

WESTMORLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 52 ISSUE # 3 SEPTEMBER, 2017 ISBN320813

PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

It is always a pleasure to report on the success of the season’s activities (and to describe some of our exciting future plans) because of the dedication of our volunteers and new Manager, Donald Alward, and his staff, who made the celebration of Keillor’s House’s 50th Anniversary and Canada’s 150th ‘birthday’ so memorable. (See Donald’s Report for his ‘first’ impressions, p. 2)

Past and Upcoming Events

Canada’s 150th was celebrated at two festivals.

The Shiretown Festival (June 9th) offered outstanding ‘free’ musical and cultural entertainment (Eddy Poirier, Chris Cummings, Stacey Read’s Junior Jills, and Aboriginal Drummer and Story Teller Gilbert Sewell), and a chance to sample foods from our founding cultures—at ‘A Taste of Westmorland’ at the Veteran’s Memorial Centre. (This was possible only because of Alice’s suc-

cessful application for a Canada 150 Grant.)

At the Sandpiper Festival (July 29th) Keillor House celebrated with a pancake breakfast and Heritage Fair which was very popular with our many visitors. The Premier and press were in attendance and the MC for the occasion—speaking effortlessly in English and French, was Ashley Beaudin, our former manager, who did an outstanding job! Donald added new interesting demonstrations to the Fair this year-- rope making with a traditional device, and cheese making by a local artisan.

Canada Day featured more music and entertainment including the play ‘Four Fathers of Confederation’—an original production investigating the events and ‘opinions’ surrounding the Confederation debates. (Thanks to the enthusiastic players from Amherst

for a very entertaining afternoon.)

New Walking Tour Booklet of Dorchester

As part of the Canada 150 Grant, a 15 page, colour booklet, Historic Dorchester—A Walking Tour was developed, focussing on 15 historic buildings with background information on their owners and current and historic photographs. Thanks to Bonnie Swift, one of our new Board members, who managed the project and spent many hours doing the research and putting it all together. (The booklet is available in the gift shop, and has proven to be a hit with visitors.)

Bonnie has also secured a sizable grant to develop an app for smart phones which will provide another walking tour ‘option’—she has finished the English transcription, and shortly will arrange for a French version. Thank you Bonnie for taking the lead on these two projects.

KEILLOR HOUSE MUSEUM —SPECIAL EVENTS

Haunted House Tour-Keillor House Museum

October 14, 20-21 and 27-28, 7-9 pm

Tickets at the door. Special bookings for groups.

Adults \$12, Students \$10, Family rates.

506-379-6620

Victorian Christmas Dinner-Keillor House Museum

November 25, December 2, 6:30-10:00 pm.

Elegant four-course dinner. Musical Entertainment.

Tickets \$65 Book early!

506-379-6620

New Year’s Levee-Keillor House Museum

January 1, 2018

Warm up at the crackling hearth with homemade soup and hot drinks after the Lions’ Polar Dip

Free

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Table with 2 columns: Article Title and Page Number. Includes 'CELEBRATING THE HAUNTED HOUSE TOUR' (p. 2), 'MUSEUM MANAGER’S REPORT' (p. 4), and 'ALBERT J. SMITH, DORCHESTER’S ‘STEPFATHER’ OF CONFEDERATION' (p. 4).

CELEBRATING THE HAUNTED HOUSE TOUR

We will soon be having our sixteenth annual Haunted House Tour so I thought it high time for a little retrospective and a celebration of what has become our most successful fund raising event. Once again, as so often on these pages, the story is one of talented and enthusiastic volunteers doing an outstanding job and making a vital contribution to the continued operation of our museums.

It all started when Alice and the then Museum Manager, Dianne Nicholson, were hosting a “re-enactor” group that set up camp on the grounds of Keillor House and stayed overnight in a tent. Included in the group were a number of young people. Alice gave a candlelight tour of Keillor House and one of the boys went up and hid in the attic. When some of the girls came up the stairs he jumped out and scared them, as boys will do. Diana remarked, “You know, kids think this house is haunted. We should have a haunted house tour at Halloween.” And so they did. And so they did again the next year and the next—and it’s still going on, getting bigger and better each time. At first they featured the famous and tragic Bannister boys who were hung and buried just up the hill from Keillor House back in the 1930s. The storyline was that on Halloween they came back to life and beheaded everyone in Keillor House. At strategic points throughout the house they placed manikins with blood running down their fronts and their heads missing. Alice and Diana were the live actors. Alice dressed up as a witch, a role she still plays with conviction although she is really quite harmless. She does, however, claim to be able to frighten people with or without her mask.

The first volunteers to help out with the show were Warren and Wendy Folkins. Their great contribution was fixing up the basement as a chamber of additional horrors, and their enthusiasm for the task was so infectious that it soon claimed Mike Shea and Teddy and Marilyn Wheaton as victims. These talented ‘scaremongers’ apprenticed with Warren and Wendy for some years and then succeeded them as ‘Dungeon Masters’, a position they still hold. Last year they took on the back yard, making it a welcoming venue for assorted ghosts and goblins. In the meantime, Rolly MacIsaac sp and Teresa Simpson took over the Carriage House and Penitentiary Collection and turned it into another annual horror show. Thus, Haunted House Enterprises Ltd., which started with Alice, Diana and some terrified manikins, has now expanded to three departments: the Dungeon and Back Yard, the Carriage House, and Keillor House Proper, where unspeakable scenes await. The latter are directed by Alice, who doesn’t have enough other work to keep her from getting slack. Just to make doubly sure she doesn’t, she still plays the part of the welcoming witch at the door.

Naturally, all this takes a tremendous amount of planning and hard work. Just to give you an idea of how much, this year Mike Shay started on the dungeon in *March* and has been at it on and off since then. Over the summer he gets all the ‘kiosks’ set up and recruits his assortment of ghouls and other apparitions to appear in them. They all have a grand time thinking up scary surprises for those brave enough to enter. After our fundraising “Dinner with the Keillors” on September 9 preparations will be practically non-stop until opening night on October 14.

All this effort has paid off handsomely. Our Haunted House Tour has always been a real winner, and it just keeps getting better and better because each year our dedicated volunteers do their utmost to make it so, changing themes and scenes every year so that our victims—oops, I mean our visitors—don’t become jaded. Right from the beginning the response has been enthusiastic, and the event now has the reputation of being the best of its kind in the province—who knows, maybe even in the country—even though our price is lower than most. People now come from Moncton, Sackville, Amherst, Halifax, Miramichi, Springhill, PEI, Bathurst, and Fredericton, to name just the main centres. Furthermore, many of them come back year after year, bringing friends. Two years ago we ‘ghosted’ over 1700 thrill seekers and bade farewell to nearly as many survivors. I asked Alice to share a few scary highlights from previous years and also whether anyone had ever fainted from fear. Her answers were too gruesome to bear repeating in detail here. Suffice it to say that if you enjoy being terrified—and a surprising number do—you won’t be disappointed. This year we would love to break the attendance record set the year before last. To offer the public every opportunity to help us do that, we are putting on an extra show during the first week, for a total of five. *Check accuracy*

Of course, none of this would be possible without the help of many more volunteers than can be named here. Let one example stand for many. Our wonderful gardener, Bernie Melanson, comes down from Moncton every year with at least six to ten students from Mathieu-Martin High School (and comes again for the Victorian Christmas Dinner). He is an inspiring example of a

Exhibits

The exhibit *'Homey Elegance, Aspiring Gentility: The Furniture Makers of Westmorland County'* put together by Gene Goodrich and Genie Coates—with help from Bob Hickman, was held over to this season. Next year a new exhibit 'Hearth Cooking' focusing on traditional culinary skills, will be staged in the Keillor House kitchen, with demonstrations for visitors. Donald and Gene are taking the lead on this project and have recently visited the Ross Farm in Nova Scotia for ideas. A number of panels will be developed to help visitors appreciate these vital domestic skills.

New Plaques for the 'Wall of Fame'

Two new plaques honouring Edward Baron Chandler, a 'Father of Confederation' and Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick and Sir Albert Smith, the 'Lion of Westmorland' and Premier of New Brunswick were created by Margaret Eaton and Gene Goodrich for Canada's 150th Anniversary, and will be displayed in the Dorchester Memorial Library. The unveiling took place at the Sandpiper Festival with Donald directing the ceremony. Thank you Gene for your research and writing, and Margaret for putting it all together.

Website Update

If you have not yet visited our website (keillorhousemuseum.com) it's easy to navigate and includes *Newsletters* from 2007 to 2016 and a great Gallery of photos covering many of our events. Upcoming Events (2017), a short History of the Society, the History of Keillor House, Information on Current Exhibits, and helpful links to related sites are included, with much more. Thanks to the Website Committee for their great work.

Bell Inn Update

Mrs. B's at the Bell Inn now offers dining room service, as well as 'take out', Wednesdays to Saturday, 11:00 am to 7:00 pm. A full menu is offered with a full liquor licence, so visitors can have a glass of wine or beer to go with her great food. Pedestrian access from Cape Road to the outdoor area has been installed for visitors who wish to use the patio, without entering from the parking lot. (Check out Mrs. B's website for specials.)

This has been an exciting year, and a final thanks is due to Donald and his staff for working so hard to make it so. I hope that many of you were able to attend Donald's special 'Dinner with the Keillor's' (September 9th) hosted by Mr. And Mrs. Keillor, with a traditional Yorkshire menu!

Cole Morison

volunteer who has made a long-term commitment to the continuation of Keillor House as a living legacy to future generations. Alice told me that on any given evening there are about thirty-five volunteers on the premises, doing everything from terrifying patrons to protecting artefacts. What a contrast with some of our competition, where, instead of live (or once-living) bodies, only lifeless tableaux greet the disappointed visitor!

Among the many who help out both before and after the event are our friends from Westmorland Institute. As can well be imagined, a huge amount of stuff has to be moved from storage in the attic and then put back again after the last ghost has left, and without their help this would be a crushing burden for our staff. After they have packed up the props for the Haunted House they start on the decorations for the Victorian Christmas Dinner. Alice even has them folding napkins, another wonderful example of the rapport she has with them. Once again it underlines the importance of our unique relationship with Westmorland to the continued operation of the museums.

The importance of the Haunted House Tour to our operations cannot be overemphasized. Once we are over the visitation season and the staff has been paid, our coffers are empty—and this year we had more maintenance than usual. So the revenue it generates really helps us over the slump until the next grants come in. Without our investment funds and the two big special events (the other being the Victorian Christmas Dinner), we would be hard put to maintain the museums. Once again, let's have a hearty round of applause to the wonderful volunteers who make it all happen.

MUSEUM MANAGER'S REPORT

I find myself perplexed over what to include in my first report as Curator-Manager. Oh, I know... (keep in mind a large grin has come across my face as I am typing!) When I arrived at Keillor House Museum for my first day of work in April I was a bit overwhelmed. The museum appeared to be in chaos with plywood tables amongst artefacts, folding chairs in every corner, the odd Christmas decoration carefully placed, and not a single room found in a manner ready to receive museum visitors. The first task I thought would be to sweep the floors as I spotted some glitter (I don't really mean some, I mean a lot, the stuff was everywhere and I am still finding it!), presumably from other Christmas decorations that found their way back to storage, but where was the broom? I searched high and low through every cupboard, in every room that was logical to find a broom in, to no avail, I couldn't find it. So, I decided to move on. There was still a room off the parlour that I hadn't looked in yet because the door was closed. I opened the door, took one look and closed it again. How was it possible to have that much furniture in one room? Shocked by the sheer magnitude of things to be removed from that one room, I turned around and there was the broom. I mean where else should it have been but laying cross ways on a plywood table in the middle of the parlour? Let me be clear, when I look back on that day and how chaotic my first impression of working here was, I laugh out loud. Now that I have a summer season under my belt I understand how things work here and I embrace the chaos. I wouldn't have it any other way.

This season would not have been possible for me without the tremendous help of Alice Folkins. She has shown me the ropes, so to speak, and offered her knowledge and wisdom generously. I greatly appreciate it, thanks Alice. It has been a running line between myself and Alice this season that whenever she shows me how something has been done here in the past, she always adds 'but you can change that however you want,' to which I always reply 'I need to see how things have worked here before I can make any suggestions for change.' That is why I have not made any major changes here yet this year. By having things operate as they have in the past I can see the benefits of doing it that way and I don't have to re-invent the wheel. That being said, I am now ready to start making the wheel a little more round. I have decided to make a couple adjustments for next season in how Keillor House and St. James operate together. That's all I'll say on that for now, just stay tuned for next season.

From a Curator's perspective I see my role here as a long term project. We have some good bones to work with but there is great room for fleshing out the beast. I have assessed the status of the collection and the digital database and am very pleased that Keillor House will be included in the first round of database conversion to Collective Access through a project spearheaded by the Association Heritage New Brunswick and Heritage Branch of Tourism, Heritage & Culture. Over the summer and under my direction, Sam was able to add an acid-free buffer to each of the pieces of art, photographs and paintings that we have on display. Next year we will tackle the ones in storage. I have started working on nailing down a collection management policy for the Historical Society that will help craft the future of the museums we operate. The Genealogy resources and library/archives holdings can use some attention to help make them easier to search through and it so happens that I am on the board of directors for the New Brunswick Genealogical Society Southeastern Branch, so I have some connections there. Gene Goodrich has been helping develop a new series of interpretive panels that will describe the hearth cooking theory and methodology. Our education trip to the Ross Farm in Nova Scotia was very enlightening. We are hoping to have the panels ready to install next season to go along with a new experience I hope to offer visitors where they will actually get to cook on the hearth.

I found myself in a familiar situation when it came to looking to hire summer staff. I pulled from my previous experience in selecting students for specific roles (yes, I am aware it is a theatrical term), and looked for specific human interaction skills rather than education and knowledge of the history. History can be taught, personality is mostly inherited. I am pleased to say that I found what I consider to be a great crew, each individual bringing specific skills and dynamics to the team:

Dallas Steen, a Mount Allison University student working towards an Education Degree while majoring in French and Mathematics. With us through a Young Canada Works position with Federal funding.

Samuel Goguen, a grade eleven Mathieu-Martin High School student in the International Baccalaureate program. Also through a Young Canada Works position with Federal funding.

Charle-Edouard Savoie, a grade eleven Mathieu-Martin High School student in the International Baccalaureate program. With us through a Canada Summer Jobs position with Federal funding.

Lucas Doucette, a 2017 graduate of Moncton High School going on to study pre-Law at Dalhousie University. With us through a Community Museums Summer Employment Program position with Provincial Funding.

Alanna Mitton, a grade eleven Tantramar High School student with a passion for Dorchester history. With us through a Community Museums Summer Employment Program position with Provincial Funding.

This great bunch would do anything I asked them to do. Over the course of the summer I had them go through the museum room by room and clean everything from ceiling to floor. Artefacts were carefully dusted but the woodwork and walls (where appropriate) were wiped down with vigour. And, yes, we were still finding glitter! Thank you to each and every one of them for helping out this summer.

Speaking of staff, this place (and I mean both St. James and Keillor House) would not be the same without Dee Milliken. Dee is such a great asset to have, taking the time to teach the students (and me) how to card, spin and weave as well as give tours at St. James. And I can't say enough about her help with the Heritage Fair. Thank you Dee.

The attendance at the museum has been hard to judge for its overall impact on the season comparative to other seasons. Those attending the special events held here count for a number of visitors, however, they are not necessarily paid admissions. The paid admissions, I can say, have been quite steady and we have averaged 8 people for every day we have been open.

In closing I would like to thank the Westmorland Historical Society for providing me with the opportunity to continue to learn new ways to accomplish great things, expand my knowledge of our history, and use my skills in a meaningful way. I look forward to next year!

Yours in History, Donald Alward

ALBERT J. SMITH, DORCHESTER'S 'STEPFATHER' OF CONFEDERATION

Editor's Note: In the last issue we brought you the unfinished story of Dorchester's Father of Confederation. In this issue we finish Edward Barron Chandler's story and explain how it was intricately bound up with that of our second Dorchester luminary—and why we have dubbed him the 'Stepfather' of Confederation. Before reading it, we highly recommend that you review the Chandler article to get a running jump into the sequel. A fuller version of both articles is available in booklet form in the Gift Shop and directly from Jamie Heap jamie.michael77@gmail.com

With the signing of the reciprocity treaty with the United States in the summer of 1854 Edward Barron Chandler was at the height of his power. But on the horizon a storm was gathering that would soon sweep away his 'Compact' government and usher in a new era of liberal reform. Although his government represented a wide political spectrum, there was a great deal of agitation for further reform. Cries were heard for full ministerial responsibility to the elected legislature as well as other liberal reforms such as voting by ballot, voter registration, the exclusive right of the government to initiate money bills in the legislature, and the diminution of the powers of the Lieutenant Governor. By the 1840s a number of New Brunswick reformers were calling themselves 'Liberals' but there was as yet no organized party of any kind.

This was about to change in the early 1850s and it explains why the Chandler government fell so suddenly. Although still loosely organized, a number of liberal-minded politicians decided to flex their muscles in the very sitting of the legislature called in the fall of 1854 to ratify the reciprocity treaty. Right after the Speech from the Throne, Charles Fisher, who had been colluding with other reformers in the House, moved a non-confidence motion that passed by a large majority. The government immediately resigned, new elections returned a majority of reformers, and the Lieutenant Governor asked Fisher to form a new government. Among its members was a new voice, louder and more strident than any yet heard among the reformers. It belonged to Albert J. Smith, one of the four members for Westmorland County, and it would be increasingly heard.

Albert J. Smith was born in Shediac where his father prospered in the growing timber trade with Britain and also ran a successful retail store. Like the Chandlers, the Smiths were of Loyalist background, but unlike them they had not been among the elite in their homeland, nor were they in any way connected by family to the 'Compact' in New Brunswick. On the contrary, Albert's grandfather arrived from Massachusetts in relative penury and settled near Kingston where he got into the timber business. His associations were with the Saint John merchants and small businessmen who found themselves excluded under the 'Compact' and

resented the Loyalist elite's virtual monopoly on all the well paying public offices. It seems that these resentments were handed down in the Smith family, as Albert expressed them loudly from the moment he stepped onto the political stage.

Loyalist elite he may not have been (and glad of it), but Albert did not grow up poor. His father did very well in business and by 1839 was able to move out of the little white house of his son's birth and youth into the handsome Georgian-style mansion that still stands as a Shediac landmark. Unlike Chandler who attended only the free common (public) school, Albert got his early education in the local Madras school run by the Church of England whose teachers were usually better qualified. From there he went on to graduate from the Westmorland Grammar School (located in Sackville) designed to prepare students for a liberal arts college. However, Albert did not go to college. Like Chandler, he went directly into law. Nonetheless, he appears to have had a better basic education than his soon-to-be mentor and political opponent.

When Smith began his legal training about 1842, it hadn't changed much since Chandler studied under his cousin William Botsford in Westcock. The main difference was that E.B. was now the region's teaching lawyer and the place of training was now Dorchester. And so Albert moved to the shiretown to learn his profession from the master, who was also a leading politician as well as a leading lawyer. When Smith was called to the bar in 1847 Chandler was about a year away from becoming leader of the provincial government. Thus, the budding young lawyer would have had ample opportunity to observe the workings of the 'Compact', and this may have triggered his determination to enter politics as a reformer. He took the first step in this direction by building up a lucrative law practice specializing in commercial and marine law. This, together with his investments in Dorchester shipping and real estate gave him the means to finance an election campaign.

His opportunity came in a by-election called in 1852 as the result of a Dorchester drama amusingly described by Althea Douglas in the Sept. 2012 issue of the *Newsletter*. Smith declared his candidacy and campaigned on a platform of liberal reform and the removal of the capital from Fredericton—the centre of selfish privilege in his opinion—to Saint John and after beating Robert Barry Chapman by 114 votes entered the House of Assembly to become one of the most radical and articulate reformers in the province. Small wonder, then, that when Fisher was asked to form a new government after the non-confidence motion and follow up elections of 1854, he included Smith. Another new figure was Samuel Leonard Tilley, a leader in the Temperance Movement (which wanted to ban the sale of alcohol), a passionate railway booster and an early advocate of a union of the British North American provinces. Also among the newcomers was merchant and lumberman William Henry Steeves of Hillsborough, a member for newly formed Albert County and a long time liberal. Under Fisher he became the province's first Minister of Public Works, while Smith had no portfolio.

As a member of the Fisher government, Smith stood solidly with his colleagues in supporting liberal reform measures but he also didn't hesitate to turn against them when his principles were at stake. This became clear in 1856 when Tilley introduced a bill to outlaw the sale of liquor. Smith didn't think it could be enforced in rum-soaked New Brunswick. Worse, he thought it "arbitrary and coercive in principle, wrong and cruel" and he said so, declaring himself willing to "see the whole province sink in obscurity rather than oppose the power of liberty." No doubt about it: his principles were thoroughly liberal, wherever they might lead him. When his prediction came true and the government could neither enforce prohibition nor bring itself to repeal it, the Lieutenant Governor, an English Tory who favoured the 'Compact' and didn't like Fisher, declared the Executive Council paralyzed and dismissed it. He then asked members of the 'Compact' including E.B. Chandler, although not as its leader this time, to form a new government, which immediately dissolved the legislature and called a general election. During the bitter and raucous campaign that followed (June 1856), the liberals (Smith foremost among them) attacked the Lieutenant Governor's action as tyrannical, unjust, and entirely contrary to the principles of responsible government and called their opponents (among other things) "Rummies." The 'Compacters' (who would soon be known as 'Conservatives') returned the 'compliment' by calling the liberals 'Smashers' because they wanted to smash everything that was fine, decent and good. The liberals took the insult as a true compliment—for indeed they did wish to smash the old order—and proudly adopted the name. Henceforth they were known as both Liberals and Smashers.

Such was the outraged reaction against prohibition that anti-prohibitionists (many of them actually liberals) gained a majority in the House—Tilley even lost his seat—and the Compact returned to the Executive Council, but only very briefly. Prohibition was now easily repealed, but once it was, the liberals in the House ganged up on the government and made it all but

impossible to get anything else done. Realizing this, its leader (John Hamilton Gray), asked the Lt. Governor to again dissolve the House and issue the writ for new elections (April 1857), thus adhering to the principle of responsible government. The issue was now not prohibition but the old order versus the new, and the public mind had shifted so much towards liberalism that the results of 1856 were reversed. Tilley regained his seat, the government resigned and Charles Fisher was again called on to form a new administration. One of the most powerful and effective voices in this new turn of events was that of Albert J. Smith, who earned the sobriquet “Bully Albert Smith” for his invective on the campaign trail. Once again he became a member of the Executive Council (cabinet) and once again without a portfolio.

One reason for this was that he had a falling out with Fisher. One of Smith’s many favourite targets was King’s College in Fredericton, which he called a privileged enclave for rich men’s sons that was following an outdated curriculum taught by incompetents. The tone of his attacks on this institution was so intemperate that on one occasion a former Attorney General assaulted him right on the floor of the House. Another of his ongoing agitations was for the removal of the capital to Saint John. Unfortunately for harmony in the government, Fisher was Registrar at King’s and a Fredericton stalwart. The feud between them almost paralyzed the government until 1861 when Fisher was forced to resign after it was discovered that he had used his insider knowledge to speculate in Crown lands. Tilley then became the new leader and in spite of Smith’s attacks on his prohibition bill of 1856, he made him his chief lieutenant and had him appointed Attorney General. This did not soften his combative nature, however, and he continued to have dust ups, physical as well as verbal, with opposition members of the House. On one occasion, after a particularly nasty exchange, a conservative member wrung his nose. Smith picked up a fireplace iron and had to be restrained from using it on his tormenter.

In spite of such antics, Tilley left Smith in charge when he went to London in October of 1861 with representatives from Nova Scotia and Canada to try to get financing from a reluctant British government for the long desired Intercolonial Railway that would connect the Maritime Provinces with Canada. Smith used the opportunity to get into a tiff with the new Lieutenant Governor, Arthur Hamilton Gordon, a young English aristocrat “whose opinion of colonial politicians rarely rose above disdain.” Sparks were bound to fly and they did. Their first confrontation was over the appointments of militia officers. Gordon considered them solely the Crown’s prerogative—which they had always been. Smith thought they should be made only on the

advice of the Executive Council, as the old way was “in violation of what we consider the rights of the people.” The second bit of nastiness was over the “Missaguash Affair,” which led to another spat, not only with Gordon, but also the Colonial Secretary and E.B. Chandler.

The “Missaguash Affair” was a legal dispute between the upstream and downstream proprietors on the Missaguash River. The details need not detain us here (they are laid out in the booklet). The upstream proprietors hired Smith as their lawyer. As Attorney General he got legislation passed that favoured his case, whereupon the downstream proprietors fired off a petition to the Lieutenant Governor requesting disallowance of the act on the grounds that Smith had abused his office. Gordon accepted the petition and not only castigated Smith in a coldly worded letter, but sent a copy to the Colonial Secretary in London, who gave him a similar lambasting. Outraged by any suggestion of impropriety (and indeed the act was not disallowed, as it was on sound legal ground), Smith responded in kind—or rather in spades. Particularly noteworthy was his reply, published in all the liberal newspapers, to the Colonial Secretary, who also happened to be the Duke of Newcastle. Essentially, he told him, none too politely, to mind his own business.

In the course of the ill-tempered correspondence with Gordon, Smith accused Chandler of being behind the Lt. Governor’s acceptance of the petition and also claimed that he was the downstream proprietors’ attorney. E.B. vehemently denied this and Smith denied his denial, saying to Gordon, who passed his letter on to Chandler, “You are aware that this gentleman and I are not upon friendly terms.” When Chandler replied (to Gordon) that this was “unworthy of any reply” and declined any further correspondence on the matter, Smith really opened up on him (again in a letter to Gordon). “Immaculate and good man! How true to his nature, and how characteristic of him: make slanderous statements reflecting on the character of another, and then forsooth decline any further correspondence. That is just what I would expect from him, knowing him as I do...” This is the only direct evidence we have of personal animosity between our two Dorchester worthies and it was dug up especially for this article by your editor’s indefatigable research assistant, Jamie Heap.

By the time this unpleasant correspondence ended Smith had resigned from the government on another matter of principle. When Britain once again refused to finance the Intercolonial Railway (ICC) to the extent desired, the rest of the government agreed with Canada and Nova Scotia to subsidize it out of public funds. (Canada backed out the following year.)

Smith was dead set against the deal, as he believed railways should be financed privately so as not to burden the taxpayer. But he kept his seat in the House and used it to carry on his vendetta against Gordon, who was now demanding his salary in British sterling, rather than New Brunswick currency, which was worth about 20% less and so would be an extra charge on the New Brunswick government. In the heated debates that followed Tilley supported Gordon while Smith attacked him with his accustomed zeal. When, largely as a result of his rhetoric, the members agreed by a substantial majority to pay His Excellency only in New Brunswick currency, Smith began to think that Tilley might be vulnerable because he was now championing not only the Intercolonial Railway (which Smith also supported in theory as long as it was not publicly funded) but also the latest political fad, which was far more controversial: the confederation of the British North American provinces. It was on this new field of controversy that he would again meet his former mentor-turned-political opponent in their most famous confrontation.

Some kind of union of the provinces had been talked about for a long time, but a majority of Maritimers weren't that interested in it. Especially after the reciprocity treaty of 1854 brought unprecedented prosperity, New Brunswickers, in particular, were generally happy with things as they were. What made union seem necessary, if not necessarily desirable, was the American Civil War, which broke out in 1861. By mid 1864 it was clear that the North was going to win (which it did in April 1865). This was bad news for many because, although officially neutral, Britain supported the South behind the scenes (she needed the cotton to keep her industrial revolution going) and a number of New Brunswick newspapers did so openly. Now there was fear of retaliation and talk of forceful annexation. Not only the colonial governments, but the Imperial Government, too, became concerned about the new situation and began to encourage union movements to which it had hitherto been all but indifferent.

One possibility was a Maritime union, and it found a number of supporters, including Smith. If not necessarily desirable in itself (although some felt it was), it was seen as an alternative to union with Canada (which combined what is now Ontario and Quebec) whose population and economy were so much larger than those of the Maritime Provinces that there was a danger of being overwhelmed. Even if union with Canada became unavoidable, Maritime Union would at least guarantee a stronger voice for the region. But by 1864 there was also a growing confederation movement in New Brunswick, and one of its most prominent leaders was Tilley, who had advocated it as early as the 1840s and was now the effective

premier of the province. So it was natural that he should lead the charge. With an eye on Smith, who had already expressed violent objections to a union with Canada, he cobbled together a coalition of confederation supporters that included opposition conservatives Chandler and John Hamilton Gray as well as his discarded colleague, Charles Fisher (who had been out of the House since the Crown land scandal).

For the moment, however, the push for Maritime union seemed stronger, in large measure because Canada had pulled out of the agreement to subsidize the Intercolonial Railway, and for Tilley, Chandler, and other railway boosters whose main interest was expanded commercial opportunity, Confederation without the ICC was a non-starter. So, after much discussion, the governments of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island agreed to send delegates to Charlottetown in September (1864) to discuss Maritime Union. This might have been to Smith's satisfaction except that no sooner was the Charlottetown Conference announced than the Canadians asked to attend and to have the agenda expanded to include discussion of a union with them. They had changed their minds about subsidizing the ICC and were now actively pushing for a union of all the provinces, mainly owing to a political crisis in Canada that they thought only Confederation could resolve. (The details are far too complicated to go into here. Suffice it to say that they saw it as a way of settling the political problems between Anglophones and Francophones.) Led by the affable John A. MacDonald, the Canadian delegates dazzled the Maritimers with visions of prosperity and promises to build the railway. (Apparently, a good time was had by all, especially during 'after hours'.) Of course, Tilley and to a lesser extent Chandler, didn't need much convincing, as they had favoured Confederation all along. It was agreed to drop Maritime Union in spite of Chandler's arguments for it as part of a package deal that would strengthen the Maritime hand. Instead, they decided to hammer out the details of a union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada at another conference, to be held in Quebec in October. (PEI and Newfoundland dropped out at this point.) At Quebec, Chandler argued strongly against MacDonald's demand for a strong federal government that would retain all powers not specifically granted to the provinces—he wanted it the other way around. He soon recognized that he was fighting a losing battle but took comfort in the strong Maritime representation in the Senate (as the Legislative Council was now to be called) which he (rather naively) thought to be a guarantee that the Canadians would not dominate the new

union. Apparently, he assumed it would have independent powers similar to those of its American counterpart.

Before the details of the Quebec Conference (known as “the Seventy-Two Resolutions”) could be made public, rumours had already heralded the worst, and they galvanized all the anti-confederation sentiments in New Brunswick, where there had long been an undercurrent of suspicion of the Canadians. No one shared these sentiments more than Albert J. Smith and he now decided to act on them. In November 1864 sympathetic newspapers published his “Letter to the Electors of the County of Westmorland” outlining all his objections to what had happened at Charlottetown and Quebec. The gist of them was that Canada would be the controlling element, while New Brunswick’s voice would be “feeble.” Taxes would increase in order to develop Ontario and Quebec. An expensive federal government would be created while the provincial governments would be reduced to such lowly status that no men of talent would serve in them.

These were the themes he harped on during election that Tilley called in 1865 over the Confederation issue, but out on the campaign trail his rhetoric rose to new heights. He called Confederation a scheme conjured up in the “oily brains of Canadian politicians” as a solution to their own problems and argued that New Brunswick’s economy would do much better without it. He had, he said, a better plan for continued prosperity: renewal of the reciprocity treaty with the United States and the completion of the western extension of the European and North American Railway from Saint John to the Maine border—unfinished business since 1850. Although Smith was by no means the only one to run against Confederation, he was recognized as “the heart and soul” of the opposition. It was during this campaign that he became known as “the Lion of Westmorland,” a sobriquet that has endured. Fear of Canada whipped up by Smith’s wounding words worked their magic and the anti-confederation candidates won a smashing victory. Lieutenant Governor Gordon held his nose and asked Smith to form a new government, but then things began to fall apart for the Lion almost as quickly as they had come together.

The trouble was that the successful anti-confederation candidates included both liberals and conservatives, so there was no ideological unity among them. Smith was forced to fill his cabinet with men who agreed only on their opposition to the Quebec version of Confederation. Indeed several of them were actually in *favour* of some kind of union but wanted either a stronger central government or stronger provincial governments, depending on the individual. In other words, there was no party discipline and so the inevitable happened:

fallings-out over policies, and outright desertions as pressure mounted from the pro-Confederation forces.

A lot of that pressure was now coming from Britain. To counteract it, Smith and his Attorney General traveled to London in June of 1865 (two months after the American Civil War ended) only to be told by the Colonial Secretary that he was committed to confederation, if not necessarily to the Quebec Resolutions. By the time they returned, Smith was already beginning to waiver. New hope was sparked in November when the first sod was turned on the Western Extension he had promised, but quickly dashed when it ran out of money and had to be shelved again. This disheartened one of his government’s strongest opponents to confederation and he promptly resigned. Then his Attorney General was appointed to a judgeship on the Supreme Court, necessitating a by-election, as he had to resign his seat in the House. Smith put up an anti-confederation candidate, who was soundly beaten by Charles Fisher. This was widely interpreted as a sign that public opinion was now swinging in favour of Confederation. The hardest blow fell early in 1866 when the Americans, full of venom over Britain’s ambiguous stance in the Civil War, unilaterally withdrew from the reciprocity treaty. This left Smith without a viable alternative to Confederation and prompted another of the leading members of his government to resign and openly support the Quebec Resolutions. To make matters worse, the Fenians, a secret society of Irish-Americans intent on seizing British North America and exchanging it for Irish independence from Britain, were becoming more vociferous, raising the fear level in all the provinces.

Lieutenant Governor Gordon now stepped in and applied his own pressure. In February he and Smith held secret talks during which Smith indicated that he would now accept ‘some form’ of union with Canada. This still left open the possibility that he would seek to modify the Quebec Resolutions in the direction of greater autonomy for the provinces and when he seemed to confirm that intention in the Speech from the Throne opening the legislative session of 1866, Gordon (whose task it was to read the Speech) added a letter from Queen Victoria herself expressing her earnest desire for Confederation in the form of the Quebec Resolutions. Members openly cheered these sentiments of their beloved Sovereign and Smith appeared to be undone.

When it looked to his pro-confederation enemies that he was about to cave and support the Quebec Resolutions, they determined that he would not get the credit for it. Fisher moved a non-confidence motion over the government’s alleged anaemic response to the Fenian threat. It was debated

for weeks, giving the government no chance to introduce any legislation. Seeing it thus paralyzed, the Legislative Council, which was dominated by advocates of the Quebec Resolutions, seized the initiative and endorsed the Queen's message. Gordon accepted the endorsement and, ignoring Smith's official advice, passed it on to the British government as signifying agreement to the Quebec Resolutions. Smith was outraged, as this was totally against the principle of responsible government, and it forced him to resign even though he still had a majority in the House. Gordon then asked Peter Mitchell of Miramichi to form a new government and—as protocol required—he immediately called a general election for May and June (1856) to confirm or reject the Lieutenant Governor's action.

Thus, within eighteen months of Smith's smashing victory there was another confederation election, but this time all the advantages were on the 'pro' side. With reciprocity gone and the Western Extension "off the rails" he had little to offer the voters apart from his attacks on Gordon's unconstitutional measure. The Lion could still roar, but his claws had been clipped—and he had a toothache. The 'pros', led by Mitchell and Tilley, could (and did) appeal to the people's loyalty to a very popular Queen and the Fenians did their part by launching a rather farcical raid on Campobello Island that aroused the patriotic ire of every red-blooded Bluenose.

This time E.B. Chandler played an important role in the campaign. Although not running for a seat himself (being comfortably ensconced in the appointed Legislative Assembly), "he taunted the anti-confederates with statistics on the financial situation in the province and warned of the dire consequences of remaining outside confederation." Some of the 'pros' used dirtier tactics, associating the 'antis' with Catholics, Irish, Acadians, annexationists, Fenians and other threats against Protestantism and the British Empire. To his credit Smith defended the Acadians, who supported his cause *en bloc*. He was, he said, "proud of the French population of this country; they would compare favourably in every respect with the English population; they were incorruptible and could not be bought!!!"

When the ballots were counted the antis were smashed even more brutally than they had smashed the pros the previous year. The only counties they carried—Westmorland, Kent, and Northumberland—were those with a significant Acadian population. No wonder Smith was proud of them. When the House met to pass its Confederation resolution, Smith sang his swan song as an anti-confederate, calling for a public referendum on any act of confederation, equal representation

for the provinces in the Senate, a limited number of members of Parliament to keep Canada's rapidly growing population from swamping Maritime representation, a separate court to settle federal-provincial disputes and strict control over taxation. His motions were rejected after Tilley gave an extraordinarily effective rebuttal, said to have been the best speech of his career. Soon afterwards the "Fathers of Confederation" were off to London where the Quebec Resolutions were turned into the British North America Act, still the basis—with the addition of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982—of the Canadian constitution. The New Brunswick delegation comprised four liberals, Mitchell, Tilley, Fisher, John Mercer Johnson and two conservatives, R.D. Wilmot and E.B. Chandler.

Epilogue

So, Albert J. Smith was clearly not one of the Fathers of Confederation. But in what sense was he a 'stepfather'? The answer is that although he was opposed to the marriage of the Maritimes with Canada, once he was forced into the union, like a good stepfather he accepted the illegitimate offspring and did his best to nurture the brat, although he never really loved it. To speak more concretely, instead of retiring from politics after losing the second Confederation election, he ran for and won a seat in the federal parliament, and in his maiden speech declared that "he had fought against Confederation, was conquered and laid down his arms, and was anxious to assist in working out the measure." He now became the champion of New Brunswick interests in Ottawa and grew increasingly popular at home when just about all his dire predictions turned out to be accurate.

By 1870 dissatisfaction with Ottawa's treatment of New Brunswick had become so widespread that all the candidates in the provincial election of that year condemned it. If Smith had wanted to, he could have led a strong movement to repeal the BNA Act or even seek annexation by the United States, especially after MacDonal accepted the economically damaging Treaty of Washington in 1871. This was a treaty negotiated between Great Britain and the US to settle outstanding differences arising from border disputes in the Pacific Northwest and lingering resentments over the Civil War. In order to get agreement on other matters, the Americans were again given full fishing rights on the Atlantic coast even though they had long since nullified the reciprocity treaty. They did, however, agree to a cash settlement, to be determined later by a panel made up of a plenipotentiary each for Britain and the United States, and a neutral arbitrator to cast the deciding vote. Like many others, Smith was outraged by

the deal, but instead of using it as a platform to launch a new anti-confederation movement he held his fire and voted for it, as he could see no other alternative. In the event, it would provide him with the opportunity to score his greatest triumph.

For this show of loyal support despite his personal objections to the treaty, in 1873 Prime Minister MacDonald offered Smith the Lieutenant Governorship of New Brunswick. But he declined, as he wanted to stay in the House of Commons to defend his province's interests, so MacDonald offered the post to Tilley. Soon afterwards MacDonald and his government were embroiled in the famous Pacific Scandal over contracts to railway builders in return for electioneering funds, and Smith attacked him for adjourning Parliament and appointing a Royal Commission in order to avoid a Parliamentary investigation. When Liberal Alexander MacKenzie formed a new government after MacDonald was forced to resign over the Scandal, he invited Smith to join his cabinet and appointed him Minister of Marine and Fisheries. It was in this capacity that Smith turned what Maritimers considered the tragedy of the Treaty of Washington into his greatest triumph. As noted above, he was a specialist in marine and commercial law and he became one of the ablest marine lawyers in Canada. Thus, he was well qualified to be chief advisor to the British/Canadian negotiator, Sir Alexander Galt, when the panel to determine the amount the Americans should pay for access to the fisheries met in Halifax in 1877. He and his staff spent several years preparing their brief and it was so well argued that it convinced the neutral Belgian arbitrator of the justice of the Canadian claim, and Canada was awarded \$5.5 million, considered a fairly large sum at the time. Canadians everywhere were ecstatic at what was seen as a "monumental victory for Canada, if only because the US had not won." Smith was lionized as "the ruling spirit throughout," and to reward his achievement the British Government knighted him in 1878, the first native-born New Brunswicker to be so honoured.

Soon after this event, MacDonald and his Conservatives were returned to power (in 1878) on a platform of high tariffs to protect Canadian industry (the famous 'National Policy') and Smith lost his cabinet post. But his popularity, as well as growing resentment against Ottawa, helped him and the Liberals to take eleven of New Brunswick's sixteen seats in the House of Commons. "No man in the province can beat A.J. Smith," wrote one observer, "and I consider it folly for any one to try." The one who did and proved the truth of this observation in 1878 was Conservative candi-

date Robert Andrew Chapman, shipbuilder and son of the Robert Barry Chapman whom Smith had defeated in the by-election of 1852. Thus, his first and last electoral victories were over a Chapman, and there were other satisfactions to come. Perhaps the greatest one was the opening of the Maritime Penitentiary at Dorchester (in 1880), said to have been built here rather than in Truro owing to the influence of Sir Albert.

But in spite of such satisfactions, Smith's best days were over and his end was rather a sad one. Although he handily defeated Chapman in 1878, by the time new elections rolled around in 1882 the political landscape had changed. Business interests, particularly in the growing city of Moncton, were beginning to see the advantages of the National Policy, while complaints in the last election that he was treating his seat as a sinecure made him vulnerable on personal grounds. The Conservatives nominated the talented young Sackville merchant, Josiah Wood, who in turn recruited the support of Pierre-Armand Landry, the first Acadian lawyer—who had studied under Smith and was now the Minister of Public Works in the New Brunswick government. Naturally, he strongly influenced the Acadian vote, and the *Moncton Times*, which had once supported Smith, ran a vituperative campaign against him, even accusing him of representing "the sectional Ontario Party!" The election results handed the Lion of Westmorland his first defeat ever, and he was devastated by it. Brooding constantly, he fell ill, although he had hitherto been in apparent good health, and before a year was out he was dead, almost literally of a broken heart. His widow, Sarah Marie Young, whom he had married in 1868 when he was forty-two and she half his age, lived on for another forty-three years as the eccentric Lady Smith of 'Woodlawn', the family mansion that is still standing. Her favoured companions were E.B. Chandler's daughter-in-law, Minnie, and (later) 'Aunt Em' Chapman, sister of Robert Andrew. Thus belatedly were old hatchets buried.

Actually, the ones wielded by Chandler and Smith may have already been in the ground sometime before Sir Albert died. After Confederation, Chandler was offered a seat in the Canadian Senate but he turned it down, saying that he had never sought a reward for his support of the movement. He did, however, accept an appointment as one of four Commissioners charged with overseeing the completion of the Intercolonial Railway and it provided an opportunity to work together with Smith, as did the procurement of the Maritime Penitentiary for Dorchester. After Confederation, the European and North American Railway became a branch line of the ICC and its terminus at Shediac seemed like a logical location for the



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headquarters of the ICC as well. The next question was how the ICC should connect to the Nova Scotia Railway, now also a part of the ICC but finished only as far as Truro. The original plan was to go via Shediac, Baie Verte and Sackville, but that left Dorchester out of the picture, something that was pleasing neither to Chandler nor to Smith. So they combined their powerful influences to locate the headquarters of the ICC at Moncton (where they both had investments) and run the rails to Nova Scotia over the “Dorchester Diversion” even though it added half an hour to the trip to Halifax. Appropriately enough, both were among the distinguished guests at the grand openings of the ICC in Dorchester and Sackville in 1868.

The best indication that their relationship had become cordial, if not downright friendly, came in 1878 when Smith, in his capacity as a Member of Parliament, recommended Chandler as the successor to Tilley as Lieutenant Governor. Chandler accepted the appointment even though he was now seventy-eight and he served with distinction until his death in February 1800, assisted in many ways by his devoted son and fellow lawyer, Joshua, who served as his private secretary. Always interested in education (he was on the examining board of the Westmorland Grammar School and may even have examined Albert), he carried out his last official duty as Lt. Governor by attending a meeting of the Board of Education in Fredericton.

His funeral, conducted at Government House according to the rites of the Church of England, was “the most imposing if not the largest ever witnessed in Fredericton.” Among the pallbearers was Albert J. Smith. No doubt he was there as a representative of the Dominion government and a fellow vestryman of Trinity Anglican Church. But it's pleasant and certainly not impossible to imagine that he was also there as a friend, or at least as a reconciled adversary and a genuine mourner. Perhaps it can be taken as symbolic that when Smith followed Chandler to his own reward three years later, he was buried on the same knoll in what is now called the Dorchester Rural Cemetery. As John Belliveau remarked, “if he could reach out, his fingers might touch those of Edward Barron Chandler.” Thus, Dorchester's Father and ‘Stepfather’ of Confederation were (nearly) united in death, if not always in life.

Gene Goodrich and Jamie Heap