near Rankin & Co.'s premises, at the foot of Portland St., and burned to the corner of Main St., destroying the Methodist Church and many dwellings. In this fire the mate of the Empress, a boat that ran on the bay, was burnt out, after the same experience in the Great Fire. He said afterwards that this was the eighteenth time he had been burnt out in Saint John. In May and June there were large fires in St. Stephen and Woodstock, which destroyed much valuable property, and wiped out important business sections of those towns.

Some people seem to think that the insurance in these cases replaces all losses and that we are as well off as before; but this is a great mistake; a large amount of valuable property has gone up in smoke, many families have been disturbed, their furniture, even when carried to a place of safety, often damaged, and the seeds of disease implanted, through exposure or excitement, that occasionally proved fatal. Then the belief that the insurance money is a sort of gratuity, coming from no one knows where, is a complete fallacy. We are all paying for those conflagrations in the seventies now. Our premiums, for insurance, are ridiculous. In England and France, where buildings are scientifically constructed, the rate is very low. In Philadelphia, where they are very particular about fire damage, the premium for ordinary dwellings is one-quarter of one per cent. for three years, and there is a policy written, covering the whole life of a building or if it lasts so long a century for three per cent. Now, there must



have been a cause for all those fires in the seventies, and it is not far to seek. The weather was very dry, the winds were high and vast conglomerations of wooden houses had been run up as close to each other as they could possibly be placed, making as fine a combination of circumstances as could be conceived for the activities of the fire fiend. It was astonishing how soon business began to right itself. In a few days great activity began to be displayed. The greatest enterprise was manifested by the papers, the "Telegraph" and the "Globe" getting out an edition the very next day after the fire,— quite a curiosity in journalism.

A great extension of railways in this decade made travelling much easier. Boston was connected by rail on one hand and Quebec and Halifax by the Intercolonial on the other; but these new routes displaced several steamboat lines, which no longer proved profitable. Great Montreal firms began to send their travellers into Maritime territory, and our own wholesale firms were obliged to order most of their stock from them, thus cutting off their English import trade which had been so profitable in the past. All these changes had a bad effect on the city, and population fell off quite seriously. I shall probably be considered a calamity howler, but these notes are simply records of facts that seemed to crop up altogether, and the effects produced were inevitable.

It has been well said that "Happy is the nation that has no history," and it is true enough, for when things are going along smoothly and people are getting their living quietly, "marrying and giving in marriage," the historian finds nothing to write about, but the people usually find a good deal of comfort and contentment in "the trivial round, the common task." But when great disasters overtake the people and thousands find their means of livelihood suddenly cut off, a deep impression is produced upon their minds, and the more calamitous it is the more interesting it becomes.

The city survived the crisis and is now on the highway of prosperity. There is now no thought of wholesale exodus, but





rather a pressing in of people looking for employment, filling up every vacant tenement and producing a housing difficulty never experienced here before.

All we require now is patience, perseverance and progressive-ness, and the city will come out all right. We have many natural advantages, a favourable geographical position, enormous resources in the continent behind us, which must have an outlet, or rather, outlets, on the Atlantic Coasts, and there are works under way, which will, when completed, make Saint John one of the best equipped ports in North America.



## BEARS IN NEW BRUNSWICK IN THE OLDEN TIME

VENERABLE ARCHDEACON RAYMOND, LL.D., (1921)

In my young days stories about bears were often related by the old settlers. The farm of my grandfather in Lower St. Marys had as its lower line the boundary between the Counties of York and Sunbury. A road called the "County Line Road" here ran back at right angles to the River Saint John. The land that bordered this road was pasture and partly overgrown with bushes. Raspberries grew in abundance and cattle roamed at large. Bears were numerous along the County Line Road but were usually so well fed, owing to the abundance of berries, that they were little dreaded. One of my uncles, when quite a small boy, in going after the cows one evening was running heedlessly along the cow-path when he ran slap into a bear lying asleep in a hollow. He tumbled over him and rolled headlong. It was hard to tell which was the most frightened the boy or the bear. Each fled in a different direction.

The bears were, however, partial to sheep and very destructive to the farmer's flocks, and the government offered a considerable bounty in cash for the nose of every bear, young or old. This helped to stimulate a crusade and the life of bruin became very hazardous ere long. Bears were shot and caught in traps by the score.

On a Sunday afternoon, sixty-five years ago, one of my uncles and his young wife went for a walk out the County Line Road, having their baby with them in her small carriage. They encountered unexpectedly a she-bear and two cubs. Not having his gun and the mother bear being rather cowardly, my uncle chased the cubs up a tree and ran home for his gun leaving his wife with her baby at the foot of the tree to keep the cubs there until he returned. The old bear growled threateningly, and prowled about in the underbrush. The cubs attempted to descend but the plucky young wife stoned them up the tree



again and held her ground until the return of her husband with his gun. He shot the cubs and in due time received the bounty from the government, but could not manage to get a shot at the old bear, which kept out of reach of his musket. This plucky young woman was a girl born in our City of Saint John.

This story I had from my mother.

In Woodstock, N. B., the home of my childhood, our nearest neighbors were my father's uncles of the Beardsley family. Most of the men were tall powerful fellows (there were six brothers). Perhaps the most so of all was "Uncle Ralph," who was tall, well-proportioned, and weighed about 250 pounds. His strength was great, as the following story will show:

The brothers, John and Ralph, one day found the remains of a fine steer that had been killed and partly devoured by a bear. The creature they judged by his tracks to be a very large one. They decided to watch for the bear the next night, presuming that he would return to continue his banquet.

Armed with the old-fashioned flint-lock muskets, they lay in wait beside the remains of the steer. A thunder-storm came on and one of the brothers said, "the bear will come with the storm." This proved true. A flash of lightning revealed the bear beside the steer and taking aim as best they could in the uncertain light the brothers fired. The priming of Ralph's gun had been wet by the rain and the gun missed fire, but the ball from Uncle John's musket passed directly through the bear's head and he rolled on the ground. John ran forward eager to administer the *coup de grace* but tripped over a root and fell on his face, the bear rolling directly upon him.

Uncle Ralph seized his musket by the muzzle and swung the heavy brass-bound butt with all his strength upon the head of the bear. The butt was splintered by the might blow, but the bear was not rendered unconscious. Seizing the iron gun-barrel Ralph proceeded to pound the life out of the bear, and did not desist until he had smashed the barrel of the musket into three pieces. He said afterwards that blows on the creature's head seemed of no use, but that when he pounded him on the *nose*



he soon got the better of him. To his great relief he succeeded in saving his brother uninjured. The bear was a very large one and Ralph Beardsley's feat was often spoken of in the neighbourhood in my young days. I have something more to say about bears, but would like to interpolate another reminiscence first.

When the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., visited Fredericton in 1860, the people of the surrounding country flocked to the capital to do honour to the heir to the throne. There was then no railway and the river road from Woodstock to Fredericton was filled with a constant procession of carriages bearing loyal citizens to the capital to welcome the Prince. The desire to see him was intense. Uncle Ralph was amongst those who drove to Fredericton, and on his return had many stories to relate, and he told them well. One that I recall was that on the day when the Prince opened a park near the Government House, at the upper end of the town, the people had gathered in such crowds that (there being no eminences in the park) only a few could see him. A disconsolate young lady of diminutive size found herself unable either to penetrate the crowd or to see over their heads. She attracted Uncle Ralph's attention. He saw her difficulty. He had himself a wife who was a *little* woman and he inquired if he could help her. She told him she had come a long way to see the Prince and that as he was going away on the morrow she would be much mortified to have to go home without even having had a look at him.

"Come with me," said Uncle Ralph, and he led the way to a tree not far from where the Prince was standing. "Can you climb?" he said. She answered "I can *try*." Taking her foot in his big palm and steadying her with the other hand he lifted her in the old time fashion in which ladies were lifted into the saddle by their cavaliers, up to the lowest branch of the tree. "Now *climb*," he said. She soon made herself a comfortable seat, and said excitedly, "Oh, I can see him splendidly here; he is only a little way from me."

"Take plenty of time," he said, "I will stand guard." In due course he assisted her down, received her grateful thanks and she went on her way rejoicing.





Soon afterwards he found a man, of the stature of Zaccheus, who had tried in vain to see the Prince. He confided his trouble to Uncle Ralph. "Today is the third day he has been here," he said, "and I haven't seen him yet, I shall have to go home without seeing him."

Constables were now busy keeping the people from climbing trees, but Uncle Ralph again led the way to his tree. He said to the constable "Here is a man who has come a long way to see the Prince, and I want to help him, and seizing the little man he chucked him high up among the branches, at which the crowd laughed. The constable looked rather apprehensively at the gigantic man, whose smile had in it something of the '*Nemo me impune lacessit.*'"

He laughed and suffered Zaccheus to remain, with the big man as his guardian. "Take plenty of time," said Uncle Ralph, "you may never again have a chance to see the future King of the Empire."

Through the kindness of our corresponding member, Dr. W. F. Ganong, of Northampton, Mass., I have had the privilege of studying his photo-stat copy of P. Campbell's "Travels in the Interior parts of North America in 1791, 1792," printed in Edinburg in 1793. The photo-stat copy is from the volume in the library of Congress. The books are now very scarce and a copy was sold at auction some little time ago for \$350.00.

The description of his trip through New Brunswick — up the river to Fredericton, then up the Nashwaak to the Highland Settlement made there by the old 42nd Regiment, then up the Kennebecasis to Sussex, and then west to Passamaquoddy and Grand Manan, is all full of interest.

I shall only venture to give some extracts relating to *Bears in New Brunswick*: These extracts I give *verbatim* without note or comment. He writes on September 2, 1791: "After we had passed Major Coffy's (Coffin's) beautiful seat, pleasantly situated on a point (Woodman's Point) on the west side of the river, we landed \* \* \* Here I was informed that two men, in coming down the river, had attacked an old bear and two young ones, swimming across the river, which they killed.



Another man, in his boat alone, met a bear swimming across, and struck him with his axe and wounded him; but by the force of the stroke the axe fell overboard. The wound exasperated the bear to such a degree that it was with the utmost difficulty the man could keep him from boarding him and in the struggle he bit one of his fingers; but at last he shoved off his boat and got quit of him.

\* \* \* "On an island, called Spoon Island, there were seven bears killed in one day. A gentleman and his son, near the house in which I then lodged, had been out working at the hay, having pitch-forks and rakes. Seeing a monstrous bear, quite close to the river, they pressed so hard upon him as to drive him into the water. They then thought they had him secure, as there was a boat near them, to which they immediately ran; and having pursued and come up with him, they struck and pelted him with the pitch-forks and shafts till they broke them to pieces. The exasperated monster now, as they had no weapon to annoy him, turned the chase on his adversaries; and fixing his forepaws upon the gunnel of the boat attempted to get in.

"They did all they could to keep him out, but their efforts were in vain,— he got in. So that at last they had nothing else for it, but either to jump out into the water or stay in the boat and be torn to pieces. They chose the former and swam ashore. The bear, now master of the boat whence the enemy had battered him, was so severely galled with the strokes and wounds he had received that he made no attempt to follow, but continued in the boat, otherwise he might have soon overtaken them, and have had ample revenge as he could swim three times faster than they.

"They immediately ran to the house for guns, and when they came back saw him sitting in the boat, and dipping one of his paws now and then in the water, and washing his wounds; on which, levelling their pieces, they shot him dead.

"The landlord of the house I put up at, when this story was told, showed me one of the paws of this bear, which, on account of its great size, he kept as a show, and added that it was as big as a yearling calf. So that one may easily conceive the havoc and destruction committed in a country so much infested with



such monstrous and ravenous animals, especially on sheep, the simplest and silliest of all creatures, which fall an easy prey to beasts of far less strength and size. Many of these harmless, yet useful animals, were destroyed by bears in this very neighbourhood, where one man sustained the loss of thirty of his sheep within a short space; and even young cattle often were devoured, and carried off by them; yet they prefer swine, when they can get them, to any other meat.

\* \* \* "After satisfying myself with everything necessary for me to see in this part of the River Saint John, I left my coat in the boat, the day being warm and sultry, and proceeded in my waistcoat and trousers twelve miles on foot. \* \* \*

"I proceeded on the road, which had hitherto continued along the river side, but now struck off from it and led into a thick wood. \* \* \* No sooner had I entered this dreary wilderness than the many stories I had heard of the bears recurred to my mind, which made me so apprehensive as to be at a stand whether to return back or push forward. I chose the latter. My dog, who was along with me and to whom I trusted much in case of being attacked, kept ranging about for game and was but rarely in my sight; so that I had constantly to call on him to keep him in, lest a bear should spring out of the wood on me in his absence; for it being Sunday (as before said) I had left my gun, along with my servant, in the boat, and I began to cut a stout stick with my pocket knife. While bent down at this work, such was my apprehension, that I kept constantly looking around me, lest a bear should seize me by the posteriors.

"After being fortified with this stick I proceeded on without any further concern. Had I been so well informed as I afterwards was, I would have been under no such apprehension, as it is very rare that a bear; no way molested by man, will attack him unless she happens to have young cubs. In that case it is dangerous to go near her den, but no bear would keep her young so near a place so much frequented by her mortal enemies, the human species, as that road was."

So much for bears in New Brunswick.



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