WESTMORLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 60 ISSUE # 2 JUNE, 2025 ISBN320813

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

As your interim President, I want to thank all our board members and volunteers for working so hard to make the upcoming season so promising. With a new Museum Manager, a list of exciting new events, and a number of forward-looking initiatives, it promises to be a great year.

*New Museum Manager*

Welcome to Caroline Kaszar, our new Museum Manager. Caroline comes to us with a wealth of experience, fresh enthusiasm, and new ideas. She has a Master in Museum Studies (U of T) and has worked as a Libraries & Archives Administrative Assistant at Mt. Allison and as Museum Assistant at Northern Life Museum and Cultural Centre (Yukon). She has been 'on the job' since early May getting to know the collections, meeting board members, and interviewing and hiring staff. Many thanks to Keegan Hiltz, our former Manager, for returning to Dorchester for a few days to help make Caroline's transition a smooth one. Keegan is currently pursuing a career in Museum Studies in NS and we wish him the very best. Caroline, we are excited to have you on the team!

*Recent Events*

**April 1st** The on-line auction raised over six hundred and sixty dollars, thanks to our donors and hard working volunteers, especially Bernie, Alice, Debbie, Carole & Bonnie. **May 25th** 'Italian Night at the Keillor House' was a great success with homemade spaghetti, caesar salad, baguettes, special desert—and samples of local wines! (Sorry if you missed out. Be sure to put it on your calendar for next year.)

*Upcoming Events*

Your Events Committee (Bernie, Judy, Alice, Debbie, Carole) have preplanned a terrific year of activities. **May 25th** at our AGM, Andrew MacLean, author of the popular Backyard Histories series, will debut a forgotten story from our area: 'The Cow, The Well and the Lost Treasure of Jolicure'. Contact: Alice at 506-966-0040 or alicefolkins220@gmail.com for reservations. **June 14th** is the 'Official Opening' of Keillor House. 2:00 pm. Refreshments and guided tours. Free Admission . On **July 26** join us for a Victorian Garden Party & Keillor House Museum Tour. Learn about the historical background of the garden plantings, and relax as you sip tea and try tasty homemade scones in a Victorian style tea service served by our Museum Guides. 1:30 pm. $15.00 at the door. **August 9-10th** during Sandpiper Festival we're holding a 'Heritage Fair' at Keillor House and

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## KEILLOR HOUSE MUSEUM —SPECIAL EVENTS

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| WHS Annual General Meeting | Sunday, May 25 | 5:00 PM at Veterans' Centre |
| Official Opening | Saturday, June 14 | 2:00 PM |
| Victorian Garden Party | Saturday, July 26 | 1:30 PM |

*Connect with us on social media or visit our website to see upcoming special events!*

Keillorhousemuseum.com Instagram: @keillorhousemuseum Facebook: keillorhouse

**INSIDE THIS ISSUE:**

St. James. 11:00 am--4:00 pm. Try your hand at traditional skills: carding wool, spinning yarn, rug hooking, basket weaving, and hearth cooking. Talk to the artisans, watch demonstrations and shop amazing artisan products. **August 9th** for children and the 'young at heart' a 'Teddy Bear Picnic' 2:00 pm--4:00 pm. Keillor House. Watch Facebook for details.

*St. James Textile Museum*

Great news--Alana Morouney will return this year bringing her expertise and enthusiasm for traditional weaving and spinning, demonstrating traditional skills, and helping visitors 'try their hand'. (Alana also 'sets up the looms', a very big job every season). Thanks also to Bob Hickman and his team who have designed new (bi-lingual) signage for St. James which will, we hope, be installed by summer. A stone path from the adjacent parking lot to new steps at the front entrance will be built as well. This should give a safer alternative for visitors who may try to turn in directly off the highway.

*New Gift Shop*

Plans are underway to relocate the gift shop to the Bell Inn. 'Peep & Keep Boutique' has closed and there is an opportunity to see—with more aggressive marketing—if the Gift Shop could be more successful in this location. Our thanks to Kara Becker who has volunteered to take the marketing lead on the project.

*Graydon Milton Trust*

In these turbulent times, the Trust has been conservative and has currently a large portion of its investments in cash or in a High interest Savings Account, although we still have (some) investments in Canadian utilities, banks and insurance. Thanks to the Finance Committee—Cole Morison, Philippe Landry and Bonnie Chapman Roy—for keeping us on a steady course.

*Bonnie Chapman Roy Steps Down*

Bonnie Chapman Roy has stepped down as President due to work commitments, although she still volunteers. Bonnie, I want to extend a huge thank you for stepping up and providing remarkable leadership over your term: for developing strategic plans for the buildings, bringing your technical expertise to update our financial and reporting systems, motivating us to 'get more online', finding new members to commit to the Board, and often acting as a full time building manager! We knew we had a great (potential) President when you and Guy first joined WHS and volunteered to repaint a whole apartment at the Bell Inn and update the electrical plates and fixtures. (Thanks, Guy) Like most very capable people, Bonnie kept getting offered 'difficult-to-turn-down' work contracts—and this last time she felt she couldn't turn down the offer. Bonnie, we wish you the best.

*Judy Morison, Interim President*

# AN OFTEN OVERLOOKED TREASURE OF KEILLOR HOUSE: A LETTER OF SAILOR ISAAC SMITH TO HIS BROTHER IN WOOD POINT 1867

IN THE 'DAIRY ROOM' OF KEILLOR HOUSE hangs a framed letter that a twenty-two year old sailor by the name of Isaac Smith wrote in 1867 from Liverpool, England, to an unnamed brother in Wood Point. It usually goes unnoticed, but it caught the attention of Bill Snowdon, a newly-minted member of WHS (as well as a long-time member of Tantramar Heritage Trust), and we are glad that it did. Bill is a resident of Wood Point, and very interested in its local history and genealogy—in fact he is even writing a book on the place. The reason for his interest in the letter is that Isaac Smith and most of the people he mentions in it were also from Wood Point, and, being an excellent genealogist, he was able to track a lot of them down. But the letter is interesting for another reason. Isaac was on a vessel owned by William Hickman, one of Dorchester's leading shipbuilders, while one of his crewmates was Isaac's brother, Charles. The voyage over to Liverpool in the middle of winter was very rough and Charles was swept overboard by a sudden wave and drowned. The unnamed brother didn't know this when he wrote a letter to Charles. He presumed it would reach him in Liverpool, but it was Isaac who read it, no doubt with considerable emotion. Isaac's answering letter, the one we are talking about here, confirms Charles' death, even though Isaac figured that his unnamed brother had already learned about it, probably from reports of sailors returning from Liverpool, where it would have been the 'talk of the dock'. The letter also tells us a good deal about the close and loving ties that bound the Smith family together; the fatalistic and accepting attitude of seaman toward the dangers that daily faced them; the strong sense of community in Wood Point; and, not the least interesting, Isaac's opinion of the vessel's owner and the captain who sailed it for him. As we will see below, this would change with time. Bill transcribed the letter and dug up further information on the people mentioned in it. He also filled in some interesting biographical details on Isaac Smith and offered the results to WHS for publication in the *Newsletter,* for which I am very grateful. The whole of his article is a bit long for the space available here, so I decided to compress it by inserting the relevant information on the people mentioned in the letter into the text itself *in Italic print set off by [square brackets]*, followed by Bill's fuller account of the life and death of Isaac Smith.

*The Letter*

Liverpool Feb. 12, 1867

I am happy to inform you that I have been well since I left home until the last two or three days, [during which] I have been quite sick. I suppose that by this time you know that Charles was drowned. It was on the 18th of January when about half passage he was washed overboard from the bowsprit [*a bar extending forward from the prow; he was probably standing on it working the rigging]* by a sea [sudden wave.] We threw over lines and some deal [lumber] but he was unable to reach them. And by the time we got the vessel around on the other tack he had sunk to rise no more. He was floating on the water about ten minutes. We had a very hard time coming across and have been here now about twelve days and are only half discharged [unloaded]. I expect we will be here a month longer and then go to Boston with a general cargo.

Tell Father and Mother they must take good care of themselves and not work too hard this winter. I received that letter you wrote to Charles yesterday and was very glad to hear from you. Tell Eliza Johnson *[the wife of George Johnson and sister of Hance Atkinson, the Captain of the vessel]* that George Johnson was here and has just shipped for Boston. There is a great many of the boys from around home here now. Elijah Chase and Charley Russ *[both from Wood Point]* are well and so are all the rest of the boys. I expect to come home in the spring if I live and have my health—if I do not call up to Dan Lowreys *[Bill was unable to identify him, but he obviously sold booze]* too often, for I am as wild as ever.

It is a great place here in Liverpool for losing money, jackets. Tell Minnie Simmons and Jane Atkinson *[Bill was unable to identify them, but he assumes they were some of Isaac's female acquaintances]* that they must not get their muscle *[probably a misspelling of 'mussels'; Isaac was probably alluding to some misadventure that was a shared secret]* this winter. If I live and have my health to get across to the other side

again, Bill Hickman and Hance Atkinson *[Captain of the vessel]* will not get me to cross the Western Ocean again in the middle of winter with half a crew and starve us to death in the bargain.

I expect that Father, Mother *[Silas and Mary Ann (Outhouse) Smith of Wood Point who lived on the back part of the present day farm in Wood Point identified by civic number 445]* and the rest will take it very hard about Charles, but I have made up my mind that there is no use to mourn, for he is taken away from us and we cannot help it.

Volly Snowdon is well. *[Valentine Snowdon Jr., a brother of Bill's great grand-father Benjamin Snowdon ]*

Write as soon as you get this letter and I will get it before we leave. I do not expect we will leave until the 20th of March. Direct it to the same as the one you wrote Charles.

From your affectionate brother,

Isaac Smith

PS I have changed my mind. You need not write, for it will not have time to get here before we leave. I do not want you to preach Charles' funeral sermon till I come home, for me and all the boys want to hear it.

Fellow crewmember Elijah Chase, the son of shipwright Chipman Chase and Zilpha Snowdon of Wood Point, added his own greeting to the letter. Like Isaac, he became a master mariner a few years after this event.

*Addendum of Elijah Chase*

Dear Friend I write just a few lines to let you know that I am alive and well and hope that you may be the same. I am in hopes of getting back before long if not swept away as poor Charlie was. I hope he has gone to see his God and live forever. Tell Mother that I got the letter. I hope the wedding you spoke of in your letter comes off all right.

Elijah Chase

*Epilogue*

Isaac Smith may have had some negative thoughts about Bill Hickman and Captain Atkinson on his maiden voyage to Liverpool, but he apparently changed his mind. Maybe he considered that successful ship owners and captains always ran a tight ship, and that Hickman and Atkinson were no worse than others of their kind. (William Hickman had a reputation for building excellent vessels.) Maybe he felt that there was no alternative if he wanted a job as a sailor. Whatever the case, he was not discouraged by his 1867 voyage to Liverpool, in spite of the tragedy. He decided to become a sea captain himself, and only three years later, in 1870, he was certified in England as a Master Mariner. Within a year he took command of the barque *Thomas Cochrane*, built by none other than William Hickman, and made various voyages to Britain until October 1873, when he took command of another Hickman-built vessel, the barque *Harriet Hickman,* which he skippered for the next seven years. Just before taking command of her, he married Eunice Wry of Sackville, the daughter of Newlove and Hannah Wry. A week after the wedding he and his bride left Saint John on the *Harriet Hickman* to make a number of voyages across the Atlantic to ports that included Greenock, Scotland; Antwerp, Belgium; Bremerhaven, Germany; Liverpool, England; and Havre, France. (It was not uncommon for captains in those days to take their family on board with them.) It was while on their voyages around the world that three of the Smiths' children were born, the first in the East Indies, the second "at sea," and the third in the US. Although there is no record of the vessel's cargoes, Bill thinks that the *Harriet Hickman* was involved in what was known as the "East India Trade," whereby goods were traded between Europe and the British colonies of India and Burma.

Relations between William Hickman and Isaac Smith must have grown warmer with each successful voyage, because when Hickman launched his large full-rigged ship of 1277 tons in 1881, he not only put Smith in charge of her, he named her the *J.I. Smith*, which suggests that he thought highly of the Captain. Unfortunately, Isaac was not destined to bask in the glory for long. Just a few months after the launching, on January 16, 1882 Captain Smith fell to his death from the top of the mast to the ship's deck, having demonstrated his willingness to share the dangers of the sea with his men. He was thirty-seven. His body was transferred to New York and forwarded to Sackville, where a memorial to him was erected in the Sackville Rural Cemetery. As an additional note of melancholy, all three children born to Eunice and Isaac while on their many voyages ended up in the

'Boston States', emblematic of the exodus of work-seeking young people from the Maritimes after the end of the Great Age of Sail.

Bill, however, ends the story on a more positive note: "So ends the story of Captain James Isaac Smith and his family who spent most of their short lives at sea and endured storms and other tragedies. But such was life at sea in the days of sail, yet one might feel that they, especially the children, were so fortunate to have the opportunity to visit various countries and be exposed to the customs of the people; an education that even today makes one feel envious."

*Bill Snowdon, edited by Gene Goodrich*

# ANGLO-ACADIAN RELATIONS IN EARLY DORCHESTER PARISH: SOME SURPRISING EVIDENCE

IT IS HARDLY NEWS THAT ANGLOPHONE-ACADIAN RELATIONS in New Brunswick were often fraught with tension and mutual suspicion from the time of the Expulsion until the dawn of a new era of reconciliation in the 1960s that has, happily, only strengthened over time. I have mentioned a number of times in these pages, most specifically in the article on Dorchester's Mi'kmaq that appeared in the September 2020 issue of the *Newsletter,* that I think this reconciliation began earlier in Dorchester than in any other township/parish in the province. In the following article I attempt to substantiate this claim with evidence drawn from my research into the Keillors, local government in early Westmorland County, and Della Stanley's well known work on Sir Pierre-Amand Landry (available in the Keillor House Gift Shop.)

Acadians who had been settled along the Memramcook and Petitcodiac since the beginning of the 18th century became the victims of a number of 'search and destroy' operations carried out during the infamous Expulsion, and this no doubt left bitter feelings even among those who escaped deportation or had made their way back after the dust settled. To the further chagrin of the latter, when they returned to their farms they found them integrated into some very large grants that the Nova Scotia government had made to well-placed government officials and enterprising land grabbers. One of these was Richard Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, who was granted some 20,000 acres between Dorchester Cape and what later became the village of Memramcook. However, when Bulkeley couldn't find enough Protestant settlers to become his tenants—one of the conditions of the grant—he accepted Catholic Acadians who were thus forced to rent lands they had once owned in the area between Memramcook and Upper Dorchester. Another large landlord was J.F.W. DesBarres who bought (from the original grantees) several extensive grants further upstream between Memramcook and Moncton and likewise turned Acadian squatters into tenants.

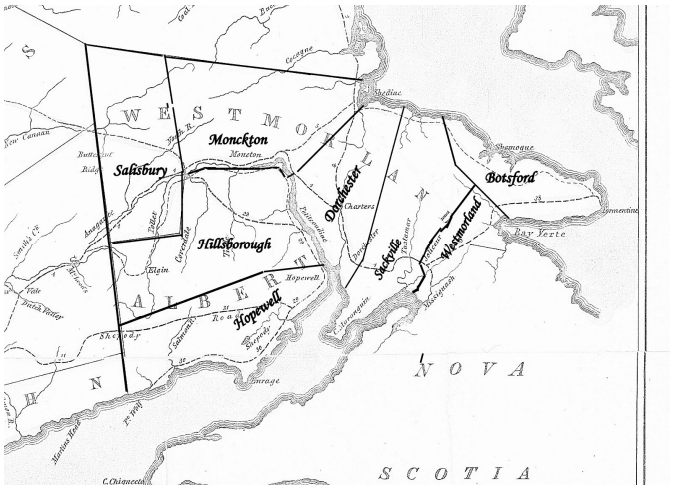
As will be mentioned again below, tensions remained high between DesBarres and his Acadian tenants, but the Bulkeley grant was a different story. In 1784 New Brunswick was established as a separate province to accommodate Loyalist refugees from the American Revolution. Almost immediately, its Loyalist-dominated government began to revoke the large grants made by its Nova Scotia predecessor to favoured individuals and to redistribute them in family-sized parcels to settlers considered to be loyal to the Crown. Besides the American Loyalists, who began arriving in the Chignecto in 1783, these included Yorkshire immigrants (1772-1775), most of whom had remained unambiguously loyal during the Eddy Rebellion of 1776 that attempted to seize Nova Scotia for the American cause. The main movers and shakers in the revocation of the Bulkeley grant were leading Loyalist Amos Botsford, who had his eye on Dorchester Island, and prominent Yorkshire settler John Weldon, recently appointed one of the Justices of the Peace for Westmorland County. Together they recruited as many prospective settlers as they could find to petition the New Brunswick government to revoke Bulkeley's grant on the grounds that he had not settled it with Protestants, and to redistribute it to the petitioners. Ironically enough, the petitioners included Bulkeley's Catholic Acadian tenants as well as a number of Acadian squatters.

The petition was granted in the fall of 1786 and, contrary to what we might expect, the Acadians received

individual grants that were just as large and fertile as those of the Anglos. In fact, some of the best land was in the area just below Memramcook where Acadians settled, while some of the poorest, around Dorchester Cape, went to Anglos. Although I know of no documentary evidence that would prove it conclusively, this must have worked as a signal to the Acadians that there would be no official favoritism on the part of the New Brunswick government. At the very least, they would have been grateful to Botsford and Weldon for including them on the list of petitioners.

That John Weldon was sympathetic towards the Acadians, perhaps out of a Methodist concern for social justice, is proven by a petition he drafted for the aforementioned tenants of J.F.W. DesBarres. Through his agent and mistress, Mary Canon, DesBarres had raised their rents and threatened to evict them if they didn't pay up. As stated in the petition, which was published by W.C. Milner in his *Early History of Dorchester and the Surrounding Area* (available in the Keillor House Gift Shop), the Acadians were "encouraged by John Wheldon Esq. to acquaint Your Excellency [Lt. Governor Thomas Carlton] with our present situation…" Weldon, moreover, the petitioners said, "hopes with us" that they will be granted land they could "call their own." He even supplied the legal reason why DesBarres' grant should be revoked: the New Brunswick government had passed a law requiring that all grants lying in the new province that had been made by the Nova Scotia government must be re-registered in New Brunswick within a year, or be revoked, and this had not been done. The petition ended with a request that, if the DesBarres grant was indeed liable to be revoked, "your Excellency will give us to understand what can be done about it by writing to John Wheldon, Esq." In the event, the case dragged on until 1842 when a compromise was reached in the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, but the fact remains: on this issue at least, John Weldon, and no doubt other Anglo inhabitants of Dorchester as well, were on the Acadians' side from the beginning.

The Memramcook Valley and most of what became Dorchester Parish in 1789 (an area extending from the Petitcodiac on its southwestern side to Shediac on its northeastern, and from the Sackville Parish line a few miles east of the village of Dorchester to the Moncton Parish line running northeast from Fox Creek to Shediac *see map below*) was settled by Acadians who had either returned from or escaped the Expulsion.




*The parishes of Westmorland County in1809*

The revocation and redistribution of the Bulkeley grant led to its lower half, roughly from Dorchester Cape to Middleton, being settled by Anglophones. Thus, from the beginning the two communities lived side by side in close proximity to one another, and this afforded an opportunity that was lacking in other parishes for interaction and the development of tolerance and mutual respect. The fact that most of the Anglophones were either of Loyalist or Yorkshire background may have facilitated this process. The Loyalists had also been torn from their homes, although not as violently, and would have had some sympathy for their fellow sufferers, while the Yorkshire people were strongly affected by the teachings of John Wesley whose concept of the proper Christian life included a concern for social justice (Wesley was an early and uncompromising opponent of slavery, for example). The Anglophones, moreover, were at least until the middle of the 19th century,

very much in the minority and hence unable by the weight of numbers to lord it over the Acadians, even if they had been so inclined.

Just how much they were in the minority at the beginning of Dorchester Parish's history is revealed in a document preserved in the Webster Collection at Mount Allison. It is an assessment roll drawn up in 1786 (three years before Dorchester officially became a parish) to record the assessment and collection of a small tax levied by the county on landowners in order to complete the building of the courthouse and jail at Westmorland Point (now Mount Whatley), which was still unfinished when New Brunswick became a separate province in 1784. One of the two appointed tax assessors was John Keillor, and it was his assessment roll that was preserved.

There were fifty landowners on the list and only four of them were Anglophones. All the landowners were assessed according to how the tax assessors estimated the value of their holdings. Not surprisingly, John Weldon paid the highest tax, (seven shillings), presumably because he had been granted two parcels of the original Bulkeley grant and owned a considerable number of livestock. John Keillor assessed himself and the three other Anglophones at five shillings. Twenty-five of the forty-six Acadians (54%) were also assessed at five shillings, indicating that they were roughly as well-off as the four Anglophones, while seven Acadians (15.2 %) paid four shillings, nine (19.5%) paid three, and five (10.9%) paid two. Thus, the assessors didn't just slap a blanket assessment on the Acadians but took the trouble to make individual assessments of their taxable worth. In other words, they treated them fairly. It's also worth noting that half the Acadians were considered to be as well off as the Anglophones.

The usual assumption that the Acadians were all poorer than their Anglophone neighbours is further belied by another assessment roll, this one from 1840 and happily preserved in the voluminous papers that W.C. Milner left to the New Brunswick Museum. As in 1786, the tax assessors drew up a list of taxpayers, together with the amount each of them was assessed. By this time, the number of taxpayers on the roll had increased to 434, of whom 175 or about 40% were Anglophones, the result of Irish and Scottish immigration. Also by this time, the county's record keeping had become more sophisticated so that, in addition to the taxpayers' names and the amount of tax owing, the assessment rolls listed the value of both their real estate and their personal estate.

As I expected, all of the really well-off individuals—those with a net worth of a thousand pounds (£1000) or more—were Anglophones. Moreover, they constituted a fairly large percentage—13.9%—of their group. What I did *not* expect to find was that a significantly greater percentage of Anglophones, 36.5%, was at the *bottom* end of the scale, which I defined as those having a net worth of less than £200. Indeed, 21% had less than £100. This was in stark contrast to the Acadians of whom only 8.8% had a net worth under £200 and a mere 2% who had less than £100. These numbers suggest a much greater disparity of wealth among Anglophones than among Acadians. They also suggest that over 80% of the Acadians were living in circumstances ranging from at least adequate to quite comfortable. The explanation for this probably lies in the fact that they had been granted land in roughly the same quantity and of at least the same quality as the early Anglophone settlers, and they had clearly made good use of it. The same could be said of the better-off Anglophones, many of whom also had the means to buy additional land and make improvements on it. Many of the poorer Anglophones seem to have been Irish immigrants who had to buy their land, as opposed to having it granted to them, and owned only small acreages while earning most of their income as artificers or labourers.

I mentioned above that John Keillor was one of the tax assessors in 1786. Samuel Taylor was the other one, while the two Assessors for the 1840 tax were John

Chapman and Thomas Sayre. But that doesn't mean that all the assessors were always Anglophones. Tax assessors occupied one of the many parish offices conferred annually on local worthies by the county's Justices of the Peace at their bi-annual meeting known as a General Sessions of the Peace, and the record of the General Sessions (1785-1809) that I transcribed and edited for my book *Local Government in Early Westmorland County* records an Acadian in the office of Assessor in every year from 1805 to 1809, when the surviving portion of the record ends. Acadians were appointed to other parish offices as well, including to the two most important and prestigious ones, those of Commissioner of Highways and Surveyor of Highways. (Commissioners planned roadwork and let out government contracts; Surveyors oversaw crews of landowners obligated by law to work on the roads a fixed number of days each year.) Acadians appeared in the list of Commissioners six times between 1786 and 1809, and were Surveyors twelve times. This is remarkable because, according to British law until the repeal of the Test Act in 1828, Roman Catholics—which all the Acadians were—were not allowed to hold public office. It's true that no Acadian Justices of the Peace were appointed in Westmorland County during this period but Commissioners and Surveyors of Highways were nonetheless technically officers of the Crown. It seems that the law, which was as valid in New Brunswick as it was in England, was quietly ignored, probably as a practical matter. It was a first step toward the integration of Acadians into government. Within a few decades there would be many more. One curious feature of the appointments of Acadians to parish offices in Dorchester was that in two instances they went to Catholic clergy. It's hard to imagine a more obvious ignoring of the Test Act.

Further evidence of the early integration of Acadians into local government in Dorchester Parish on an equal footing with Anglophones are two accounts, preserved in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, that John Keillor and John Chapman rendered to the Provincial Treasurer in 1815 and 1816 in their capacity as Commissioners of Highways for the section of the road between "McEachern's Bridge and Shediac." The two Commissioners were allocated £200 from the Provincial Treasury (as authorized by legislation) for their section of the road. They used it to hire local men to complete work on the various subsections, getting receipts from them and submitting them to the Treasurer. In 1815 from October to the end of December they hired eight different individuals, probably to get the roads ready for winter. Five of them were Acadians, while four were Anglophones. From November 1816 to February 1817 they contracted with five Acadians and five Anglos. In 1815 Stephen Beam was awarded two contracts worth £60.13s., while Cyprian Killam got one for £43.19s. The largest that went to an Acadian that year was for £29.3s. to David Melanson, while the other Acadians ranged from £10.2s. to £16.14s. In 1816-17 Stephen Beam and Cyprian Killam got a combined total of £60.5s.6d., two Black brothers got £45.2s.6d., while Joseph Sonia (Saulnier) and two LeBlancs ranged from £5.5s. to £9.15s. On the other hand, the Cormier boys got a combined contract worth £51.3s.6d—more than the Black brothers—while Patrick Gayton got the smallest of all, worth only £9. From this it appears that Keillor and Chapman awarded the contracts according to the amount of work the recipients did, and not on the basis of their religion or ethnicity.

Another way that Anglophones and Acadians interacted on equal terms was through commerce. I found direct evidence of John Keillor's dealings with Acadians in a statement of account (essentially a dunning letter) that merchant Amos Fowler sent him in 1799. Like many merchants of the day, Fowler also acted as a kind of banker for his trusted customers, dispensing cash to individuals to whom the customers owed money, having first received a 'note of hand,' basically an I.O.U. In other words, the payment was a loan to Keillor, but the point here is that the items in Fowler's statement included goods he had

delivered on Keillor's behalf to Renea Reshaw (René Richard), Michael Casey (Caissie) and Joseph Dupee (Dupuis), presumably as payment for some kind of services the Acadians had rendered to Keillor. Fowler also paid, on Keillor's behalf, a sum of cash "to the French for oxen" that Keillor had bought from them.

Although it may have been a unique case, at least one of the customers of William Harper, the Moncton merchant who sold goods to communities around the Bay of Fundy from his trading schooner *Weasel*, was an Acadian. He was Femian or Fermian LeBlanc of Dorchester who was one of the Surveyors of Highways, along with John Keillor and John Chapman, in 1791 and one of the Poundkeepers in a number of subsequent years. His purchases from Harper in 1808 included salt, various kinds of cloth and other sewing needs, traces for a horse harness, and a scythe. A Peter (Pierre) LeBlanc received a parcel of the revoked Bulkeley grant situated only a short distance from the last of the Anglophone grants above Middleton, and he may very well have been Fermian's father. In any case, Fermian appears to have been well integrated into the Anglophone community.

In his brief but foundational booklet, *The Dorchester Keillors*, Lloyd Machum referred to John Keillor's "Acadian helpers." This was based on an oral tradition that had been related to him. My exhaustive researches into the Keillors revealed no *documentary* evidence that John ever hired Acadians, but the likelihood is that he did. What *is* certain from documentary evidence is that at least two Acadians worked for Mary Jane Keillor, the widow of John's son, Thomas, the one who inherited Keillor House. It's true that all the servants listed in the decennial censuses during Thomas' lifetime were Anglophones but by 1892, four years after his death, Mary had hired Alfred Landry, age seventeen, as a farmhand and sixteen year old Matilda 'Sonier' (Saulnier) of Memramcook as a maid. Mary MacDougal, a Scottish Roman Catholic, was the cook and according to an oral tradition also preserved by Machum Mary Jane treated the two girls as daughters, rather than as servants. She also took a fancy to Matilda's young niece, Theosene, who spent all her summer vacations as well as Christmas and Easter at Keillor House. Many years later, Theosine related memories of her happy experiences in Dorchester to Lloyd, and these became a valuable and unique source of information on the last Keillors to live in Keillor House.

I also came across some evidence of social interaction and mutual kindliness between Anglophones and Acadians in researching the article on Dorchester's second hanging that appeared in the September 2018 issue of the *Newsletter*. In 1864 mentally retarded Amos Hicks was hanged for the murder of a squatter on land claimed by his uncle, 'Zack' Tingley of Dorchester. Just before the noose tightened he was allowed to read a gallows confession to the crowd of some 5000 that had gathered to witness the hanging. It was to the effect that he was indeed guilty of the murder, but that his uncle had put him up to it by promising him land and other rewards. This was widely believed and led to "great indignation" against Zack Tingley. A letter to the Saint John newspaper *The Morning Telegraph* from a Dorchester resident makes the indignation clear, but it is also a testimony to good relations between the Anglophones and Acadians in Dorchester at the time. It is short enough to be quoted here: "Since the execution of his nephew… [Zack Tingley's] society has not been much courted by the respectable people of Westmorland. It seems that he recently presented himself at a social gathering in a French house in Dorchester when one of the guests, indignant at his intrusion, told him he was not wanted and had better go home. For this 'grave offence' Mr. Tingley has summoned the poor Frenchman to answer before Philip Palmer Esq. [a local Justice of the Peace]… on the criminal charge of using language calculated to promote a breach of the peace. *The community here are highly indignant*—and as the Frenchman is a very poor man, a subscription is on to provide him the means to employ

the best counsel for his defence…"

Although there is not much documentary evidence as to how widespread Anglophone sympathy for Acadians was in Dorchester, we do know that at the parish's leading politician was of this disposition. Committed to representing people from all social classes, ethnicities, and religious denominations, Edward Barron Chandler advocated for Catholic political rights even before Catholic landowners (which all Acadian landowners were) were enfranchised in 1830. As a member of the legislative assembly he also recognized that Acadians formed a distinct ethnic group and he supported their efforts to resist assimilation. He favoured exempting them from taxes for poor relief on the grounds that they took care of their own poor. In spite of bitter opposition from other members, he also favoured a grant for an Acadian school in Kent County to be administered by the Roman Catholic bishop. In the words of the article on him in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* Chandler "displayed a keen insight into the way of life of the Acadian people. Because of their 'peculiar habits and manners,' he acknowledged that they could not send their children to the public schools. It would be in vain, he said, for legislation to endeavour to assimilate them with other groups."

Dorchester's other leading politician, Albert J. Smith, also had a positive attitude toward Acadians—or at least he did until they stopped supporting him in his last election. Smith was famously opposed to Confederation—something the Acadians heartily agreed with—and with their support won the election of 1865 on this platform, becoming Premier of the province for a brief period. As detailed in the article about him in the September 2017 issue of the *Newsletter*, circumstances made Smith's anti-confederation policy unworkable and he was forced to call another election in 1866. During the dirty campaign that preceded it, his opponents charged that he was the unwitting tool of a 'French' and Roman Catholic conspiracy against Protestantism and the Empire. He responded angrily that he "felt 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 he lost the election and the fight against Confederation Smith became a member of the Canadian Parliament and then a minister in the Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie that replaced the Conservatives under John A. Macdonald following the famous Pacific Scandal of 1873. He began to lose Acadian support when he defended the New Brunswick government's policy on secularized common schools but was popular enough with the province's Anglophones to be re-elected to Parliament in 1878 although most of the country voted to return Macdonald and the Conservatives to power. By 1882, however, voter sentiment in New Brunswick had turned in favour of Macdonald's National Policy of high tariffs against US goods because it was creating new prosperity in the Maritimes, and the Conservatives recruited Sackville's Josiah Wood to challenge Smith in the federal election of that year. They also solicited the help of New Brunswick's Commissioner of Public Works and Provincial Secretary Pierre-Amand Landry and he recruited his fellow Acadians to vote *en mass* for Wood, thus handing Sir Albert his first electoral defeat ever and breaking his heart so that he died soon thereafter. But our story is getting ahead of itself.

So far I have talked about Anglophone sentiment favourable to the Acadians. What about Acadian sentiment favourable to "the English?" (In those days Acadians were almost uniformly referred to as "the French," while everyone else was "English.") One of the first Acadians to accept that the future prosperity of the Acadians, indeed their very survival as a distinct ethno-religious group, lay in accommodation with the Anglophone and largely Protestant majority was a resident of Dorchester Parish. He was Amand Landry (born 1805) who had a small farm on the west side of the Memramcook (in other

words it was not part of the revoked Bulkeley grant) about three miles south of St. Joseph. He attended the local French language school run by the Roman Catholic parish of St. Thomas but often purchased supplies from the merchants of nearby Dorchester Village and so learned English. At age thirty-five he earned a teaching certificate, taught school (in French) at Memramcook, and became a leader in the local Acadian community. But he was also popular among Anglophones, so much so that he decided to run for a seat in the provincial legislature. With their support, without which it would have been impossible in spite of the uniform support of the Acadians, he won one of the four seats for Westmorland County in the election of 1846. That Anglophones—or at least the more influential among them—as well as Acadians were pleased with this result, I learned from a letter that Thomas Keillor wrote to E.B. Chandler in 1847. The letter was mainly about a land purchase but Keillor, who was on very close terms with E. B., added a postscript that reveals that Chandler, who was effectively the Premier of the province at this time, very much approved of Landry and had in a preceding letter reported to Keillor that Amand was doing very well in the House of Assembly.

Amand Landry served in the provincial legislature until 1870, when he retired from politics. He always voted for measures that furthered Acadian interests, and against those that didn't, but he also respected the views of his Anglophone colleagues, maintained friendly personal relations with them, and in turn earned their respect. But his greatest contribution to the reconciliation of Acadian and Anglophone in Dorchester Parish was in raising a son, Pierre-Amand (1846-1916), who became in Della Stanley's words "a man for two peoples."

Recognizing his son's potential for leadership among the Acadians, and that Acadians could only develop and progress within an Anglophone world, Amand made sure that Pierre became thoroughly bi-lingual. To this end, after his son had finished his primary education in French at the parish school in Memramcook, he enrolled him in the Fredericton Collegiate School when he was about thirteen. There young Pierre-Amand not only gained native fluency in English, but also made many Anglophone friends—and learned to like and understand them. Again under his father's influence, he then enrolled in St. Joseph's College in Memramcook, founded by Father Camille Lefebvre as a bi-lingual institution dedicated to creating an educated Acadian elite able to hold its own in a society dominated by Anglophones and Protestants. But Protestant Anglophones went to St. Joseph's as well, among them Henry Robert Emmerson whose story was told in the June 2022 issue of the *Newsletter,* and they, too, contributed to Pierre Landry's becoming bi-cultural as well as bilingual, although never at the cost of weakening his foundational identity as an Acadian. Soon after he graduated from St. Joseph's in 1867 young (twenty-one year old) Landry was taken on as a law student by Albert J. Smith who had been strongly supported in his anti-confederation stance by Pierre's father, Amand. Pierre proved a diligent student, his fluency in English enabling him to master the mysteries of Common Law with ease, and in 1870 he became the first Acadian ever to be called to the bar.

Pierre's commitment to biculturalism became even more manifest when he took up residence in the village of Dorchester where he opened up a law office and married Bridget Annie McCarthy, an Anglophone Irish Catholic whose father was a close friend and admirer of Pierre's father. She always spoke English to their children, while Pierre always spoke French, so that they grew up perfectly bilingual. Soon after the marriage in 1872 Pierre-Amand was earning enough as a lawyer ( serving both Acadian and Anglophone clients) to purchase the handsome Second Empire style house that

still stands as 'The Maples', until very recently owned and maintained by WHS. The Landrys entered easily into Dorchester's lively social round of dinner parties followed by card games and soon made friends with the shiretown's leading families. One of Pierre's closest friends was Anglican Daniel Hanington, who will briefly appear again in our story.

1870, the year Pierre-Amand became a lawyer, was also the year that his father retired from the provincial legislature, and the ambitious young man decided to replace him. One of the issues during that election was the provincial government's proposal to do away with church-run schools (of any denomination, not just the Roman Catholic) as well as the traditional parish/township ones and replace them with taxpayer funded non-denominational schools run by the province, with mandatory attendance. The measure was bitterly opposed by Roman Catholic Acadian and Irish/Scottish voters who considered their church-run schools central to their ethnic identity, as well as by some Anglican clergy who also ran some schools, and by other Protestant Anglophones who simply didn't want to pay the tax. During the election campaign Pierre vigorously opposed the government's proposal, but he did so in such moderate terms that many Anglophone Protestants voted for him. With the virtually unanimous support of the Acadians, who at this time made up about thirty-two percent of Westmorland's inhabitants, he actually polled more votes than any of the other ten candidates who ran for the county's four seats in the legislature—a remarkable achievement made possible only by the number of Anglophone votes in his favour. Once in the House of Assembly (as the provincial legislature was called at that time) he vigorously and eloquently opposed the Common Schools Act that was passed in that session by the Anglophone Protestant majority. Acadian and Irish Catholic opposition to the bill stirred up enough anger among Protestants that in the next election, 1874, Landry lost the support of Westmorland County's Protestants, and was soundly defeated.

For the next four years he turned to his law practice and made headlines in the newspapers as one of the lawyers who defended nine Acadians indicted for the murder of an Anglophone during a violent demonstration in Caraquet against paying the school tax (one Acadian protester was also killed). So skillfully did he argue his case that he won an acquittal, something that did not sit well with the Protestant supporters of the Common Schools Act. The issue could easily have led to a permanent alienation of Westmorland's Anglophone Protestant voters from Landry, except that the government, shocked by the violence of the riots, compromised on the Act and allowed teachers to wear religious garb in the schools and to offer religious instruction after the regular school hours. As a result, common schools died down as a political issue and Landry felt confident enough of the personal good will of Anglophone voters in Westmorland to run again in the 1878 election. He was not disappointed, partly because he decided to run on the Conservative ticket (he had hitherto been identified as a Liberal), along with his friend Daniel Hanington, J.L. Black of Sackville, and Amasa Killam of Dorchester. Together they won all of Westmorland County's four seats and joined the government of Premier John Fraser. Fraser was anxious to win the support of Catholics and Acadians, who were becoming increasingly numerous in the province, and to this end he appointed Landry as Commissioner of Public Works, no doubt at least partly because during his campaign Landry had preached a message of reconciliation and accommodation to his Acadian followers. Thus, Landry scored another first by becoming the first Acadian to hold a Cabinet post. One legacy of that

appointment is the handsome Second Empire style legislative building in Fredericton, built under his supervision.

Premier Fraser resigned to run in the federal election of 1882 and was succeeded by Daniel Hanington who immediately appointed his friend Pierre Landry as Provincial Secretary, the second most important office in the Cabinet. Indeed, because of his popularity with voters, especially the Acadians who could be depended upon to support him *en mass*, he was seen by some as the real power in Hanington's government. Some of the anti-Acadian Conservative members of the legislature resented that and, perhaps forgetting Landry's role in the defeat of Liberal Albert J. Smith, colluded with some like-minded Liberals in the House of Assembly to pass a no confidence motion against Hanington's government.

At that point, not wishing to waste his time in opposition, Landry decided to obtain a seat in the House of Commons as a Conservative where he could not only support John A. MacDonald's National Policy—which he sincerely believed in—but also further his own 'Acadian agenda' of equitable representation in the halls of power. To this end he persuaded one of the MPs of heavily Acadian Kent County to resign and, with overwhelming Acadian support, easily won the by-election that followed. Once in Ottawa he constantly lobbied the Prime Minister and other high officials for an Acadian to be appointed to the Senate and the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. Pascal Poirier became the first Acadian Senator, while Landry scored another Acadian first when he was appointed Judge of the County Court of Westmorland and Kent in 1890. He quickly gained a positive reputation among Anglophones and Acadians alike for his general competence and, especially, for his obvious concern to treat both groups fairly. This came to the notice of Prime Minister MacDonald and he was appointed a judge on the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in 1893, thus scoring another Acadian 'first.' After twenty years of service in this capacity his reputation for honesty, integrity, and fairness was such that in 1913 he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench division, in rank second only to that of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Throughout his political career in New Brunswick, Pierre Landry's main concern was to promote the advancement of Acadians to equal status with Anglophones in such a way as not to cause division between the two. The way to achieve this, he said, was through *mutual* tolerance, understanding, and respect. Acadians, he felt, should keep their separate identity based on language, religion, and a shared past, but they should also identify as New Brunswickers and Maritimers living side by side in harmony with others of a different origin. He even suggested that they learn to understand each others' view on the reasons for the Expulsion!

Landry's years in Ottawa and federal politics opened up a wider vision of Canada as a country composed of two founding peoples, British and French (of whom Acadians were a separate but equal branch), but also of others such as Indians and immigrants of non-British origin. In Della Stanley's words "he urged Canadians to promote attitudes of brotherhood, friendship and understanding one for the other; to cherish their beautiful country and to be proud of their history; and, above all, to treat one's neighbour as an equal without thought of assimilation or racism." Canadians, in turn, were an autonomous part of the British Empire and for that reason Landry encouraged his sons to serve in the military during World War I, which two of them did. This was appreciated by Anglophones, or at least Anglophiles of the day. As one English language newspaper put it after his death, "he taught us that neither race nor creed form in this country limitations as to loyalty to the empire or

advancement in its service. He was as British in his instincts as if he had been born on the banks of the Thames instead of the Memramcook."

This was quite a statement for an English language paper to have made, and if not all Anglophones would have agreed with it, it is nonetheless emblematic of the general reconciliation that was taking place between Anglophones and Acadians, and between Protestants and Catholics, in New Brunswick. Pierre-Amand Landry—bi-cultural as well as bi-lingual—was a living example of, and an inspiration for, that reconciliation. Because he identified not just as an Acadian, but also as a New Brunswicker, as a Canadian, and therefore as a loyal subject of the British Empire, it is entirely appropriate that he was knighted to become *Sir* Pierre-Amand Landry shortly before his death in 1916, the first and only Acadian to be so honoured. I don't think it is any accident that he was born and bred in Dorchester Parish and lived much of his life in the shiretown.

*Gene Goodrich*

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