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Vol. I.

No. 6.

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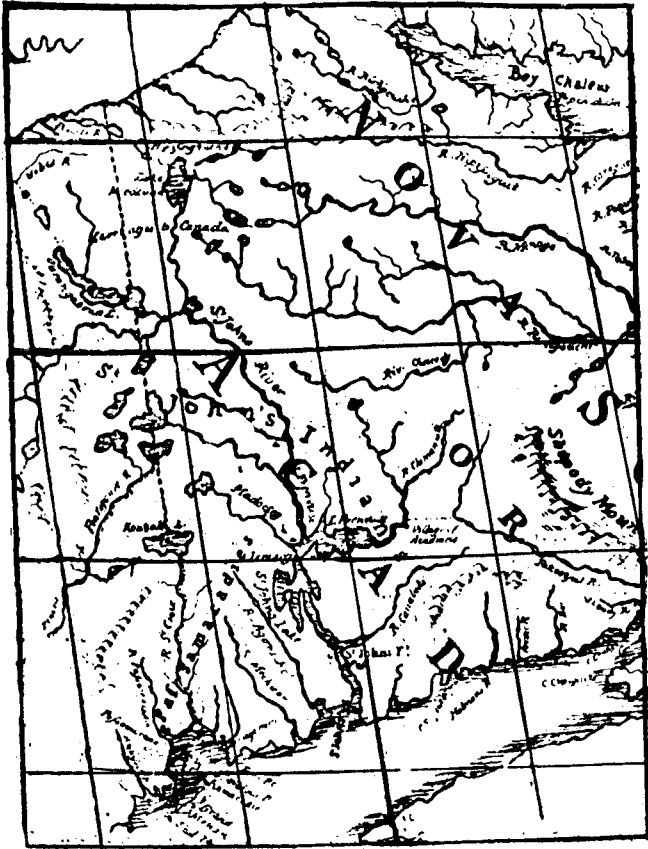
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SECTION OF THE MITCHELL MAP.

This was the map used in negotiating the Treaty of Paris, in 1783. The due north line of the American claim is shown by dots from Kousaki, or Grand Lake, at the head of the St. Croix, to the highlands south of the St. Lawrence.

The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I.

DECEMBER, 1898.

No. 6

THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

There are probably but few people in New Brunswick, who, knowing anything at all about the boundary disputes terminated by the Ashburton treaty of 1842, would not claim that this province was sadly defrauded by that treaty and through it lost a great and valuable territory belonging to her by right. This statement is passed along from one generation to another, accepted without question and repeated without investigation. Not only is it current in conversation, but it has even been promulgated by high officials in public addresses. But this condemnation of the Ashburton treaty is not confined to New Brunswick alone, for it is equally intense and widespread in the other country affected by it, the state of Maine, which claims that it, and not New Brunswick, was the heavy loser. Naturally, as a New Brunswicker, I formerly thought our own view of the case necessarily the correct one, but an investigation of the whole subject, so far from confirming this opinion, has forced me to the opposite conclusion, namely, that Maine is right and we are wrong, that the Ashburton treaty took from Maine much territory awarded her by the treaty of 1783, and

so far from robbing us of what was our due, it really gave us territory not awarded us by the treaty.

My own attention was first turned to this subject through studies upon the early maps of New Brunswick. I noticed that the maps of the last century, almost without exception, sustained the American and not the British claims. I accordingly investigated all other evidence and all documents accessible to me bearing upon the subject, with the result stated above. I have given in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897 (Section II, page 383) a brief discussion of the evidence. It is a pleasure to be able to add that Mr. James Hannay, in various newspaper writings, has expressed independently substantially the same opinion.

The American claim, it will be remembered, was that the due north line from the source of the St. Croix should cross the River St. John above Grand Falls (instead of stopping as it does at the river) and continue to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence, and that all west of this line was awarded to them by the treaty of 1783. The British claim, which was first introduced in this century, was that the north line should stop at Mars Hill, south of the Aroostook, and thence run west along the Aroostook-Penobscot watershed. The present line, secured by Lord Asburton, roughly splits the difference between the two claims. It does not give us a convenient nor natural boundary, but for that the British Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of 1783 should be held responsible and not Lord Asburton, who saved us from a part, though he could not save us from all, of the consequences of their action. Yet for these Commissioners, too, there is excuse, for events and odds were fearfully against them.

The boundary in part between the United States and British America was defined in the treaty of 1783 as follows:—

"Art. II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz.: From the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due North from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the North-Westernmost Head of Connecticut river." (Here is the description of the remaining boundaries of the United States, of no importance to our present subject until the following occurs.) "East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all islands," etc. (Murdoch, *Nova Scotia III*, 24, 25).

Though drawn up in good faith and apparently with unmistakable clearness, this description of boundaries fitted so badly the country it tried to describe that it gave rise to over half a century of international disputes, so bitter as to bring the two nations near to the verge of war, so important as to require successive weighty Commissions for their settlement, and so lasting that their final echoes have hardly yet died away. This entire subject of the evolution of our boundaries has not been adequately treated by any New Brunswick writer, and it yet awaits a thorough and judicial treatment. But so far as our present subject is concerned we have to deal with only one phase of the disputes, that which has to do with the length of the due North line from the source of the St. Croix, and the resultant position of the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia."*

* Two subordinate questions not directly connected with the present subject are yet of sufficient interest and importance to deserve mention here,—namely, the identity of the River St. Croix and the choice for the boundary of the East instead of the West branch of that river. It has been claimed by most American writers that the Magaguadavic should have been made the boundary, on the ground that the river named St. Croix on Mitchell's map (the map used by the Commissioners in their negotiations) was really meant for the Magaguadavic. I have been able to prove that the St. Croix of Mitchell's map is really the present St. Croix and not the Magaguadavic. (in *Magazine of American History*, XXVI, 261 and XXVII, 72) for the name applied on that map to the lake at its head is the Indian name of Grand Lake of the Chiputnatcook Chain. The position of the mouth of that river is altogether inconclusive, since by a mistake of Mitchell in copying an earlier map of Southack it empties by Letite Passage and not

The question then now before us is this, what was understood by the Commissioners who framed the Treaty of 1783 to be the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia"? For answer we turn naturally to the best documents and maps of the time. In October, 1763, a royal proclamation fixed as the southern boundary of Quebec, and hence as the northern boundary of Nova Scotia and Maine (then a part of Massachusetts), the highlands separating waters flowing into the River St. Lawrence from those flowing south. In November of the same year a royal commission to a governor of Nova Scotia (then including New Brunswick) defined the limit of that province as a line drawn north from the source of the St. Croix to the southern bounds of Quebec, and other official documents of 1774 and 1783 reaffirmed these bounds.* Naturally these boundaries are given on the maps of the time, and indeed no others appear on all of the large series of maps between 1763 and 1783.† Between 1763 and 1783, then, there was no question as to the meaning of the "Northwestern angle of Nova Scotia"—it was the angle of intersection between a line drawn north from the source of the St.

inside of Passamaquoddy Bay at all (discussed in Transactions Royal Society of Canada, 1897, section II, page 369, 378). It is a satisfaction thus to know that from all points of view, the right river was chosen, though no doubt it will be many a day before the old error on this point will cease to be repeated by non-investigating writers. As to which of the two branches of the St. Croix should have been chosen when they are so nearly equal in volume, here again I think the proper branch, the eastern, was chosen. A claim for the western branch was made by the British on the ground that earlier documents relating to the boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia speak of the north line as starting from the most westerly source of the St. Croix. But the Treaty does not speak of a western branch, and we must accept what the Treaty of 1783 appears to have intended to award. Aside from whether or not the eastern is the main stream (a strong case could be made out that it is) there is the important fact that its more northerly, longer and straighter course better carry out the idea of a northerly running boundary which the Treaty expresses. But more important than this is the further fact that on Mitchell's and most other maps of the time, the easterly is the *only* branch marked, the western being omitted altogether or reduced to insignificant proportions, and hence it is the only branch of which the commissioners framing the treaty could have had any knowledge, and hence *must* have been the one meant by them. That on the maps it is the eastern and not the western branch which is laid down is shown not only by its straight northerly course, but also by the fact already mentioned that the name given on all the maps to the lake at its head is the Indian name of Grand Lake at the head of the Chiputnatcook chain.

* For authorities on this subject, see Winsor's "America," VII, 171, [et seq.]

† One may see examples of such maps in the latest volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1897, section II, 381, 392.

Croix river, and the line of the highland watershed just south of the St. Lawrence. It is precisely this boundary which Maine has always claimed, and if the treaty of 1783 had simply mentioned this "Northwestern angle of Nova Scotia," and had not attempted to define its position in words, I have no doubt that Maine today would possess her full claim, and that the western boundary line of New Brunswick would continue across the St. John northward to near the St. Lawrence, throwing all the Madawaska and Temiscouata region into Maine. But, happily for us, the treaty attempted to define in words the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and described it as "that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands . . . which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean." Now if one takes a modern and correct map, and draws a line due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands south of the St. Lawrence, it does not reach highlands separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, but it reaches highlands separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into Bay Chaleur. But the Commissioners in 1783 had not correct modern maps before them, but only the very imperfect ones of their time, a time far preceding any surveys of any kind in the region of these highlands. But what maps did the Commissioners have before them in their negotiations? Happily we have most satisfactory information upon this point, for commissioners from both parties later agreed that while other maps were from time to time consulted, the one actually used in the negotiations was that of John Mitchell of 1755. This map has often been reproduced and a copy of it may be seen in the Transactions of the Royal

Society of Canada, recently issued, (III, section II, page 378). Now the watershed intersected by the line drawn north from the source of the St. Croix on that map does separate rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, and this is not only true on Mitchell's map, but also on most others of that time. Of course the maps were wrong in this, but nobody then knew it, and hence the commissioners gave a perfectly correct description of the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" as it would appear if drawn out on Mitchell's map and in the only way in which it could be known to them. In the face of these facts I cannot see any escape from the truth and justice of the Maine claim that the commissioners meant to make the boundary line between Maine and Nova Scotia run north to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence.

There is yet other evidence of the right of the American claim. Not only did England never dispute it until well into this century, and perhaps then, (as has been suggested) only because the war of 1812 showed how the communication between eastern and western British America would be cut off if the American claim were admitted, but documents are extant showing that the American claim was recognized and admitted as a matter of course by at least two of the ablest lawyers and most devoted loyalists in New Brunswick's early history. One of these was Ward Chipman, the elder, whose part in the foundation of New Brunswick and services in connection with the settlement of the boundaries are well known. In several of his letters in 1796-99 to the authorities in England (of which his own manuscript copies are now in my possession) he refers to the north line as crossing the St. John and cutting off communication with Canada, and to the need there will be for a future negotia-

tion to secure an alteration of that north line ; and in no case does he hint at the least doubt that the treaty awarded that north line as the boundary. In the following passage, from a letter of Oct. 19th, 1796, addressed to William Knox (formerly undersecretary of state for America), though expressing doubt as to the intention of the framers of the treaty, he fully admits the legal justice of the American claim :

“With regard to the principal question it is to be lamented that by the most favorable decision we can obtain, that it, a boundary line running due North to the Highlands from the source of the Western Branch of the Scoudiac River, our communication with Canada by the River St. John will be interrupted, as that line will probably strike the River St. John upward of 50 Miles on this side of the grand portage somewhere near a very valuable settlement called the Madawaska which is a circumstance not generally known, and some future negotiation will probably become necessary to preserve that communication unbroken. Tho the line will unfortunately run in this manner, it cannot be supposed to have been intended when the Treaty of Peace was formed, either on the part of the United States to claim or on ours to yield a boundary which should in fact cut through the provinces it was intended to limit. But the decision of the present question agreeable to His Majesty's Claim will render the tract of country in such case to be negotiated for of much less value and importance and probably secure the acquisition of it upon much easier terms.”

In a letter of December 1, 1798 to Mr. Knox he says: “If a negotiation is necessary for an alteration of the north line as now established in order to preserve our communication with Canada,” and here also he expresses no doubt as to the validity of the American claim.

Again in a letter written by Col. Edward Winslow at the close of 1798 or beginning of 1799 (for a copy of which I am indebted to Rev. W. O. Raymond) occurs the following:—

“My last two summers have been spent in the American States in the execution of a very arduous and laborious duty as Secretary to the Commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, etc. to determine the eastern boundary line. The business closed in October last and under all the existing circumstances the decision may be considered as *favouable* to great Britain. Had the Americans established their claim to the Magaguadavic, the River St. John would have been

intersected within a few miles of Fredericton, the whole of St. Andrews and other valuable settlements, together with two military posts of some importance would have been embraced within their limits. As it is we lose not a single British settlement. A few miserable frenchmen at Madawaska on the route to Canada fall within their territory. I presume that some future negotiation will remove even this difficulty and give us a free communication with Canada."

This statement of a leading Loyalist, lawyer and Secretary of a Boundary Commission, is indeed strong for the American claim.

There are also documents in existence which show that in 1787 Lord Dorchester was aware of the necessity for carrying the Quebec-New Brunswick boundary far to the south, even to Grand Falls, in order to provide a reason for stopping the due North line as far South as possible.

It was Joseph Bouchette in his "Topographical Description of Lower Canada," 1815, who first definitely formulated the British claim which was adduced to offset that of the Americans. In brief, it was pointed out that the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" as defined by the Treaty does not exist, which is true, and this point was emphasized throughout the discussion to the total neglect of the fact that the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" did have in men's minds in 1783 a definite meaning independently of the precise details of the topography of the country it covered, and a meaning, too, which could very readily have been applied to the actual topography had all so willed. The Highlands were held to begin at Mars Hill, south of the Aroostook, and to run westerly between that River and the Penobscot headwaters. The two parties stood stoutly for their own claims, submitted them to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands, refused to accept his decision, came nearly to war in the Aroostook valley, and settled the matter by splitting the difference in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

There remains one important point yet to be noticed,—why did the British Commissioners in 1783 consent to a boundary which thrust Maine as a great wedge far North into British America, cutting off communication between its eastern and western parts? The answer seems to be plain. Massachusetts had become an independent state, Nova Scotia remained a loyal province. It was obvious that the international boundary must separate these two. But the extent of each of them was perfectly well known at that time to everybody, and it was universally understood that the boundary between them was a north line from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence, and thus this line became the natural international boundary. We can imagine with what fine scorn the American Commissioners, representing the victorious states, would have received a proposition to cede a part of the free state of Massachusetts to Great Britain in order that it might be added to Nova Scotia to improve the communication between that province and Canada. Probably it never occurred to the British Commissioners to make so preposterous a proposition.

W. F. GANONG.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH.

The people of New Brunswick have good reason to be proud of the fact that, at a time when its population was less than one-sixth what it is at present, this province was able to raise a full regiment of infantry for the defence of the country, and that this corps was of such excellent quality that it was taken into the British service as the 104th Regiment of the line, and distinguished itself in several engagements in the war with the United States, which began in the year 1812. They have less reason to be satisfied with the reflection

that soon after the close of the war this regiment was disbanded; and that in after years the old regimental number was appropriated by an organization which had no connection whatever with this province, but was originally raised in India. That transaction and the transformation of the 100th Regiment raised in Canada, into a battalion of an Irish Regiment are significant proofs that the Colonial loyalty until recently has been but little regarded in the realm of British officialism, and that the doctrine of the London Times that the British North American colonies should be got rid of as soon as possible had a higher sanction than the advocacy of any single newspaper could give it.

The 104th Regiment was the natural successor, if not the lineal descendant of the King's New Brunswick Regiment, the story of which has been so fully told by Mr. Jonas Howe. This regiment was raised in 1793, when war broke out between Great Britain and France, and it was disbanded in 1802 when the short lived peace of Amejns was made, the British government of that day being under the delusion that their difficulties with Bonaparte were at an end. It was not then realized that these difficulties were only beginning and that in 1802 the Corsican usurper had his greatest battles to win and his most wonderful triumphs to record, for Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram and a dozen other great victories all came after the peace of Amejns. All that time our mother country had to fight for her existence, and another complication was added to her troubles by the hostile attitude of the United States, then full of ambition to conquer Canada and drive the British flag from this continent.

The war with France was renewed in 1803, and it immediately became apparent that the disbanding of the King's New Brunswick Regiment was an act of extreme folly. The only thing that remained was to

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raise another regiment in its place and the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry was the outcome. This was a much larger organization than its predecessor, for it numbered twelve companies, instead of six, and its strength was upwards of 1000 men. In 1805 the names of its officers were as follows :—

Colonel, Martin Hunter ; Lt.-Col., George Johnston ; Major, Charles McCarty.

Captains, J. T. Fitzgerald, Thomas Hunter, T. Christian, H. W. Hailes, Richard Leonard, Robert Moodie, G. V. Gerau, A. Sutherland, Dugald Campbell.

Lieutenants, A. G. Armstrong, W. B. Phair, D. Miller, J. G. Blake, Bennett Wallop, William Bradley, C. McDonald, L. Basserer, George Shore, E. Fennell, C. D. Rankine, William Proctor.

Ensigns, Edward Holland, J. H. Roche, George Jobling, A. Drysdale, John Carmichael, Andrew Rainsford, H. Lodge, John Jenkins.

H. Carmichael, Paymaster ; James Hinckes Quartermaster E. Holland, Adjutant ; Fred Thomson, Surgeon ; Thomas Emerson, Assistant Surgeon.

A reference to the list of officers of the King's New Brunswick Regiment shows that only four persons who were officers of the latter corps became officers of the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry. These were Captain Dugald Campbell, who had formerly belonged to the 42nd Regiment, William Barry Phair, who had been an ensign in the King's New Brunswick Regiment, W. B. Bradley, who had been a lieutenant in the same regiment, and Thomas Emerson, assistant surgeon. The name John Jenkins occurs in both lists, but they can hardly have been the same person, for John Jenkins of the King's New Brunswick Regiment had been an officer in the New Jersey Volunteers in the Revolutionary War, and therefore would be too old a man to become an ensign in the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry in 1805. The John Jenkins of the latter corps may have been his son.

The New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry was stationed in this province from the time of its formation until February, 1813, after the outbreak of

the war with the United States. The only exception to this statement is that, in June, 1808, Captain Shore, with two companies of the regiment, was sent to garrison Sydney, C. B. The headquarters of the regiment had been at Fredericton and most of the companies were stationed there, but in 1809 the 101st Regiment was removed from St. John to the West Indies, and part of the New Brunswick Regiment came here to take its place. During that summer the troops were employed in making a road from St. John to Fredericton. In February 1811, in view of the prospect of a war with the United States, the regiment was gazetted as His Majesty's 104th Regiment, the first Colonial regiment of the line. This was an important step in the history of the corps, and was justly regarded as a highly honorable distinction.

The war with the United States broke out in June, 1812, and the need of reinforcements in Canada became urgent. New Brunswick also had to be defended, however, and it was not until February, 1813, that the 104th could be spared. Its place was taken by a battalion of the 8th Regiment, the other battalion of which was then serving in Upper Canada. The officers of the 104th Regiment at the time they set out on their famous winter march to Quebec, were as follows:—

Colonel, Martin Hunter; Lieut.-General; Lieut.-Col., Alexander Halkett.

Majors, William Drummond, Robert Moodie.

Captains, Thomas Hunter, Staff, Richard Leonard, Staff, A. G. Armstrong, Peter Dinnis, William E. Bradley, R. A. Loring, G. V. Gerau, John Maule, Major, George Shore, William Proctor, Edward Holland.

Lieutenants, George Jobling, John Jenkins, Adjt., Frederick Shaffalisky, James De Lancey, John Carmichael, Thomas Leonard, Samuel Rigby, Alexander Campbell, A. W. Playfair, J. Le Coutear, R. J. Ireland, Henry Long, Andrew Rainsford, Charles Rainsford, John McKinnon, William B. Phair, L. Basserer, C. D. Rankine, T. B. Sutherland, H. N. Moorsom, George Croad, A. C. MacDonald, Frederick Moore, James Grey.

Ensigns, E. W. Solomon, A. Graves, James A. McLauchlin, William Martin, — — Considine, James Miller, Charles Job-

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ling, James Coyne, James Coates.

H. H. Carmichael, Paymaster; William McDonald, Quartermaster; John Jenkins, Adjutant; William D. Thomas, Surgeon. Thomas Emerson, William Woodforde, Asst. Surgeons.

These officers were not all natives of this province, nor is it to be presumed that the whole of the 1,000 men who formed the regiment were born in New Brunswick. Lt. Governor Thomas Carleton had returned to England before the 104th Regiment was raised, and the functions which should have been performed by him were delegated to successive presidents, the Hon. Edward Winslow, General Martin Hunter, Lt. Col. G. Johnston, General W. Balfour, General G. S. Smyth, General Sir T. Saumerez and Lt. Col. H. W. Hailes. The latter, who was one of the captains in the regiment in 1805, was an Englishman, and a great many of the other officers had served in British regiments. It was natural that military men who were acting as governors of the province should select for officers a considerable proportion of experienced soldiers, rather than give all the commissions to natives of the province who were without experience. The proportion of native officers and soldiers was, however, large enough to justify the pride which the people of this province have always felt in the 104th Regiment.

The 104th Regiment was ordered to Quebec in the early part of 1813, and took its departure on the 16th of February. The day before it left Fredericton Captain Agnew, who had been an officer in the Queen's Rangers in the Revolutionary war, and was then a member for York in the House of Assembly, moved the following resolution in that body:

Resolved, That the House of Assembly of New Brunswick cannot view the departure of the 104th Regiment from this province, without feeling every solicitude for a corps raised in this country, and destined they trust long to continue its pride and ornament. The

House have observed with peculiar pleasure that the merit of the officers and men of this regiment has been such as to have induced his majesty to confer upon it a high mark of his favor and approbation in numbering it with the line; and the House take this occasion to express the high sense they have of the propriety of conduct observed by this regiment during its continuance in this province.

It might have been supposed that the above resolution would have been carried unanimously at such a time, and considering all the circumstances, but such was not the case. It was only passed by a majority of one vote, nine members giving it their support and eight opposing it. Among the latter were three members for St. John, Messrs. Humbert, Ward and Johnston. The other opponents of the resolution were Messrs. Easterbrooks and Chapman of Westmorland, Peters of Queens, Fraser of York, and Street of Sunbury. The Journals of the House simply record the fact, but of course give no explanation of the reasons which influenced the dissenting eight. The opposition to the resolution seems the more remarkable from the fact that in the following year, when the 8th Regiment and a body of British seamen went to Quebec by the same route that had been taken by the 104th, the House of Assembly unanimously voted three hundred pounds to assist them on their way and increase the comfort of their journey. The House of Assembly of that day thus stands in the position of appearing to be more friendly to the 8th Regiment and the sailors of the Royal Navy than to a corp composed mainly of natives of the province which was going forth to do battle for the cause of king and country. It is to be regretted that this division stands on the Journals of the house as a testimony to future ages that party spirit was more powerful than patriotism in this province in the year 1813.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH. 311

The march of the 104th Regiment from St. John and Fredericton to Quebec was an arduous undertaking, considering the season of the year and the distance to be travelled, a large portion of the journey being through the wilderness. The distance from Fredericton to Quebec was about 360 miles or about 24 days' march at the usual rate of 15 miles a day. The regiment reached Quebec on the 17th of March in good condition, and early in the spring it was sent to Upper Canada where it was speedily employed in the arduous work of the campaign of that year. Although the lieutenant colonel of the regiment was Alexander Halkett, it was, during all the operations of the war, under the command of the senior major, William Drummond, a brother of Lieut. General Sir Gordon Drummond who commanded the British army at Lundy's Lane.

The first operation in which the 104th was engaged after its arrival in Upper Canada was the attack on Sackett's Harbor, which was the principal depot of the United States army and navy on Lake Ontario. The attempt on this important place was made on the 27th May, 1813, and the troops which took part in it were the Grenadier company of the 100th Regiment, a section of the Royal Scots (1st Regiment), two companies of the 8th, four companies of the 104th, one company of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two companies of the Canadian Voltigeurs, a small detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and two 6-pounder field pieces and their gunners, numbering altogether about 750 rank and file. A landing was effected with but little loss, but the attempt to carry the fort and barracks failed owing to the faint heartedness of the British commander, Sir George Prevost, who ordered a retreat at a time when a little perseverance would have won the position. Major Drummond, at this juncture, said

to Sir George, "Allow me a few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." To this appeal Sir George replied "Obey your orders, sir, and learn the first duty of a soldier." The loss suffered in returning to the boats was much heavier than it had been during the advance, so that the repulse was more costly than a victory would have been. The British loss was 50 men killed and 211 wounded, or 261 in all, a heavy percentage out of a force of 750 men. The loss of the 104th was very large. Although the four companies engaged probably did not exceed in strength 300 men, the loss of the regiment was returned as 22 killed and 69 wounded, a total of 91. Seven officers were wounded, Majors Drummond and Moodie, Captains Leonard and Shore, and Lieutenants Rainsford, Moore and de Lancey. This was a very good beginning for a young regiment which had never before been in action.

After the affair at Sackett's Harbor the 104th Regiment marched from Kingston to join General Vincent's command on the Niagara frontier. They reached their destination immediately after the American defeat at Stoney Creek and were placed in the van of the army which was following the retreating enemy. Detachments were pushed forward to occupy the cross roads at Ten Mile Creek and at the Beaver Dam, the latter place being occupied by a subaltern and 30 men of the 104th. As this little force was somewhat isolated, the Americans formed a design to capture it, and on the 23rd of June Lieut.-Colonel Bœrstler with a detachment of infantry, cavalry and artillery, numbering 673 officers and men, left Fort St. George for that purpose. The fate of this detachment is the most extraordinary episode of the war, for it was captured almost without firing a shot by a clever ruse of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon of the 49th Regiment, who summoned Bœrstler to surrender and made him believe he was surrounded by

enemies, when in reality he was in no danger whatever. The American commander and 542 of his men became prisoners of war.

During the summer of 1813 the 104th Regiment remained on the Niagara frontier, suffering greatly from sickness, fever and ague being very prevalent that year. It is thus mainly, rather than by loss of life in battle, that regiments and armies are reduced in strength. Later in the year the regiment took part in the operations by which General Wilkinson's attempt on Montreal was defeated, but it was not actually engaged. It missed the glorious victory at Chrystler's farm which put an end to the hopes of the Americans in that quarter.

The flank companies of the 104th Regiment, numbering about 150 men, under Captains Leonard and Shore, took part in the battle of Lundy's Lane. Being on the extreme right, which was but feebly attacked by the enemy, their losses were slight, being one man killed and five wounded. Lieut. Col. Drummond of the 104th was very active in the battle, and Lieut. Moorsom of the regiment, who was on the staff, was killed. The American army fled to Fort Erie and was followed by General Drummond's force, of which the flank companies of the 104th formed a part. Fort Erie was invested by the British and the American army was cooped up within its walls. To facilitate the attack on Fort Erie it was deemed necessary to capture or destroy the American batteries at Black Rock, on the opposite side of the Niagara River. The flank companies of the 104th were a part of the force detailed for this operation, but it failed, mainly because the enemy had received warning of it and had intrenched themselves in a position which could not be carried. A few men of the regiment were killed and wounded in this affair.

The same companies of the 104th were in the

assault on Fort Erie which took place on the 13th August, 1814, their strength being at that time reduced to about 80 men. They formed a part of the centre column under the command of Lieut. Colonel Drummond. This column, after desperate fighting, took possession of the salient bastion of the Douglas Battery, but were nearly all destroyed by an explosion which took place within it. The bastion had been mined, and when General Gaines saw that it was in the possession of the British he fired the train and blew it up. This was no doubt a legitimate act of warfare, but this fact did not justify him in falsifying the record and stating in his official despatch that the British were driven out of the bastion at the point of the bayonet. The British in the bastion were blown up and most of them killed by the explosion. Lieut.-Colonel Drummond of the 104th had been killed before the explosion, while gallantly fighting at the head of his men. Of the 80 men belonging to the flank companies of the regiment who went into action, 53 were killed or wounded. Captain Leonard was wounded, and Lieutenant McLaughlan was wounded severely. The British loss in the assault on Fort Erie was 905, a larger number than were killed and wounded in the battle of Lundy's Lane.

The 104th Regiment lost heavily from disease and other incidents of warfare from the time it took the field, and it had no recruiting ground by means of which its losses could be made good. As soon as it took its departure from New Brunswick, another corps, the New Brunswick Fencibles, was organized by General Coffin, and the recruits from this province which ought to have gone to the 104th Regiment were taken into the new organization. Thus the best method of replenishing the wasted ranks of the 104th became a matter of serious concern, and Earl Bathurst, the

secretary of the Colonial department, proposed that the negro slaves of Virginia who had fled to the British ships to obtain their freedom should be permitted to enlist in the New Brunswick Regiment. This suggestion does not appear to have been carried out.

The military services of the 104th Regiment ended with the close of the campaign of 1814, for the war was ended nearly in 1815. The regiment was then sent to Quebec where it remained a year. It afterwards did garrison duty at Montreal until the 24th of May, 1817, when it was disbanded. Most of the soldiers received grants of land and became settlers in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Those who were going to the two latter provinces were sent in vessels to Halifax and St. John, receiving two months' pay on their arrival. General Drummond had been very anxious that the 104th Regiment, and two other provincial corps, the Glengarry Regiment and the Canadian Fencibles, should be retained in the British army, but his advice was not heeded, and so these veterans of the war who were looked upon with pride by their fellow countrymen were scattered and their services lost to their country. Even the memory of their achievements seems to have soon faded away, for no attempt was made to obtain from the survivors of the 104th a narrative of their services in two campaigns and now the story of their battles can only be gathered from the official despatches, which contain but the barest outline of the facts recorded.

JAMES HANNAY.

AT PORTLAND POINT.

Sixth Paper.

The fact that William Hazen did not take up his residence at St. John until the year 1775, more than ten years after the formation of the co-partnership under which James Simonds and James White entered upon their business and settled themselves at Portland Point, has rendered it difficult hitherto to connect him with the story of the first English settlement at St. John. Mr. Hazen, nevertheless, was a very important member of the company, and next to James Simonds its prime organizer, and had it not been for his financial aid it is doubtful if the business could have been continued. To him and Leonard Jarvis, his partner at Newburyport, were sent the various products received at St. John—furs and peltries from the Indians, lumber and country produce from the white inhabitants, fish of all kinds, lime from the kilns about Fort Howe, coal from the Grand Lake region, small vessels built at Portland Point, etc. To dispose of all these articles to advantage was in itself no easy task. Mr. Hazen had also to procure and forward such goods as were required for the settlers on the river St. John, and for the Indian trade, to supply machinery for the mills, materials for building houses and stores, rigging for schooners, farming implements, cattle, sheep, and horses. Nobody can read the correspondence that passed between Newburyport and St. John at this period or glance at the old invoices without being surprised at the great variety of articles he was obliged to provide sometimes at short notice. He had also to procure from time to time a variety of hands required at St.

John—coopers, carpenters, fishermen, farmers, lime-burners, shipbuilders, millmen, teamsters and laborers.

Leonard Jarvis became a co-partner with William Hazen in the autumn of the year 1764, and he may be considered to have replaced Samuel Blodget in the company, as on the retirement of Mr. Blodget, a little later, his share was taken by Hazen and Jarvis, they paying him the sum of £1,800 on account of the supplies he had advanced. Leonard Jarvis seems never to have been at St. John while he was a member of the company,* but William Hazen visited Portland Point frequently, more especially after the formation of the second business partnership in April 1767. In April 1771, he informed Mr. Simonds that he should soon altogether discontinue business at Newburyport having determined to settle his lands in Nova Scotia which if unimproved would be liable to forfeiture; he therefore proposed to build a dwelling house for his family near Mr. Simonds' residence at Portland Point. The prospect of such an addition to their limited society doubtless was extremely pleasing to the families of Mr. Simonds and Mr. White.

In a letter dated February 18, 1771, James Simonds writes, "We shall cut Mr. Hazen's Frame in some place near the water where it may be rafted at any time." The house was erected in July following. It was built at Mr. Hazen's expense mostly by the laborers and with materials belonging to the company. Shortly after its completion it was destroyed by fire and Mr. Hazen's removal from Newburyport delayed in consequence. A new house was begun the next year which like the former was built by the company's carpenters and laborers and the expense borne by Mr. Hazen.

*Leonard Jarvis was at St. John, probably for the first time, in August, 1790, in connection with the suit in Chancery. Hazen and Jarvis versus Simonds.

There is a very suggestive entry in one of the old account books, dated November 17, 1773, in which William Hazen is charged 25 shillings for "4 gallons West India rum, 3 lbs. sugar, 3 quarts New England rum, Dinner, &c., &c.," and the memo is appended: "for Raising his House." The house was finished in 1774. It was by far the best and most substantial dwelling as yet erected at Portland Point, indeed in early times it used to be regarded as quite a mansion. The day of "the raising" was doubtless a gala day and we may be sure every man of the little community was there to take his part in the work and share in the refreshments provided.

The old Hazen house so erected on the 17th November, 1773, is still standing at the corner of Simonds and Brook streets, having withstood the ravages of time and escaped the numerous conflagrations that have occurred in the vicinity. The house has, however, been largely remodelled by the present owner Mr. John Stewart. The foundation is all new except the stone wall on Brook street which is part of the original wall. The roof formerly pitched four ways running up to a peak, this has been replaced by a flat roof. Some of the old studs, which were cut out where new windows have been put in, were found to be merely round sticks flattened on two sides with an axe, and the boards were roughly sawn. The sheathing of the house has all been renewed, and the ell that used to extend up Simonds street has been removed. The lower flat is now used as a grocery, the upper as a Presbyterian Mission Hall and Sunday School room in connection with St. David's Church. In olden times and for many years Mr. Hazen's garden and grounds extended to the water. Mr. Hazen seems to have personally superintended the construction of his house and as soon as it was ready for occupancy began once

more to prepare for the removal of his family to St. John.

Leonard Jarvis had in the meanwhile quitted the company and gone into business on his own account at Dartmouth, near Rhode Island, one hundred miles from Newburyport. This necessitated a new business arrangement and in May, 1773, a verbal agreement was made between Hazen, Simonds and White to carry on the fishery and trade in their own names in the proportions of one half part on account of Hazen, one third part on account of Simonds and one sixth part on account of White, and they continued to do business at St. John under the name of Hazen, Simonds and White until the latter part of the year 1777 when the events of the Revolution put a stop to all business. As Leonard Jarvis never visited St. John until some years after this time we may regard his connection with the company merely as incidental to his co-partnership with William Hazen. After the discontinuance of the partnership between Hazen and Jarvis, the supplies needed at St. John were furnished by one Samuel Gardiner Jarvis, a leading merchant of Boston.

There can be little doubt that throughout the continuance of the company's operations at St. John, William Hazen was its chief financial strength and that the large outlay required was a source of some embarrassment to him. Quite as much difficulty was experienced in collecting debts in olden times as in days more modern; on this head we have the authority of James Simonds who in a letter to his son Richard, says:—

“At the dissolution of my old partnership concern with Hazen and Jarvis, their debts in this and other countries amounted to a large sum, but it never was in the power of the partners to collect one half of it, and the loss was upwards of 50 percent, besides the immense trouble of recovering the remaining part—and on the discontinuance of business on my own account I had no better success. In the last instance only, my loss of debts amounted to upwards of £2,000.”

The very large outlay required and the magnitude of the debts outstanding, as just stated, taxed severely the resources of William Hazen, who claimed that at the time the business was terminated by the events of the Revolutionary war, the company were in arrears to him for supplies in an amount equivalent to \$16,600.*

While we cannot suppose the general business at St. John to have been altogether unremunerative, it would seem that Mr. Hazen expected to derive more substantial benefits from the lands he had acquired, and in this, as the event proved, his judgment was not at fault. Scarcely, however, had he begun his preparations for removal to St. John when the rumblings of a coming storm were heard, and ere long Old England and New England were arrayed in bitter conflict. The port of Boston was closed in 1774, and a vessel owned by the company with a large and valuable cargo was obliged to return to St. John without being allowed to enter. This almost put a stop to their business.

William Hazen is said to have left New England with his family, June 17, 1775, the very day on which was fought the battle of Bunker Hill. His arrival at St. John a few days later is very evident from the nature of the items that begin to appear in the old day book kept by James White. The Hazen family evidently proved good customers of the store at Portland Point. The first item charged to the account of the household is one of 67 lbs. of moose meat at 1d. per lb.† Moose meat was a much greater rarity to the family on their arrival than it afterwards became. It was at the time one of the staple articles of food in the country and almost any settler who desired fresh meat

*Mr. Hazen stated in his evidence in the Chancery suit in 1795, that at the time the second business contract was signed in April, 1767, there was a balance due by the company to Hazen and Jarvis of £3,135. 10. 8 New England currency (equal to £2,612. 18. 11 New Brunswick currency), and that in April, 1778, this sum had increased to £4,149. 16. 1½ New Brunswick currency.

†It may be of interest to mention that moose meat was just half the value of beef at this time, the latter being quoted at 2d. per lb.

could obtain it at short notice by loading up his old musket and going to the woods. The purchase of 67 lbs. of moose meat at midsummer indicates that Mr. Hazen had to provide for a good sized family, and we learn from an enumeration of the settlers made this very year that his household included 4 men, 3 women, 3 boys and 2 girls, twelve persons in all. Probably his nephew, John Hazen, who afterwards settled at Oromocto, was one of the family.

William Hazen was decidedly unfortunate in regard to the first buildings he erected at St. John. Shortly after his arrival he built a barn near his house, and a few years later it shared the fate of his first dwelling house, only in this instance the fire was not accidental.

Rev. James Sayre,* under date November 25, 1784, wrote to James White from Fairfield, Connecticut:—

“It gave us great concern to be informed that any person about you could be so wicked as to accomplish the shocking deed attempted before we left the country; I mean the burning of Mr. Hazen’s barn. Besides the great loss he must have sustained it is justly to be feared it must have occasioned great terror and trouble to both your families. I should be glad to be informed that Mrs. White in particular did not suffer materially in her health (being an invalid) by the flagitious deed.”

So much as regards the circumstances attending Mr. Hazen’s removal from Newburyport to Portland Point. A few words may now be said respecting the ancestry of the Hazen family.

In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register of April, 1879, Mr. Allen Hazen of New Haven, Conn., says; “The origin of the family beyond

*Rev. James Sayre was a brother of Rev. John Sayre, who settled at Maugerville. In the Revolutionary war he was a chaplain in the New Jersey Volunteers, a well known Loyalist corps. He came to St. John at the peace in 1783 and drew a lot near York Point, but afterwards returned to Connecticut. His family lived on terms of friendly intercourse with James White’s family and there are several pleasant allusions in Mr. Sayre’s letter to their former intimate associations. He says, “We feel ourselves much indebted to your house for the frequent instances of kindness to us when in your neighborhood and wish to have it in our power to testify it more strongly than in words.”

the sea has not been traced."* The Hazens of New Brunswick belong to the eighth and ninth generations of the family in America.

(1) Edward Hazen, the immigrant ancestor, was a resident of Rowley, Massachusetts, as early as the year 1649. By his wife Hannah Grant, he had a family of four sons and seven daughters. His youngest son, Richard, born August 6, 1669, inherited the large estate of his step-father George Browne of Haverhill.

(2) Richard Hazen married Mary Peabody daughter, of Captain John Peabody, † and had a family of five sons and six daughters, one of the latter, Sarah, was the mother of James Simonds. The third son, Moses Hazen, was the ancestor of our New Brunswick Hazens.

(3) Moses Hazen married May 17, 1701, Abigail White (the aunt of James White who came to St. John); their oldest son, Captain John Hazen, distinguished himself in the Crown Point expedition of 1757, and on other occasions during the French war. ‡ He married November 30, 1752, Anne Swett of Haverhill, and their only son, John, born November 29, 1755, came with his uncle William to St. John and afterwards took up his residence in Burton, Sunbury County, where he married September 2, 1787, Priscilla, daughter of Dr. William McKinstry, by whom he had twelve children. Among their descendants the best known is J. Douglas Hazen, ex-mayor of Fredericton and lately member in the Dominion parliament for the city and county of St. John. Captain Moses Hazen, second son of the elder Moses Hazen, has been frequently mentioned in this

*Possibly the Hazens may have come to America from the vicinity of Newcastle on Tyne, where the name has been located early in the last century.

†Capt. John Peabody's father, Lieut. Francis Peabody, was the first of that family to come to America; from him are descended Capt. Francis Peabody, the father of the Maugerville colony, and also George Peabody, the great London banker and philanthropist.

‡Both James Simonds and James White had commissions in the provincial forces of Massachusetts and were with Captain John Hazen, their cousin, in this campaign.

series of papers. He served with distinction during the French war and was with Wolfe at the taking of Quebec where he was severely wounded. He sided against the mother country in the Revolution, raised a regiment called "Hazen's own," and was a Brigadier General at the close of the war.

(4) William Hazen, third son of Moses Hazen, was the co-partner of Simonds and White at St. John. He was born in Haverhill, July 17, 1738, and died at St. John, March 23, 1814. He married July 14, 1764, Sarah Le Baron, of Plymouth. They had sixteen children; of these *Elizabeth* married the elder Ward Chipman, Judge of the Supreme Court and administrator of the government of New Brunswick at his death in 1824; *William* was father of Hon. Robert L. Hazen, recorder of St. John, a leader in our provincial politics and a Canadian senator; *Robert* was the father of Robert F. Hazen, mayor of St. John in 1837;* *Sarah Lowell* married first Thomas Murray (grandfather of Miss Frances Murray of St. John) and second Judge William Botsford and their children were Senator Botsford, George Botsford of Fredericton, and LeBaron Botsford of St. John; *Charlotte* married General Sir John Fitzgerald; *Frances Amelia* married Colonel Charles Drury of the British army and the late Ward Chipman Drury of St. John was one of their sons.

Connected with the decease of several prominent members and relatives of the Hazen family there are some rather remarkable coincidences as to dates. The eldest daughter of William Hazen, widow of the elder Ward Chipman, died at the Chipman house May 18, 1852, the 69th anniversary of the landing of the

*Robert F. Hazen had the honor, as mayor of St. John, of presiding on the occasion of the proclamation of Queen Victoria, Aug. 8, 1837. The demise of William IV occurred on June 19th, but the news was seven weeks in reaching New Brunswick. The same day a tragic accident happened at the falls, causing the loss of seven lives and the wounding of seven persons. This was caused by the falling of the bridge then being erected by the St. John Bridge Company, of which Robert F. Hazen was one of the shareholders.

Loyalists; her son, the younger Ward Chipman, died November 26, 1851, the 67th anniversary of the organization of the Supreme Court of Judicature of New Brunswick; Mrs. Chipman, widow of the younger Ward Chipman, died July 4, 1876, the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; William Hazen, son of the late William Hazen and grandson of Robert F. Hazen, died June 17th, 1885, the anniversary of the day his great-great-grandfather, William, left his home in the old colonies for St. John, one hundred and ten years before.

The removal of William Hazen to Portland Point in June, 1775, did not seem at the first to be a fortunate event either for himself or his family. For the latter the change from comfortable surroundings, good society, educational and religious advantages, to a scene of comparative isolation with all its attendant privations was in itself no light matter. But the situation was shortly to be aggravated by the tribulations all the settlers were to experience in consequence of the outbreak of the American Revolution. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

At the time of the arrival of Mr. Hazen and his family, the English speaking people at the mouth of the river did not exceed one hundred and fifty souls. There is preserved among the archives at Halifax a "Return of the state of the settlement at the mouth of the River St. John on the first day of August, 1775," which gives some information on this head.* The enumeration was made by James Simonds. It does not give the names of all the adult males. In the case, for example, of the households of Messrs. Simonds, White and Hazen, twelve male adults are returned; evidently some of them were employees of the company

*For a copy of this return I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Isaiah W. Wilson, the local historian of Digby County, Nova Scotia.—W. O. RAYMOND.

who lived with their masters. Their names are not specified, but James White's old day book shows the following to have been living at Portland Point at this time in addition to those whose names appear in Mr. Simonds' return, viz: Stephen Peabody, John Hazen, Samuel Beverley, Jonathan Clough, Jacob Johnson, Edmund Black, Levi Ring, Reuben Harbut and Michael Kelly.

PORTLAND POINT.

Name of Master or Mistress of the Family.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
James Simonds.....	4	1	4	3	12
James White.....	4	1	1	4	10
William Hazen.....	4	3	3	2	12
George DeBlois.....	1	1	1		3
Robert Cram.....	1	1	1	7	10
Rebolun Rowe.....	1	1		2	4
John Nason.....	1	1	2	3	7
John Mack.....	1				1
Lemuel Cleveland.....	1	1	1	1	4
Christopher Blake.....	1	1		2	4
Moses Greenough.....	1	1	1		3
	<u>20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>70</u>

CONWAY.

Name of Master or Mistress of the Family.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Hugh Quinton.....	2	2	2	4	10
Jonathan Leavitt.....	1	1	1		3
Daniel Leavitt.....	1				1
Samuel Peabody.....	1	1	1	2	5
William McKeen.....	2	1	5	1	9
Thomas Jenkins.....	1	1	3		5
Moses Kimball.....	1	1			2
Elijah Estabrooks.....	1	1	3	3	8
John Bradley.....	1	1	2	4	8
James Woodman.....	2		2	1	2
Zebedee Ring.....	2	1			6
Gervas Say.....	1	1			2
Samuel Abbott.....	1				1
Christosher Cross.....	1	1			2
John Knap.....	1				1
Eliakim Ayer.....	1			1	2
Joseph Rowe.....	1	1	1	2	5
	<u>21</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>72</u>

According to Mr. Simonds' return all the individuals at Portland Point with one exception, and he an Irishman, were born in America. At Conway all were natives of America with the exception of two persons of English nationality. Mr. Simonds observes in a note appended that there were at this time about thirty families of Acadians on the river.

The Conway people had 2 horses (both owned by Hugh Quinton), 13 oxen and bulls, 32 cows, 44 young cattle, 40 sheep, 17 swine. The return of domestic animals at Portland Point seems defective. However, a memorandum in one of the old account books dated November 29, 1775, show that Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White owned at that time 14 cattle, 14 sheep, 11 horses, 21 colts, 1 mule and 1 jackass—the last two animals the property of Mr. Simonds. The other settlers owned 8 cows, 4 young cattle, 4 sheep and 6 swine. Total number of domestic animals 232.

The dwellings of the settlers at this time were small and built at little cost, some of them log houses. Mr. Hazen's house was by all odds the most substantial building that had yet been erected.

It was at least a year after the arrival of Simonds and White in the first instance before it was determined to confine the business of the company to St. John. According to the first articles of partnership the sphere of their operations included "Passamaquoddy, St. John, Canso and elsewhere in or near the province of Nova Scotia and parts adjacent"—a pretty wide field certainly. The first indication of making St. John the chief centre of business is contained in a letter dated at "Passamaquada," August 18, 1764, in which James Simonds writes to William Hazen:—

"If you and Mr. Blodget think it will be best to carry on business largely at St. John's we must have another house with a cellar; the cellar is now dug and stoned and will keep apples,

potatoes and other things that will not bear the frost; this building will serve as a house and store, the Old Store for a Cooper's Shop; we shall want also boards for the house, some glass &c., bricks for a chimney and hinges for two doors."

A few months later Mr. Simonds wrote to Newburyport for 5 M. feet of boards "to cover a frame that is now decaying and will serve for a Lime House and Barn." Until the erection of their saw mill a couple of years later most of the building materials had to be imported in the company's vessels.

Among the buildings at Portland Point when the Hazen family arrived, there were, in addition to the residences of the three partners, a smaller dwelling adjoining the Simonds house, another small dwelling and barn, a store called the Lime Store, another the Log Store, another the Salt Store (or Cooper's shop), another the New Store, and a blacksmith shop. The "New Store" was finished about the time of Mr. Hazen's arrival; it stood near the old mast dock a little to the west of the Point. On the 21st July, 1775, the goods were removed from the old store to the new.

At this time nearly all the settlers on the St. John river obtained their goods from Hazen, Simonds and White. The little schooner Polly made frequent trips to Maugerville and St. Anns and no craft was so well known on the river in those days as she. A glance at the old account books shows that on one of her trips up the river, May 10, 1773, goods were sold to thirty families at various points along the way, and consignments were also left with Benjamin Atherton & Co. of St. Anns, with Jabez Nevers of Maugerville, and with Peter Carr of Gagetown, to be sold on commission for the company. A similar trip was made in November, 1775, before the close of navigation, and a considerable quantity of goods sold to more than forty families whose names appear in the accounts. Various articles were received from the inhabitants in return, the

business being largely one of barter. Edmund Price, one of the Gagetown settlers, for example, delivered to the company nine chaldrons of Grand Lake coal at 20 shillings per chaldron, showing that the mines were then worked to a limited extent.* Quite a number of the settlers in Conway were employed by the company in various capacities and as they were nearly all tenants of Hazen, Simonds and White they naturally procured whatever articles they needed at the Portland Point store.

During the first six months after Mr. Hazen's arrival the names of no less than 120 different customers representing as many households, are found entered in the day book kept by James White; of these 25 were residents at Portland Point, 20 lived across the river in Conway, 45 belonged to Maugerville, 20 to other townships up the river, and 10 were merely transient visitors.

In the autumn of the year 1775 the company sold three-eighths of their old schooner the Polly to Joseph Rowe and James Woodman, two of the Conway settlers and the former seems to have sailed in her as captain. James Woodman was by trade a shipwright, and a man of enterprise and very fair education. He associated himself in business with Zebedee Ring and their names appear in the pages of Mr. White's journal as "Woodman & Ring." They were engaged in 1775 in building a vessel for the company. To assist them a man named John Jones† was brought on from Mass-

*The Grand Lake Coal mines are said to have been first worked by Joseph Garrison, who was a native of Massachusetts and a grantee of Maugerville in 1765. He was grandfather of William Lloyd Garrison, the celebrated advocate of the abolition of Slavery.—See Sabine's *Loyalists*, also *Collections of N. B. Hist. Soc.* for 1897, page 310.

†John Jones, with one Peter Connor, who also came to St. John in 1775, afterwards settled on Kemble's Manor. Jones' farm of 400 acres was situate at what is known as "The Mistake" at the head of Long Reach. The Kingston Loyalist settlers, while they were building their log houses in the summer of 1783, lived in tents on the bank of Kingston Creek. They used to send over to Mr. Jones' place for milk and other things, and the kindness of the Jones family was rendered doubly acceptable on account of an epidemic of measles that broke out among the children. The old Raymond house built at Kingston in 1788 is now

achusetts. The frame of the vessel was on the stocks and partly planked but she was destined never to sail the seas : her fate will be referred to in the next paper of this series. James Woodman lived near the site of the present village of Fairville. He was employed in 1779 by James White in building the "Indian House" at the landing above the falls.

The mention of the Indian House leads naturally to a few words about the attitude of the Indians towards the white settlers in these early times. In the main they were peaceably disposed till the outbreak of the Revolution, although occasionally the cause of some annoyance. A treaty had been made with them at Halifax in 1760 and for a while they seemed to have observed it fairly well. No doubt the establishment of a garrison at Fort Frederick had its influence in overawing them. In the year 1765, however, the white settlers, who had only begun to establish themselves on their lands, were very much alarmed by the Indians who threatened to take the war path on the ground that the whites had interfered with their hunting rights by killing moose, beavers, and other wild animals beyond the limits of their farms and improvements. Sentries were doubled at Fort Frederick and precautions taken against a surprise. Through the efforts of the government the difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted and hostilities averted.

In all Nova Scotia there was at this time but one newspaper, the Halifax Gazette, of which the first number was published March 23, 1752, and among the earliest local items of news furnished by St. John for

owned by David Jones, a descendant of the old pre-loyalist settler named above. John Jones had a large family of sons and daughters whose descendants in the province are numerous. One of his sons, Samuel, born while his father lived at Manawagonish, in the township of Conway, from the year 1804 to 1815 carried the mails from St. John to Fredericton once a week. At first the mail from Halifax was not opened until it reached Fredericton, the headquarters of the province, whence letters were returned to St. John. The needless delay of a week in transit naturally caused some grumbling on the part of St. John people.

the press was the following which appeared in the Gazette:

"We hear from St. John's in this Province that on the 30th September last [1764] about Twelve o'clock at Noon, a very severe shock of an Earthquake was felt there."

Another event of a still earlier date appeared in the Gazette, which, although not apparently of so local a nature, was much more disastrous in its effects, this was the terrific gale of November 3, 1759, which in its fury rivalled, if it did not surpass, the famous Saxby gale of October 5, 1869. The tide is said to have reached a height of six feet above its ordinary level. Driven by the storm huge waves broke down the dykes at the head of the Bay and caused much damage along the coast. A considerable portion of Fort Frederick was washed away, and the next spring Engineer Winckworth Tonge was sent by Governor Lawrence with orders to repair damages and put the fort in the most defendable state the situation would allow, taking from Fort Cumberland such tools and materials as were necessary. The damage to the fort was not so serious a matter as the destruction of the forest. The woods near the Bay of Fundy were levelled by the gale and all the country up the St. John river as far as the Oromocto incumbered with fallen trees. Fires, subsequently kindled amongst the fallen timber, ran in the most destructive fashion, and it is said that in the year 1772 all the country below the Oromocto on the west side of the river was burnt over quite down to the coast.

James Simonds had, in the year 1762, decided to establish himself at St. John, having spent several years in quest of a desirable situation. Accordingly, in conjunction with his brother Richard, he took possession of the "Great Marsh" to the eastward of the harbor and cut there a large quantity of salt hay. At this time

Mr. Simonds had no claim to the lands other than the promise of a grant from the government of 5,000 acres in such part of Nova Scotia as he might choose. He continued to cut hay and make improvements on the marsh from time to time, and occasionally speaks of operations carried on there in his correspondence. For example, in June, 1768, he wrote to Mr. Hazen, "Please send half a dozen Salem scythes," adding, with a touch of the dry humor that often crops out in his letters, "Haskel's tools are entirely out of credit here; it would be a sufficient excuse for a hired man to do but half a day's work in a day if he was furnished with an axe or scythe of that stamp."

The first grant included so insignificant a part of the marsh that a further grant of lands adjoining was obtained May 1, 1770. This grant was made in response to a memorial of James Simonds, which was duly considered by the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia, December 18, 1769, setting forth that in conjunction with Richard Simonds and James White he had obtained a grant of 2,000 acres of mountainous and broken land at the mouth of the River Saint John in the year 1765, which had been improved by building houses, a saw mill and lime kiln, and the partners had settled upwards of thirty persons on it, who were employed in carrying on those two branches of business, but that the wood and timber so necessary for them was all consumed, therefore praying that 2,000 acres more adjoining this tract might be granted to the said James Simonds.

It requires a considerable stretch of the imagination to believe that all the wood north of the city of St. John to the Kennebecasis river had been consumed during the five years of the company's operations at Portland Point. But probably the supply of lumber in the immediate vicinity of the saw mill, as well as the

wood most convenient to the lime kilns, may have been cut, and this afforded a sufficient pretext on which to base an application for another grant. The bounds of the second grant were as follows:—

“Beginning at a Red Head in a little Bay or cove to the eastward of the Harbour at the mouth of Saint John's River described in a former grant of 2000 acres to James Simonds in the year 1765,* being the south eastern bound of said grant, thence to run north 75 degrees east 170 chains, thence north 15 degrees west 160 chains or until it meets the river Kennebeccasius, and from thence to run westerly until it meets the north eastern bound of the former grant.”

The location of Red Head—that is the Red Head intended in this grant—was afterwards the subject of dispute and in the year 1830 seriously engaged the attention of the Common Council of St. John, but of this more anon.

W. O. RAYMOND.

THE WRECK OF THE ENGLAND.

The loss of the ship “England” in Courtenay Bay, St. John harbor, in December, 1846, was the most serious marine disaster that ever took place in the waters immediately around the city, and to many of the older people in this vicinity it is to this day one of the saddest reminders of the holiday seasons of the past. Though more than half a century has passed, it is not difficult to find those who remember well the night of the occurrence and the incidents which attended the affair, up to the time of the burial of the body of the captain in the lot where a now crumbling stone records in brief the story of the tragedy.

The “England” was a full rigged ship of 484 tons, built at Ten Mile Creek, St. John county, in the year 1837. by Captain Robert Ellis, who was the principal

* Red Head is thus described in the former grant: “Beginning at a point of upland opposite to his [Simonds] house and running east till it meets with a little cove or river, thence bounded by said cove till it comes to a Red Head on the east side of the cove.”

owner. The vessel was iron-kneed and copper sheathed, and had a particularly high forecastle, even for those times, which were before the days of deck houses forward and aft. The "England" had for some years been owned by parties in Cork, Ireland, and was engaged in the ordinary trade between Liverpool, London and St. John.*

On this last and fatal voyage the ship had sailed from London, in ballast, during the latter part of September, under command of Captain Andrew Irving, a native of London and a stranger to the navigation of these waters. This was his first voyage to St. John. The autumn of 1846 was a particularly bad one, marked by several severe storms, and thus it was that the long period of eighty-four days passed before the ship came in sight of the harbor of St. John. The ship's complement was twenty men, but a less number was sufficient for general purposes, and on this occasion the total number on board was seventeen, including two apprentice boys, one of whom was related to the captain.

Mention has been made of the stormy character of that season. Just a month before Christmas, on the night of the 25th and morning of the 26th of November, one of the heaviest gales known in the history of the city was experienced in St. John and along the coast. It was the worst known since the great storm of 1819. In this gale the steamer "Atlantic" was lost off the coast of Connecticut and many passengers perished, while the St. John steamer "North America" was wrecked off the coast of Maine. In the city of St. John trees were uprooted, chimneys blown down and roofs of houses partially wrecked. The new ship "Howard" was driven ashore near Rankin's wharf and

*In addition to my own records relating to this disaster, some important points have been developed by interviews with Mr. Hugh Bustin, one of the coroner's jury, and Mr. Patrick Trainor, who was with Pilot Haviland in the "Rehab" at the time.

fell over on its side, while the barque "Commerce" was jammed across the ferry slip in the midst of a quantity of timber. Other vessels were driven into the timber ponds, a schooner and a woodboat were sunk near the end of North wharf, and there was much other damage done. The "England" had its experience of this gale on the ocean, but came through it safely, and as Christmas week approached it came up the Bay of Fundy. Captain and crew alike were doubtless rejoicing that, after nearly three months' buffeting with wind and wave at that inclement season, they were at last drawing near to port, where their perils would be over and their hard experience forgotten in the joys of a Christmas on land.

The "England" was sighted off Partridge Island early in the afternoon of Saturday, the 19th of December, in company with two other vessels, the barque "Oromocto," from London, and the brig "Charlotte," from Yarmouth. These were a little in advance. The barque was in charge of Captain David Cronk, a well known shipmaster who thoroughly knew the harbor, and the "England" would have been safe in following him. The brig and the barque, passing the Island, kept the course of the channel to the westward. The "England" had no pilot on board. The pilot boat "Rechab," with John Haviland, branch pilot, had gone out to her, but a strong south-west wind was blowing and Haviland could not board the ship. He shouted what he thought were simple directions as to the course to be taken, and then put his boat about, signalling for the ship to follow in its course to the westward.

Captain Irving knew nothing of the harbor, but he had with him a mate, one John Robertson, who claimed to know all about it, from having been in a surveying vessel with Admiral Owen in the Bay of Fundy, some

years before. Relying on his statements, the captain entrusted the guidance of the ship to him and paid no further attention to the course of the pilot boat or the other vessels.

It was then about an hour and a half before low water, and the wind was growing stronger every minute. Under the mate's directions, the ship came along before the gale, under its three topsails and standing jib, and bore directly down upon the Foul Ground, on which, about half-past four o'clock, it struck with great force and remained hard and fast. At this juncture, Pilot Haviland got aboard, with one of his apprentices, Patrick Lennihan, with the hope of still saving the ship. By this time darkness had set in and the force of the wind was unabated. Nothing could be done until the flood tide should come, which would be after six o'clock, and the captain and crew had their supper as usual. While at supper, the second mate directly laid the blame of the disaster to Robertson, the first mate, who was in some way related to the captain. Had he assumed to know less and followed the pilot boat, the ship would have been safe. There was no time for discussing what might have been, however, and the great question was as to what could be done to make matters better. The only hope was that when the ship was floated by the flood tide it might be worked to a secure part of the harbor.

There was then no breakwater at the west channel, and with a southerly wind the sea had a clean sweep up the harbor. It was running furiously on this night, and when the flood tide lifted the ship it tore away the rudder, and the vessel came off the Foul Ground wholly unmanageable and with water over the ballast in the hold. It was out of the question to handle the sails so as to make a course, and the "England" was driven on the Round Reef, south of the Ballast wharf.

There it remained for a time, when it went on the Dulse Reef, nearer the shore. It was then evident that the ship must go to pieces, and all hands went forward for safety. In this they made a fatal mistake. Had they gone aft they would have been safe, as was afterwards found, and they would have been perfectly secure had they taken shelter in the cabin, for the bedding in the berths was not even wet when the wreck was visited on the following day.

It was then nearly midnight. The night was intensely dark, and the scene of horror cannot be described. The vessel broke in two on the reef, and the foremast went by the board. As it did so, the broken part of it, near the heel, struck Captain Irving, killing him instantly and severing his body into two parts. The survivors clung to the top of the forecastle, which began to drift around Courtenay Bay, while the sea made continual breaches over it. Some of the party were lashed with lines, but all were in danger of perishing by the exposure. At length the drifting forecastle was driven on the east shore of the Bay, along which it was carried by wind and tide until it came to where the stern of the ship had been driven, at the rocks which make out on the sands a little to the north of the alms house. By this time four of the crew were dead. These were John Smith, of Liverpool, seaman, Thomas Rogers, cook, with Francis Burdett, of London, and Charles Ward, of Coventry, apprentices. Young Lennihan, the pilot apprentice, who was a splendid swimmer, urged Pilot Havaland to attempt to get ashore, and the venture was made with success, use being made of the wreck of the stern for a part of the distance. Then the other survivors were got to the land, but not without difficulty and danger. So exhausted were the men with their terrible night's experience that on getting ashore some of them lay down on the snow ready to

fall asleep, and had it not been for the strenuous exertions of Pilot Haviland they would have continued to lie there till the sleep of death overtook them. Rousing them up, he conducted them to the alms house, where they received every possible care.

The bodies of the dead were looked after on the following morning and placed in an outbuilding. It was a sad enough sight, that of the five frozen remains of those who, at sunset the day before, had been abounding in life and hope. Two of the bodies were those of mere boys. An inquest was held on Monday, when a verdict was returned in accordance with the facts. The only member of the coroner's jury who is now living is Mr. Hugh Bustin.

One of the sailors rescued from the wreck was kindly treated by a family living in that vicinity. He thus made the acquaintance of a daughter of the owner of the house, to whom he was afterwards married.

The "England" had been consigned to the Hon. John Robertson, and it was supposed he would attend to the burial of Captain Irving, as became the latter's position and the sad circumstances under which he met his death in a strange land. There appears to have been some mistake made in the matter, however, and there was great surprise and indignation among the shipmasters when they learned that both captain and crew had been buried as paupers in the Old Burial Ground, that the undertaker had taken the captain's body to the grave late in the afternoon, that it had not been followed by a single mourner, and that no minister of religion had been called to commit the body to the earth. Upon learning these facts, a meeting of the shipmasters was held at the St. John hotel on the evening of Saturday, the 25th of December, an odd enough kind of a Christmas gathering, but one which

they felt would not bear postponement. The object of the meeting was stated to be the eliciting of information relative to the interment of Captain Irving and his men, "reports having got into circulation that they had not received a christian burial," and Captain Abell occupied the chair. Captain Taber opened the proceedings by some remarks in which he characterized the affair as a foul blot on a christian community, asserting that a man who had lost his life in the exercise of his duty had been dragged to his final resting place like a felon, betwixt daylight and dark. He used other strong language, and trusted the blame would be put where it belonged.

At this stage of the proceedings, Hon. John Robertson sent a note requesting that he be heard before the meeting, and he was accordingly admitted. His explanation was that he gave orders to the undertaker to have the bodies decently and respectably interred, without either extravagant or unnecessary expense, as soon as it could conveniently be done. After this Mr. Charles McLauchlan had called on him and said there was a feeling against the bodies being buried in the poor house burial ground, that the collector of customs (Mr. H. Bowyer Smith) and other officials had made a contribution toward funeral expenses, and that he, Mr. McLauchlan, was willing to take charge of the arrangements. Mr. Robertson had replied that Mr. McLauchlan would have to see the undertaker, as the bodies were in charge of the coroner. He also had suggested that the bodies be buried side by side and a tombstone erected, towards which he offered to contribute. He had left the arrangements with Mr. McLauchlan, and had not been aware of the interment until the next evening.

Captain John Leavitt then took the floor, and a lively passage of words ensued between him and

Mr. Robertson. After the latter had retired, Mr. McLaughlan was admitted, and detailed the efforts he had made to find the undertaker in time, but said he had met him only when he was on his way to the grave with the captain's body. The meeting then expressed its approbation of Mr. McLaughlan's conduct, and proceeded to pass the following resolutions:—

“Resolved, That the remains of the late Capt. Irving be removed from their present resting place, and conveyed to the grave from some respectable dwelling, for the purpose of being re-interred, and that a tomb-stone, containing a suitable inscription, be erected to his memory, and also to the memory of those of the crew who perished with him.”

It was also resolved that a subscription list be opened to defray the necessary expenses, and that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the city papers. In addition to Captains Abell, Taber and Leavitt, some of the well known old time shipmasters present were Captains Hipposly, Thomas Reed, Stephenson, Dudne and Wiley. The sum of £22. 16s. and 6d. was subscribed on the spot, and at a later date a balance remaining after the payment of funeral expenses was sent to Captain Irving's widow and family in England.

The place where the bodies had been buried was in the lower portion of the Old Burial Ground, next to the building lots on Union street. This was the part of the ground where free interments were made. The bodies of the sailors were allowed to remain there, but that of Captain Irving was disinterred and on Wednesday, the 29th of December, ten days after the disaster, the funeral took place from the house of Mr. James Milligan, King square. The day was marked by an exceedingly violent snow storm, but a very large number of people attended and followed the body to the Church of England Burial Ground, beyond the Marsh Bridge. In due time a plain free stone tablet was

placed over the grave, bearing the following inscription :—

IN MEMORY OF

ANDREW IRVING,

LATE MASTER OF THE SHIP OF ENGLAND OF
CORK.

Who perished on the wreck of that Vessel
In Courtney Bay, entrance of this Harbour,
On the night of the 19th of December, 1846.

ALSO

John Smith, seaman, Thomas Rogers,
Cook, Francis Burdett and Charles Ward,
Apprentices, who perished at the time
The remains of Capt. Irving are interred
On this spot, those of the sufferers with
Him are interred in the old graveyard
In this City.

—
This stone is erected by the Shipmasters
And others in the port of St. John.

The stone is to be seen on the high ground in the eastern part of the burial ground. There is no enclosure or any evidence of care, and of the hundreds who have read the inscription, few have heard, until now, the full details of the story of the wreck of the "England."

W. K. REYNOLDS.

ABOIDEAU?

The discussion of the derivation and the radical signification of this word in the pages of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE has revived in this community recollections of previous efforts to settle the question now raised afresh. I remember two former occasions on which considerable space in the columns of our St. John newspapers was filled by contributions from various correspondents, who all had theories according to which the matter might be explained. Nearly all

the suggestions which have recently appeared have thus been made before.

At the time of the first discussion I have referred to, I was too young to take any deep interest in it, although I can recall something of what was said concerning it by those immediately about me, and of the opinions they entertained. When, several years afterwards, the question arose again, I sought rather carefully to find a satisfactory solution. And I could discover no form of the word which appeared a better one than *aboideau*. I came to the conclusion that this form is a condensation of the somewhat pleonastic expression "l'abbé d'eau." *Abée* is a well-established old French word, whose meaning is a *mill-dam*, or, simply, a *dam*. It is, probably, the basis of our law-term *abeyance*, which appears in Norman French as *abbaiaunce*; and it is obviously a better foundation for that word than the verb *buye*, which has for its chief meaning to *gape*; to *look for a long time at a thing with one's mouth open*. In law, as in popular usage, *abeyance* signifies a state of suspension, or condition like that of a stream whose flow has been interrupted by a dam. *Abée* might by an easy and regular stage of transition come from *abai*, and,—the *ai* having *oi* for its equivalent in sound in the older speech,—our phrase would be in its original form, "l'*aboi d'eau*;" and being compressed with the articles omitted, *aboideau*.

The suggestion that this form of the word comes from the phrase "une boîte d'eau," or "à la boîte d'eau"—"at the water-box"—is of no value, since it is plain from Diéreville's account of the Bay of Fundy dykes—in which account occurs the first description we have of what he calls, or what he says the Acadians called, *aboteaux*—that the name was given to the whole structure of the dam, and not to the sluice alone. Besides, in the French of two hundred years ago the word

for *box* was spelled *boïste*, and the *s* was distinctly sounded whenever the word was spoken. The hissing character would have been very likely to keep its place in the unrefined, un-academized speech of the old settlers in these distant provinces. If our Acadians had derived a word from this source, it would, almost inevitably, have become "*boïste d'eau*," and, if re-trenched at all, "*boïsseau*".

The passage in which mention of the *aboteaux* was first made, and in which that name was apparently first written, is found in the volume entitled "*Voyage du Sieur de Diéreville en Acadie, ou Nouvelle France.*" Diéreville set out for Acadie in the year 1699, and returned to France in the year following. His book was published at Rouen in 1708. In his description of the good qualities of the country which the French settlers near the shores of the Bay of Fundy at that early date occupied, he refers to the difficulty of clearing and cultivating the high lands, and continues thus :

"If faut pour avoir des bleds, dessécher les marais que la mer en pleine marée inonde de ses eaux, et qu'ils appellent les terres basses ; celles-là sont assez bonnes, mais quel travail ne faut-il pas faire pour les mettre en état d'être cultivées ? On n'arrête pas le cours de la mer aisément ; cependant les Acadiens en viennent à bout par de puissantes digues qu'ils appellent des aboteaux, et voici comment ils font : ils plantent cinq ou six rangs de gros arbres tous entiers aux endroits par où la mer entre dans les marais, et entre chaque rang ils couchent d'autres arbres le long, les uns sur les autres, et garnissent tous les vides si bien avec de la terre glaise bien battue, que l'eau n'y saurait plus passer. Ils ajustent au milieu de ces ouvrages un esseau de manière qu'il permet, à la marée basse, à l'eau des marais de s'écouler par son impulsion, et défend à celle de la mer d'y entrer."

Those readers who can render this extract into English themselves will pardon me for offering the following translation of it to those who do not habitually translate from the French :

"It is necessary, in order to raise grains, to drain the marshes which the sea at high tide overflows with its waters ; and which they (the Acadians) call the lowlands. Those lands are good enough ; but what labor does it not require to put them

in condition for cultivation? It is not easy to stay the course of the sea : the Acadians nevertheless accomplish the task by means of strong dykes which they call *abotenur* ; and this is how they make them.—They set up five or six rows of large trees, quite entire, at the places by which the sea enters into the marshes, and between the rows they lay other trees lengthwise, one upon another, and they fill all the empty spaces so well with soft clay, well packed, that the water can no longer pass through. They fit in the middle of these works a flood-gate (un *esseau*) in such a manner that it allows, at low tide, the marsh-water to flow out by its own pressure, and prevents the water of the sea from entering."

A translation of a part of this quotation is given as a note by Mr. Beamish Murdoch on page 540 of the first volume of his valuable History of Nova Scotia. But he offers no explanation of the exact meaning, or of the composition of the words *aboteaux* and *esseau*.

From the way in which Diéreville introduces them it is obvious that *aboteau* was in his day not a classic or an usual term in the French language. Indeed, it has always been considered and treated as an Acadian word, which came into existence under peculiar circumstances among the early European inhabitants of the alluvial lands that lie around the Bay of Fundy, in the counties of Annapolis, Kings, Hants, Colchester and Cumberland, in Nova Scotia, and in the counties of Westmorland, Albert, St. John and Charlotte, in the province of New Brunswick. That circumstance has led almost everybody to look for the origin of the word in some peculiar expression prevalent in those districts of France from which the first civilized colonists in Acadia came. Guided simply by the spelling of the first part of the words as Diéreville's book presents it, the main effort has been to get hold of a verb or a noun beginning with *abo*,—from which either the form *aboteau* or the form *aboideau*;—which latter one has by some means become predominant in printed pages,—could be obtained. Accordingly, attempts have been made to connect *aboideau* especially with *aboyer*, by attaching to that verb the sense "to keep at bay," and

with the noun *abois*, which means the condition of a hunted animal brought to bay. None of these attempts, however, have been entirely successful. One correspondent of this Magazine, Mr. George Johnson, favors the easy,—too easy—deduction of the word from *aboi* and *d'eau*. And another contributor, M. Raoul Renault, pointedly exposes the weakness of this explanation.

There is less reason to support the far-fetched and fanciful notion, which Dr. S. E. Dawson entertains, that *aboiteau* is the correct form of the word, and that it is derived from an obsolete Norman French verb *bot*—a branch of a tree. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, it is said, a billet of wood, or a branch of a tree, fastened to a horse's foot, or leg, to prevent him from leaping over fences, is called *abot*, and that to clog, or hobble, an animal in that manner is expressed by *aboter*. From this fact, or because the dykes described by Diéreville are built with untrimmed trees as their framework, the conclusion is reached that *aboiteau* is the word used by the Acadians, and that its signification is a *water-clog*. For myself, I am strongly inclined to doubt the existence of *bot* as a merely Breton word. It is the old French form of the modern French *bout*, meaning an *end*, *extremity*, *piece*, *part*, and not a *tree* or a *branch* of a tree. The *aboteau* of Diéreville is, moreover, something more than a mere *water-clog*, whatever that may be; and neither the assumed Breton root *bot* nor the *abot* found in *patois* of the Channel Islands furnishes a solid basis for it. I have not within my reach George Metioier's *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*, else I might have more to say in reference to these words. If, however, in that *patois* the clog attached to a breachy horse's leg is called *abot*, is it not highly probable that the word is simply the equivalent of the ordinary French *botte*, the Spanish and Portu-



MAJOR JOHN WARD.

... "At the head of the table sat the white-haired grandfather,
hale and hearty."—Page 358.

guese *hota*, the Italian *botte*, the Welsh *botas*, the Irish *butais*, and the English *hoot*? *Aboter* then would mean to *a-boot*, or to put on a boot, or hopple, of any kind, and not necessarily one specially made of a billet of wood, a branch of a tree, or of a whole tree with its branches. And either boot or clog is a very clumsy name for a dyke.

Even after I had carefully read all that has appeared relating to the subject in the previous numbers of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, I adhered firmly to my long-standing opinion that the best, if not the only proper, form of the word employed by the Acadians was *aboideau*, and that it was derived from *abée*, a *dam*, in the manner I have above mentioned. When I informed the editor of the magazine of my intention to write something in support of my opinion, and expressed my regret that I had not found in Saint John a copy, in the original, of Diéreville's book on Acadie, which I had never seen, he kindly placed in my hands his copy of the edition published at Quebec in 1885 by L. U. Fontaine. From it I extracted the paragraph in reference to the Acadian dykes. And I was gratified at finding, quite unexpectedly, that M. Fontaine, in a note upon the word *aboteau*, says that it is a modification of the *Celtic* *abée*,—the word from which I had derived *aboideau*. But before I had sent to the editor my brief comments, I happened to be reading a page of French in which there met my eye *abat-jour*,—a word bearing the meaning, a *sky-light*. My attention being arrested by the first part of the compound, there occurred to me at once the other architectural term *abat-vent*. And then I said to myself, Eureka! If a structure designed to admit, or to exclude, or to give a certain direction to, the light of day is an *abat-jour*, and a structure designed to shut off the wind is an *abat-vent*, why should not a structure contrived to

keep out the influx of the tides be an *abat-eau*?

I soon found other similar compound nouns, which strengthened my conviction that here at last is a perfectly satisfactory solution of the question in regard to the orthography of the word we are discussing. Let us examine the definitions and the applications of several of these compounds. Some of them are to be found in English as well as in French dictionaries, having everywhere the same senses, since they are distinct technical terms.

Abat-jour, which,—the *t* being often omitted, is also written *abajour*,—is thus comprehensively defined in the “Century Dictionary”: “Any contrivance to admit light, or throw it in a desired direction, as a lamp-shade, a sky-light, a sloping, box-like structure, flaring upward and open at the top, attached to a window on the outside, to prevent those within from seeing objects below, or for the purpose of directing light downward into the window.”

Abat-vent: Dr. Ogilvie’s “Imperial Dictionary” gives this term as derived from *abattre*, to lower, and *vent*, the wind, and defines it as, “The sloping roof of a tower; a pent-house; so named because the slope neutralizes the force of the wind.” The “Standard Dictionary’s” definition is, “A device to break the force, or prevent the admission of wind; a series of slats with inclined faces, arranged vertically, with intervals between, as in a belfry window; a sloping roof; a chimney cowl.”

Abat-voix: In the “Imperial Dictionary” derived from *abattre* and *voix*, the voice; and defined as, “The sounding-board over a pulpit or rostrum; so named because it prevents the speaker’s voice from rising and being lost or indistinct.”

Abat-foin: In “Spiers and Surene’s” French dictionary, this is given as an agricultural term,

meaning "an opening over a hay-rack, through which the hay is put in." It was fitted, I presume, with a lid, or trap-door, which, being closed, shut off the hay-mow from the stable below it.

Abat-faim: This is given in the same dictionary as an expression in familiar speech, to denote "a substantial, large joint of meat,"—that is, something by which hunger (*faim*) is abated, or kept off.

Here are five compound nouns, in each of which the force of the prefix *abat* is clearly to impart the sense of a barrier, a defence, a protective structure. And there are other similar compounds almost as good for the purpose of our argument. To me, this evidence is quite conclusive in favor of *abat-eau* as the original and true form of the name given by the Acadians to the structure by means of which they shut out from their marshes the swelling tides of the Bay of Fundy. Many of their descendants, as well as many English-speaking people who now live in the vicinity of the dykes they built, drop the initial vowel of the word *abat-eau*, and call a dyke of this special kind a "bato" placing the accent upon the long final syllable, and making the preceding vowel so brief in utterance that its sound might be expressed in writing by an *a*, an *e*, an *i*, an *o*, with perfect indifference. That M. Diéreville should have expressed that sound by an *o*, and have written the full word, which he heard uttered quickly, "aboteau" cannot surprise us. Or, that the word, as it stands in his text, is merely the result of the error of a printer who mistook a defectively-shaped *a* for an *o*, is surely, a very reasonable supposition.

It really is a very strange thing that the word, either as it is spelled in Diéreville's volume, or as *aboideau* is included in none of the French dictionaries, except, as a friend has informed me, in the supplement

of M. Littré's great work. He gives *aboteau* and says that it is a word used in Saintonge with the signification of a dyke. To call in question so eminent an authority may be presumptuous; but it may be remarked as a very singular circumstance that, if used at all in France in Diéreville's day, it should have been regarded, as it evidently was regarded, by him in the light of a peculiar, local and new word. And why have not its derivation and its orthography been long since settled and commonly understood in Old France and in Canada?

The only one of our English dictionaries in which I have found it, is "The Century," where it is given in this curt and unsatisfactory way: "*Aboideau* or *Ahoiteau* (of uncertain French origin): A dam to prevent the tide from overflowing the marsh. (New Brunswick)." This statement does not add much to one's knowledge of the word. But our modern, or more recent, compilers and editors of English and of French lexicons, although some of them, doubtless, have been very learned men, are not, as a class, particularly perspicacious persons.

The derivation and meaning of the prefix *abat* afford a subject worthy of investigation. In all the instances cited, and always, the word bears with it the sense of something constructed or contrived as a defence or protection against the action of a substance in motion, or in resistance to a force of some kind. This inherent sense seems to connect it readily with "abée,"—from which, indeed, it may have been formed. It appears, too, to be nearly related to *abattre*—to beat off, or keep off,—to *abois*, to the *abatis* used in fortification, and to our *abate*.

It may, however, be entirely independent of any affinity with those words.

There rises before me the possibility of a very

different and a remote origin for *abat*. Artemisia, that queen of Caria who flourished in the same age with Xerxes,—in the fifth century B. C.—and who immortalised herself by her great deeds, especially in building at Halicarnassus that magnificent tomb for her husband, Mausolus, which was called the *Mausoleum*, and which has transmitted its expressive title as a common noun to all the languages of the civilized world, also erected in Rhodes a monument, or *Tropaeum*, to commemorate her conquest of that island.

“When the Rhodians regained their freedom, they built round the trophy, so as to render it inaccessible, whence it was known as the—*abatou*.”

This structure having been spoken of by Vitruvius, the eminent writer upon architecture in the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus, the Greek word passed into the Latin language as a common name for an inaccessible, or impassable, structure. May not *abatou*, as an architectural term, have passed from Rome farther westward, and become *abat* in the language of France?

Here I leave *abat-eau* with the readers of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, having a modest confidence that not a few of them will agree with me that this word, the composition of which is perfectly analogous with that of several other words of the same class, is the true and proper form of the name given by the old Acadians to the structures by which they protected their valuable marshes against the inroads of the sea.

ESSEAU.

It may not be amiss to present, as an appendix to the fore-going remarks, a few observations upon the other unusual word which Diéreville introduced in his description of the dykes he found in Acadie—the word

esseau. According to a note supplied as an editorial explanation by Monsieur L. U. Fontaine, this word appears in the Glossary of the Norman *patois* to be the name of a ditch through which the over-flow on a marsh takes its course. This explanation, we perceive at a glance, does not explain much.

There is a word *esseau* in French which has two different, and apparently not closely connected, meanings: 1. "A small, curved hatchet"; 2. A board to cover roofs, i. e. a shingle." These definitions lend us no assistance in an attempt to interpret the Norman *patois*. But, assuming the word to be good, ordinary French after all, although it has not obtained admission to the dictionaries, let us apply to it the same simple mode of analysis that we have applied to the *abat-eau*. Considering it as a compound, "*esse-eau*," we have only the meaning and derivation of the first part to discover. What then is an *esse*? An *esse*, or—as it is in its abbreviated form—an *ess*, is, first, the name of the letter S; then it means *a piece of iron*, shaped like an S, such as we often see used as *a clamp, to hold together weak walls*; then an iron to grasp and hold stones that are being lifted; then, as an "*esse d'affût*," it is the *fore-lock, or linch-pin*, of a gun-carriage wheel, or of any truck—having, perhaps, in such uses the form of an S; then as a key for any kind of bolt; and then, *a catch, or clasp*—possibly also resembling an S—as used in mediæval armor to hold the *helm, or beaver*, to the *gorget*, or to the *breast-plate* in front.

The "flood-gate," or valve, in an *abat-eau* performs just this office of closing and clasping the structure that keeps out the water. It is, therefore, an "*ess-eau*."

W. P. DOLE.

CHRISTMAS AS IT WAS.

The year 1808, time about three o'clock in the afternoon, of a fine winter day in the middle of December. A portly gentleman, considerably past middle age, is standing on the stoop of his residence on the corner of King and Germain streets, and a young lad is on the sidewalk, looking inquiringly at him.* "Run Charles, there countryman coming down the street to 'Kent's.' See what he has got in his saddle bags, before Col. Billop gets hold of him." The boy starts off and brings the countryman to the old Major, and submits his load for examination. He has two geese, a fine turkey and several pairs of chickens and partridges, which are quickly bargained for and carried into the house. Christmas is at hand and it is necessary to have the order well supplied.

At that period the country was but sparsely settled, roads were few and did not extend far in any direction from the city, except the main road to Sussex, in which direction the country was being rapidly cleared and opened up for farming. There was no market in St. John, farmers came to town, some in wagons in summer and sleds in winter, and others from remote clearings on horseback. The only market they had was the public highway on King street.

About this time of the year there was great rivalry amongst the householders to get first chance from any countryman coming into town with poultry or game, hence the words of the Major to his son.

* Altered in the history of St. John will recognize in the Major and his son, the grandfather and father of the writer of this sketch—Major Ward and Charles Ward, the Ward house was at the south-east corner of King and Germain streets, now occupied by Hall's book store. Kent's corner, later Foster's corner, was on the opposite side of Germain street. The picture drawn by the present writer is actually one of Christmas in the Ward household.—Ed.

The summer business was over. The West Indian fleet had sailed, the fishermen and coast settlers had loaded their "Chebacco" boats with tea, sugar, tobacco and with clothing, not forgetting a "cag" (so pronounced) of Jamaica "spirits" and other necessary articles for winter supplies, and had gone to their several destinations. The town was very small and all were acquainted, and the long winters were devoted to comfort and enjoyment. The houses were solidly built to resist cold, with low ceilings and fire places wide and open; the best of hardwood was plentiful and cheap, and all the people were fairly well to do.

The Christmas holiday at that period was long looked forward to by old and young as a time of great enjoyment, and every preparation was made to give it due honor. The housewife, for many days before, was in the kitchen with her maids and the cook, who was always a colored woman. In most cases she had come with the master from the old home by the banks of the Hudson, or some other pleasant place in the land of their birth. The old Loyalists were fond of good living and in their reunions would boast to one another of the capabilities and wonderful resources of their old black cooks, somewhat in the manner that the nabobs of the old world would talk of their "chefs".

The old fashioned kitchen had an open fire place, in or before which all cooking was done. The poultry and meat were roasted before the open fire on a spit, which being slowly turned, greatly "did" the meat all through and preserved all the natural juices and flavor. In these degenerate days we *bake* our meats, and very few now living, I suppose, ever ate a *roasted turkey*.

In the kitchen, the cook was paramount and despotic. Even the mistress was somewhat in awe of her on these occasions, and would never venture to give an

order, but meekly suggest what she thought might be done.

All supplies were laid in, early in the winter : Beef by the quarter, a pig, poultry of all kinds, and maybe some moose meat and caribou. All the meats, not salted or pickled by the mistress, were kept frozen in a place prepared in the barn. The cellar was well supplied with potatoes, turnips and other vegetables, and in one corner, carefully railed off, was a space especially under the care of the master of the house, and his deputy, the old family servant, who generally spent his life in the household, and considered his master a greater man than the governor of the province. In the corner was stored a cask of maderia, another of port, and one of sherry, and chief among them, the main stay of the supply, a cask of Jamaica rum, very old, and very fragrant. Brandy and whiskey and other fiery liquids were not then in general use. There might be a bottle of brandy in the house, but only to be used as a corrective of internal disturbance arising from too generous an indulgence in the good things of the season.

Every preparation was made for a befitting celebration of the important day. Those who had been remiss or improvident, scoured the adjacent country to see if any unfortunate fowl or bird had escaped the promiscuous slaughter. The girls and their mother were unremitting in their work in furnishing a bountiful supply of pies of all kinds, and cakes and doughnuts. In that day the doughnut was king of the feast, fat, juicy and crisp, well cooked and wholesome. In these degenerate times his glory has departed. We are half ashamed of him, and though still considered a requisite of the Christmas holidays we eat him in a furtive manner, and many loudly declaim that they never eat doughnuts, call them bilious, and apply other heretical calumnies to what in old times was considered indispensable to

the festival. Most old fellows carried doughnuts about in their pockets, and ate them at all sorts of unseasonable hours, and I have heard of some of the old families who made them by the barrel!

But the principal party was old Dinah, the cook. She was in her glory. Fat, and at ordinary times the soul of good nature, on this occasion, under the weight of the responsibilities put upon her, and to uphold the reputation of her master's house for gastronomic superiority, she became a very tyrant in her domain; none dare dispute her orders, or suggest changes or improvements in her dishes. They simply became humble assistants in the great work of preparation for the Christmas dinner. And this dependence was well repaid when the festal day arrived and the products of her culinary art were proudly placed on the table, and elicited delighted encomiums from all who partook of them, but her greatest reward was when the old master turned to her and said, "Well done, Dinah!"

Early on Christmas morning, the young men assembled in some open field and tried their skill as marksmen by shooting at live turkeys buried to the neck in the snow, leaving the head only visible. Their guns were old flint muskets, which formerly had done service in the war of the Revolution across the border. The range for shooting was about 30 or 40 yards, so the unfortunate turkeys had a poor show for their lives, but as the killing of them was the main object of the gathering it is to be hoped the aim was generally good. Sixpence or a shilling was the price usually paid for a shot, and some of the crack ones generally brought home two or three birds as a result of their skill. These sports came down to modern times, they were quite in vogue forty or more years ago, and may still be practised in some country districts.

The older people, before church time, visited each

other and talked over the business of the year, and the prospect of the West India trade, and told old time stories of their adventures in the war, and of perils and hair breadth escapes from pirates and privateers on their West India voyages. In those days, the French privateer and picaroons of all nations, were accustomed to lie in wait in the out of the way harbors and lagoons of the island of Cuba; and pounce from thence on our unfortunate merchantmen as they proceeded on their voyages to and from the islands.

It is scarcely necessary to relate that these discourses were punctuated, as it were, by frequent adjournments to the sideboard, where decanters of wine and other cordials, flanked by jorums of good old Jamaica, were set out for the refreshment of all who desired. In that day the sideboard was never empty, and an invitation to partake was not considered necessary. It was presumed that each one knew what his requirement was; there were no pressing to drink, but it was there for each one to help himself.

There must have been something really *preservative* in Jamaica rum; all drank freely of it, and it has been remarked, that seldom or never in a representative body of men, have so many reached extreme old age, as was the case with the majority of the men who came here in 1783. This may be verified by any one looking over files of papers published sixty years ago, and noting the extraordinary number of deaths of old men ranging from 75 to 95, in which it is stated in the obituary notice that he came here a Loyalist in 1783.

It was not the crude rum of commerce, doctored and adulterated, such as is the vile stuff too commonly sold at the present time. The preparing and mollifying of Jamaica such as was used by the old merchants of St. John was almost an art, and great care and attention was given to the process. In the first place they

imported from the island the pure unadulterated juice of the cane. That for their own consumption was kept a year or two in cask; then, when duly seasoned, it was hoisted to the top story of the store or warehouse, and stood at the edge of the hatch. On the floor below of the three or four story building was a large butt. A spiggot was driven into the cask above, and a very slight stream of liquor, almost drop by drop, was allowed to fall into the butt below. As it became full it was carefully ladled out and bottled, and then put away sometimes for a year longer. This process was supposed to eliminate all the fiery spirit of the rum, and in four or five years it became so mild and palatable that it could be drunk without the addition of any water.

As an instance of filial affection, and also of the high regard in which a seasoned cask of rum was held, it is related that during one of the disastrous fires which periodically devastated St. John many years ago, one of the members of a firm came to his store on the wharf when all the buildings around were fiercely burning. His younger brother was busily engaged with a gang of men rolling out the goods, to save as much as possible from the flames. The elder earnestly inquired of his brother, "Have you got out your father's puncheon of rum?" The younger man made some impatient answer, and went on with the word of salvage, but the senior insisted on all work being stopped, and taking the men into the store, he brought out the puncheon of rum, and had it conveyed to a place of safety, and then allowed the work of saving ordinary merchandise to go on.*

The hour appointed for church service found the old people with their wives and families assembled at Trinity church. The Rector, the Rev. Mather Byles,

*This incident occurred during the fire of 1837. The cask was owned by Major Ward, the elder brother was John Ward, jr., and the younger was Charles Ward.—ED.

was rector of Christ church, Boston, at the time of the Revolution; he was a devout Churchman, and most exemplary christian, but some what eccentric. It is said that he was opposed to having stoves or any manner of heating in the church, and that he kept himself warm by wearing a fur coat under his surplice, and gloves with the tips of the fingers cut off on his hands, to facilitate the turning of the leaves of his book. His unfortunate congregation did not fare so well, especially the womankind, and it was part of the duty of the small boy of the household to carry a pan of live charcoal to the family pew sometime before service commenced, to keep warm the feet of the female members of the family. One of the old settlers has told me that, when a boy, he often carried the warming pan to the church for this purpose. The pews were built very high, not much more than the head and shoulders of a man appearing above the top of the enclosure, and running around the four sides were brass rods on which were hung red or green baize curtains. These curtains were drawn back during service, but on the commencement of the sermon they were closed, and no person was visible in the church, but the minister in his high pulpit, and it was quite startling, on the conclusion of the sermon, to hear the curtains sharply drawn back, and see the people emerging from their seclusion to join in the closing services. Church being over, they wended their way homeward, the elders gravely discoursing about the sermon, or maybe criticising the discordant notes of some over zealous member, who more enthusiastic than skilful, raised his voice in the psalms and hymns appointed for the occasion, for in those days all the congregation (who could sing) were expected to join in the choral part of the service.

The great event of the day was still before them—the Christmas dinner—preparation for which had long

been going on in the household. Hospitality was one of the great virtues of the time, and at the table of the head of the family were gathered all the descendants, including those who had married and gone out of the household, and their children of befitting age, and also two or three old friends and comrades who had remained single and had not homes or families of their own to make merry with—all were assembled on that one day in the year in affectionate re-union at the old homestead.

At the head of the table sat the white haired grandfather, still hale and hearty, though many years had gone over his head since he first drew his sword in what he considered his duty to his king and country; behind his chair stood his old servant Richard, who had faithfully served his old master for many years.

The usual hour for dinner was 4 o'clock. All being assembled at the table, thanks were given for many mercies and for the bountiful repast before them, and the Christmas feast began. The viands were all the product of the country. Turkey, beef, poultry, game, venison, all the best of their kind; good humor, mirth and jollity were the order of the day. After the solids were removed, came on desert, pies, puddings, custards, nuts, apples and other good things, with port, sherry and madeira. It was the day of toasts and drinking wine with each other, the latter being a very particular ceremony. One would request of his neighbor "the pleasure of a glass of wine with you," which being responded to, each would fill his glass, then, bowing to each other as gravely as Chinese mandarins, they drank the wine and silently replaced the glasses on the table. This ceremony went around the table from neighbor to neighbor and was often repeated, and always with due gravity and decorum, any flippancy on the part of the younger members being severely frowned

at as a thing not to be tolerated. Meanwhile, the younger folk had gathered in an adjoining room with the matrons, and made merry with games, and minuets and country dances.

The elders generally sat long over their wine. Over indulgence was not encouraged, and an intemperate person was as much avoided as at the present time, but if an old fellow got a little more than he could carry it was not thought to be much out of the way. So as the evening went on some one of them would quietly drop off into a doze in his chair, the warmth of the room, good cheer and generous wine having produced a feeling of comfort and repletion. Presently the host would make a suggestion that, all having had sufficient, enough of the evening was left for a game of whist, or if any of them felt inclined, for a round dance with the young folk in the adjoining room. Accordingly they would adjourn to where the young people were enjoying themselves; perhaps some septuagenarian, recalling the agility of his younger days, would lead one of the elder ladies to the dance. They made a picturesque couple, he in his blue tail coat, high collar behind nearly reaching to the crown of his head, bright metal buttons—those behind in the middle of his back—with knee breeches, silk stockings and pumps, and she in her old fashioned short waisted black silk gown, with lace collar and cuffs, and mittens, (without fingers) of knitted silk on her hands.

The old gentleman brightens up at the music, remembrances of his old time skill at the dance at balls and assemblies in old New York come to his mind, and he astonishes his old comrades by his pirouettes, and the sprightness with which he "cuts a pigeon wing," as he glides through the figures of the lively dance, and finally it comes to an end, and somewhat breathless and wheezy, but with old time courtly grace, he makes

his bow and conducts his partner to a seat. His old friends congratulate him on his grace and agility, which they say might equal that of a much younger man, at which the old fellow is pleased, and straightens up his back, and tries not to feel the twinge of lumbago which the extra exertion has brought on.

Midnight comes and the party begins to break up. Those who have to go home wrap themselves up in shawls and furs, the sleighs come to the door, and with much handshaking, blessings and good wishes, the holiday comes to an end.

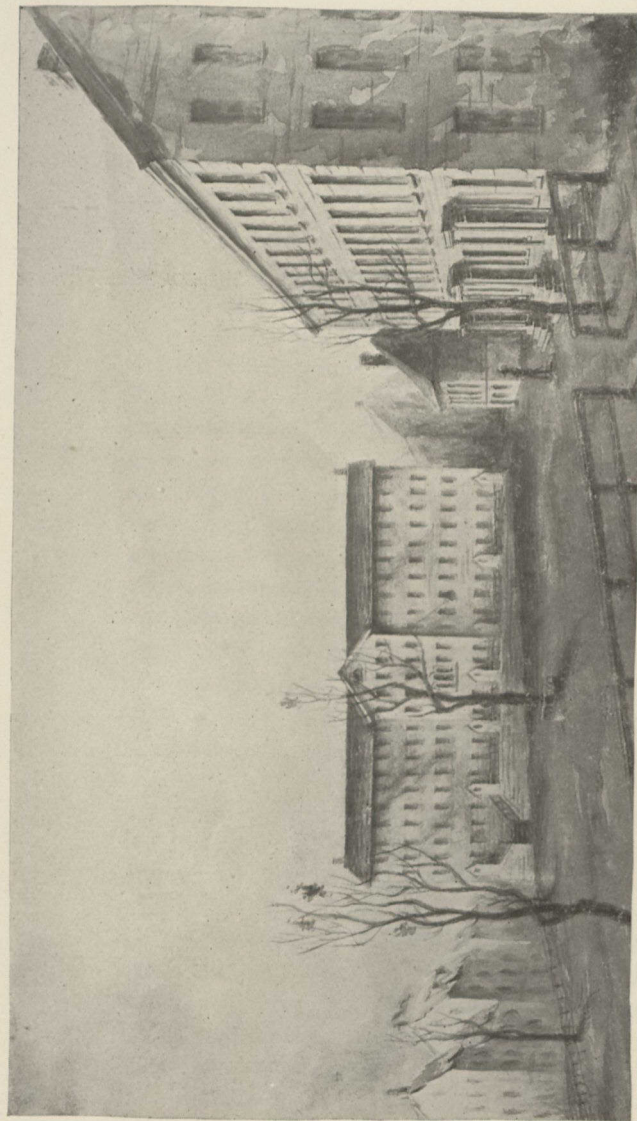
Those of the household who remain behind, gather around the fire, and indulge in reminiscences of by gone times. The old folk recall the days of their youth by the fireside at the old homstead on the Hudson. When they look around and see the sturdy young men and handsome girls who have grown up around them, they give thanks in their hearts for all the blessings vouchsafed them, and for the happy termination of what, for many years, was a life of anxiety and struggles and disappointments, and for the pleasant home they have made in the wilderness far removed from the land of their birth.

CLARENCE WARD.

THE ACADIAN MELANSONS.

I must enter my humble but emphatic dissent from the dictum of M. Richard, (*Acadia*, p. 29) adopted and elaborated by Mr. Hannay in *THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE*, vol. 1, pp. 129 *et seq.*, that the father of the two Melansons named in the census of Port Royal, taken in 1671, was one of Sir William Alexander's Scotch Colony who had remained in the country and joined and intermarried with the French. I submit the following considerations :

1. He was, as Mr. Hannay himself shews, the



THE NORTH BARRACKS, HALIFAX, PREVIOUS TO THE FIRE OF 1850.

(From a Drawing by HARRY PIERS ; to illustrate "A Halifax Mystery.")

The south door of the quarters is that at the further end of the building, where the man stands. The well was close to the tree in the centre of the grass plot.

Sieur of La Verdure, a title somewhat analogous to that of Laird in Scotland, identifying him with the gentry or petite noblesse of France, or certainly a position higher than that of the ordinary peasant, artisan or soldier. His high authority as Captain Commandant of the garrison corresponded with the social rank indicated by his title. D'Aulnay would never select one of Sir William's humble Scotch followers, but rather a well educated and well bred Frenchman, as tutor and guardian of his children.

2. The Abbé Sigogne is my authority for the assertion that Melançon (c cedilla) was the old and correct spelling of the name, although the "s" being *idem sonans* is permissible.

3. Names ending in "son" by no means bear unmistakable evidence of being of British or Scandinavian origin, for there are hundreds of French names with that terminal syllable not connected either in origin or meaning with the ordinary English or Tuetic "son" or "sen".

4. The termination referred to came into use to form a patronymic, by adding it to ordinary Christian or given names of parents: so Danielson, English, Danielsen, Danish, son of Daniel; Johnson, English, Jansen, Dutch, for son of John; Thomson, for Thomas' son; Nicholson, for Nicholas' son, and the like; but there is no similar Scotch or English name which could have been thus compounded to form Melanson.

5. I have overhauled a Directory of Scotland, and cannot find there any name which could be identified with Melanson or gallicized into that form, although it is easy to imagine the English Coulston, or the Scotch Colinson or Collison assuming among the French the form Colson, or Colleson. The nearest approach to the name Melanson that I could find in the Directory is in the Irish and Scotch Mullan, and McMullin.

As to the Martin family being Scotch, I would like further to remark that the name Martin is equally English, Irish, Scotch and French; and perhaps the same may be said of Vincent, although I think the latter name is more common in France than in the United Kingdom. The mere names in these two cases prove nothing; but it seems impossible that the immigrant ancestor of the Melansons could have been of Scottish birth.

A. W. SAVARY.

A HALIFAX MYSTERY.

On Christmas day, 1824, one Edward Shea, a schoolmaster of Rawdon, came to Halifax and went to the house of an acquaintance with whom he usually lodged when in town. He was a man of about sixty years of age, who had formerly been in the navy, but who now lived humbly on a small pension which he eked out by teaching school in an out-of-the-way country district.

It was after dark, between six and seven o'clock, when the solitary old man dropped into the before-mentioned house, and took a glass of punch with the landlord and some other men who were drinking about the cosy fire-place. His costume consisted of a short blue jacket with metal anchor buttons, light blue homespun trousers, and an old black hat. He was much fatigued, for during the day he had travelled some thirty to thirty-five miles—a remarkable achievement for one of his age and slight frame.

After drinking the liquor, he begged for more, but this his entertainer refused to give him, as he did not appear to be entirely sober. Being without money, he then offered his black-silk handkerchiet as a pledge,

but the other still refused to comply with his wish, and the old man left the house much offended.

About one o'clock at night, Shea, still somewhat intoxicated, knocked at Dr. Stirling's, and asked the apprentice who opened the door if he could there obtain a night's lodging. The doctor's servant, not knowing Shea, told him that there were several public houses near at hand, at any of which he could doubtless put up, and accordingly the man left and turned up the hill toward the North Barracks. At the gate of the latter was pacing a sentinel of the 81st, whom Shea approached and requested lodging in the guard-room. The soldier directed him to the main guard, and the man stumbled off, but instead of going as directed he walked to some houses opposite and then turned and went through a turn-stile and approached the officers' quarters, after which he passed out of sight of the sentry who, giving him little further attention, paced up and down in the keen frosty air, his mind filled with thoughts of the hard luck that had placed him on duty at such a time of universal merry-making, occasional sounds of which came to him from the adjacent row of houses.

The North Barracks were situated to the north-east of the citadel hill, near the intersection of Brunswick and Cogswell streets. Early in the history of the town military quarters had been erected there, and in the closing years of the last century the building was well-known as the Red Barracks. The men's quarters were built about a quadrangle, while to the northward, outside the quadrangle, extended a separate building of more recent date, three stories high with a hip-roof. This was the officers' quarters. They were entered by three doors with pillars on either side. From the upper windows could be obtained a magnificent view of the harbour and of the wooded hills of Dartmouth beyond.

In front of the building was a grass plot enclosed by a low railing, and a number of large poplars stood a few rods from the doors. Beside the innermost group of these was a well about ten feet deep.

The old officers' quarters still stand almost unaltered, being at present used as a military store-house. The remaining barrack buildings were burnt down by a terrific conflagration that took place in December, 1850, the officers' quarters escaping owing to the direction of the wind and to their being detached from the neighboring structures. New barracks now occupy the site of those that were destroyed.

To the south-east of the citadel was another long building, known as the South Barracks, standing on the site of an old fort that had been erected at the settlement of the town. Between this and the North Barracks extended a street, now part of Brunswick street, that might be described as the western frontier of the town, and just above, on the green slope of the citadel, stood the old town clock, whose bell told the inhabitants of the passing hours. This street was then usually called Barrack street, but it was also appropriately nicknamed "Knock-me-down" street. Although physically the highest, this was morally the lowest quarter of the town, and even in day-time few cared to risk themselves within its precincts. Here lived white and colored people of the most degraded and dissolute class, nearly every building being a tavern or a house of ill-fame. Robberies and murders and riots, which had from time to time occurred here, caused the place to be shunned by everyone of respectability. Such was the scene of this story at the period of which I write.

The garrison of Halifax then consisted of three regiments of foot, with corps of the Royal Artillery and Engineers. The line regiments consisted of the 74th,

the 81st, and the 96th. The latter, which had been raised early in 1824, with its officers from the half-pay list, had arrived at Halifax in two detachments in August and September of the same year. It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Herries, who had formerly commanded the 100th foot from which he had retired on half-pay, but who had later accepted the lieutenant-colonelcy of the new regiment. Among the ensigns of the 96th, was Richard Cross, who is said to have been an Irishman, rather young, tall, well-made and with pleasing manners. He had received a commission as second lieutenant in the 11th regiment, otherwise known as "the Cherubims," on 28th October, 1813, but had gone on half-pay when that regiment with many others had been reduced at the close of the Napoleonic wars. When the 96th was raised, he was commissioned an ensign and came with the corps to Halifax, when he entered into the life of an officer of that garrison, with its rounds of balls, dinners, drives, horse-races, rackets, and amateur theatricals.

On the Christmas in question, Mr. Cross spent the evening at Lieutenant Spratt's of the same regiment, in company with three brother subalterns named Nugent, Story and O'Brien. About half-past one o'clock they left their entertainer and proceeded homeward, singing and talking. It was a cold night, without a glimpse of moon. They passed through the turnstile of officers' quarters at the North Barracks, some ten or fifteen minutes after Shea had left the sentry, and their mirthful demeanor was a fresh reminder to the lonely soldier of the gaiety he was missing at that gayest of all seasons.

On entering the barrack square O'Brien fell, and, thinking his arm was broken, called out "Oh, dear! Oh, my arm!" Nugent, turning round, said to one of his companions, "Go back and see what is the matter

with the boy." The injury was found to be trifling, and the three men entered the quarters, whereupon Story went to his room and Nugent and O'Brien accompanied Cross to his apartment, which was at the back of the south end of the building and behind the staircase on the ground floor. Cross took off his regimental dress-coat, as was usual when in quarters, and sat in his shirt sleeves, and as he had not been on duty, he was, of course, without his sword. Bottles and glasses were on the table and the trio, or some of them, drank therefrom.

About a quarter of an hour later, Ensign Costello, who had been spending the evening with Colonel Foster of the Artillery, entered the quarters, and, hearing voices in Cross's room, went thither, where he found the three subalterns. He stayed for about half an hour discussing the occurrences of the evening, and then saying good night left to go to his own room, which was upstairs. He had not, however, proceeded three or four steps on the stairs when he stumbled over a man lying in his way. Supposing it to be one of the officers' servants who had been keeping Christmas, he endeavored to arouse him, upon which the fellow muttered something indistinctly. The ensign then returned to Cross's room for a light. Taking up a candle, Cross went into the hall in his shirt sleeves, and together they raised the man, who we may say was Shea, and requested him to leave the building. As he seemed unwilling to do so, Cross took him by the collar and, assisted by Costello, pushed him into the porch. This was about two o'clock. Neither Cross nor Costello carried or wore a sword.

Costello said he thought they had better shut the door, and on examining the lock a small bolt was discovered with which they made it secure. Before they left the hall, the man returned and said he had lost his

handkerchief, whereupon, Costello felt about the floor, and finding the missing article tossed it out and then fastened the door. While waiting for his servant to bring his key, Costello heard the man muttering outside and knocking on the panel. He gave the fellow little further consideration, however, and on receiving his key, went to bed.

Cross returned immediately to his room and told Nugent and O'Brien that he and Costello had turned out a man who had been on the stairs. Nugent and O'Brien remained half an hour longer, or until nearly three o'clock, and then went to bed.

Next morning, Sunday, the town was startled by a report that a man had been murdered at the North Barracks.

It appears that one Edward Harlins of the 74th, who was servant to Captain Crabb and who slept in the officers' quarters, arose before daybreak, at about a quarter to seven, and on looking out of the barrack window saw indistinctly in the gloom a man lying near the well in front of the building. Suspecting something was wrong he dressed, and on going down found the man lying on his face with his right hand extended to his neck and his left arm across his body. He ascertained that life was extinct, but without making any particular examination. Calling to a private of the 81st, named Rogers, who happened to be passing, he drew the latter's attention to the man, and then left. Rogers turned the body over and was shocked to find that the poor fellow had been murdered, a deep wound being in the breast immediately before the right shoulder. Although it had been freezing during the night, he perceived that the body was not yet stiff, and some of blood about the wound was not frozen. The man had evidently not long been dead. On the snow near the feet he observed drops of blood, and from thence he

traced a few spots about six yards toward the barracks.

The startling news spread with the rapidity usual on such occasions, and soon an immense crowd had gathered. The body proved to be that of Shea, the old pensioner. One man, James Crosskill, made a careful examination of the corpse. On placing the back of his hand on the body he detected indications of heat. He and Mr. Greenwood, the coroner, who had been summoned, and others, traced small drops of blood on the snow, from close to the body to within three yards of the south door of the officers' quarters, towards which they ranged. The drops zig-zagged for a short part of the distance. The coroner and others carefully examined the whole square but could find no other blood marks. Some drops were noticed on the road outside the square, but they were doubtless from some goaded oxen that had been driven by early in the morning.

The body was moved to a neighboring barn, where it was examined by Doctors Stirling and Head. They found that the weapon that had caused death had gone through the jacket and shirt, had struck and split the fourth rib and also broke it transversely, and had then gone into the cavity of the chest and penetrated the vena cava about one and a half or two inches from the heart, but had not passed through the vein. The wound was two or three inches deep, and three-quarters of an inch in length externally. From such a wound death would ensue in a very few minutes. The coroner's jury, which investigated the case the day the body was found, brought in a verdict of "Wilful murder by some person or persons unknown."

Soon after the discovery of the murder, an ugly rumour rapidly spread that the old man had been killed by an officer of one of the regiments. On Monday, the 27th, a young gentleman whose name was not given,

was examined at the police court for implication in the murder, but was discharged.

On the following day, Tuesday, it was stated that the reports in which an officer was mentioned had originated with a colored girl of ill-fame, and on her being examined she unhesitatingly pointed to Ensign Richard Cross, of the 96th Regiment, as the guilty man. It seems that Cross had gone to his colonel and told him that rumors were abroad relative to his connection with the death of Shea, and his commander advised him to go to the public court and have the affair investigated, which he had accordingly done. On the girl's statement he was arrested and committed to the county jail. The case excited the most intense interest, and was discussed from end to end of the town until it became almost the sole subject of conversation. The brother officers of the accused man were naturally much horrified and would not believe the terrible accusation. The newspapers, owing to the prisoner's high social position, withheld his name and were extremely reticent about the whole affair. On the 29th, the Nova-Scotian stated that examinations were taking place, but merely mentioned that an officer was implicated. Only the most vague references to the supposed culprit were made in the other papers. On the first of January, however, the Recorder, feeling it should maintain no distinction of persons in such matters as this, boldly gave the name and regiment of the suspected officer, for which indiscretion it was strongly criticised by some of its political opponents, the Free Press in particular.

On that day another person was committed under suspicion. Who this was I do not know, but he must have been discharged soon after, for I find no further mention of him.

On January 5th the Gazette contained two offers of reward, of one hundred pounds each, from the

officers of the garrison and from the provincial government, the first dated December 31st, the second, Jannary 4th, for information leading to the conviction of the murderer. No clue, however, was obtained by this means. The whole town continued to talk of nothing but the mysterious case.

The supreme court met on January 11th and the grand jury presented a bill of indictment charging the prisoner, Richard Cross, with having killed Shea.

At length the 18th of January came around, the day set for the trial. The court sat in the apartment which is now the legislative library, the room in which I write these lines. The day was very mild, all the snow having disappeared under the influence of a thaw. The court room was crowded to the utmost, even greater numbers attending than had been drawn by the preliminary examinations before the magistrate.

HARRY PIERS.

(To be concluded next month.)

WHEN TELEGRAPHY WAS YOUNG.

With nearly half a hundred telegraph operators in and around the city of St. John, with a network of wires all over the country and the clicking of relays and sounders in the most remote villages of the Maritime Provinces, we are so accustomed to think of the electric telegraph as an essential to do the business of the country that we cannot imagine a civilized people existing without it. Yet it may be well for the young folk to remember that the telegraph is a very modern affair, that very many of the living can recall the time when it was absolutely unknown, and that a still larger number remember the time when it was looked upon as an

experiment of more than doubtful value from a financial point of view.

With Christmas week of this year, it will be just half a century since the first telegraph message was sent from St. John to any point beyond the province, or to any point within the province. The first telegraph message in the world, between Baltimore and Washington, was sent in 1844, and there is living in St. John a man who saw the first telegraph wire stretched in the city of New York, in the spring of 1846. This gentleman is Mr. Thomas M. Robinson, well known as a veteran in the service, and who is very well informed as to the early days of telegraphy.

Taking the history of the existing telegraph systems in the order of time, this paper would have to deal with the agitation for a line between Quebec and Halifax, in 1847, but as the purpose is rather to show what was actually accomplished, this branch of the subject must be passed over. At a meeting held in Halifax on February 10, 1847, it was agreed to form a company to construct a line to Amherst, to connect with a line in New Brunswick, with the branches to St. John and Fredericton, the estimated cost of the line to Amherst being £4,000. New Brunswick, however, had not then awakened to the necessity of the new invention, and nothing was done in this province until the following year.

In July, 1847, a private letter received in St. John from New York, stated that Mr. F. O. J. Smith, (who was later known as "fog" Smith) was about to visit St. John to arrange for placing that city in telegraphic communication with New York. So far as appears, Mr. Smith did not come, but soon after this Col. J. J. Speed undertook to form a company in New York to build a line from Portland, Me. to Halifax, there being already communication between Portland and New

York. The story of the efforts in the United States, however, does not immediately pertain to the present sketch, except so far as it is necessary to say that in due time a company was organized in Maine, and that the importance of a line through the province was early recognized in St. John. So far as this province is concerned, however, it remained for a citizen of the United States to work up the interest and carry the project into effect. His name was L. R. Darrow.

Mr. Smith, representing the assignees of the Morse patent, was heard from again in February, 1848. At a meeting of the St. John Chamber of Commerce, on the 23d of that month, the then U. S. consul, Israel D. Andrews, presented a letter from Smith, proposing the establishment of a line through New Brunswick to connect Halifax with the lines then building through Maine. It was thereupon resolved—

“That the Chamber has long looked forward to such a line, and consider its establishment as of the first importance to the interests of this Province, and do therefore recommend that every facility and encouragement be given to any Company undertaking to carry into effect such a desirable object; and that Messrs. Duncan, Thurgar and Jardine be a Committee to prepare a Bill and Petition to be laid before the Legislature for the purpose of obtaining an Act of Incorporation for the Company, and to correspond with and lend assistance to any parties inclined to embark in the undertaking.”

The committee lost no time in having a bill prepared to incorporate the New Brunswick Telegraph Company. The incorporators named in the bill were Thomas Leavitt, Charles Ward, William M'Lauchlan, John Duncan, Robert Jardine, John V. Thurgar, Israel D. Andrews, Francis O. J. Smith, Nathan Cummings and Amos Kendall, the last four being citizens of the United States. The bill came before the legislature on the 4th of March, and on the 30th of that month it became law. On the 10th of May, Mr. Darrow, assignee of the Morse patent, arrived in St. John, and

the work of getting the company into shape and raising the money was begun.

This was harder work than one might suppose. The Chamber of Commerce had indorsed the project, but the merchants were not enthusiastic when it came to the matter of putting their names down for stock. The capital was fixed at £25,000, in shares of £10 each, but only a few prominent men, such as Hon. John Robertson, Robert Jardine, Edward Allison, John Duncan, J. & R. Reed and W. & R. Wright, subscribed for ten shares each in what was destined to be one of the best paying investments ever offered to the people of this country. About one third of the stock was raised in St. John, another third in Halifax and at intermediate points, such as Westmorland and Cumberland counties and in Charlotte county, while the remaining third was taken by Mr. Darrow himself.

During the summer of 1848 arrangements for building the line through the province were made, and the construction of the line between Portland and Calais was begun. In Nova Scotia, the government undertook the construction of the line from Halifax to Amherst, but agreed to give Mr. Darrow's company the use of one wire for its messages.

It was estimated that the cost of construction of the line from Calais to Amherst, a distance of 240 miles, would be \$150 a mile, or a total of \$36,000. Mr. Darrow visited the various points along the route and asked for subscriptions proportionate to their size and importance. St. Andrews was then considered a greater place than St. Stephen, for it was asked for £1,000, while the border towns of both St. Stephen and Calais were asked for only £800 between them.

In the light of the universal use of the telegraph today, it is interesting to note what was expected of the line in the way of revenue at the outset. Mr.

Darrow figured that on the Portland and Calais line the press messages from Halifax on the arrival of English steamers would amount to \$5,200 a year. It was estimated that there would be ten private messages a day from Halifax to the United States, including messages from Europe by the steamers, and ten from the United States to Halifax. Between St. John and the United States it was estimated there would be five private messages each way, which, at 50 cents a message, would yield a revenue of \$1,500 a year. There were to be eight stations in Maine.

By the latter part of September, 1848, the contracts for posts between St. John and Calais were completed and the work of building was pushed forward in order to have the line in operation before the first of the following year. At a meeting of the New Brunswick Telegraph company in October, Hon. R. L. Hazen presiding, the directors elected were F. O. J. Smith of Boston, L. R. Darrow of New York, Robert Jardine, Edward Allison and John Duncan. Mr. Jardine was chosen as president, and was for long after the active spirit of the enterprise, in association with Mr. Darrow.

By the first of December all the posts were up between St. John and Calais, the wire distributed along the line, and twenty miles of it strung to the eastward of the latter town. The shop of Mr. Smellie, on a portion of the ground now occupied by the Stockton building, Prince William street, was rented for the St. John office and Mr. James Mount, formerly of the British army, and who was well known in later years as Adjutant Mount, was selected as the operator. He had learned to operate in Quebec, using a paper recorder, as the art of taking by sound was not then known.

The final link between St. John and the United

States was completed when the wires were stretched across the falls of the River St. John, on Dec. 23, 1848, The first message received was from Harris H. Hatch, at St. Andrews, to William J. Ritchie (afterwards chief justice) at St. John, congratulatory on the completion of the line. For a day or so there was a little trouble with the line west of Calais, but by the end of the year the electric circuit was complete from St. John to New York.

The little office on Prince William street was the wonder of the city for many days, and crowds blocked the side walk to hear the clicking and whirring of the Morse recorder, and to watch the strip of paper passing through it while Mr. Mount noted the mysterious characters which were formed by the dots, dashes and spaces.

Such was the beginning of the electric telegraph in St. John, just half a century ago. In the following year the line was completed to Halifax, and charters were granted to companies in various parts of the province. There is much more to be told of these early days, and I had hoped to tell it, after a fashion, in this paper, but the subject is one that grows beyond the allowable limits of this occasion, and must be deferred to a future date. How the news was sent in the early days, where the offices were located, the expansion of the business, with incidents of this and that period, may, perhaps, be of more general interest than the few facts now given as to the actual beginning of the communication of St. John with the outside world by the medium of the electric telegraph.

ROSLYNDE.

IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

THE CHRISTMAS NUMBER.

The first volume of **THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE** is completed with this number, and to mark this period, as well as to honor the approaching holiday season, a double number is given. The word "given" is used advisedly, for it is in a large sense a gift from the publisher to the public for which no immediate financial return can be expected. A double number means double cost, and though the retail price is advanced for this occasion, the sales are but a small proportion of the edition, the greater part of which goes to those who are already subscribers, and who are presumably satisfied with publication as it ordinarily appears.

It was hoped that a much better Christmas edition could be issued, with a larger number of illustrations, but this would have been practicable only with a more liberal advertising patronage than has been extended. The publisher is anxious to show his friends how much he appreciates them, but the line must be drawn somewhere, even in the holiday season.

The contents of this number are such as to need no commendation. Prof. Ganong's paper on the Ashburton Treaty gives a view that is opposed to the popular idea that New Brunswick was a loser by the arrangement, but Prof. Ganong has more than theory to support his contention, and he makes a very clear case which every man in the country ought to study. His paper is a very important feature of this issue.

Mr. Raymond is so well known, and his work is

so fully appreciated, that no special mention is required of his continuation of the story of the early settlers at St. John. This series of papers must rank for all time as one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the recorded history of the province. With all that has hitherto been told of the post-loyalist period, little has been known of the important era of the first English settlers, and Mr. Raymond is doing a great work in placing the events of that time so clearly before the world in the pages.

Mr. W. P. Dole appears in *THE MAGAZINE* for the first time, but it is hoped that he will be heard from again at no distant day. Though Mr. Dole has won fame as a poet and an essayist, he gives the public too little benefit of his more than ample store of knowledge on many subjects. His present essay, on the meaning of the word "aboideau," is a masterly philological disquisition worthy of the accomplished linguist, and it would seem, moreover, to definitely settle a question which has for many years been a matter of debate with those who have made a study of Acadia and the Acadians.

Mr. Hannay's series of papers on "Our First Families" is interrupted this month, while he tells the story of the 104th regiment, the body of New Brunswick troops of which so many have heard, but of the career of which so few are well informed. This paper is a very accurate and comprehensive story of the 104th, its men and what they accomplished.

His Honor Judge Savary, of Annapolis Royal, N. S., is another new contributor, but he needs no introduction to those who are interested in the history of the Maritime Provinces. Apart from his prominence in the past in the fields of law and politics, and apart from his judicial position, he has done much service in the lines of local history as the author of a *Genealogy of the*

Savary and Severe families and of much other historical work, as well as having been the editor of Calnek's history and other material in the same line. In his short, but well considered paper, this month, he shows cause why the name of Melanson is not Scotch but French.

Mr. Clarence Ward gives a delightful picture of Christmas as it was observed by the good old families in the good old times, and though the period he mentions goes far beyond his own recollection, yet having spent his early years among a long lived family, which dated back in its then active members to the Loyalists themselves, he knows whereof he speaks. To those who do not know that Mr. Ward is a man of most abstemious habits, it may be well to say that he dwells upon the liquid features of old times in a wholly impersonal way, and purely as a matter of abstract history.

Mr. Harry Piers, of the Legislative Library, Halifax, tells a graphic story of a famous Halifax tragedy which resulted in the trial of one of Her Majesty's officers for murder. The occurrence created an intense sensation at the time, and the mystery of who did the deed has never been solved. Mr. Piers is an all round useful man in matters which are in the best interests of these provinces, for he is not only an historian, but one who is active in the lines of general literature, a bibliophile and an enthusiastic worker in the field of natural history. The concluding portion of his paper will appear next month.

The story of the wreck of the ship "England" at St. John, may interest those who have heard more or less of that disaster, as well as many older people who have a personal recollection of the event.

With Christmas week, the electric telegraph will have been in operation between St. John and the outside world for just half a century. In this connection

a sketch of the early days of the invention is given from reliable data, and it will show how the world has moved since Mr. Mount and his tape instrument were wonders sufficient to cause the citizens to block the sidewalk to get a glimpse of Morse's wonderful invention in actual operation.

Altogether, the double Christmas number should suit a variety of tastes among its readers.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

35. What is the origin of the term "Bluenose" as applied to the people of the Maritime Provinces?

36. The "Disbrow house," at the corner of Germain street and Cooper's Alley, was the first brick house built in St. John. It was burned in 1877. In what year was it built, and by whom? What is the oldest brick house at the present time? W. E. T.

37. "The Sailor's Return, or Jack's cure for the Hystericks," by a youth in St. John, is the title of a farce in two acts, published in St. John in 1816 and sold by subscription. Does any one know the author of this or where a copy can be seen? J. D.

38. What was the connection of Benedict Arnold with what was known as the Arnold house in Fredericton, which was burned some years ago? L. C. J.

39. What was the period of duration of the Cholera epidemic in 1854 and how many persons are believed to have died of the disease? R. W.

40. What regiments have at various times been in garrison at St. John? How long were the troops in the barracks at Fort Howe and how long at the Lower Cove barracks? J. C. T.

41. What is the true Indian name of the St. John river? B. G.

42. What is the highest mountain in New Brunswick and the approximate elevation? W. O. R.

ANSWERS.

29. The Moses boat, used by the early Loyalist settlers around St. John, was a peculiar shaped craft, broad and shallow. The model was brought here from the West Indies, where it was used for lightering puncheons of sugar and molasses in the shoal waters, for which it was well adapted. As there was no lack of water at St. John, and as the boat was of a very clumsy fashion for general purposes, it soon fell into disuse. C. W.

32. The battery at Reed's Point was erected in 1793, by Governor Carleton, as a defense against the French, and was named Prince Edward battery, in honor of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. C. W.

35. The soubriquet "Bluenose," now so familiarly applied to Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers, originated with the Loyalists of Annapolis county, who applied it to the pre-loyalist settlers as a term of "derision" during the bitter struggle for pre-eminence in public affairs between these two sections of the population in the provincial election of 1785. Why the particular term was selected or deemed appropriate I have no idea. For an account of that election, see Memoir of Alexander Howe in the "History of Annapolis County," p. 355.6. A. W. SAVARY.

"The story of a Monument," promised for this issue, does not appear, owing to an accident which has prevented Mr. Howe from completing his work.

PROVINCIAL CHRONOLOGY.

An event of general interest, a marriage and a death, are given for each day of the month. The marriage and death notices are given as they appeared in the newspapers of the time, except that such phrases as "At St. John" and "on the — inst." are not repeated. Where nothing appears to the contrary, the locality may be assumed to be St. John, while the date of the marriage or death is indicated by the figures of the day of the month before the names and of the year immediately after them.

MEMORANDA FOR DECEMBER.

1. First steam ferry at Indiantown, St. John.....	1847
2. Gen. Balfour dies suddenly at Fredericton.....	1811
3. Reed's Point Improvements decided on.....	1844
4. James Gough fatally assaulted in Portland.....	1847
5. H. M. Brig Plumper lost at Point Lepreau.....	1812
6. Alex. Croke, Administrator in N. S.....	1808
7. St. John Mechanics' Institute building opened.....	1840
8. Government House, Fredericton, completed.....	1828
9. Wm. Cobbett arrives at St. John.....	1785
10. Cape Breton made a county of N. S.....	1765
11. Patrick Slavin hanged at St. John.....	1857
12. Old Duke street bethel, St. John, opened.....	1847
13. Large amount of shipping in St. John and 40 ships } 14. on the way from England.....	1844
15. Funeral of Governor Fraser, at Fredericton.....	1896
16. Counties of N. S. defined and published.....	1785
17. T. C. Haliburton (Sam Slick) born.....	1796
18. Latest date of closing of St. John river.....	1878
19. Loss of the ship "England," at St. John.....	1846
20. McFadyan hanged at Pictou, N. S. for murder of Keir,	1848
21. Capt. W. F. Owen made rear admiral.....	1847
22. First ship launched by English at Shelburne, N. S.,	1786
23. Brick market house, Market Sq., St. John, opened..	1839
24. National School building, King Sq., St. John, opened,	1819
25. Trinity church, St. John, opened.....	1791
26. Repeal of St. John Water Bill demanded.....	1844
27. Telegraph line, St. John and Calais, completed.....	1848
28. 43rd Regt at Quebec, from Fredericton, in 12 days..	1837
29. Charles Redburn hanged at St. John.....	1846
30. Col. W. H. Hailes died at Fredericton, aged 68....	1821
31. Destructive storm at St. John.....	1819

(The year of the funeral of Chief Justice Parker was 1865, not 1855, as printed last month.)

DECEMBER MARRIAGES.

1. TILTON-HARBELL.—1849. By the Rev. Wm. Harrison, Mr. Wm. Morris Tilton, of Musquash, Parish of Lancaster, to Miss Mary Elizabeth Harbell, of this City.
2. PERKINS-DEFOREST.—1840. By the Rev. Wm. Scovil, Mr. D. C. Perkins, Merchant, to Matilda, first daughter of Mr. S. J. Deforest, all of this city.
3. SPEER-MCBETCH.—1834. At Woodstock, by the Rev. Samuel D. Lee Street, Mr. James Speer to Miss Jane McBetch.
4. ANDREWS-SEELY.—1850. At the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. W. E. Scovil, A.M., Mr. John B. Andrews, to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Linus Seely, of the Parish of Kingston, King's County.
5. FAIRWEATHER-FOUGHT.—1847. By the Rev. I. W. D. Gray, D.D., Mr. Edwin Fairweather, to Miss Margaret Fought, all of this City.
6. SIBLEY-TURNBULL.—1846. By the Rev. A. Stewart, Mr. Elisha Sibley, to Harriet Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. George Turnbull, all of this City.
7. DURKEE-PAYSON.—1846. By the Rev. Henry Daniel, Capt. Lyman Durkee, of Yarmouth, (N. S.) to Mrs. Mary Payson, of this city.
8. STREET-WYER.—1835. In All Saints' Church, Saint Andrews, by the Rev. Dr. Alley, George Dixon Street, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Susan, youngest daughter of Thomas Wyer, Esquire.
9. MCLEOD-INGRAHAM.—1846. In the Parish of Studholm by the Rev. H. N. Arnold, Mr. Alexander McLeod, to Miss Ann Ingraham, both of that Parish.
10. KNOWLES-CHESLEY.—1848. At Granville, N. S., by the Rev. William Temple, Mr. Edward T. Knowles, merchant, of St. John, to Miss Phœbe Jane, youngest daughter of Samuel Chesley, Esq., of the former place.
11. MORROW-GARROW.—1849. By the Rev. Robert Irvine, Mr. William Morrow to Miss Isabella Garrow, both of Portland.
12. VAUGHAN-MORAN.—1839. At St. Martins, by the Rev. John Masters, Capt. Henry Vaughan, to Miss Hannah Moran, both of that place.
13. WIGMORE-SMITH.—1834. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. Samuel Wigmore to Ellen, relict of the late Richard Smith, Esq., of Buctouche.
14. BEDELL-BERTON.—1839. By the Rev. S. D. Lee Street, George Augustus Bedell, Esq., of the Parish of Woodstock, in the County of Carleton, to Elizabeth Euphermia, youngest daughter of the late George D. Berton, Esq., of Fredericton, in the County of York.

15. CAIN-McMULLEN.—1819. By the Rev. Robert Willis, Mr. Jeremiah Cain to Miss Elizabeth McMullen.
16. MORRISON-EVERETT —1816.—By the Rev. Mr. Irvin, Mr. John Morrison, Merchant, to Lucy A., eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas C. Everett, all of this city.
17. ALLISON-COGSWELL.—1839. At Sackville, by the Rev. John Black, Joseph F. Allison, Esq., to Margaret Arabella, eldest daughter of Mr. Oliver Cogswell, of Cornwallis, N. S.
18. HARDENBROOK-PURDY.—1838. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Captain Thomas Hardenbrook, of the barque *Atlantic*, of this port, to Louisa, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Obadiah Purdy, of this City.
19. JACK-PETERS.—1844. At Fredericton, by the Venerable the Archdeacon, William Brydone Jack, M.A., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Kings College, Fredericton, to Marion Ellen, youngest daughter of the Hon. Charles Jeffrey Peters, H. M. Attorney General.
20. PADDOCK-BARTER,— 1838. By the Rev. Jas. Cookson, Mr. John A. Paddock to Miss Rebecca Barter, third daughter of the late Joseph Barter, Esquire, both of the Parish of Kingston.
21. WHEELER-JARVIS.—1839. In Trinity Church, by the Reverend the Rector, George Wheeler, Esquire, Barrister at Law, to Caroline, eldest daughter of Ralph M. Jarvis, Esquire, all of this city.
22. OLIVE-HEALES. 1847. By the Rev. Sampson Burby, Mr. William G. Olive, of Carleton, to Charlotte Ann, eldest daughter of Mr. James Heales, of Portland.
23. THOMPSON-DOUGLAS.—1845. By the Rev. Robert Irvine, of the Free Church, Mr. Charles Thompson, of the Parish of Portland, to Miss Mary Ann Douglas, of this City.
24. PURDY-STICKNEY.—1844. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. John D. Purdy, Merchant, to Miss Hannah Amelia, only daughter of Captain Samuel Stickney, all of this City.
25. SMITH-BRIDGES.—1839. At Sheffield, by the Rev. F. W. Miles, Mr. John T. Smith, of Fredericton, to Miss Letitia Ann, eldest daughter of Mr. H. Bridges.
26. PERLEY-GROVER.—1846. At Woodstock, by the Rev. S. D. Lee Street, T. E. Perley, Esq., to Maria, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Grover.
27. DURANT-HOOPER.—1845. In Trinity Church, by the Rev. the Rector of this Parish, Mr. William Durant, to Elizabeth Jane, daughter of Mr. John Hooper, of Lancaster.
28. BETTS-PURDY.—1839. By the Rev. the Rector, Captain Albert Betts, to Jane F. youngest daughter of the late Mr. Obadiah Purdy, all of this city.

29. MILNER-MORSE.—1840. At Rocklyn, Westmorland, the residence of the Hon. Edward B. Chandler, by the Rev. John Black, Christopher Milner, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Morse, Esq.
30. PHAIR RAINSFORD.—1847. At St. Peter's Church, Kingsclear, by the Rev. E. J. W. Roberts, A. S. Phair, Esq., to Harriet Jane, daughter of Capt. A. W. Rainsford.
31. SULIS-DYER.—1840. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. John S. Sulis, of this City, to Mrs. Arixene B. Dyer, third daughter of the late Ezekiel Dyer, of Portland, Maine.

DEATHS IN DECEMBER.

1. WHITEHEAD.—1847. At Dumfries, County of York, Elizabeth, wife of Turney Whitehead, Esq., aged 50 years.
2. BINGAY.—1847. At Yarmouth, (N. S.) John Bingay, Esq., High Sheriff of that County, in the 61st year of age. He formerly represented the County of Shelburne in the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, and possessed much energy and decision of character in the performance of his official duties. His death is much deplored.
3. PUDDINGTON.—1849. At Kingston, K. C., in his 81st year, Mr. William Puddington, leaving a widow and a numerous progeny to mourn the loss of an affectionate husband and parent. The late Mr. Puddington (son of William Puddington and Mary Ames, of Devonshire, Eng.), was born in Edinburgh, in the year 1769; he was quite a child when he embarked for America with his father, who was attached to the Ordnance Department. Mr. P. recollected being in Boston during the battle of Bunker's Hill; and with many anecdotes of the olden time, he delighted to remember the period of touching at Cork, on the outward voyage. While there, according to his story, Lord and Lady Effingham, (themselves childless) were anxious to take him under their protection, and educate him as a son of their own. It is curious to reflect what might have been the fate of the young expatriate had his parents yielded him to the care of a descendant of the illustrious "*Jockey of Norfolk*."
4. HAZEN.—1836. At Sussex Vale, the Honorable George Henry Hazen, Esq., a member of the Legislature in this Province, aged 52 years.
5. EDWARDS.—1846. In Portland Village, Margaret Jane, wife of Mr. John Edwards, and eldest daughter of the late Mr. James Munro, aged 27 years.
6. GOUGH.—1847. On Monday evening, between 5 and 6 o'clock, in the Parish of Portland, Mr. James Gough, (from the effects of wounds received on Saturday evening,) in the 34th year of his age.
7. SAYRE.—1838. At Dorchester Island, after a painful illness, which she bore with christian fortitude, perfectly resigned, having a well grounded hope through her Saviour, Polly, wife of James Sayre, Esq., in the 68th year of her age.

Mrs. S. was born at Martha's Vineyard, in the now State of Massachusetts, was the daughter of Dr. Nathan Smith, who came with his family to this Province at the close of the American Rebellion. She has left an aged husband, with a number of children and relatives, to mourn the loss of a truly affectionate partner, a kind and indulgent mother, and a sincere friend.

8. **ARNOLD.**—1848. At Boston, U. S., in the 49th year of his age, the Rev. Horatio Nelson Arnold, for the last twenty years Rector of the Parish of Sussex, leaving a disconsolate wife and five children, together with a large circle of friends and acquaintances to mourn their irreparable loss. His remains were brought to this city for interment.
9. **BARLOW.**—1844. Thomas Barlow, Esq., in the 57th year of his age. Mr. B. was for many years a Representative for this City for the General Assembly, and for the last 36 years, in company with his late father and his brother, was extensively engaged in business. Mr. Barlow has left a widow and four daughters to lament his loss.
10. **GRIERSON.**—1846. At Maskarene, Charlotte County, Mr. James Grierson, aged 105. Mr. G. was one of the Loyalists, who on account of his attachment to the British Government, left the United States, among the sturdy band who arrived on these barren shores, in the year 1783.
11. **UNIACKE.**—1846. At Halifax, Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, aged 69 years, eldest son of the late Richard John Uniacke, Attorney General of that Province. He was for many years Attorney General of Lower Canada; one of the Representatives in General Assembly; and a Judge of the Supreme Court.
12. **SIMPSON.**—1844. At St. John's, Newfoundland, suddenly, Mr. William Simpson, Druggist, formerly a resident of Chatham, Miramichi.
13. **FINN.**—1847. In the 80th year of his age, Mr. William Finn, Senr., a native of the Parish of White Church, County Wexford, and for the last twenty years a resident of this city. He was much and deservedly respected by his numerous friends and acquaintances.
14. **PETTINGELL.**—1847. Thomas Pettingell, Esq., in the 85th year of his age. The deceased has been doing business in this city for more than fifty years. He is the last male of the members who composed the First Baptist Church formed in this city, in 1810, of which Church he was a Deacon from its formation to his death. In his death the Church of God has lost one of its most liberal supporters, and the poor one of their best friends. His loss will be deeply felt by his sorrowing family, neighbors and friends.
15. **MOYES.**—1850. At Studholm, King's County, Mr. William Moyes, in the 63d year of his age, a native of Cornwall, England, and for the last twenty years a resident of this Province. His end was peace.

16. **STORM.**—1850. After a lingering illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude, Mr. Samuel Storm, in the 80th year of his age, leaving a wife and affectionate family to mourn their bereavement. Mr. S. was one of the old Loyalists who emigrated in 1783 to this country.
17. **WETMORE.**—1845. At Norton, King's County, in the 82nd year of his age, David B. Wetmore, Esq., one of the first settlers in this Province, and for many years a representative in General Assembly from King's County, and a Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He has left a numerous progeny, by whom his memory will be long held in affectionate esteem.
18. **FINN.**—1846. Margaret, wife of Mr. John Finn, in the 41st year of her age.
19. **WILLIAMS.**—1847. At Hampstead, (Queen's County) Mary, relict of the late Reuben Williams, one of the Loyalists of 1783, in the 96th year of her age.
20. **PORTER.**—1850. At his late residence, King street, Henry Porter, Esquire, aged 55 years, leaving an affectionate wife and family to mourn their sudden bereavement, and a large circle of friends to sympathize with them. Mr. Porter has at various times filled public offices of honor and trust, and was elected Alderman of King's Ward and Justice of the Peace, for several successive years; he gained for himself by his unswerving integrity and uprightness of character, the respect and esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens.
21. **LAHEY.**—1846. Mr. William Lahey, a native of Ballycotton, County of Cork (Ireland), aged 45 years.
22. **KING.**—1856. At Sussex Vale, John King, Esq., a native of Perthshire, Scotland, in the 68th year of his age, and for nearly fifty years a resident of this Province.
23. **SEGEE.**—1834. Suddenly, at New Maryland, Mr. John Segee, Senior, in the 71st year of his age.
24. **HASTINGS.**—1853. Suddenly, on Saturday, John Hastings, Esq., in the 61st year of his age, formerly of Stranolar, County of Donegal, Ireland, and for many years a respectable Merchant in this City.
25. **CANBY.**—1854. After a few days illness, Ruth Canby, relict of the late Joseph Canby, in the 87th year of her age. She was one of the earliest settlers in this city, having landed here with the Loyalists in 1783.
26. **OLIVER.**—1850. After a short illness, Mrs. Isabella Oliver, relict of the late William Sanford Oliver, Esquire, in the 75th year of her age.
27. **TAYLOR.**—1834. At Fredericton, James Taylor, Senior, Esquire, in the 79th year of his age. Mr. T. was a native of Port Glasgow, Scotland, whence he emigrated to New York in early life, and was in that country at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, in which he was

actively engaged, and suffered the greatest hardships and privations in many a well fought field in support of the Royal cause. He came to this Province with the Loyalists in the memorable year of 1783, and established himself in Fredericton, (then a wilderness) where he has since resided. He erected the third house in that place, which was only a few months since removed, in order to make room for a new building on the site where it had so long remained.

28. PICKARD.—1847. In the Parish of Douglas, York County, Mr. Moses Pickard, Senior, in the 85th year of his age. Mr. Pickard was one of the first English settlers of the Province, having arrived here when he was only three years old; since which time he has borne the impress of moral worth and religious principle.
29. SMITH.—1855. At Burton, at the residence of N. Hubbard, Esq., Mehetabel, widow of Captain J. Smith, aged 84 years, daughter of the late Joseph Clark, of Maugerville, with whom she came to this Province in 1783.
30. KEANE.—1855. At St. Martins, after a brief illness, Mr. Jeremiah Keane, a native of Waterford, Ireland, aged 76 years. Mr. K. emigrated from his native country fifty years ago, and was the earliest Irish settler in St. Martins, having resided there for the last forty years.
31. FLEMMING.—1839. At Londonderry, (Nova Scotia), aged 60 years, James Flemming, Esquire, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Colchester, and for many years a member of the House of Assembly for Londonderry—unusually esteemed as a kind friend and an honest and independent man.

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The following is reprinted from the November list, on account of the accidental omission of the year—

- 18 GREGORY.—1847. At Kingston, (K. C.), Richard P. Gregory, Esq., in the 96th year of his age. He was one of the Loyalists of 1783, and was much respected by all who knew him, and is deservedly regretted by a large circle of friends.

PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

CANADA, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, etc., with History, Present State, and Prospects of these Colonies in regard to Emigration. London: Cradock & Co., 1843, 16^o., 64 pp., map.

FAIRBANKS, E. R. and COCHRAN, A. W.

Report of the trial of Edward Jordan and Margaret Jordan, his wife, for piracy and murder at Halifax, on Nov. 15th, 1809, together with Edward Jordan's dying confession; to which is added the trial of John Kelly, for piracy and murder on Dec. 9th, 1809.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, printed by James Bignall, 1810; 8^o.

Edward Jordan was a native of Gaspé, in Lower Canada, he was found guilty of the charges against him and sentenced to death; he was hung on the beach at Fresh Water River. His wife Margaret was acquitted.

[Title and note from catalogue of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, of London, item 21524. A good copy, priced at £1, 10s. V. H P.]

LECLERCQ, CHRÉTIEN.

Nouvelle | Relation | de la | Gaspésie, | qui conti-
ent | Les Mœurs & la Religion, des Sau | vages Gaspé-
siens Prorte-Croix, | adorateurs du Soleil, & d'au-
tres | Peuples de l'Amérique Septen- | trionale, dite
le Canada. | Dédie'e a Madame la | Princesse d'Épi-
noy, | Par le Pere Chrestien le Clercq, | Missionnaire
Recollet de la Province de | Saint Antoine de Pade en
Artois, & | Gardien du Convent de Lens. | [Orna-
ment.] |

A Paris, | Chez Amable Auroy, ruë Saint | Jacques,
à l'Image S. Jérôme, attenant | la Fontaine S. Sev-
erin. | M. DC. XCI. | Avec Privilege du Roy. |

Collation:—Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; dedicatory epistle, pp. (24); "Privilege du Roi," pp. (2); text pp. 1—572; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (4). Pages 238 and 328 are mispaged 328 and 238, respectively. The two leaves of table of chapters are usually lacking in copies.

The author describes the origin, manners and customs, language, religion, and superstitions of the Gaspé Indians; and also recounts his experiences amongst them as a missionary. The work is important for the history of missionary activity in New Brunswick and Northeastern Canada. Chrétien LeClercq was born in the province of Artois, France, about 1630, and died at the convent of Lens, France, in 1695. He was a zealous Récollet missionary, and his Gaspesian *Relation* is criticized by Charlevoix (*Nouvelle France*, Vol. 1) as being over-partial to the Récollets, and as slighting the Jesuit order. But a reasonable accounting may be obtained from an appreciation of the conditions which existed under Frontenac—his opposition to and by the latter order, and his partiality for and by the former.

Copies have been priced and sold as follows: Field sale (1875), no. 1306, \$5; Squier sale (1876), no. 653, \$11.50; priced by Leclerc (1878), no. 746 at 140 francs; Brinley sale (1879), no. 102, \$21; Pinart sale (1883), no. 539, 42 francs; Murphy sale (1884), no. 600*, \$5.75; priced by Dufossé of Paris (1887), 90 francs, and Barlow sale (1890), no. 1436, \$27.50. There are copies in Lenox Library Building, New York; Boston Athenæum; Library of Congress, (U. S.); Brown (private), Providence, R. I.; British Museum; and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. V. H. P.

LE TAC (LE PÈRE SIXTE) RÉCOLLET.

Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis sa Déconverte (mil cinq cents quarte) jusques en l'an mil six cents trente deux. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit original de 1689 et accompagnée de Notes et d'un Appendice tout coëposé de Documents originaux et inédits, par Eug. Réveillaud. Paris, 1888, 12^o pp. (6), ix, 265.

* * Only 300 copies of the volume were issued. It contains a good deal relative to Acadia. The appendix (pp. 173—262) publishes for the first time a quantity of important papers of the Bécóllets, from the "Archives de la Préfecture de Versailles."

V. H. P.

It may be an indication of the value people place on their copies of this Magazine that only one or two copies of the July number have been received in response to the request made last month. The offer of fifteen cents for each of such copies is now repeated, or the full set of six copies up to date will be purchased for sixty cents a set. Here is a chance for any who do not intend to preserve the Magazine to get their money back, so that their reading for the last six months will cost them only fifteen cents.

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The following index does not profess to be complete, but merely to aid in a reference to some of the more prominent topics treated in the volume. So many names of persons occur, for instance, that it would be a great task to attempt to give them here, and with some of these only the general reference to the headings of the papers in which they chiefly occur is made to suffice.

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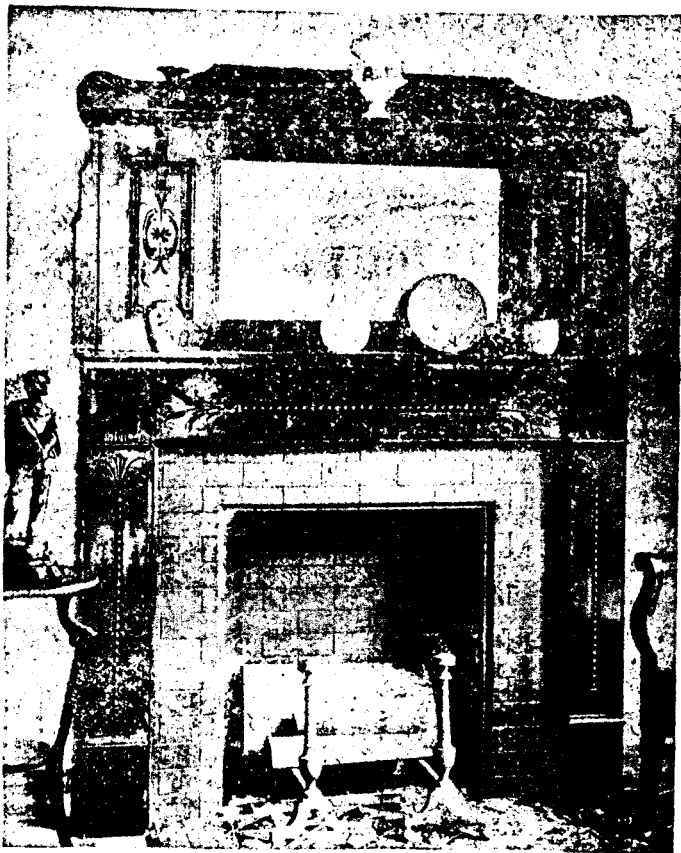
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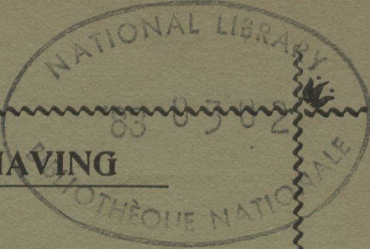
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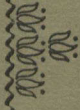
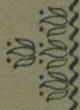


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