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The Furniture Heritage of
Saint John River Valley Communities:
Ethnicity and Regional Identity Formation,
1763-1851

by
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at
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Abstract

Saint John River valley furniture, and the buildings in which they are housed, embody a diverse ethnic heritage. In the mid-1780s francophone settlers migrated into the upper valley and founded the Madawaska Settlements, while at the same time coastal Saint John City was built by anglophone American loyalists. After interacting with established indigenous peoples and early-comers, these communities received additional immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds. By mid-nineteenth century the furnishings of valley residences embodied design characteristics and construction techniques introduced by a diverse number of ethnic groups. Distinct regional cultural identities developed in the Saint John River valley, based on the residents' ethnic origin and interaction.

In the upper Saint John River valley, southern Acadians and northern French Canadians moved into the Madawaska Settlements alongside indigenous Maliseet. By 1820, lumbering attracted into the region American prospectors and mill workers from French Canada. By 1851, their furniture embodied a *mélange* of ethnic design styles. In the lower valley settlers arrived from Massachusetts in the 1760s and within two decades American loyalists were assigned land grants nearby by the British Crown. Pre-1815 Saint John City furniture embodied both American and English styles. Following the Napoleonic Wars, artisans from lowland Scotland migrated to the city introducing new furniture styles but continuing to embrace North American traditions. During the twenty years prior to the New Brunswick Census of 1851, Irish craftsmen arrived who catered to the same market. By mid-century, city furniture exhibited a blending of Mi'kmaq, American, English, Scottish, and Irish traditions.

Abbreviations

AA	Acadian Archives/Archives acadiennes, University of Maine at Fort Kent
ACNS	Atlantic Canada Newspaper Survey (Ottawa, Ontario)
BAG	Beaverbrook Art Gallery (Fredericton, N.B.)
CHIN	Canadian Heritage Information Network (Ottawa, Ontario)
CIHM	Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions
CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull, Quebec)
KLHS	Kings Landing Historical Settlement (Prince William, N.B.)
MadHS	Madawaska Historical Society (Madawaska, Maine)
MAP	Museums Assistance Program
MHS	Maine Historical Society (Portland)
MSA	Maine State Archives (Augusta)
MSM	Maine State Museum (Augusta)
NAC	National Archives of Canada (Ottawa, Ontario)
NBHCC	New Brunswick Heritage Collection Centre (Prince William, N.B.)
NBM	New Brunswick Museum
NGC	National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, Ontario)
NMC	National Map Collection (Ottawa, Ontario)
PANB	Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (Fredericton, N.B.)
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S.)
PARIS	Pictorial and Artifact Retrieval Information System (Ottawa, Ontario)
PRO	Public Records Office (London)

RCAHMS/
NMRS Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical
 Monuments of Scotland/National Monuments Record of
 Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland)

RMM Ross Memorial Museum (St. Andrews, N.B.)

ROM Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, Ontario)

VHA Village Historique Acadien (Caraquet, N.B.)

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Introduction

Architecture and furniture produced in the Saint John River valley embody the ethnic heritages of their makers. Between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries a number of different ethnic groups settled alongside indigenous Maliseets and Mi'kmaq in this valley. Among their number were Acadians, French Canadians, Americans, English, Scottish and Irish. Extant examples of furniture and the buildings which housed them stand testament to the ethno-cultural interaction of these groups. By 1851 individual items of furniture made in the Saint John River valley exhibited a mélange of ethnic features in design and construction techniques inherited from settlers' origin cultures. When examined, these objects lead us towards a better understanding of how cultural regions may be discerned for, according to architectural historian Alan Gowans, "Buildings, far more than rivers or trees or climate, give a countryside its distinctive 'flavour'".¹ Furniture in turn embodies the interaction of community residents and contributes to the identification of distinguishable cultural regions. The furniture studied here is redolent with meaning, as significant historical changes in the ethnic composition of Saint John River valley

¹Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 47.

communities over a broad period of time are encapsulated within their forms. The furniture artefacts studied here represent, to paraphrase Gowans, history arrested in wood.² A study of valley architecture and furniture-making traditions offers insights into typicality, continuity, and change, as established residents and recent immigrants altered the valley's cultural landscape.

In order to study valley furniture-making traditions and the impact different migrant ethnic groups had upon the formation of distinctive regional identities, two localities along the river were selected for study. These were the Madawaska Settlements in the upper Saint John River valley, permanently settled by Acadian and French Canadian groups in 1785, and Parr-Town (renamed Saint John City in the same year), disembarkment site for American loyalists, disbanded troops and opportunists who were allocated lands in the lower valley following the American Revolutionary War. The selection of these two centres was made for various reasons. The time-frame of their settlement and development coincided. Initial settler groups within the valley consisted of dislodged or transplanted groups from within North America and were not immigrants direct from Europe. This facilitated a study of the effects upon cultural

²Alan Gowans states that twentieth century architecture is history arrested in concrete. Alan Gowans, Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964).

lifestyles of various New World experiences prior to migrant resettlement in the Saint John River valley. In effect, a filtering of European antecedents in both architecture and furnishing had occurred prior to the time settlers reached the valley. Both the Madawaska Settlements and Saint John City later received immigrants from foreign sources, who significantly altered the material history landscape of their chosen destinations and gave the valley much of its regional distinctiveness.

By the mid-nineteenth century northern valley residents had become known as "Madawaskan," an ethnic group in its own right, and second and third generation southern valley inhabitants were recognized as New Brunswick-born (both occurrences acknowledged as such within the New Brunswick census). At this time residents in both the northern and southern valley had developed a certain degree of cohesion, self-consciousness and a strong sense of place and belonging. Also, during this period, the introduction of mass-production industries essentially homogenized North American furniture production. Technological innovations largely took individualistic enterprise out of the trade and reduced the visibility of ethnic interaction inherent in the hand-made furniture of previous decades. This study therefore terminates with the mid-nineteenth century New Brunswick census, at which time ethnic interaction had led to the formation of distinctive regional identities.

While Saint John City functioned as a major port for international traders, the Madawaska Settlements never became an important worldwide economic focal point, and thus their histories developed in very different ways. Yet, it should be noted that the rate of population expansion in both northern and southern communities was similar, reflecting the successful development of both locations. One explanation for the difference between the number of residents in each area lies in the fact that Saint John City had an initial settlement of tens of thousands of people, whereas the Madawaska Settlements commenced with settlers numbering fewer than a hundred (see Appendix I). However, ethnicity always played a significant role in shaping both communities and their material heritage.

Furniture was selected for detailed study as valley immigrants of all ethnic backgrounds, stages of life, and social position used furniture from the first days of settlement. The valley also provided a natural bounty of raw materials for local manufacture of furniture. Everyone had the ability to make furniture, given that simple knives might be all that was needed to whittle out a chair leg from wood. While a study of other decorative arts such as textiles might reveal different ethnic design styles, not all residents had access to raw materials and the skills and equipment needed to produce cloth. Ceramics might have been investigated but few individuals had turning skills, clay

deposits, and kilns required to make pottery. In practice, pottery and porcelain were more likely to be imported than made locally, and therefore are unrepresentative of the ingenuity of regional manufacturers. Similarly, skilled silver, metal and glass workers were scarce, and those few who did exist likely lacked both the capital and market needed to have a major impact on community culture, especially in the early days and among the northern peoples. Furniture therefore was chosen as the primary decorative artefact for study because it was made throughout the valley during the entire period of study. Furniture also provides us with multiple expressions of ethnic group interaction in its blending of different forms, designs, styles, and construction techniques.³

Previous historical studies featuring New Brunswick furniture primarily consist of compilations of cabinetmakers' biographical information, which are oftentimes accompanied by illustrations of the contemporary furniture wares. The purpose of these studies has been to

³Also, the author has worked previously with the furniture collections of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, the New-York Historical Society, Old Sturbridge Village and Kings Landing Historical Settlement. A National Endowment for the Humanities grant enabled a study tour of New England furniture collections and a Canadian Ethnic Studies Fellowship facilitated study of eastern Canadian furniture. As a former resident of England, South Carolina, North Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec, the author has experience working with furniture in three different countries and therefore is in a strong position to facilitate comparisons between international collections.

create systematic and informative county by county listings of furniture makers and their products.⁴ Unfortunately, these lists are incomplete, and, in some cases, inaccurate. Moreover, they fail to interpret the meaning inherent within valley furniture, a meaning which embodies the diverse ethno-cultural heritage of the communities in which they were made. This is the first doctoral study in Canada to consider furniture makers, their ethnic origins, and their contribution to regional cultural development.

Studies of New Brunswick's diverse range of material artefacts have been further limited in terms of chronology. For example, works by M. A. MacDonald feature the furniture of early-comers from the 1760s to the early 1780s⁵ and Ann Gorman Condon restricts her studies to first generation American loyalists from the mid-1780s to the turn of the century.⁶ Neither author considers the dimension of legacy

⁴Most of these lists are outdated. For example, Charles H. Foss, Cabinetmakers of the Eastern Seaboard: A Study of Early Canadian Furniture (Toronto, Ont.: M. F. Feheley Publishers Limited, 1977) and Huia G. Ryder, Antique Furniture by New Brunswick Craftsmen (Toronto, Ont.: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1965).

⁵M. A. MacDonald, Rebels and Royalists: The Lives and Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English Speaking Settlers, 1758-1783 (Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press, 1990). See also "Artifact Survivals from Pre-Loyalist English-speaking Settlers of New Brunswick," Material History Bulletin 26(Fall 1987): 27-29, and "Before the Loyalists: The Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English Settlers," Material History Bulletin 28(Fall 1988): 15-34.

⁶Ann Gorman Condon, The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick (Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press, 1984).

and the elements of continuity and change have been neglected. T. W. Acheson's pioneering studies of early nineteenth century Saint John society introduced more complex themes, including discourses on social rank, economics, politics and, more pertinent to this thesis, discussions of mechanics and ethnic groups.⁷ However, he has not used furniture to illustrate his work.

In the northern valley, the research of Béatrice Craig has analyzed the interplay among settlers, addressing questions of family formation, as well as the role of ethnicity, in shaping the Madawaska Settlements.⁸ Yet no

⁷T. W. Acheson, Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

⁸Studies of French Acadian architecture and furnishings are limited in number. (See Clarence Lebreton, "Material Culture in Acadia," in The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies, ed. Jean Daigle. (Moncton, N.-B.: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982), pp. 429-475; Ivan H. Crowell, "The Maritime Acadian Style of Furniture," La société historique acadienne 11 1(March 1966): 23-27, and "Caracteristiques propres des meubles acadiens," L'Evangeline 2nd February, 1966; Roger Boucher, "Le mobilier acadien," Canadian Antiques and Art Review (July-August 1980): 32-35). Béatrice Craig, Guy Dubay, Edwin A. Churchill and Sheila McDonald have written historical accounts but very little scholarly work has been undertaken on upper Saint John River valley French architectural heritages. (See Béatrice Craig's Family Reconstitution Files (AA), "Early French Migrations to Northern Maine, 1785-1850," Maine Historical Quarterly 25 4(Spring 1986): 230-247; "Le développement agricole dans la haute vallée de la rivière St.-Jean en 1860," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association New Series. Vol. 3 (1992): 13-26; "Family, Kinship, and Community Formation on the Canadian-American Border: Madawaska, 1785-1842," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine at Orono, 1983; Churchill and McDonald, "Reflections of their World: The Furniture of the Upper Saint John River Valley, 1820-1930," in Perspectives on American Furniture, ed. Gerald W. R. Ward (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), pp. 63-91. An

study has focused on Madawaskan material history prior to 1851, and no scholar has compared northern and southern valley material histories.⁹

Most previous studies of ethnic groups present in the Saint John River valley focus on one settler group as it migrated into territory already inhabited by indigenous peoples or alongside established immigrant groups. A single study of acculturation among Irish newcomers to Atlantic Canada does consider material traditions brought to the New World. John J. Mannion explored three different communities' lifestyles in New Brunswick and Newfoundland. He incorporates furniture designs into his analysis, but Mannion did not assess either the larger Irish contribution to shaping western New Brunswick valley life or the impact of several cultures mingling together in one region.¹⁰

architectural field survey was undertaken by Bourque in 1973 but the results were never interpreted (PANB).

⁹Only one short paper has been written by Edwin Churchill and Sheila McDonald which investigates upper valley furniture over a broad period between 1820 and 1930, but the influence of more than two ethnic groups, neighbouring provincial, state, and foreign furniture styles upon those of the Madawaska Settlements was not their central focus. Edwin A. Churchill, and Sheila McDonald, op. cit.

¹⁰John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1974). For histories of the Irish in Canada consult Peter Toner, ed. New Ireland Remembered (Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press, 1988) and "The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish," Journal of Canadian Studies 23 1-2(Spring-Summer 1988): 104-119. Other important works on the Irish in the Maritimes have been written by Thomas Power and Scott See. See's work on the Mechanics Institutes is especially enlightening. Consult: Thomas P. Power, ed. The

The interaction of two non-indigenous ethnic groups in shaping material culture within the Saint John River valley has not been previously attempted. Nor have Acadian influences, with respect to furniture, been separated from French Canadian experiences.¹¹ In the United States, comparative analysis of the roots of material culture has been carried out. Significant work was published in the late 1980s by Israeli Mechal Sobel who investigated Chesapeake culture which resulted from black-white interaction.¹² By studying Virginian material history, including both musical instruments and architecture, Sobel showed how black and white inheritances interplayed in the American South. No comparable research exists in Canada. This study seeks to redress these imbalances.

Central to any investigation of different immigrant ethnic group cultures is a study of homelands, for valley

Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900 (Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press, 1991) and Scott W. See, Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s, Social History of Canada Series, No.48 (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

¹¹It was not until Donald Blake Webster's publication of Georgian furniture in 1979 that English Canada's furniture heritage came to light. Webster's work on anglo-inspired wares was published 16 years after Palardy's catalogue of French Canadian furniture. No catalogue of Acadian furniture exists. See Webster, English-Canadian Furniture of the Georgian Period (Toronto, Ont.: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979) and Jean Palardy Les meubles anciens du Canada français. (1963; reprint ed., Montréal: Le cercle du livre du France ltée, 1971).

¹²Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).

settlers had their roots elsewhere. D. W. Meinig described European "culture hearths" as being sources for New World traditions and focused on the geographical origins of immigrants in order to explain developing North American cultural identities.¹³ His approach to historical geography is appropriate for this study as different traditions were brought to Canada from abroad. In contrast to Louis Hartz' "fragmentation theory," which claims that settlers from Europe retained fragments of the Old World order that were little changed once in the New World, this thesis proposes that immutability was not the dominant inter-generational experience of Saint John River valley settlers.¹⁴ Here, dynamism prevailed, as different ethnic groups interacted to forge a new community identity. This thesis looks at how many cultures came to terms with one another in the Saint John River valley over some three generations.

In the upper Saint John River valley immigrants created a distinctive multicultural landscape made up of inheritance and innovation. Chapter One shows how the Maliseet

¹³D. W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, vol. 1, Atlantic America, 1492-1800 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

¹⁴"Chaque fois qu'un fragment d'une nation européenne s'est séparé du tout originel, pour venir s'implanter dans un sol nouveau, il parut perdre cet élan évolutionniste qui animait l'ensemble et tomber dans une sorte d'immobilité." Louis Hartz, Les Enfants de L'Europe: Essais Historique sur les Etats-Unis, l'Amérique latine, l'Afrique du Sud, Le Canada et l'Australie (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1964. trad par Gérard Durand. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1968), p. 11.

interacted with incoming French Canadian and Acadian groups but only in an ephemeral manner. Francophone groups settling both shores of the northern reaches of the Saint John River quickly became dominant. Traditions among newcomers blended so that the buildings they raised and their interior decoration became embodiments of a hybrid culture. French hegemony in the region was not threatened until Americans, seeking profits from lumbering, moved north from the Kennebec following the termination of the 1812-1814 War. American frame buildings and furniture styles were introduced into the Madawaska Settlements and were gradually adopted by the established culture. As more French Canadians arrived in pursuit of work in the lumbering industry, French traditions became reinforced within the material life of the area. By 1851, ethnic interaction had significantly redefined the cultural identity of the region.

Chapters Two and Three discuss the interaction of different ethnic groups in the southern Saint John River valley. Here, anglophones predominated. Chapter Two begins with a consideration of settlement by people from Massachusetts at Maugerville in the 1760s. The influence of these settlers is examined within the context of the introduction of New England furniture styles into the southern valley. Southern New Brunswick's early history has at long length been intertwined with the loyalist experience. Loyalist furniture, essentially defined as

furniture brought to New Brunswick at the termination of the American Revolutionary War, or commissioned shortly thereafter, is discussed in detail within Chapter Two. This study stresses the American rather than loyalist influence of early furniture design and construction techniques within the southern valley. Here, an attempt has been made to prevent the character of Saint John area furniture from being lost within mythology eulogizing the contribution of the early American loyalists. An overall American influence has been placed within the context of a continuum of different ethnic-related styles which shaped southern New Brunswick's material heritage. It is also important to consider the impact of English immigrants who arrived during the loyalist diaspora and the subsequent establishment of an international British-controlled coastal port at Saint John. Their design styles would be incorporated within the furniture produced in the American loyalist city.

Long before the 1840s, the loyalist influence had waned and other ethnic groups began to assert themselves in the lower Saint John River valley. This process is discussed in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, the influence of New Brunswick's American neighbours continued throughout the early nineteenth century. Scottish cabinetmakers arriving in Saint John after the Napoleonic Wars found themselves dealing with a community which continued to embrace American cabinet-making traditions. English traditions also continued

to be felt within this burgeoning British colonial community. Chapter Three discusses the behaviour of lowland Scottish cabinetmakers who altered their repertoire of designs to cater to existing community norms. The Scots also introduced new furniture forms and design styles which became popular in Saint John. By the 1840s Irish immigrants had begun to dominate the furniture trade of Saint John City. They adopted American mass-production chairmaking techniques and were renowned for their decorative painting skills. By 1851, the city had a diverse range of ethnic groups working within the cabinet and chairmaking industries. The furniture-wares produced embodied a *mélange* of styles derived from immigrant cultural sources.

Furniture historians have been sharply divided between those studying high-style productions and those favouring vernacular wares. In the 1980s it became fashionable to study country furniture produced for those with limited budgets or for the elite who required wares for back-rooms and servant use. This thesis argues that there was no truly high-style furniture production in the valley similar to the quality of that manufactured for use in large English estates, castles and royal abodes.

This thesis challenges many of the historical studies of how the American Revolutionary War reshaped what would become the Maritime region of Canada and what distinguished British North America from the independent United States.

David Bell, in his Harvard dissertation, suggested that Canada developed as a "non-nation" because American loyalist settlers forever sought approval from south of the border.¹⁵ Ann Gorman Condon perpetuated this theme in her description of American loyalists who allegedly could only dream of being the "Envy of the American States."¹⁶ Yet, in the southern Saint John River valley, it is apparent that furniture produced for this loyalist market remained extremely diverse.¹⁷ A range of high-style and vernacular wares appeared which feature designs inherited from both the United States and Great Britain. English immigrants into British North America ensured that British styles would be introduced alongside those of the Americans. Bell's approach to "negative" identity formation and Condon's emphasis on southern influences are countered in Chapter Four by a more positive reappraisal. This revisionist critique emphasizes cultural adaptation within the valley, leading to the development of a strong sense of community identity derived from the presence and interaction of different ethnic

¹⁵David Victor John Bell, "Nation and Non-Nation: A New Analysis of the Loyalists and the American Revolution," Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Harvard University, 1969.

¹⁶op. cit.

¹⁷In the case of the upper Saint John River valley questions relating to loyalist mythologies are mute for the regional furniture which was influenced by American settlers awaited the termination of the 1812-1814 War when early Empire American style designs had an impact in this region.

groups. Thus the furniture manufactured in Saint John City ultimately embodied features borrowed from diverse immigrant groups. Such ethnic interaction distinguished valley productions from those of neighbouring parts of British North America and the United States. Distinct regional cultural identities resulted in the furniture of the Saint John River valley.

The necessity of revising our interpretation of loyalist furniture is discussed more fully in the concluding chapter. The argument put forward in Chapter Four is that New Brunswick's colonial era furniture basically derives from a common American stock. Accordingly, it is as impossible to distinguish between early-comer and loyalist furniture as it is to distinguish between loyalist and revolutionary furniture. Moreover, other ethnic groups altered the appearance of furniture made in the valley so that the wares commissioned by second and third generation loyalists no longer resembled those produced in the late eighteenth century.

The methodology employed to investigate the influence of Saint John River valley ethnic groups upon regional architecture and furniture-making traditions involved the consultation of both historical documents and artefacts. One of the first tasks was to compile an updated listing of cabinetmakers active along the Saint John River valley prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Initial sources of

information included Béatrice Craig's, Tim Dilworth's and Huia Ryder's research papers, which were augmented by details taken from the 1851 census, customs documents, and assorted contemporary newspapers. A listing of over two hundred cabinetmakers and related artisans working in the Saint John valley was compiled and cross-referenced using this information.

Using a common sense approach, primary and secondary materials were located by accessing eastern Canadian and American university library card catalogues and databases, such as NOVANET and the Maine State University database. A preliminary bibliography of close to one thousand texts, the majority of which were consulted, was compiled. The major source for primary documents was the Harriet Irving Library at the University of New Brunswick, though information was also collected from an extremely diverse range of sources.¹⁸ The Micmac-Maliseet Institute at the University of New Brunswick was another useful source for documentation. In addition, over one hundred and fifty maps were consulted, the main repositories for which were the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, the National Archives of Canada, the New Brunswick Museum, and the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Other printed matter consulted consists primarily of newspaper advertisements,

¹⁸See acknowledgements for a listing of libraries whose texts appear in this thesis.

personal journals, contemporary travelogues, promotional emigrant literature, cabinetmakers' journals, store account books, government correspondence and censuses, surveyors' maps, design directories, price books, city almanacs, petitions and customs docketts.

Some material historians make extensive use of probate inventories to facilitate their studies.¹⁹ This thesis does not rely extensively on probate inventories, although a detailed account of surveyor George Sproule's property at the time of his death appears as Appendix II. Inventories of southern valley households were examined for their revelation of material lifestyles but, by themselves, say little about ethnic group interaction. The inventories indicate in detail who owned what among the colonial gentry. But probate records of the less wealthy are more frustrating than illuminating. These persons usually have their possessions referred to *en masse* as, for example, "one bundle of furniture" or "a lot of household furnishings." Accordingly, it is impossible to use these inventories to interpret style, origin, form, spatial placement, wood types, or construction features of individual items. Essentially, the inventories only disclose the fact that furniture was owned. Ultimately, only a handful of detailed

¹⁹For example, Richard Henning Field, "The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeomen: The Evidence Based on Probate Inventories, 1760-1830," Ph.D. Dissertation, History, Dalhousie University, 1991.

and representative southern valley inventories of wealthy householders could be used in this study.

Also, while over two hundred inventories were consulted, none of them pertain to the property of upper Saint John River valley residents. No inventories or official reckonings of the contents of Madawaska Settlement interiors could be found for study.²⁰ This is probably due to the fact that such records were removed from the area or have been lost due to the ravages of time. Perhaps they never existed. The only descriptions of households in the Madawaska Settlements appear in survey lists which focus on buildings, location, spatial usage and ownership (usually compiled for governments examining economic potential with a view to establishing territorial boundaries). The approach used in Chapter One (Madawaska Settlements) is therefore necessarily different from that of the following chapters, where lists of household wares, at least among the wealthy, are available. Architecture is more thoroughly researched with respects to the northern valley because of the previously mentioned surveys. In the south, a more diverse range of primary documentation was available, embracing estate inventories, shipping records and newspapers, which together enabled the study to focus particularly on furniture production.

²⁰PANB has no inventories but does have a limited number of land petitions pertaining to the Madawaska Settlements.

Newspaper information was gleaned mainly from the Canadian Heritage Information Network's Atlantic Canada Newspaper Survey (CHIN-ACNS) database, which stores material from over two thousand Saint John City newspapers dating from 1815 to 1845. It contains over sixteen thousand references pertinent to this study (abstracted chiefly from the New Brunswick Courier). They include advertisements from Saint John City cabinetmakers, notices of shipping arrivals, and information pertaining to the importation of household goods. Business relationships and geneological information were extracted from the CHIN-ACNS as well. Unfortunately, there were no newspapers printed in the northern settlements during this period and information for this region has had to be gleaned from other sources, including store ledgers, personal journals, travelogues and censuses.

Contemporary documents revealed attitudes among ethnic groups and provided an historical framework for investigation. The origins of peoples settling the Saint John River valley were considered so that the transmigration of styles also could be investigated. Shipping records determined which external ports played a significant role in Saint John City's business life and in supplying domestic household wares to New Brunswick. Census returns revealed family ethnic origins, their location, household composition, professional occupations and attachments, and

also referred to marriages among different ethnic groups.²¹ Travelogues disclosed contemporary attitudes within the valley and described different lifestyles encountered by visitors.

Contemporary design texts from Great Britain and the United States were consulted in order to assess the metropolitan origins of furniture styles. The style periods under discussion refer mainly to British conventions (thus Chippendale, Hepplewhite, Sheraton, Regency, and Victorian eras). The mid to late-eighteenth century style periods are named for cabinetmakers, following publication of their popular design texts in the Georgian era. After the commencement of the nineteenth century, style periods are associated more with the crown. In some instances American styles are referred to, such as the American Colonial, Federal, and Empire periods. The two systems often overlap in time.

Non-domestic design publications used within this study include those produced by George Hepplewhite of England and John Hall of the United States, both of which inspired rural and urban valley furniture producers. Unfortunately, no contemporary Canadian furniture design sources existed. The traditions of foreign furniture producers, embodied within

²¹The ethnic groups under study are defined by inclusion within the census of 1851. While "American" might not appear to be "an ethnic group", it was classified as such in the survey.

their design plates, were disseminated throughout North America. Furniture items copied from foreign design books and adapted by valley cabinetmakers are used within this study to trace the origins of ethnic styles and traditions.

During research, artefacts manufactured in the Saint John River valley were located and identified. Approximately seventy-five institutions were visited in Canada, the United States and Europe. An equal number of historic buildings were examined, and several thousand items of furniture investigated. Property associated with the valley, including buildings and their furnishings, have been distributed across the province of New Brunswick and beyond. While the buildings generally have not been moved out of the province, some buildings were relocated to le Village Historique Acadien in Caraquet, New Brunswick and Kings Landing Historical Settlement in Prince William, New Brunswick, following construction of the Mactaquac Dam and the subsequent flooding of the valley above Fredericton more than twenty-five years ago. Furniture redistributed across Canada was located using the Canadian Heritage Information Network Pictorial and Artifact Retrieval Information System (CHIN-PARIS), which lists the holdings of many, but not all, heritage institutions.²² Further research revealed that New

²²Accessing CHIN-PARIS and CHIN-ACNS requires the mastering of several database systems. Consult Lyn Racicot, Database Users' Guide Version 1 (Ottawa, Ont.: The Canadian Heritage Information Network and the Department of Communications, 1990). The basic text is several hundred pages

Brunswick furniture was kept farther afield, in Ontario, Quebec, Scotland, England, and New England. Reconstructed villages, museums, historic sites, art galleries and private collections located throughout eastern North America and western Europe, provided further resources for this study.

The furniture investigated here originates primarily from public collections. Accordingly, it may be consulted readily by those interested in pursuing studies further. The procedure for examination of artefacts on site was as follows. First, the items were located and inspected.²³ In essence, a catalogue of furniture items was created, in which overall descriptions were made, dimensions taken, design styles assessed, construction details noted (including wood types,²⁴ materials, joinery methods and tool marks), finishing techniques described, provenance recorded, and photography undertaken. After consulting museum records

long. Field entries for cataloguing and extracting information cannot be used across databases, which means the mastering of different vocabularies for each database accessed. Other databases included on the CHIN network are the Natural Sciences National Database, Humanities National Database, Artists in Canada Database, Historic Sites Supplies Handbook Database, and Register of Stolen Art & Artefact Database. The system is now open to independent researchers and non-museum members for an annual user's fee.

²³Initially, curatorial accessions files were investigated prior to looking for the furniture. However, it was often difficult to find artefacts as location files were not up to date and it became more productive to find the artefact first and then go back to the records.

²⁴Alastair Fox was hired by the province to investigate conservation needs of New Brunswick's furniture in 1993. His reports include types of wood used in furniture manufacturing.

linked to the artefact by accession numbers, additional research information relating to each individual furniture item was added to the catalogue sheets. Conservation records were examined to see whether structural changes had been made which would alter the integrity of the furniture in question. In this manner, several thousand items were considered and records kept for approximately five hundred.²⁵ The furniture selected to illustrate this thesis is representative of items commonly found in the valley, unless specified otherwise.

The catalogues were then used as the basis for comparison between Saint John River valley furniture and other contemporary furniture originating from geographical areas supplying settlers to the valley. Madawaskan furniture was compared to that of Quebec, Acadia and the eastern United States (the origins of ethnic groups for that area), and Saint John City furniture compared with American, English, Scottish and Irish examples. A dossier of comparable furniture was compiled in order to distinguish design origins. Finally, features of design and construction were analyzed and placed within the context of the people using the artefact. Information on the catalogues enabled comparisons, but no one feature of the furniture was

²⁵A copy of records is currently being compiled for deposit in the Kings Landing Historical Settlement Research Library and the Acadian Archives at the University of Maine in Fort Kent.

considered more important than another. For example, the relative importance of joinery skills versus decoration is not overtly emphasized, but in unison these component features contribute to the furniture's overall appearance. Indeed, Saint John River valley furniture traditions are comprised from a combination of form and spirit, or, put another way, result from how decorative shapes were incorporated and combined in order to create a distinctive product.²⁶

Both documentation and furniture have been lost through climatic hazards, misplacement, and removal from the province. For example, one New Brunswick farmer "was removing with his furniture in his sledge on the ice road ... When he perceived that the ice had drifted and that he was already floating in deep water."²⁷ Loss and damage to furniture was also brought about by innumerable fires. Captain R. G. A. Levinge was quick to point out that "St. John was built almost entirely of wood, and had the bad luck to be burnt down, more or less, every four or five years."²⁸ A fire which broke out in 1822 created pandemonium:

²⁶Form and spirit are key to understanding architectural traditions according to Alan Gowans. (Gowans, Building Canada, pp. 15-16).

²⁷Lt. Col. Joseph Gubbins, Gubbins' New Brunswick Journals ed. Howard Temperley (Fredericton, N.B.: New Brunswick Heritage Publications, 1980), p. 75.

²⁸Captain R. G. A. Levinge, Echoes from the Backwoods; or, Scenes of Transatlantic Life (London: J. & D. A. Darling, 1849), p. 71.

No language can describe the horrible scene which the town presented at this moment. The streets full of baggage and goods, of every description, - the shrieks of women and children were heard every where, - men were employed in throwing beddings, clothes, and furniture, out at the windows, - beds were torn, feathers were flying through the fire and smoke, - waggons, loaded with baggage were forcing their way through the cloud....²⁹

A fire in January 1837 consumed 115 houses and stores comprising a third of the business section of Saint John. The blaze engulfed Prince William Street, where Scottish immigrant cabinetmaker Thomas Nisbet had opened shop (see Fig. 1).³⁰ The city experienced another fire in August 1839,

²⁹This 1822 fire started in the northwest corner of town following an incendiary spark falling while men were blasting rocks. John Mann, Travels in North America: particularly in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and New Brunswick, and in the States of Maine, Massachusets (sic), and New-York: containing a variety of interesting adventures and disasters, which the author encountered in his journey among the Americans, Dutch, French, and Indians. Also, several remarkable interpositions of divine providence, in preserving him from dangers, sea and land, from 1816 to 1823 (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1824), p. 21.

³⁰H. Y. Hind, T. C. Keefer, J. G. Hodgins, Charles Robb, M. H. Perley, William Murray, Eighty Years' Progress of British North America; showing the wonderful development of its natural resources, by the unbounded energy and enterprise of its inhabitants; giving, in a historical form, the vast improvements made in agriculture, commerce, and trade, modes of travel and transportation, mining, and educational interests, etc., etc. With a large amount of statistical information, from the best and latest authorities (Toronto, Ont.: L. Stebbins, 1864), p. 115. I would like to thank Mrs. C. Ruth Spicer for bringing this image to my attention. Consult Paul A. Hachey, The New Brunswick Landscape Print: 1760-1880 Beaverbrook Art Gallery Catalogue (Saint John, N.B.: McMillan Press Ltd., 1980), pp. 57-58.

Fig. 1 Furniture on the Wharves of Saint John City during the Fire of 1837 ("View of the Great Conflagration, 1838, lithograph by Fitz Hugh Lane [1804-1865] after William Henry Wentworth)

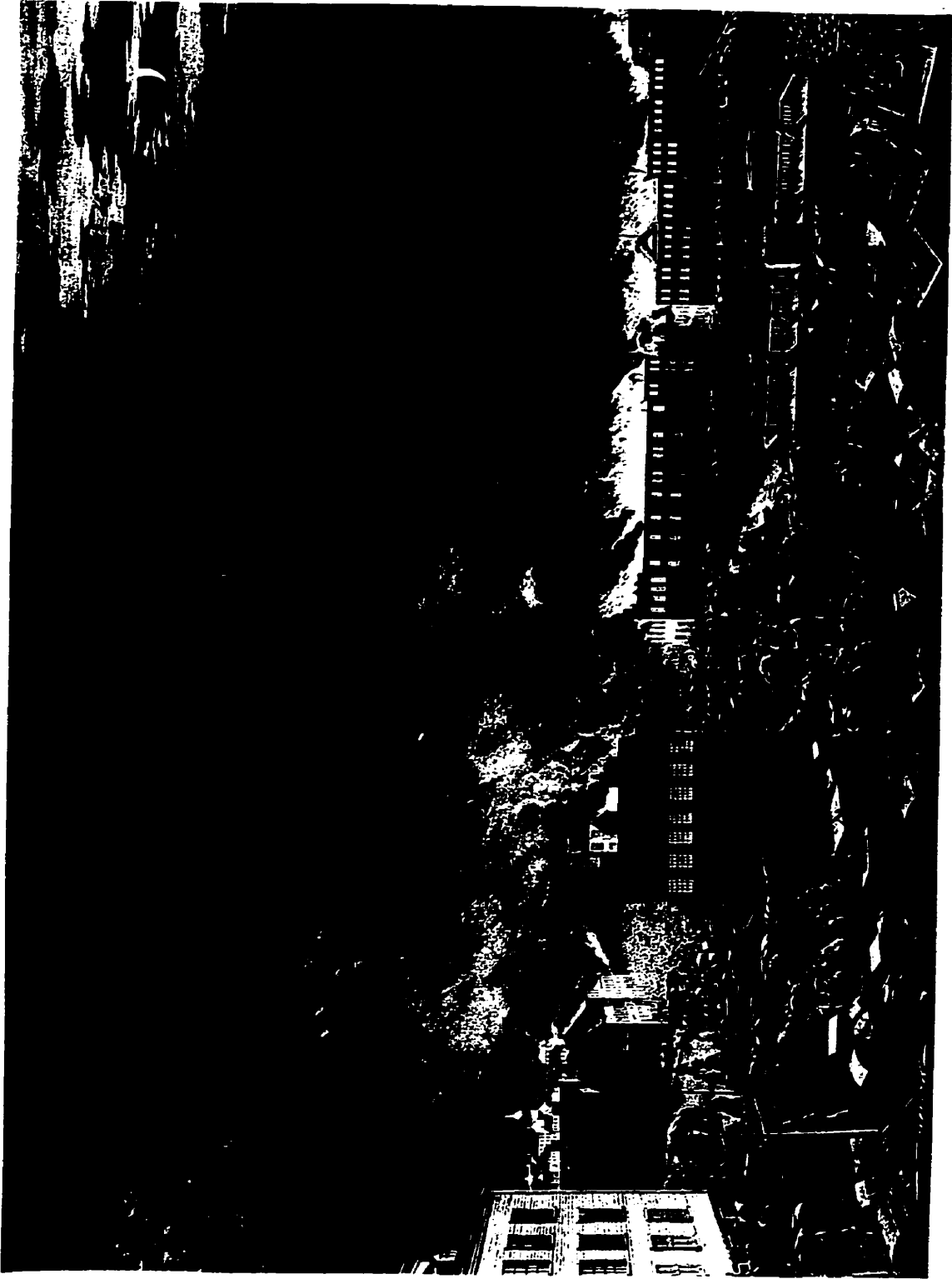


Fig. 1

when more than 200 buildings became a pyre.³¹ And then there was the fire of 1841.³² "To the ladies it appeared the greatest possible fun, throwing beds, wardrobes, and all their finery out of the windows."³³ This study relies on those artefacts and documents which have survived such calamitous events.

A definitive work relating to the province of New Brunswick's diverse furniture heritage remains to be written. This thesis represents an in-depth study of up-to-date research which investigates both the upper and lower Saint John River valley. The study reveals that it is essential to consider the layering of material artefact designs as evidence of the subtle yet tangible exchanges of styles among different groups of settlers. In order to understand how indigenous and migrant peoples have shaped regional cultural identities over time, it is necessary to investigate their material heritage. For it was not merely the importation of ideas but the imprint of Canadian geography, not merely the limitation of identities but the amalgamation of cultures, not merely the creation of a nation to envy but the formation of a unique society which

³¹Hind, et. al., Eighty Years' Progress, p. 551. and Levinge, Echoes, pp. 72-76.

³²Christopher W. Atkinson, A Guide to New Brunswick, British North America, &c., 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Anderson and Bryce, 1843), p. 28.

³³Levinge, Echoes, p. 72.

is significant in understanding the cultural development of Saint John River valley communities. A better understanding of the cultural development of new societies transpires from this broad investigation of the architecture and furniture produced by settler groups from the first days of settlement to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1

Acadians, French Canadians and Americans

in the Upper Saint John River Valley:

Vernacular Furniture of the Madawaska Settlements,

1780-1851

Honoré Beaulieu savours a pipe of tobacco while gently rocking on the porch of his Grand Isle, Maine home. Both the house in which he dwells and the chair upon which he sits embody the ethno-cultural history of the upper Saint John River valley (see Fig. 2). As a child, he lived alongside the Rivière Saint-Jean at the meeting place of Maliseet, Acadian, French Canadian and American peoples.¹ Mada-oueskak, or "Land of the Porcupine" as the indigenous people named the region,² received settler groups from different

¹The earliest European land grantees in the Saint John valley were French seigneurs who had been awarded territory in New France and Acadia by the French crown. The Seigneurie of Madawaska was granted in 1683 to Sieur Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye and encompassed the region around Lake Temiscouata and the Madawaska River. The River St. John was not granted below this area until the Grand Sault or Grand Falls seigneurie of René D'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, in the following year. See William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 4(1899): Map 39.

²In a general return of "Indians" 5 men, 7 women, 6 boys and 9 girls were listed at Madawaska out of a total of 442 Indians in the county. See "General Return of Indians of the Milicete Tribe on the River Saint John," 12th August 1841. In The New Brunswick Almanac and Register for the Year of Our Lord 1849 (Saint John, N.B.: H. Chubb, 1848). An 1842 listing of Indians and lands allocated to them claimed there were less

Fig. 2 Honoré Beaulieu Seated on his Rocking Chair at his
Home in Grand Isle, Maine



Fig. 2

ethnic backgrounds, including initial arrivals of francophone Acadians and French Canadians in the 1780s and '90s. They were followed in the 1820s by American settlers. As each new ethnic group moved into the Madawaska Settlements, the community reshaped its cultural traditions.³ By the mid-nineteenth century census-takers time Madawaskan regional architecture and furniture styles embodied a *mélange* of settlers' multicultural origins.

The development of Madawaskan architectural and furnishing styles is linked to the presence of different ethnic groups within the local population. With regards to indigenous peoples, the most important New Brunswick Maliseet encampment was found at the confluence of the Madawaska and Saint John Rivers (see Fig. 3).⁴ Maliseet

than 180 Indians in the vicinity of the Madawaska River on reserved territory slightly exceeding 16,000 acres. However, by 1860 only 18 Indians were listed in the census in this region. See Vincent O. Erickson, "Maliseet-Passamaquoddy," in Handbook of North American Indians, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1970), p. 126.

³According to Béatrice Craig's geneological notes deposited at the Acadian Archives at the University of Maine at Fort Kent, there was also an Irish presence in the region. Single male Irish settlers married female francophones. For example, Denis Griffin of Galloway married Emelie Gronelm (?), John Hart married Marie Oullette in 1856, and James Keagan married Louise Parent. Their children's names were of Anglo-Catholic origin, translated into French (eg. Marie). As no extant furniture can be associated with these households, the Irish influence cannot be investigated.

⁴The source for statistics in Fig. 3 is James Holbrook, A Census of the Population of the Province of New Brunswick in the Year 1840, compiled and arranged from the Official Returns made by the respective clerks of the peace of several counties

Fig. 3 Maliseet Indians and Location on the Saint John River,
1841

Maliseet Indians and Location on the Saint John River, 1841

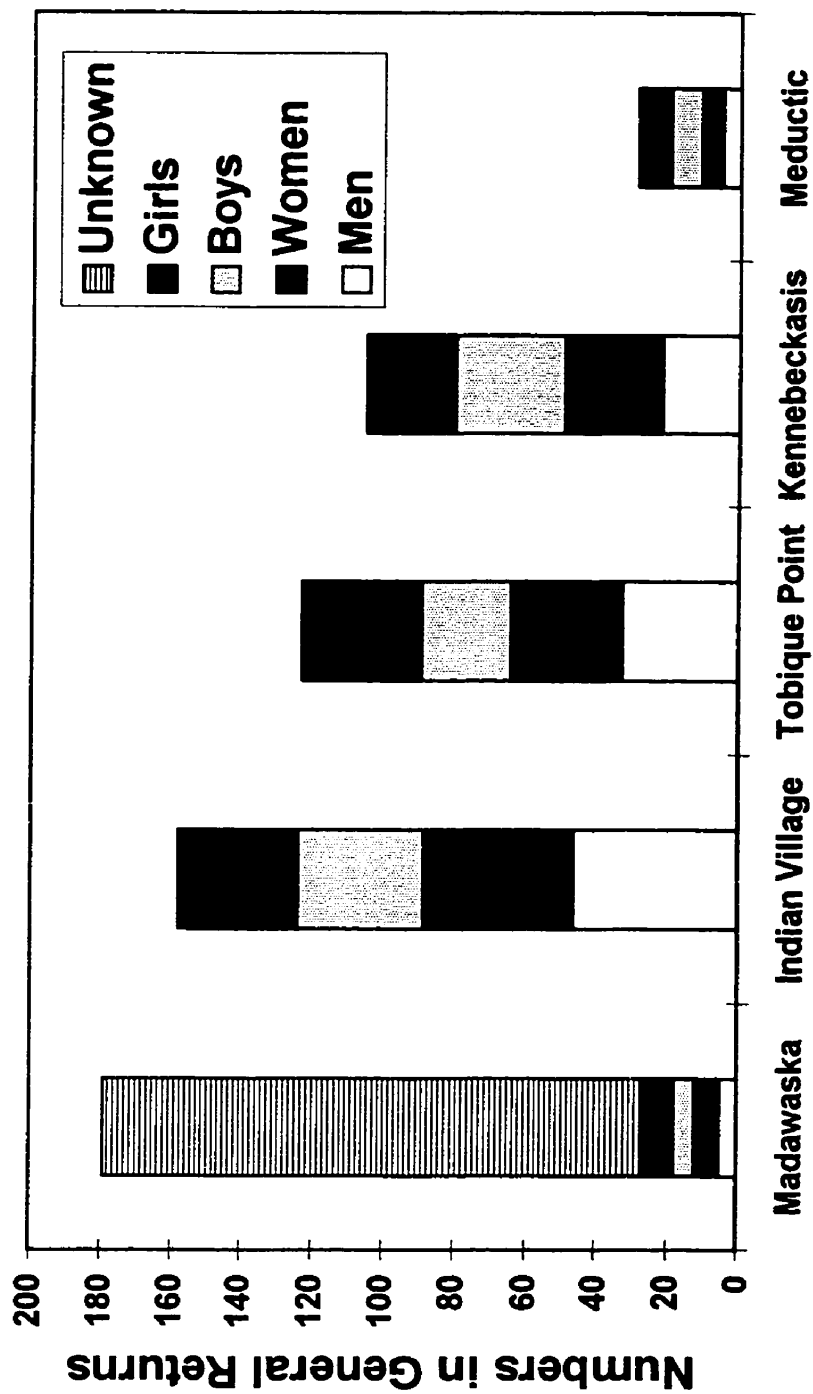


Fig. 3

building traditions were adopted by the earliest francophone settlers in order to improve winter living conditions. Initially, settlers' buildings were raised with birch bark wrapped exteriors which protected against wind and rain exposure. In the 1790s Park Holland described a small grist-mill on the way to central Madawaska, as "a temporary thing, built of logs, and covered with bark, which answered the purpose of dwelling house and mill."⁵ Even the first public building, a place of worship, was constructed using the traditional Maliseet building material of birch bark. Indeed, by the summer of 1787, "a tiny bark-covered chapel was erected"⁶ for Father Adrien Leclerc, visiting Curé from Isle Verte and the Gaspé, in the County of Temiscouata (1786-1790).⁷ Birch bark usage ultimately proved to be the most ephemeral of Madawaskan architectural traditions and failed to persist in use once francophones consolidated their presence in the region. Atlantic Canadian historian

(Fredericton, N.B.: James Holbrook and John Simpson, 1841).

⁵Park Holland, "Early Description of the Settlements," pp. 217-222. AR1R20: 6-9, MSA.

⁶This edifice was described by a visitor as a "poor bark hut, the poverty and misery of the few inhabitants, none of whom have been here more than seven years, permitting nothing else," Letter from J. H. Paquet July 23 1792, as cited in Charlotte Lenentine, Madawaska - A Chapter in Maine-New Brunswick Relations (Madawaska, Me.: Madawaska Historical Society and Saint John Valley Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 34-35.

⁷John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh, "Report of 1831." New Brunswick Historical Society Collections 3 9(1914): 454.

Barry Moody has suggested that such fleeting adherence to Maliseet material traditions resulted from a familiarity with indigenous ways as the French had long been neighbours and traders with the Maritime peoples.⁸ Thus, by 1793 the first small chapel of the Madawaska Settlements had been replaced with a new edifice constructed from round timbers lapped at the corners, but with a crucifix in place of the more traditional Quebec-style steeple (see Fig. 4ab). This larger church supplanted its bark-wrapped predecessor after the local Indians "promised to contribute to the expenses of the building."⁹ A Maliseet-made wooden rosary (see Fig. 4c) is indicative of the indigenous people's adoption of the Roman Catholic faith. However, by 1800 Madawaska Settlement buildings embodied the French heritages of settler groups and Maliseet influence upon architecture faded.

French Quebecois builders, on the whole, were untrained

⁸Personal Conversation, Barry Moody and the author, University of Edinburgh, 4th May 1996. The discussion centred around differences in attitudes towards the Maliseet by the French and American loyalists. In the southern valley the Americans were enamoured with a culture which was different from their own experience and they bought furniture items decorated by Mi'kmaq women for souvenirs and export items. Such was never the case with the northern valley French and Maliseet. It is probable also that the abandonment of birch-wrapping buildings was a natural product of progress.

⁹Lenentine, Madawaska, p. 35. In return, the Maliseet were proselytized by a series of Curés sent by the Bishop of Quebec in the late 18th century. The first resident priest was Father François Ciquart, a Sulpician from Isle Verte who arrived in 1794. He preached at Meductic, Aukpaque and Tobique in the Abenaki language and eventually left to serve the Penobscots in 1798 (Ibid., pp. 14-15).

Fig. 4ac Integration of French Religion and Maliseet Material Culture: Church at St. Basile, Traditional French Canadian Church Architecture at Trois-Rivières, and a Maliseet Carved Rosary



Fig. 4ac

artisans whose belief in the frank expression of structure and the natural appearance of materials led to their utilitarian transformation of nature into churches and domestic buildings. Yet, the elite of Quebec, the clergy and the military, were familiar with continental French mores and were more attracted by the baroque than the medieval. This accounts for their appreciation of sophisticated and lavishly decorated interiors. In French Canada, churches combined the medieval and baroque, as patrons and artisans merged their ideals to produce a type of architectural landscape which was to become familiar throughout seventeenth and early eighteenth century Quebec.¹⁰ By the third decade of the 18th century natural materials were being transformed, their appearance changed, as whitewashed buildings covered the textures of traditionally exposed raw materials. By the late 18th century the traditional medieval characteristics of Normandy, such as high and steep pitched roofed churches with small round windows, high spires, and splaying out of eaves, began to be transformed as churches were made featuring classical details such as dormers, bell-towers, accented quoins on corners, and keystone arches. In the Madawaska Settlements immediate needs were more basic and log churches were built prior to their replacement with

¹⁰Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life, revised and enlarged edition of Looking at Architecture in Canada, 1958. (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 22.

more permanent structures designed in the early nineteenth-century tradition.

The presence of French settlers in the northern reaches of the Saint John River gave the region a distinct personality. Many anglophone travellers passing by the cataracts of the Grand Falls from the south considered the entire upper Saint John River basin alien to their sensibilities. "In short, they [the residents of the Upper Saint John valley] appear a different race from the English. A stranger going above the Falls, finds himself suddenly among a new race of people, different in their language, religion, habitations, and manners."¹¹ A plate supplementing Charles T. Jackson's First Report of the Geology of the State of Maine shows a man and girl at the foot of the Grand Falls (see Fig. 5).¹² The man has a distinctive French cap and curled-toe clog, and is smoking a pipe creating an appearance very distinct from that of settlers to the south. Abraham Gesner, in his 1847 guide for emigrants, said of these Acadian "habitans" that their

customs and manners are similar to those of the Canadians. The men in general are lean,

¹¹Peter Fisher, History of New Brunswick (Saint John, N.B.: Chubb & Sears, 1825, Repr. Saint John, N.B.: New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921), p. 53.

¹²The plate entitled "Grand Falls of the River St. John," (Moore's Lithographers, Boston, Massachusetts) is taken from an Atlas of Plates Illustrating the Geology of the State of Maine, accompanying the First Report of the Geology of the State of Maine by Charles T. Jackson (Augusta, Me.: np, 1837), Plate VI.

Fig. 5 At the Boundary: French Culture above the Grand Falls
of the River Saint John



GRAND FALLS. *of the RIVER ST. JOHN.*

Fig. 5

and of less weight than the British Provincials....Their fashions are those of the old French peasantry. They frequently wear mocassins, and wooden shoes are not out of use....On particular occasions they dress more in the style of the English, but always display a variety of fanciful colours...[are] clean...persons...[and although the] exterior of their buildings...[are] neat...[they are] not always very tidy in-doors. They are remarkably moral, orderly, and frugal.¹³

Retaining their "French peculiarities" in Madawaska, according to Charles T. Jackson, prominent Maine surveyor and geologist, the forms "of their houses, the decorations of their apartments, dress, modes of cookery, &c., are exactly such as they originally were in the land of their ancestors."¹⁴ More astutely, the first historian of New Brunswick, Peter Fisher, determined that the Madawaska Settlements were products of French Canadians and Acadians living together.¹⁵ The extant furniture from this region

¹³Abraham Gesner, New Brunswick: With Notes for Emigrants comprehending the early history, an account of the Indians, settlement, topography, statistics, commerce, timber, manufactues, agriculture, fisheries, geology, natural history, social and political state, immigrants, and contemplated railways of the Province (London: Simmonds & Ward, 1847), pp. 332-3.

¹⁴Charles T. Jackson, First Report on the Geological Survey of the Public Lands in the State of Maine (Boston, Mass.: Dutton and Wentworth, 1837), p. 30.

¹⁵The terms French Canadians, Quebecois, and Lower Canadian are used interchangeably for francophones formerly resident in what is now Quebec. "Acadian" refers to francophone speakers south of Quebec including New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. European French refers to francophones born in France. The term "native" is used with reference to indigenous or first peoples, in this study the Maliseet. New Brunswickers are anglophone residents of the province, and Americans are northern New Englanders, including

supports Fisher's observations as it too blends both northern and southern French traditions in design and construction methods.

The first mingling of French Canadian and Acadian occurred between February and July 1785, following requests for land grants close to the southern edge of the Seigneurie de Madawaska. A petition filed by Louis Mercure in Fredericton that year, and approved two years later, was signed by sixteen heads of families originating from French Canada and Acadia in 1790.¹⁶ The agricultural potential of the region attracted a second influx of Acadians from the Kennebecasis-Hammond River area of the lower Saint John valley in 1790.¹⁷ In October of that year, a grant of

residents of Massachusetts (from which Maine was separated in 1820). Francophone refers to an individual whose primary language is French. Anglophones refers to English speakers who reside in Canada, the United States, and/or Great Britain. (See also Fisher's History, p.)

¹⁶Béatrice C. Craig, "Early French Migrations to Northern Maine, 1785-1850," Maine Historical Quarterly 25 4(Spring 1986): 232.

¹⁷Acadian settlers were attracted to the Madawaska Settlements by good quality agricultural land available for both themselves and future generations, the proximity of French-speaking family and kin, and the prospect of relatively little interference in their affairs by the New Brunswick authorities. Settlers were encouraged to move to the northern reaches of the Saint John as disbanded troops from the American Revolution were granted lands in the lower valley, Fredericton consolidated as the seat of government, and the declining land size and agricultural values of worked soils in the lower Saint John River valley region became a concern. (See Béatrice C. Craig, "Family, Kinship and Community Formation on the Canadian-American Border: Madawaska, 1785-1842," Ph.D Dissertation, University of Maine at Orono, 1983).

seventy lots was made to Joseph Mazzerole and fifty-one other settlers, by New Brunswick lieutenant-governor, Thomas Carleton. This settlement stretched on both sides of the Saint John for nine miles between the Madawaska and Green Rivers. Historian Bona Arsenault traced Acadian settler origins to Sainte-Anne (Fredericton), Nashwaak, Ekoupag, Oromocto, Sainte-Marie (Marysville), Jemseg, and Managouèche (near Saint John).¹⁸ Other Acadians moving to Madawaska in the 1780s and 1790s included families from Grimross, Jemseg, Robichaud, Belle-Isle, and Springhill (see Fig. 6).¹⁹

Craig noted that northern francophones travelled as independent males or in isolated conjugal families, rather than the extended families of the Acadian settler.²⁰ Upon marriage to Acadian women, these French Canadian men became linked to sizable southern families, which ultimately led to an interweaving of northern with southern cultures.²¹ Settler families headed by French Canadian males from the north include names such as Albert, Levasseur, Saucier, and Soucy from Kamouraska; Dubé, Gagné, and Beaulieu from Isle Verte; Desnoyers from Rivière du Sud; and Guimond and

¹⁸Bona Arsenault, History of the Acadians (Ottawa: Editions Leméac Inc., 1978), p. 231.

¹⁹Lawrence A. Violette, How the Acadians came to Maine, (np: Madawaska Historical Society, 1951), p. 19; and Arsenault, History of the Acadians, p. 231.
Coorect

²⁰Craig, "Family,...", p. 63.

²¹Ibid., p. 65.

Fig. 6 Migration Paths of French Canadians and Acadians into the Madawaska Settlements, late 18th Century (flow lines indicate origin and destination but not specific routes)

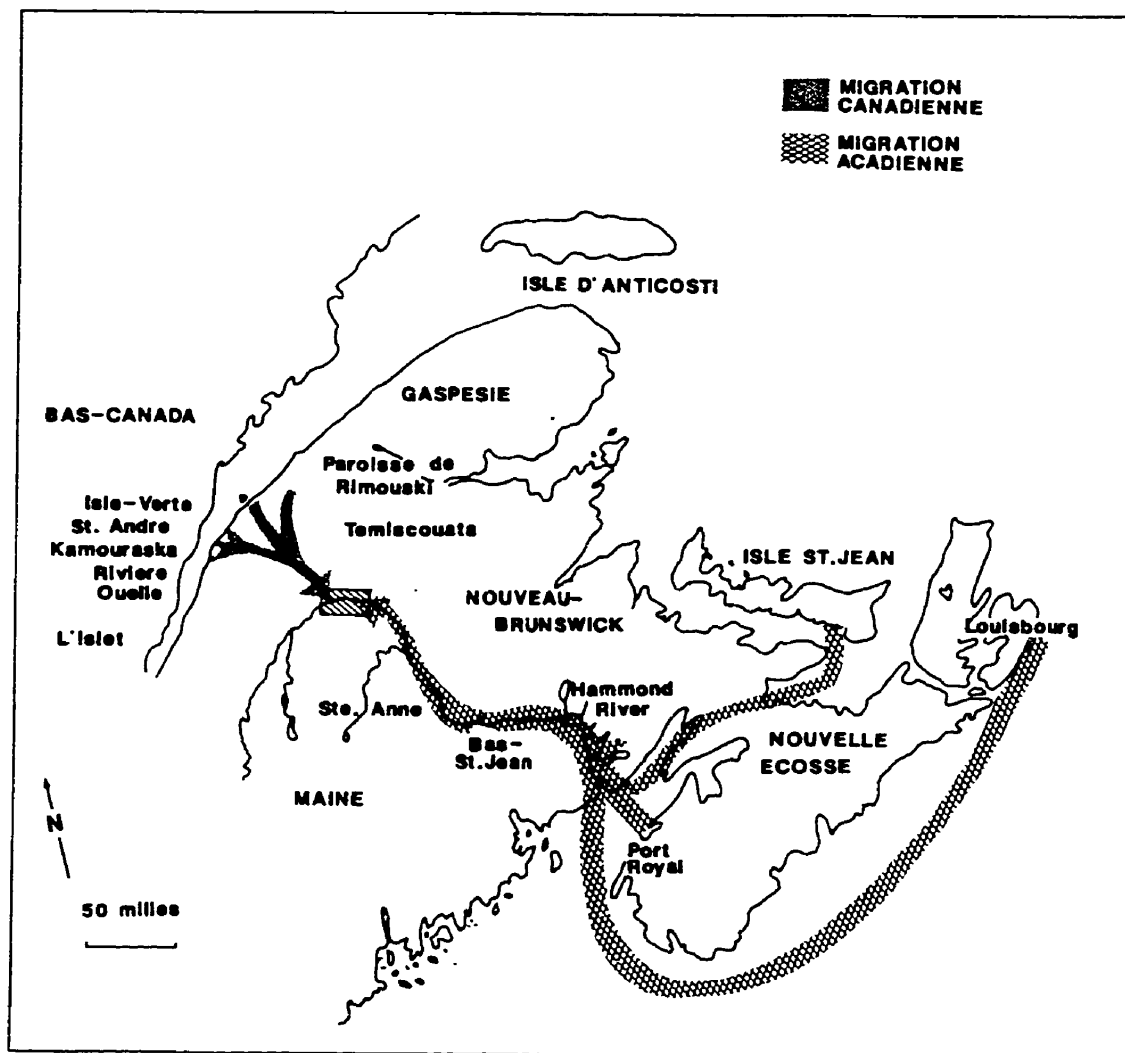


Fig. 6

Ouellet from Rivière-Ouelle.²² Craig mentions Quebecois settlers in the Madawaska Settlements who originated from St. Jean-Port-Joli, Cap St. Ignace, and St. Roch, on the South Shore.²³ Missionary Dosque, parish-priest at Malpègue, Prince Edward Island between 1753 and 1758, also helped establish Acadian refugees on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence in Bellechasse and Lotbinière counties. Their descendants can be found in Beaumont, Saint-Vallier, Montmagny, L'Islet, and Rimouski.²⁴ These are the areas from which individuals migrated to the Madawaska Settlements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the settlers providing inspiration in both building and cabinetmaking practices.

In August 1794, the francophone presence was strengthened following a third grant to Germain Saucier and twenty-three others. Over five-thousand acres between Green River and Grand River in the southern settlements were

²²Lenentine, Madawaska, p. 11. See also, Thomas Albert, Histoire du Madawaska entre l'Acadie, le Québec, et l'Amérique d'après les recherches historiques de Patrick Therriault, et les notes manuscrites de Prudent L. Mercure, Préparé par Adrien Bérubé, Benoît Bérubé, et Georgette Desjardins, eds. (La société historique du Madawaska. Québec: Hurtubise, 1982; réédition, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1920), p. 101. Other French Canadian families include those of Auclair, Bellefleur, Charest, Duperré, Fournier, Gagnon, Gosselin, Jean, Lizotte, Marquis, Michaud, Racine, Sansfaçon, Tardif, and Vaillancourt. Consult Arsenault, History of the Acadians, p. 234.

²³Craig, "Family,...", pp. 67-71.

²⁴Arsenault, History of the Acadians, pp. 167-168.

allotted to this group. Intermarriage linked the cultures of these francophone settlers and by 1800 one out of three households was headed by an Acadian with a Canadian spouse.²⁵ While the Acadians constituted four-fifths of the settler population the remainder were Quebecois.²⁶ Craig shows that before 1800 over 70% of settlers had ties to both northern Canadian and southern Acadian families.²⁷ By 1826, when George Sproule surveyed the community, Quebecois land grants numbered fewer than a dozen, in addition to the more than three dozen Acadian claims. A mingling of Acadian and Canadian occurred on both shores; the dispute over the border which was in 1842 to separate the region geopolitically into two countries, played no role in the early settlement of the area, and did not alter the cultural mentalities of those who lived in this region.²⁸ As Craig asserts, both French Canadians and Acadians were "Aggressively pursuing their own destiny," forming a

²⁵Craig, "Early French Migrations," p. 234.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 230-247.

²⁷Craig, "Family,...," p. 67.

²⁸The Acadian Thibodeau and Cyr families settled both New Brunswick and American sides of the river. The LeBlanc, Cormier, and Violette families settled the American side while the Theriaults moved to the eastern shore. At the same time French Canadian Saucier and Ouellette families settled on the New Brunswick side, while on the opposite shore the Michaud, Chaurest, and Soucy families were to be found. Consult Lenentine, Madawaska, pp. 37-38. See also cartography of the area including "Tracts of Land granted between River Verte and Madawaska." George Sproule and Thomas Baillie surveyors, 1826. NMC-440, H3/240/Edmundston (1826). NAC

community in which they were "anxious to preserve a culture where family, class, property ownership, and ethnicity were powerful agents in creating a strong sense of identity."²⁹ She also points out that this land was selected precisely because there were no strong political links to French Canada, New Brunswick, the United States or Canada. In other words, few external authorities existed. Certainly, "their desire to establish their children nearby was also accompanied by a desire not to mingle with the English on a daily basis, or by a desire to live in an all French environment."³⁰ A quasi-independent Madawaskan community was being shaped from the mingling of Acadian with French Canadian in the northern valley.³¹

²⁹Craig, "Early French Migrations," p. 232.

³⁰Craig, "Family...", p. 60.

³¹This blending of ethnic groups was commented upon by the Bishop of Quebec, Joseph-Octave Duplessis, who despised the Madawaskan settlers, whom he claimed to be the unmanageable detritus of both Acadian and Canadian society. "Les habitants de Madawaska étant un composé des rebus de l'Acadie et du Canada, forment une peuplade mal unie, indocile, peu disposée à prendre les bonnes impressions qu'un pasteur s'efforce de leur donner. Cette rude paroisse a déjà lassé la patience de plusieurs bons prêtres...." (see Mgr. Joseph-Octave Duplessis, "Le journal des visites pastorales de Mgr. Joseph-Octave Duplessis en Acadie, 1811, 1812 et 1815," Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne 11 1-3 (March, June, September, 1980), 125). A rambunctious lot, supposedly the flotsam and jetsam of both Acadia and Canada, they bought gaming cards from the Dufour Store and encouraged local fiddlers in the art of entertaining. Abraham Gesner himself noted that the residents used the Sabbath day to play cards, dance, picnic and go carriage-driving. (Consult Gesner, New Brunswick: With notes for Emigrants, p. 332 and the Dufour Store Ledger for sales of cards. Copy of ledger held at the Madawaska Public

French Canadian and Acadian intermarriage led to inter-ethnic group connections among wood-workers.³² Jean Levesque, a farmer in Victoria County, whose father Germain was a carpenter from Rivière Ouelle, married Emilie Durepos in October 1850. Her father Jerimie was a carpenter in Saint Basile. M. François Durant, from Rivière-du-Loup, married Caroline Coté whose father was a cabinetmaker. F.-X. Pelletier, born in 1820 and later listed as a carpenter, married in Saint Leonard in 1847. Jérôme Deschêne migrated to the Madawaska Settlements in 1839 where he pursued the occupations of carpenter and farm proprietor. He was formerly married to a Lizotte girl in Cacouna. His wife, Angelique Ouellette, had previously been married to another artisan, a *cordonier* or shoemaker. Other carpenters, such as the Baptist Joseph Moreau, could be called upon to build houses, garnish their interiors and provide decorative furnishings. Sons of carpenters moved to Madawaska and set up as farmers. Carpenter Pierre Morin, from St. André, had a son, Isaac, move to Madawaska, where he set up a farm with his new wife in 1847. Skills inherited paternally or brought directly into the region, undoubtedly influenced the designs of Madawaskan homesteads.

Library, Regional Studies Section).

³²The information in this paragraph was compiled from research notes deposited by Béatrice Craig in "Family Reconstitution Files" at the University of Maine at Fort Kent, AA.

Social interaction and intermarriage between these francophone groups resulted in the integration of material culture traditions brought south from French Canada and north from Acadia. Regional architecture was indirectly influenced by European French tradition, which had already been filtered through adaptations to eastern Canadian lifestyles.³³ For example, in Lower Canada the "resemblance between the interior of a peasant's dwelling in Normandy, and on the banks of the St. Lawrence, was, to a practiced eye, close and remarkable: with the exception of the flooring, which in Canada is always of wood, in France of bricks or flat stones...."³⁴ Although the similarities between methods of constructing and furnishing residences in France and Canada are emphasized, there is already a difference: an acknowledgement of the geographical realities of the new world as is evident in housebuilders' responses to the local availability of building materials. Flagstones were not conveniently available, due to the geological structure of the St. Lawrence basin. Bricks were both expensive and unpopular prior to the second half of the nineteenth century and consequently rarely used for

³³See Jean Palardy, "Architecture in Early Canada: The French Influence," Canadian Antiques Collector 9 (January-February 1974): 30-33.

³⁴A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada by a Canadian (London: William Marsh and Alfred Miller, 1830), p. 113.

flooring.³⁵ It was far easier to use what nature provided in abundance and at little financial cost - local wood. Indeed, most of the first Madawaskan dwellings were constructed solely from wooden products. As historical geographers R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin point out in their study of Quebec communities, "The cultural landscape was influenced by the settlers' inclinations to re-establish building styles familiar to their homelands and by variations in the natural-resource base."³⁶

Adaptations of building traditions were a direct response to geographical location and economic necessity and led to a distinct architectural heritage in Quebec. For example, steep gables on houses in Quebec (see Fig. 7a) mimicked those of Brittany, Normandy and western France. But extensive snowfalls led to a modification consisting of curving the lower roof edges into bell-casts (see Fig. 10ab, page 76) and widening of angles at the joint between roof sides (see Fig. 7b-e).³⁷ Madawaska Settlement houses did not

³⁵J. H. Paquet letter, July 23 1792, in Rev. Charles W. Collins, The Acadians of Madawaska, Maine, New England Catholic Historical Society Publications No. 3, (Boston, Mass.: Thomas A. Whalen & Co., 1902), pp. 34-35.

³⁶R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 224.

³⁷The alteration in gable angles led to more efficient heat circulation during long Quebec winters. Also the angle, in combination with the bell-cast, provides a smoother slope for falls of melting snow. (See Michel Lessard et Gilles Vilandr , La Maison Traditionnelle au Qu bec (Montr al: Les  ditions de l'homme, 1974), pp. 206-210 and Harris and

Fig. 7ae French Canadian, Acadian, and American Log Home Traditions in Madawaska. The Maison Lamontagne (Rimouski), the Maison Laurent Cyr (Madawaska/Caraquet), American and French Log Homes (Madawaska), and the Acadian Homestead of Jean-Baltazar Martin (Ste. Anne-de-pays-bas)

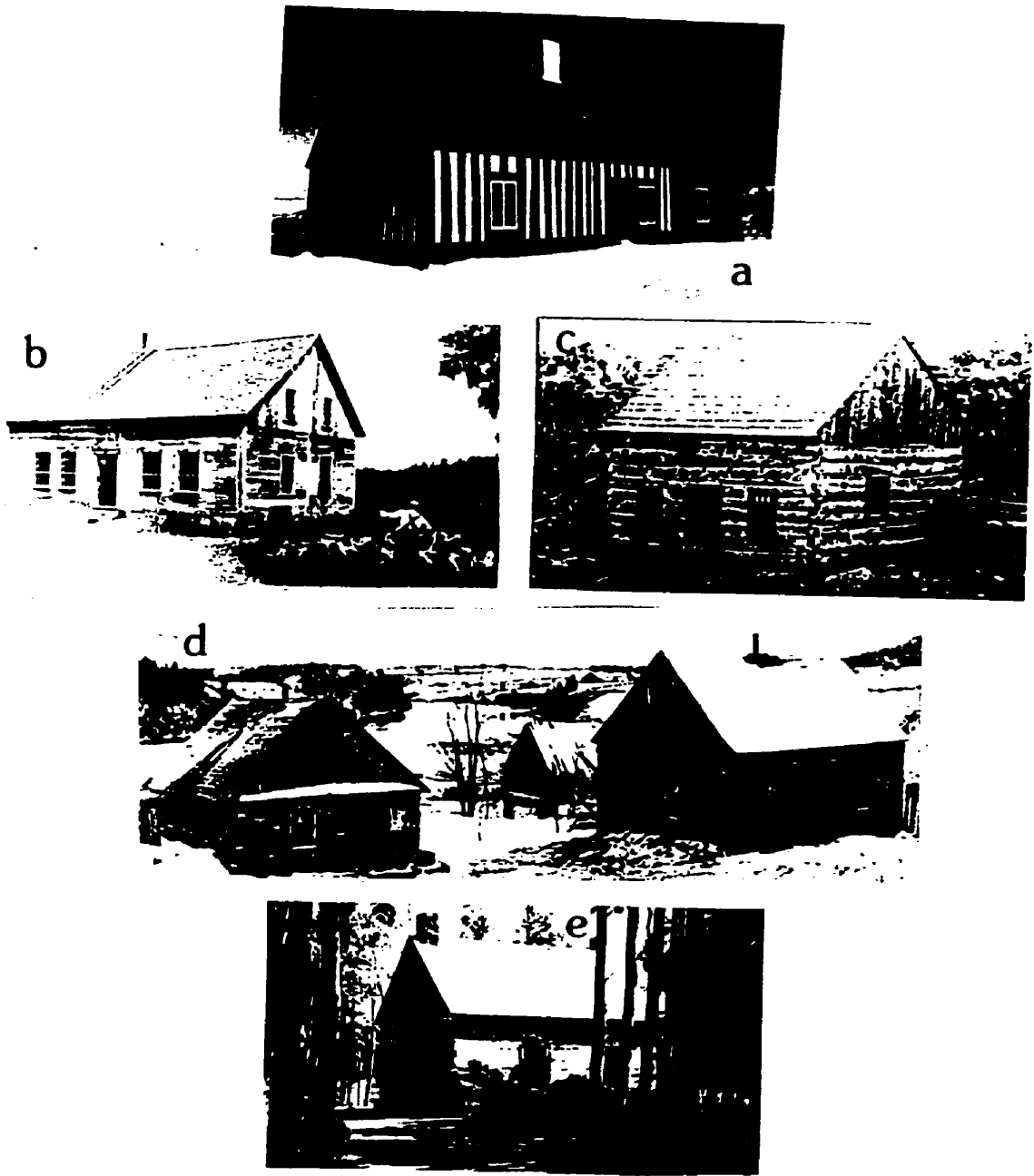


Fig. 7ae

frequently incorporate the "ski-slope" type roofs but did retain wider roof angles (see Fig. 7b-d). Such changes, in response to the realities of geography and climate, demonstrate divergences from traditional French practices. Other northern French traditions were completely abandoned. The Norman-Rouen manner of covering exposed timbers with rubble and limestone mortar met disfavour, since the materials were susceptible to rain and freeze-thaw action, which was a particular problem during Canadian springtimes. The constant need to repair the mortar fill led to a rejection of this inconvenient tradition.³⁸ Instead, clay, moss, straw and hair substituted in eastern Canada. The French Canadians modified traditional French building techniques according to the new climate, building methods, and skills of the craftsmen.

Some Saint Lawrence building traditions complemented Acadian practices and were directly transplanted to the Madawaska Settlements. La maison Lamontagne, near Rimouski, remains a fine example of an early eighteenth century log residence (see Fig. 7a).³⁹ Log dwellings continued to be built in the Madawaska Settlements between 1785 and 1851,

Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, p. 78).

³⁸Jean Palardy, Les meubles anciens du Canada français (Montréal: Le Cercle du Livre de France Ltée, 1971 <1963>), p. 18.

³⁹For further details consult Lessard et Vilandré, La Maison Traditionnelle au Québec, pp. 323-341.

but all appear to have been formed from laying wood on its side, rather than in the vertical. According to Rameau de St.-Père, homes in Port Royal, Acadia (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) "were built of squared logs or of heavy beams planted in the soil with the interstices sealed with moss and clay. Chimneys were formed with poles and hardened clay. Roofs are covered with rushes, bark, even sod at times. Wood being in abundant supply, the houses were easy to build...."⁴⁰ While bark covered many early Madawaskan log homes, there are no sod dwellings referred to in any of the northern Saint John River travelogues, thereby distinguishing the region from Acadian tradition. In his northern travels Park Holland claimed that in the Madawaska Settlements, "houses are built of logs, and those we entered were neat and in order."⁴¹

Initially,

As might be expected, the settlers put up hastily built log houses, caulked with moss and thatched with birch bark. One room buildings, mostly, some of these had a window or two on the south side, and all had a fireplace of stone and clay. Furnishings were simple; a rough table, a few benches or chairs; and beds for the elders, while the children slept "like tops" in trundle beds.⁴²

⁴⁰Cited in Arsenault, History of the Acadians, p. 60.

⁴¹Park Holland, "Early Description of the Settlements," pp. 217-222.

⁴²Lenentine, Madawaska, p. 9.

Historian William Lucey refers to a report stating that early homes were "small, simple, one-story structures, strikingly similar in size...with little, if any, pretense at an attractive exterior, but withal 'well made and warm'."⁴³ The locally-built Maison Laurent Cyr (C. 1830), since removed to the Village Historique Acadien, has architectural features which include more sophisticated placement of doors between equal numbers of windows (see Fig. 7b). This home is similar to another of the first dwellings built by Madawaska Settlement residents (see Fig. 7c). Houses found on the shores of the Saint John and Madawaska Rivers feature less steeply pitched roofs, horizontal wooden walls built pièce-sur-pièce, and gable ends with vertical boards nailed in place - a combination of northern and southern traditions.

Apart from log cabins, traditional continental French style thatched residences could be found in the early period of settlement. "Old thatched-roof" homes, plentiful in the 1840s, "remained as relics of the olden time."⁴⁴ In 1815 Joseph Bouchette noted the presence of small thatched cottages among the Madawaska Settlements on a twenty-five

⁴³Report of Deane and Kavanagh, as cited in William L. Lucey, "Madawaska on the River St. John: New England's Last Frontier," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia LX 3 (September 1949): 155.

⁴⁴Noah Barker, "Report of the Commissioner on Claims of Settlers on Proprietor's Lands in the County of Aroostook: Made in the Pursuance of Resolve of February 27, 1873," p. 4. (Dated January 10th 1874). MSA

mile river span where two hundred Canadian and Acadian families lived. He distinguished them by noting that those having "chaumières sont pour la plupart proprement bâties."⁴⁵ Despite the lack of sophistication of these cottages, it was possible to see a civilized proprietor within, "engaged in perusing...a French newspaper."⁴⁶ While edifices seemed primitive, reflecting a relative lack of concern for fashionable appearances, society within exhibited signs of a self-educated community, retaining some links to the exterior world.

It is clear that Acadian architecture influenced early Madawaskan log home construction. In Acadia the farmer society of the Annapolis Valley lived in log homes built pièce-sur-pièce similar to those of Lower Canada, so that it was only natural that such building traditions would be transferred to the Madawaska Settlements with the migrants. Acadian homes, such as the Maison Jean-Baltazar Martin (c. 1770-1780) built in Ste-Anne-de-Pays-Bas (see Fig. 7e), were constructed pièce-sur-pièce. Abbé Raynal referred to eighteenth century Nova Scotian Acadian "habitations, which are constructed of wood," as being "extremely convenient and furnished as neatly as substantial farmers' homes in

⁴⁵Joseph Bouchette, Description topographique de la province du Bas Canada: avec des remarques sur le Haut Canada, et sur les relations des deux provinces avec les Etats Unis de L'Amerique (London: W. Faden, 1815; repr. ed. Montréal: Editions Elysee, 1978), p. 560.

⁴⁶Gesner, New Brunswick, p. 333.

Europe."⁴⁷ In comparing Acadian and French Canadian building skills, one author claimed that the Acadian could provide superior artisanry as "the Acadian Gabriel was more clever in the art of building and in joinery...the Canadian Jean-Baptiste surpassed him in farming and in all that concerns agriculture."⁴⁸ However, competent Quebec-born carpenters who moved into the Madawaska Settlements erected several buildings, so that the local architectural landscape reflected northern French skills as well as southern (see Fig. 8).

Reverend Collins saw the Acadians' heritage as having originated in France (see Fig. 9) but said it had been refashioned since by the necessities of living in a new land. The residents' "character is definitely Acadian, and the people have preserved with little change through the vicissitudes of time and trouble the antique tongue, quaint customs and peasant virtues of Acadia and Old France."⁴⁹ He described the development of Nova Scotian Acadians from the Bay of Fundy area into a "peculiar and typical people."⁵⁰ Small French-speaking enclaves had developed along the

⁴⁷The Arts of French Canada of the 18th and 19th centuries (Stratford, Ont.: Stratford Shakespearian Festival, 1961), p. 2.

⁴⁸Lenentine, Madawaska, p. 11.

⁴⁹Rev. Charles W. Collins, The Acadians of Madawaska, Maine New England Catholic Historical Society Publications, No. 3. (Boston, Mass.: Thomas A. Whalen & Co., 1902), p. 4.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 5.

Fig. 8 Madawaskan Landscape: "River St. John's from forks of Madawaska," by P. J. Bainbrigge, Royal Engineer, 1839

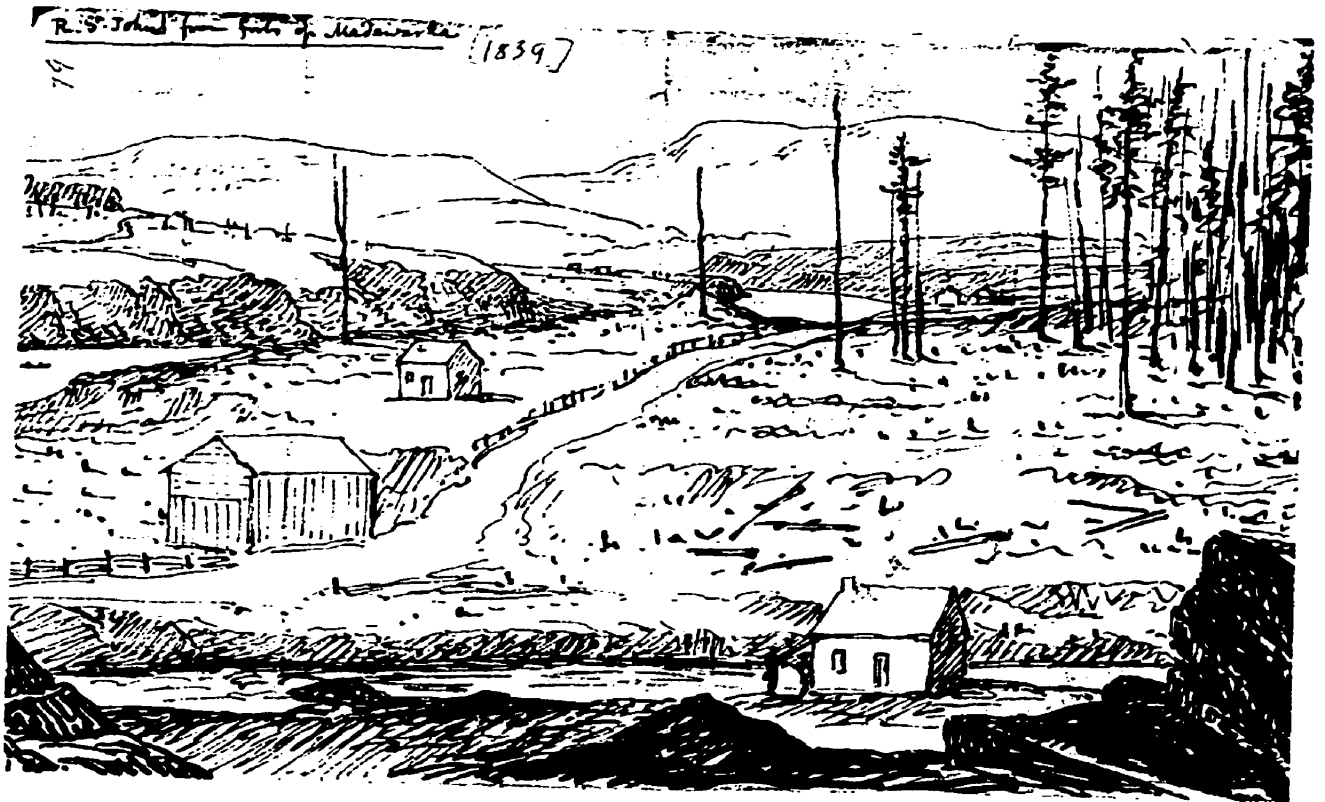


Fig. 8

Fig. 9 Map Showing Mid-Eighteenth Century French Provincial Sources of Settlers to French Canada and Acadia

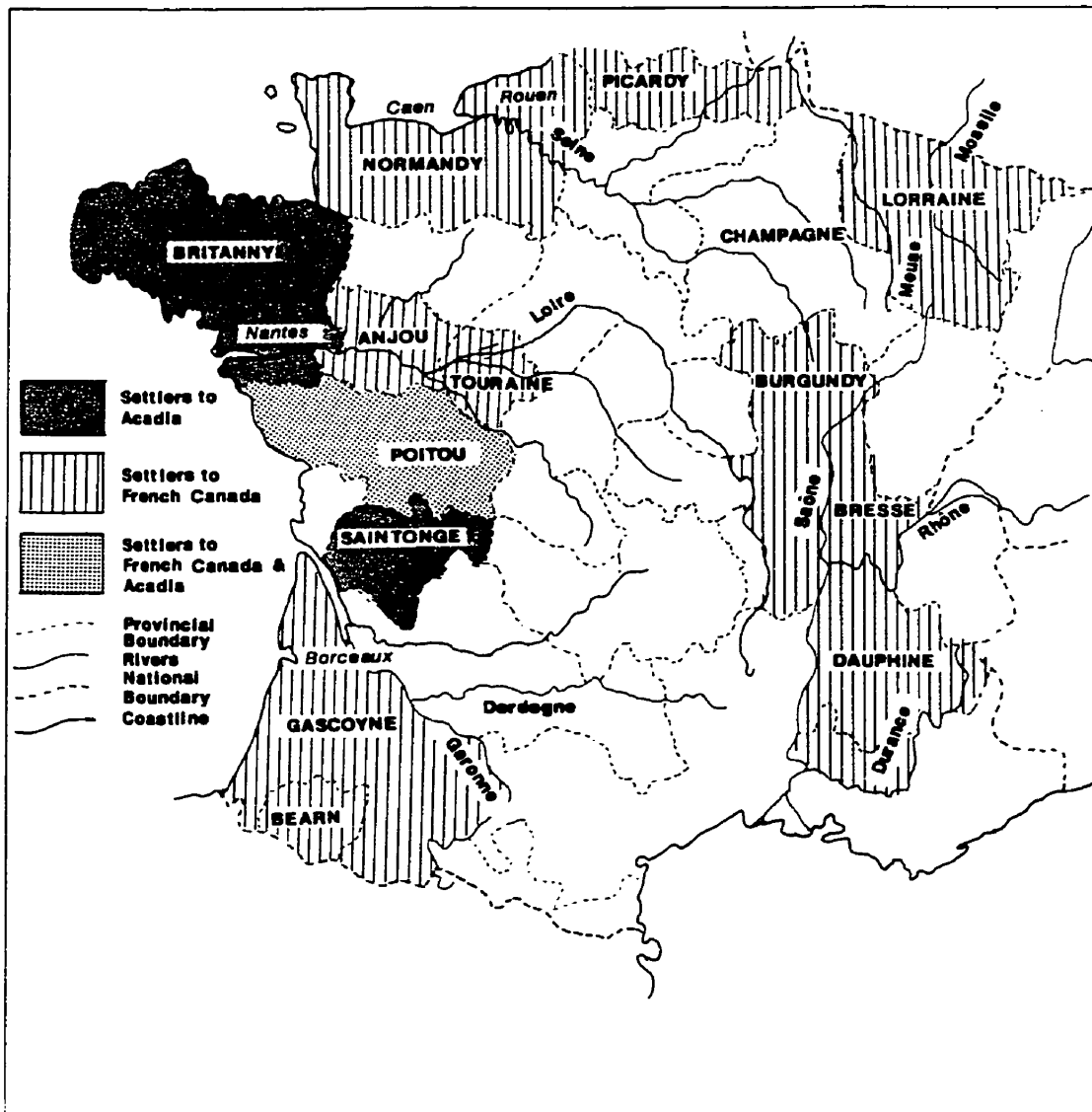


Fig. 9

shores, based on marshland farming. Similarly, the Acadians of the Madawaska Settlements were described by Charles T. Jackson as "a very peculiar people, remarkable for the simplicity of their manners."⁵¹ With reference to the life of their French progenitors, Abraham Gesner claimed that it "is scarcely possible to wean them from the customs of their forefathers."⁵² But within decades of Acadian settlement in the upper Saint John River valley, their customs had been modified by interaction with the French Canadians.

It was not until the early nineteenth century that this amalgamation of French Canadian and Acadian lifestyles was challenged. The first Americans who ventured into the area arrived a few years after the termination of the 1812 War. First to come were John, John Jr., James and Randall Harford as well as Abraham Chamberlain. They settled in the Little River area. Attracted by the prospects of lumbering Nathan Baker, and shortly after, his brother John, along with Capt. Fletcher, Stephen Grover, James Bacon and Charles Stetson, settled alongside the Maruimpticook Stream on the northern edge of the Madawaska Settlements. According to the 1825 journal of George W. Coffin, John Baker had a mill at "Maryumticook Stream" and claimed 150 million board feet of timber could be collected, if a permit were given him.

⁵¹Charles T. Jackson, First Report on the Geological Survey of the Public Lands in the State of Maine (Boston, Mass.: Dutton and Wentworth, 1837), p. 30.

⁵²Gesner, New Brunswick, p. 333.

Entrepreneurial potential attracted Americans to the northern reaches of the Saint John River.⁵³ Moreover, "L'Etat du Maine...encourageait la colonisation du terrain disputé, et envahissait la même traversèrent le Saint-Jean pour se fixer à Méruimticook."⁵⁴ By 1830 American immigrants had aided in rapidly doubling the regional population to over 2,500.⁵⁵ Most Yankee newcomers had originated in the Kennebec section of Maine. A series of land surveys in the region by Maine authorities asserted United States government interest in the region and settlement was encouraged by descriptions of the availability of good agricultural lands.⁵⁶ Further settlements between the St. Francis and Fish Rivers augmented the American civilian presence, while the construction of Fort Kent, in 1839, strengthened the American military presence. Anglophone settlement consolidated following the 1842 determination of territorial boundaries. Some Americans intermarried with local French. For example, Nathan Baker and Sophie Rice's son, Enoch Baker, married Madeleine Ouellette and had nine

⁵³Journal of George W. Coffin, 3rd October 1825. MSA

⁵⁴Albert, Histoire, p. 162.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 174.

⁵⁶Charles T. Jackson, Second Annual Report on the Geology of the Public Lands Belonging to the Two States of Maine and Massachusetts (Augusta, Me.: Luther Severance, 1838), p. 5.

children, integrating anglophone with francophone families.⁵⁷

Prior to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, which bifurcated the Madawaska Settlements by turning the upper Saint John River into an international boundary, one contemporary writer noted that the residents of the Madawaska Settlements themselves knew "but little of the geography or politics of the country, and desire to live unmolested by the dissensions of the two countries who claim jurisdiction over them."⁵⁸ In certain circumstances "the uneducated French people were much surprised to learn of [the] disputed territory."⁵⁹ Apparently, some were completely devoid of any sense of geographical boundaries, being content to live a life of farming. This lack of affinity with official geopolitical borders extended to their knowledge of France. As one surveyor noted, "it is curious that they appear to know but little respecting the country from which they originated and but few of them have

⁵⁷Craig, "Family Reconstitution Files," University of Maine at Fort Kent, AA.

⁵⁸Jackson, Second Report, p. 5. According to Bernard Bailyn, this desire for independent living was one of the driving forces behind the post-1760s settlement of a peripheral inland arc stretching behind accessible coastal settlements. (Bernard Bailyn, Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1986. Reprint ed. Vintage Books. Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1988), p. 498).

⁵⁹(James T. Hodges), "Mr. Hodge's Report on the Allagash Section, from the Penobscot to the St. Lawrence River," in Jackson, First Report, p. 66.

the least idea of its geographical location."⁶⁰ Despite being linked to France in descent and retaining some of their "culture hearth" traditions, the settlers were so divorced from France that their future interests were perceived to lie solely in the New World. Unquestionably, they were becoming Madawaskan in character, a people tied emotionally to the land of their residence.

The American presence became steadfast on the southern shore, following the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. This American presence had derived from a classic expression of pioneer settlement by common people. Thus the Yankee presence in the Madawaska Settlements was one steeped in pragmatic simplicity in the areas of architecture and furniture.

At the end of the eighteenth century Madawaska Settlement housebuilders and furniture makers did not adopt the sophisticated styles introduced by American loyalist élites in the southern valley (see Chapter Two). There were no Americans resident in the upper Saint John River valley at that time to create a demand for such property. Thus, lower valley furniture-makers adopted eighteenth century American styles. This was not the case in the upper valley. Only following Yankee settlement in the early nineteenth century were contemporary American styles introduced there. Prior to American settlement, residents of the Madawaska Settlements fostered Acadian and Quebecois designs, as their

⁶⁰Jackson, First Report, p. 30.

community was composed from individuals with French ethnic links. They awaited the new century for American influence to be felt.

New England construction traditions had penetrated the Madawaska Settlements by 1820, when log barns were erected in the manner of those found in the northern States.⁶¹ In 1831 American surveyors noted that "The barns are chiefly made of logs; all were so until within ten years past, during which time, they, having become acquainted with our fashioned barns, have built in the same mode."⁶² Outbuildings underwent anglicization before homesteads. The first historian of New Brunswick, Peter Fisher, insisted that there was a general lack of interest in stylish architecture in the upper Saint John River valley, as the Madawaskans "showed less enterprise and interest in improving their buildings," than would be expected from anglo-settlers. This he attributed to a general unwillingness to innovate as "The French have no great taste for building and improving, being generally content with mere necessities, [as] their dwellings consist chiefly of log huts...."⁶³

⁶¹Deane and Kavanagh, "Report," p. 29. MSA Original Manuscript.

⁶²Deane and Kavanagh, "Report of 1831," p. 455. Published Report in the New Brunswick Historical Society Collections, volume 3 (1914).

⁶³Peter Fisher, Notitia of New Brunswick for 1836. (St. John, N.B.: 1838), p. 53.

At first, American-style dwellings stood distinct from their French neighbours. Similar findings were made by R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin in their pre-Confederation study of the Eastern Townships. "Where the two groups abutted in the townships, two totally different traditions of vernacular architecture contributed to one of the most visible breaks in the cultural landscape of northeastern North America."⁶⁴ Such differences are evident in the log homes of the Madawaska Settlements. The French home seen at the right of figure 7d (page 56) contrasts with the northern New England-style residence that it stands beside. The American building has a less steeply pitched roof, rounded notched-log corner joints, a door on the gable end of the building without the sloped roof directly overhead (a definite boon in winter), and the short side of the building facing the road, as opposed to the river.⁶⁵ The laying of wooden shingles over gable end boards is indicative of northern New England styles, Yankee migrants to New

⁶⁴Harris and Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, p. 95.

⁶⁵An 1824 land petition submitted by Simon Ebert (Hébert), a "native of Quebec, fifty eight years resident in this Province," relates that he had purchased land from the Maliseet in 1821. According to the petition, Hébert owned land on the northern edge of a Maliseet reservation, while to the south, Louis Mercure and John Tardif claimed land. These strips stretched back from the river in the same fashion of lower Saint Lawrence River censitaire landholding patterns. (Consult Land Petition Records, Ebert, 1824 at PANB).

Brunswick being noted for their skills in shingle-making.⁶⁶ The American building is shingled between roof sides while its French counterpart is clapboarded. Flupipes extend through central locations in the roofs, denoting the use of Canadian stoves below. These log homes existed side by side creating a diversified architectural landscape. By the 1830s the Madawaska Settlements featured enclosed undulating fields with cleared pastures and occasional log houses built in both French and American traditions (see Fig. 8).⁶⁷ As Commissioner and Surveyor General Thomas Baillie pointed out, in his review of Saint John valley housing, home ownership fostered settler affiliation with the land. As pioneers settled in, the household head "consequently closely identified with his adopted country, in a neat new log...house, with a good stone chimney well cemented with lime, a large...barn, and other out-buildings, [with] twenty-five or thirty acres of cleared land."⁶⁸

With the passage of time, many Madawaska Settlement

⁶⁶For a commentary on American skills with axes, their different approach to building, and propensity for making shingles, consult "Medical Men of Saint John," New Brunswick Historical Collections 1 1(1894): 322.

⁶⁷This pencil sketch of the "R. St. Johns from forks of Madawaska," was made by P. J. Bainbrige a Royal Engineer in 1839. NAC

⁶⁸Thomas Baillie, An Account of the Province of New Brunswick; including a description of the Settlements, Institutions, Soil and Climate of that Important Province with advice to emigrants (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1832), p. 18.

homes embraced anglo-building traditions also (see Fig. 10c). Housing with dovetail joints at their corners embodied an American influence.⁶⁹ Jean Palardy notes that the use of shingles on building sides and roofs was unknown in France and that houses finished in this manner had been influenced by encounters with American building techniques.⁷⁰ By the second decade of the nineteenth century, frame construction techniques from New England had been introduced into the region. Initially only the Americans built framed houses in the American fashion. Perhaps the cost of raising frame-buildings restricted their immediate adoption by the French. Christopher Atkinson, in his guide for emigrants, claimed that on average a log cabin cost £12, a log-house £32, and barn £24, while framed versions of these cost at least three times the price.⁷¹ American visitors said of the Madawaska Settlements that the "houses are nearly all built of timber, and are of simple construction. Some contain one room, some two, and a few more than two. Many are clapboarded, some are painted, and nearly all are well made and warm. The settlers

⁶⁹Clarence Lebreton, "Material Culture in Acadia," in The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies, ed. Jean Daigle (Moncton, N.-B.: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982), pp. 431-432, 435.

⁷⁰Jean Palardy, "Architecture in Early Canada: French Influence," Canadian Antiques Collector 9 (January - February 1974): 32.

⁷¹Christopher W. Atkinson, A Guide to New Brunswick, British North America, &c, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Anderson and Bryce, 1843), p. 16.

from the United States have framed houses built in our fashion."⁷² But gradually certain anglo architectural traditions, such as creating rooms off central hallways, were incorporated into the homes of French-speaking Madawaska Settlement residents.⁷³

The amalgamation of French and Anglo building styles occurred mainly in the 1830s and 1840s, as larger residences were built. Figure 10a illustrates a Rivière Ouelle, Quebec residence (la maison Camille Desmeules), which has architectural links to France (notice the 4-sided roof). These building types were later complemented by architectural developments represented by the Rivière-du-Loup home illustrated as figure 10b, which has a bell-cast roof and extended-length front deck over casement windows below. The Madawaskan home, the Frederick-Eloi-Albert House, built circa 1845, exhibits the symmetry of the Rivière-du-Loup example but embraces a pillar supported front deck extension, side clapboarding, and straight A-line gable popular in the United States (see Fig. 10c). This Madawaskan home abandons the bell-cast of Quebec for a sloped roof terminating with inward pointing fascia of the anglo-Americans and abandons the use of dormers. The separation of rooms and the setting aside of a formal meeting room (the

⁷²Deane and Kavanagh, "Report of 1831," p. 455.

⁷³Personal Conversation between Guy Dubay and the author, Fall 1992. Consult also Guy Dubay, Chez Nous: The Saint John Valley (Augusta, Me.: Maine State Museum, 1983).

Fig. 10ac French Canadian and American Influence on Madawaskan Clapboarded Houses: Maison Camille Desmeules, Rivière Ouelle, sketch of a Rivière-du-Loup House by Edwin Whitefield, and Madawaska's Frederick-Eloi-Albert House

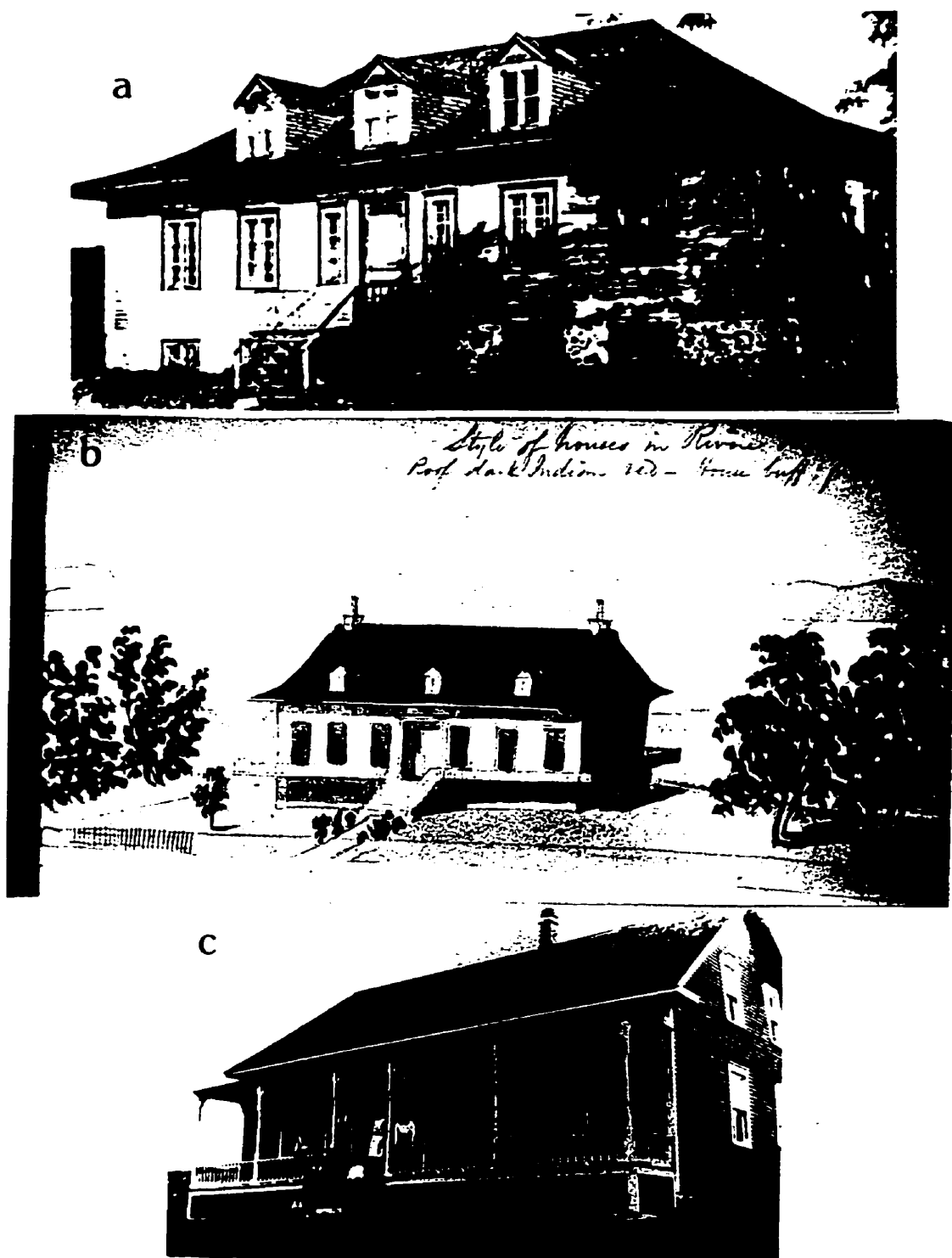


Fig. 10ac

parlour or living-room) was a format introduced by the Americans which became common after 1840.⁷⁴ The house thus incorporates a layering of ethnic architectural traditions.

Certain differences in architectural styles persisted however. A visitor from Maine, the anglophone Noah Barker, noted many features differentiating the architecture of the Madawaska Settlements from that of his home State:

there are...things among them which are altogether different from what we are accustomed to see in "yankeedom". For instance, they have queer looking cottages with windows that open and shut like doors, their roofs and piazzas being broken, projected, picturesque, and often ornamented with trellises, cornices, and fanciful adornments, so that their solid homeliness is often fringed with elegance. Inside their houses will be seen the inevitable big black stove, ("Cuisinier Canadien,") and the women busily work at the foot wheel and hand-loom....On the whole, we find in Madawaska the home of a real peasantry, a contented class, comfortable, and in many cases looking for no higher lot....with their primitive style of living, they enjoy the priceless blessing of health, which more than compensates for the absence of modern luxuries, and are doubtless much happier than millions who live in rich mansions and roll in luxury.⁷⁵

Despite being in a community which still embraced simple log construction techniques, the Frederick-Eloi-Albert House exhibits a sophisticated blend of architectural traditions

⁷⁴Lebreton, "Material Culture in Acadia," p. 438.

⁷⁵Barker, "Report of the Commissioner on claims," p. 4. Dated January 10th 1874, MSA

and innovations. Since 1785 Madawaska Settlement residents temporarily had embraced birch-bark Maliseet architectural traditions, blended Acadian and French Canadian pièce-sur-pièce construction techniques, and introduced anglo traditions in framing, room arrangement, and barn building. The buildings of the Madawaska Settlements exhibited an intermingling of ethnic heritages by 1851.

The architectural landscape of the Madawaska Settlements was further distinguished from other areas by the painting of building exteriors.⁷⁶ In the 1830s Kavanagh noted approximately ten painted dwellings, three in red, two in yellow, two more in white, and three others of an unrecorded hue. The painted homes were above average in size, that is, in a range from 30 to 50 feet wide by 20 to 26 feet deep, and provided early decorative evidence of

⁷⁶Paint purchased for use on house woodwork and outbuildings such as barns was usually red. The 1840s Madawaskan Dufour Store Ledger lists the availability of 1½lb "peinture rouge," at one shilling a pound. (Dufour Store Ledger, Dosit Sansfaçon, fev 1848, p. 10). Red paint was sold to Régis Mercure and Joseph Hébert fils Simonet (*Ibid.*, fev 20, fev 28 1846, p. 45). Hébert and Hilaire Theriault also purchased green paint in April 1844 (*Ibid.*, av 16, 1844, p. 65); Louis Bellefleur fils buying green paint at 2 shillings a pound (*Ibid.*, vol. 2, Fev 24 1846, p. 310). Amable Thibodeau bought a pound of "painturs blanche" for a shilling with a "dem d'huile lin à 17½" to mix (*Ibid.*, oct 4, p. 12). White paint was purchased by Louis Bellefleur, Vitale Dufour, Régis Marcure (Mercure) and Régiste Daigle. Fred Cirre (Cyr) bought linen oil and ¾lb "peinture bleu" which cost more at two shillings a pound. Silvain Daigle also purchased blue paint from the same stock (*Ibid.*, Silvain Daigle, mai 15, p. 14; Fred Cirre, juil 29 1844, p. 23). Black paint was sold to Luc Cyre (Cyr) fils Joseph, Régis Marcure (Mercure) and Xavier Hébert.

social stratification according to relative wealth.⁷⁷ The average size of less prominent homes was twenty by eighteen feet. Two-story buildings were rare, although the Thibodeaus and Violettes, both with large families, each had one. According to the journal of George W. Coffin, in 1825 "Mr. Thibeau informed us, that his three nearest neighbours had 24 children each."⁷⁸ With extended families, neighbours visiting, and guests staying, some of these larger residences acted as boarding houses, or, as in the case of Paul Potier, as licensed inns.

According to Dufour Store ledger entries, the cost of different coloured paints varied greatly. Ranging between tenpence and two shillings per pound, ranked by increasing cost, were red, white, black, blue and green paints. Low cost explains why large buildings tended to be painted red and more prized furniture possessions a black or blue-green hue. Many of the furniture items within Madawaska Settlement buildings were painted in dark colours. Simple furniture, in the Trois-Rivières region and the South Shore, was painted with pummeled red earth mixed with linseed oil. It is probable, therefore, that a partiality for red paint was a tradition brought from the St. Lawrence. Also, Jean Palardy notes that the most popular paints in Quebec prior to 1850 were red ochre, dark blue-green, robin's egg blue, and white

⁷⁷Lucey, "Madawaska on the River St. John," p. 155.

⁷⁸George W. Coffin, Journal, 4th October 1825, MSA.

tinted with yellow ochre.⁷⁹ The Acadians to the south also painted with red or green paints, according to material culture historian Jean-Claude Dupont.⁸⁰ Madawaskans added black to, and deleted robin's egg blue from, this repertoire.

Furniture found in the Madawaska Settlements embodies the ethnic origins of regional residents. However, unlike in Quebec and Nova Scotia, furniture here does not incorporate an indigenous inspired element. There are no babiche-seats woven in the same manner as Montagnais-made snowshoes from the Montreal region. Despite Madawaska meaning "land of the porcupine" in the indigenous tongue, neither are there Nova Scotian Mi'kmaq porcupine quillwork seats, table tops, or cradles.⁸¹ Interior decoration of Madawaska Settlement buildings was, however, influenced by the traditions of settlers who moved south from Lower Canada and retained continental French customs. Comparison between French and Lower Canadian furnished interiors was made by an anonymous resident of Canada during his travels in the mother country:

Le lit principal, entourré de serge verte

⁷⁹Personal observation and Palardy, Les meubles anciens du Canada français, p. 375.

⁸⁰Jean-Claude Dupont, Histoire Populaire de l'Acadie (Ottawa: Leméac, 1979), p. 118.

⁸¹See Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Micmac Quillwork: Micmac Indian Techniques of Porcupine Quill Decoration, 1600-1950 (Halifax, NS.: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1982) and Jane L. Cook, "Research Query: Mi'kmaq Quillwork Furniture," Material History Review 38(Fall 1993): 94-95.

qui est suspendue au plancher du haut de la grande salle, par une targette en fer, le bénitier et petit crucifix à la tête; la grande table à manger, la couchette des enfans sur des roulettes en bois au-dessus du grand lit, les différents coffres pour y déposer l'habillement du dimanche, l'ornement des poutres, la longue pipe, la corne à poudre, le sac à plomb etc. etc. m'ont fait penser plus q'une fois à la résidence de mon ami Jean Gilbeau de St.-Joachim.⁸²

Jean Gilbeau's house was located in the parish of St. Joachim, thirty miles below Quebec. The similarities between European traditions and those of Lower Canada are self-evident. These traditions were carried into the Madawaska Settlements, where crucifixes graced walls, large kitchen tables served entire families, childrens' trundle beds⁸³ scooted under those of their parents, Sunday best clothes were kept in chests, and pipes, powder horns and lead hung from overhead beams.

While these similarities existed, material historian George Henri Rivière also noted differences in building interiors, such as the replacement of the open-hearth fire with the more efficient Canada stove (or *cuisinier*

⁸²A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada, pp. 113-114.

⁸³Trundle or truckle beds are low post beds which can be wheeled under full-size beds for daytime storage. These secondary beds were often used by children, who slept in the same room as adults. See Glossary in Appendix IV.

canadien).⁸⁴ Historian Charlotte Lenentine remarked upon the presence of Canada stoves six feet tall occupying prominent central locations in Madawaska Settlement homes.⁸⁵ The presence of flupipes in the homes, illustrated in figure seven (page 56), confirms stove use. Such heating devices were inherited from the north. The French Canadian St. Maurice foundry based their stove designs on Scottish Carron examples.⁸⁶ Thus, both French Canadian and Madawaska Settlement interiors could be further distinguished from those of contemporary France.

Jean Palardy compared the construction techniques, style and form of his province's antique furniture to those of the different regions of France. He found that the majority of furniture in French Canada was influenced primarily by the regions producing settlers - most notably western France, including the coastal port cities (see Fig. 9, page 65). The furniture brought from Lower Canada to the Madawaska Settlements reflects a French provincial heritage endemic in previous decades. For example, a resident of Lower Canada in 1830 linked material traditions to those of

⁸⁴See Michel Lessard and Huguette Marquis, Complete Guide to French-Canadian Antiques (Agincourt, Ont.: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1974), pp. 164-167, and Palardy, Les meubles anciens du Canada français, pp. 373-375.

⁸⁵Lenentine, Madawaska, p. 70.

⁸⁶According to Donald B. Webster, Quebec's St. Maurice stoves were copies of those made at the Scottish Carron foundry. Personal Communication, Donald Blake Webster to author, August 27th 1996.

France. He asserted that

in a country long possessed by the French, it is not surprising that the usages now in vogue should bear a strong similarity to those of France, in the building of their houses...the same taste, the same elegance...are observed as still are to be found in the various provinces of France.... The furniture, even, is almost precisely the same.⁸⁷

Similarities were noted in the furnishings of both France and Quebec by M. Rivière, when chief curator at le Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires de France. He recognized that built-in armoires and other *immeubles* were common to both countries. Versions of spinning wheels, dough boxes, high stools, benches and master armchairs could be found in both Quebec and France. Wagon-loads of such household goods, brought by families of emigrants "continually passing over" to the Saint John valley, were seen arriving in the Madawaska Settlements. James T. Hodge, assistant surveyor for Massachusetts, noted that "we met several [settlers] on the road with their loads of furniture moving from Canada."⁸⁸ Such French Canadian wares served as inspiration for furniture makers in the Madawaska Settlements. It should be noted that while travelogues and government documents offer an insight into the movement of furniture into the

⁸⁷A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada, p. 113.

⁸⁸"Mr. Hodge's Report on the Allagash Section," p. 66.

upper Saint John River valley, there are no extant household inventories available to investigate.⁸⁹ The furniture which remains for inspection originates from families whose ancestors settled the Madawaska Region.⁹⁰

Prior to 1850, according to Jean Palardy, antique furniture from the St. Lawrence region consists of armoires, two-tiered buffets, low buffets, vaisseliers (dressers), beds, cradles, tables, wash-stands, stools, benches, chairs, and built-in furniture. All these forms were likely common in the Madawaska Settlements. While furniture forms were retained, their decoration was altered. For example, lozenge designs, which evolved into raised diamond-point motifs (see

⁸⁹There are no household inventories listing furniture and furnishings available for study. This may be due to the fact that regional records were destroyed by fire in Quebec City, or, perhaps no detailed inventories were taken. Records of landed property holdings are more readily available, thanks to state and provincial surveys, yet lists of households, outbuildings and land do little to reveal what movable property could be found therein.

⁹⁰Madawaska Settlement clocks are not discussed here as the author is unaware of any collection housing any examples. As there are few inventories, it is not possible to say how many clocks there were and where they were located. Overall, the extant furniture held in public collections in Maine and New Brunswick appears to be vernacular in nature and not representative of high-style life. Whether such sophisticated furniture existed in the Madawaska Settlements is unknown as little survives or remains in collections. What can be said is that the furniture studied herein is probably not part of an elitist heritage, but rather derives from well-established long-lived families. It is not possible, therefore, to discuss the extent of personal property holding among rural folk through the first half of the nineteenth century as here no detailed inventories exist.

Fig. 12b, page 91)⁹¹ and squat "St. Andrew's" crosses (having Scottish heritage), were not evident on Madawaska Settlement pieces of the same century. Perhaps this was due to selective adoption of French Canadian styles, the lack of Scots in the Madawaska Settlements,⁹² and the creation of unembellished wares. Traditions transferred to St. Lawrence River communities from between the Haute-Bretagne and Basque regions of France, such as the use of disk-shaped galettes with multiple crowns, never appeared in the Madawaska Settlements. Elaborate "miche" or "flamusse" baluster turned feet of Burgundy, found on a Quebec cupboard, were not used in the settlements either. Instead, decoration of Madawaska Settlement furniture was kept to a minimum.⁹³ This was caused by an absence of skilled carvers and lack of specialised equipment, which led to an unobtrusive tradition for plainly decorating objects.

Selected furniture construction techniques and designs from Quebec influenced Madawaska Settlement cabinet wares.

⁹¹Palardy, Les meubles anciens, pls. 47-48.

⁹²Béatrice Craig's "Family Reconstitution Files," do not list a single Scot in the Madawaska Settlement region. However, according to the New Brunswick Legislative Council Journal of 1846, there were at least four male Scottish settlers in the region: William Thompson, Alexander Boyne, Fergus McLean and Charles McPherson (see Legislative Council Journal, 1846, p. 593). Scottish architectural traditions, such as the use of masonry and predilection for 5-sided dormer windows, are completely absent from Madawaskan tradition.

⁹³The liveliest pieces of decoration on furniture appear to be through-cuts in chair back-slats, a folk tradition more in common with the Maritimes and Quebec (see Fig. 14e).

For example, a "caisson" or open narrow rectangular panel design, having a certain classical English interpretation, is found on stiles and support rails of Lotbinière buffets (see Fig. 11a). Similar panel styles were incorporated into Madawaska Settlement cupboard designs (see Fig. 11c). The transitional Louis XIII armoire style from the early eighteenth century (see Fig. 11b) was transformed into a single-case narrow cupboard, divided by cross-boards, which had plainly decorated panels (see Fig. 11c). Figure 11b exhibits old-style Quebec lozenge-shaped door panels, a design absent in the Madawaska Settlements where flatter surfaces often appeared. The Madawaska Settlement example has doors flush to supporting rails and stiles giving a flat appearance to the piece, unlike traditional Quebec examples. This led to the placement of hinges on the exterior front of door and stile (as opposed to side placement). This, in combination with the introduction of butt hinges, may account for the abandonment of traditional mid-eighteenth century Quebec style rat-tail and fische hinges. Donald Blake Webster points out that drawers in chests made in the United States overhang side stiles, which essentially lifts the profile of the furniture forwards.⁹⁴ The tall case from St. David, attributed to Vital Albert, includes the caissons

⁹⁴Donald Blake Webster, "The Identification of English-Canadian Furniture, 1780-1840," *The Magazine Antiques* 115 1(January 1979): 176. During this period, inexpensive butt hinges replaced older and more costly blacksmith-made hinges.

Fig. 11ac English and French Canadian Influence on Madawaskan
Cupboards: Lotbinière Caissons and French Canadian Panels
Affect Madawaskan Design

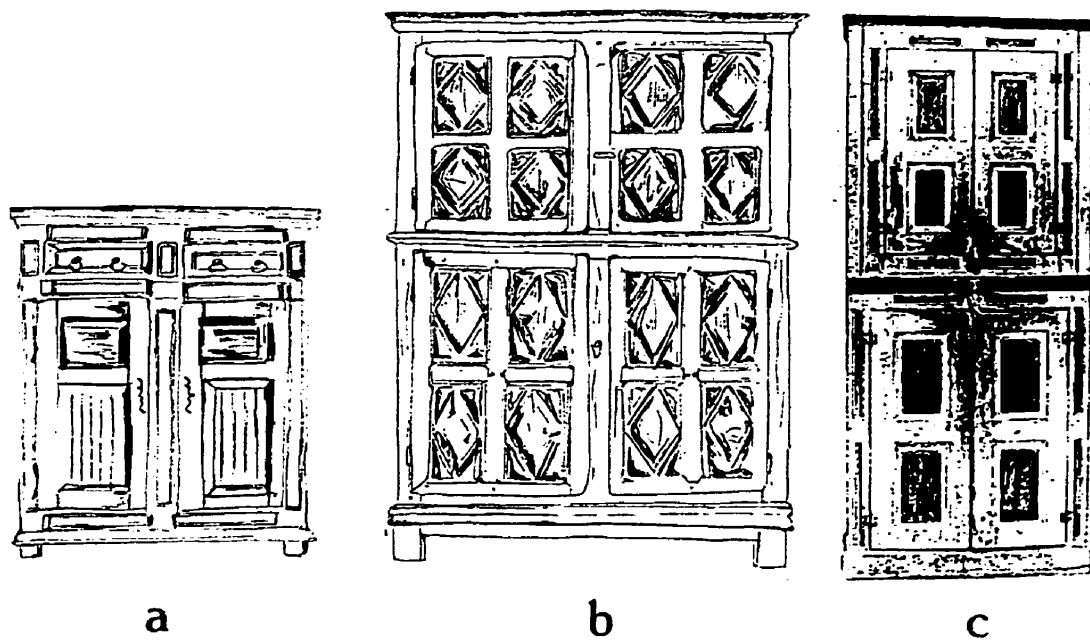


Fig. 11ac

and dividing stiles popular in Quebec and also shows similarities to the Lotbinière example. The stile extensions forming feet on Quebec cases are replaced in this instance by a plain plinth skirting board more commonly associated with American tradition (see Fig. 11c). This is one of the few Madawaska Settlement pieces which is painted in multiple colours.

Six-board Madawaska Settlement chests embody Quebecois details, such as base-line mouldings, but also exhibit local features favouring simplicity in design. Multiple panels familiar to British, French, colonial American, and Quebec built chests, in combination with the shaped feet of this Saint-Foye piece, offered artistic challenges which few Madawaskans met (see Fig. 12a). Also, as previously noted, diamond motifs, with colourful painted decorations (see Fig. 12b), were not used on Madawaskan chests. The Madawaska Settlement regional chest relies on base moulding and stile extensions, both features of Quebec wares, to enliven the item. The simplicity of this Lille, Maine chest suggests use in the Madawaska Settlement region.

The development of Madawaska Settlement chair designs shows a layering of construction techniques inherent in both Acadian and French Canadian craftsmanship. Acadian furniture displays simple lines (see Fig. 13a). Such is the case with the Madawaska Settlement chair illustrated (see Fig. 13c). The slat-back side chair displayed in the St.-Joseph-de-

Fig. 12ac French Canadian Influence on a Madawaskan Six-board Chest

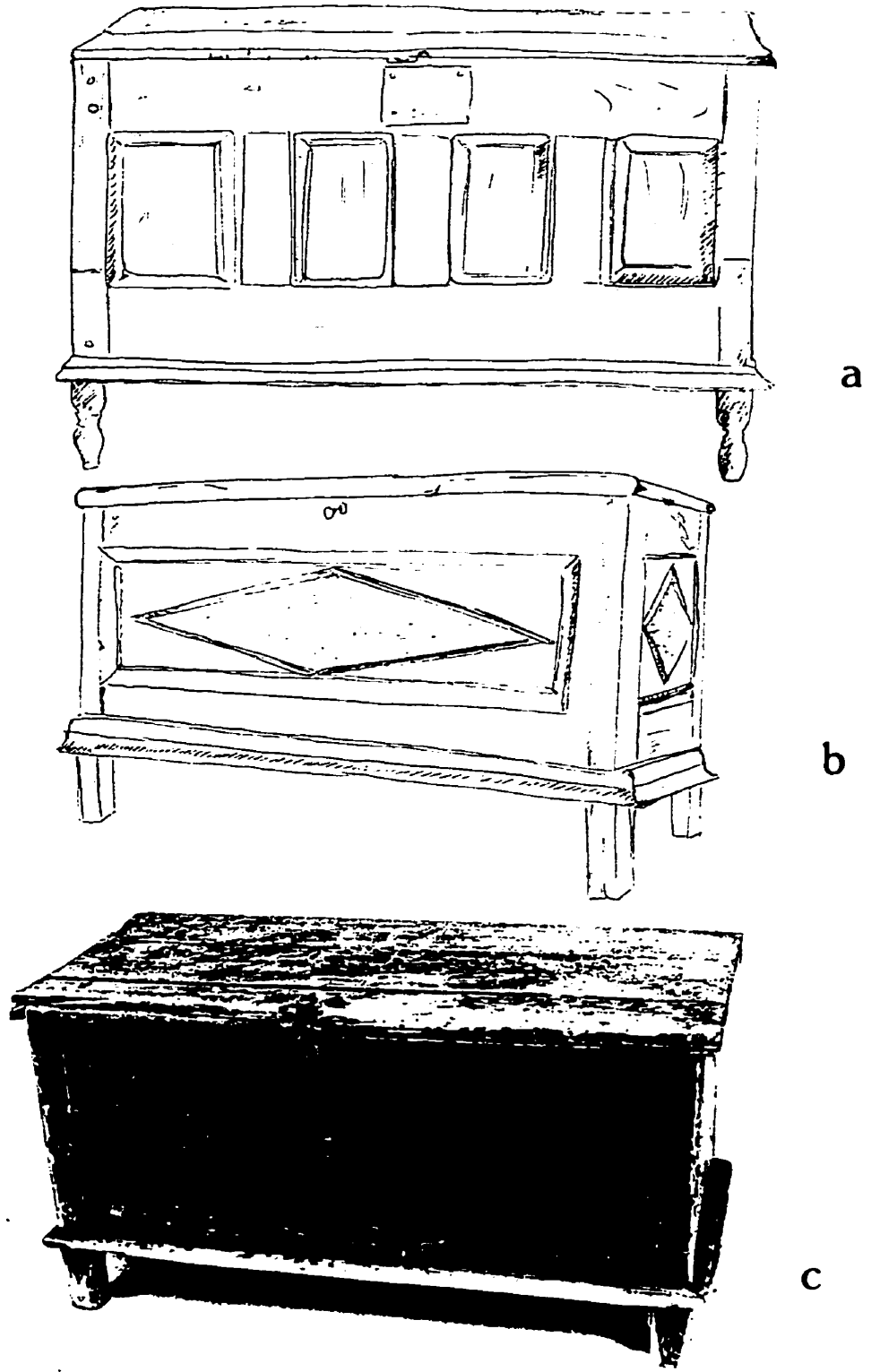


Fig. 12ac

Memramcook, New Brunswick Acadian Odyssey National Historic Site (see Fig. 13a) shows the refined lines and gently tapering posts of simply constructed Acadian furniture.⁹⁵ The Acadian preferred "ear-like" extensions above the rear posts are not duplicated on Madawaska Settlement chairs. The slat-back arm or "Grandmother" chair from the French Shore of Nova Scotia (see Fig. 13b) was stylistically influential upon Madawaska Settlement examples. The curtailed curved-cut interior front edges to arm rests on the Madawaska Settlement chair (see Fig. 13c) are reminiscent of the outswEEPing Acadian example (see Fig. 13b). In the Madawaska Settlements refined lines, narrow tapers, rush woven seats, and the long outswEpt arms of the Acadian chair found little favour, but the use of board seats did. The child's slat-back rocker from St. Lambert, Quebec (see Fig. 13d) more closely approximates the overall design and construction of the Madawaskan example (see Fig. 13c). The Quebec rocking chair does not have the rear seat rail, board seat, or deeply chamfered posts, which are features of the Madawaskan chair. It does have similar back slats, arms, rockers and box-stretchers. The Madawaska Settlement chair illustrates a blending of both Quebecois and Acadian traditions, with

⁹⁵For brief descriptions of Acadian furniture consult Roger Boucher, "Le mobilier acadien," Canadian Antiques and Art Review (July-August 1980): 32-35; Ivan-H. Crowell, "The Maritime Acadian Style of Furniture," Les cahiers de la société historique acadienne 2 11(March 1966): 23-27 and "Caracteristiques propres des meubles acadiens," L'Evangeline 2nd February 1966. Crowell's work is basic and needs updating.

Fig. 13ad Acadian and French Canadian Influence on Madawaskan
Chairs: Bay of Fundy Side Chair, Nova Scotian Grandmother
Armchair, French Canadian Child's Rocking Chair, and
Madawaskan Rocker

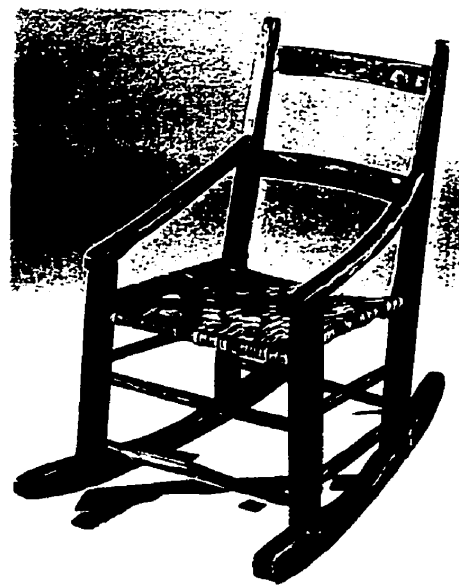
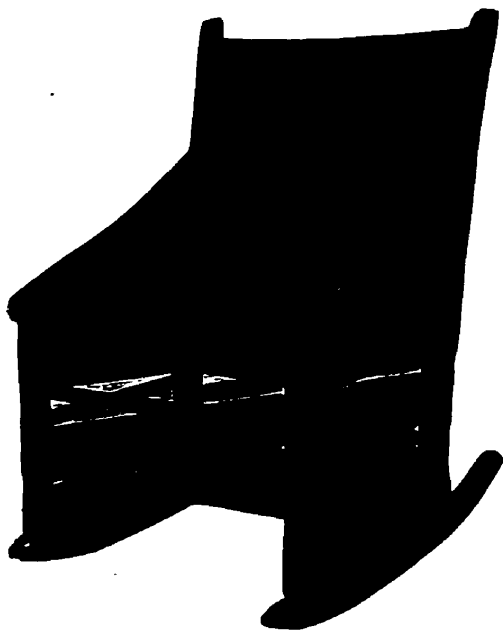
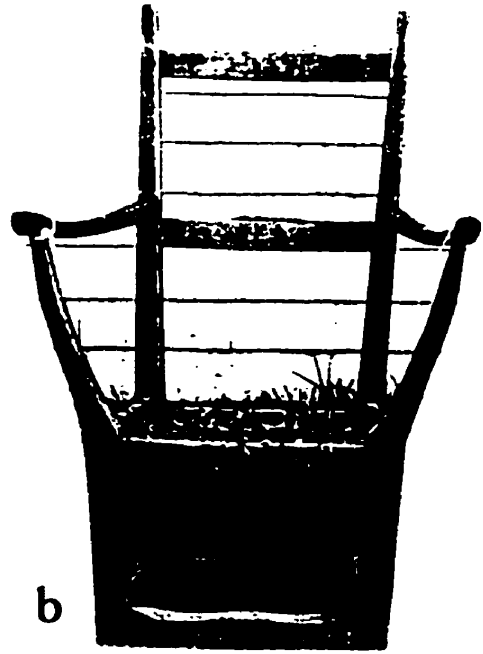
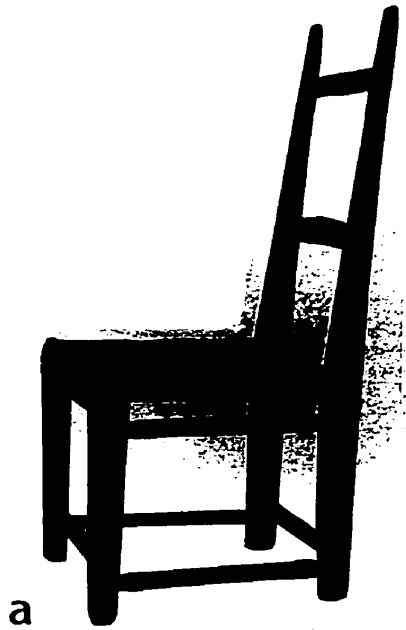


Fig. 13ad

unique features such as the rear seat rail and dark paint favoured by the Madawaskans adding regional flavour. An amalgamation of design occurred, rendering the Madawaska Settlement chair a synthesis of diverse origins. Regional identity formation is related to this selective layering and intermingling of inherited traditions.

New Brunswick historian Peter Fisher claimed that the Madawaskan character was essentially practical. He observed, "Their manners and habits being simple, they expend but little on luxuries."⁹⁶ This observation can be applied equally to their furniture styles as their chairs were unpretentious. Minor detailing gives Madawaska Settlement chairs both strength and unique style. For example, the angling of rear posts to the sides and canting backwards from seat level to ears are such features (14f). Distinctive characteristics of Acadian chairs, such as splayed side posts flaring outwards at the top, are inherited features from southern France which were also introduced to the Madawaska Settlements (see Fig. 14d).⁹⁷ Straight canted

⁹⁶Fisher, History of New Brunswick, p. 53.

⁹⁷Palardy claims that the outward splay on chair posts is attributable to English influence, but such design styles were part of the southern French repertoire, particularly around the Arles region (personal observation of private collections in southern France, see Paintings by Van Gogh, "The Night Café," in Van Gogh in Arles, Ronald Pickvance (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1984), pl. 101 and Palardy, Les meubles anciens, p. 226, pl. 319). A chair in the private collection of Robert Guthrie, which originates from Clair in the northern reaches of the Madawaska Settlements, exhibits a similar outward flare

Fig. 14ai Features of Madawaskan Chairs: Seat Slats, Post Chamfering, Board Seats, Canted and Tapered Rear Posts, Sloped Arms, Box-Stretchers (spoke-shaved with perfect round through-tenons), Simple Piercing, and Outward Splay



Fig. 14ai

backs on Acadian chairs often taper narrowly to the tops of the rear-posts, several inches above the top cross-slat of the back (see Fig. 14ei). This tradition was brought over from France and distinguishes Nova Scotian Acadian furnishings from New England styles, which incorporate both American and British features in bulky turnings and finial decorations. Lines are slimmer and more graceful on Acadian chairs, with arms lower and placed at an angle. Twisted rush flag-seats, popular in New England, were not found frequently in Acadian Nova Scotia, where board seats were commonplace. The incorporation of Acadian seat-making traditions, based on multiple rails, solid wooden seats, and plain squared posts, was well-suited to the Madawaska Settlements.

Through-tenoning, where cross-members penetrate the posts they join (see Fig. 14agh), can be seen on vernacular furniture from western France during this same period and in chairs from Lavaltrie and Saint-Jean Port Joli, Quebec.⁹⁸ While through-tenoning appears to be a feature of chair posts found in France, Acadian chair tenons can be either rectangular or circular in shape and pegged in position from the side. The rectangular tenons of both Acadia and Bas-St.-Laurent are not frequently found on Madawaska Settlement

to the rear posts and a rounded profile to the top edge of the back slats. Perhaps the proximity of the Americans in the upper settlements influenced both these particular features.

⁹⁸Palardy, Les meubles, pls. 346, 348, p. 244.

chairs, where circular tenons of remarkably consistent circumference and shape are found. The chairs attributed to Honoré Pelletier of Green River are exceptional in that they show rectangular through-tenoning throughout.⁹⁹ The lengths of the stretchers found on Madawaska Settlement chairs are often spoke-shaved or draw-knifed rustic creations, which deceptively hide an ability to manufacture perfectly circular tenon extensions. Furniture items from the Madawaska Settlements reflect a combination of simple southern and northern French ethnic heritages.¹⁰⁰

What were the predominant features of Madawaskan furniture by 1851? Side chairs often have chamfered posts (see Fig. 14a). A single seat slat, innovatively placed flush to the seat, both reinforced the sturdiness of the seat and offered continuity in the flow of chair back designs (see Fig. 14abchi). All in all, there were never

⁹⁹Honoré Pelletier's name has been linked by the late New Brunswick furniture historian, Huia Ryder, with a number of furniture items from the Green River area. (See Huia G. Ryder, Antique Furniture by New Brunswick Craftsmen. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1965), pp. 6, 8, 170). The Pelletier family was associated with Madawaska, Saint-François, Saint-Hilaire, and Baker Brook in the 1840s, although land petition records do not reveal any claim by Honoré Pelletier himself. (See Raoul Dionne, La colonisation acadienne au Nouveau-Brunswick, 1760-1860 (Moncton, N.-B.: Chaire d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, 1989). Rectangular through-tenons are common on long benches where legs penetrate seats (see Fig. 15c).

¹⁰⁰An innovation in northeastern New Brunswick Acadian rocking chairs was the application of a rear support which reached down from behind the posts into the top of the rockers below. These features are not found in Madawaskan chairs.

more than two back slats plus one seat slat in any of the chairs inspected. Board seats which extend up to 2 inches over either side of the chair are commonplace. These plank seats are usually cut out at the rear to fit around rear posts, nailed in place to seat stretchers, and splined or blind-pegged together through the centre of their boards. The front edge of the boards extend over the front of the chair slightly but not as far as the extensions over the sides (see Fig. 14ac). The shapes of the seats are trapezoidal, with little variation. No seats have been found during this study which were made of snowshoe webbing, unlike extant examples originating from Montreal and along the south shore of the Saint Lawrence River, and no reeds, split ashes or cane seats were used, as in the lower Saint John River valley. The back slats themselves are usually straight along their top edge (see Fig. 14adeh), but may be shaped with a quarter-moon cut where they join side posts (see Fig. 14bc). It is rare that they are pierce-cut with shaped motifs, such as the circular designs of the crest illustrated in figure 14e. Chairs usually have two side stretchers below a seat rail, two front stretchers spaced further apart, and a single rear stretcher. The seat was supported underneath at the sides by a seat rail, or in some cases, at the front was strengthened by a high front stretcher. The Acadian tradition of filling the distance between top front stretcher and seat with a central motif,

in the form of a square or diamond, is not adopted on Madawaskan chairs. Stretchers between posts under the seat are in a typical box formation, with through-tenons consistently and perfectly rounded as though turned or hammered into a mould (see Fig. 14agh). Light in both weight and features and robust and sturdy in form, these chairs are basically utilitarian in nature.

Typical features of other Madawaska Settlement furniture include simple construction techniques, using pegged mortise-and-tenon joints, square-head nailed boards in case furniture, and some dovetailing on six-board chests. Six-board chests from Grand Lake, Van Buren and Madawaska, were built with dovetail joints and painted the ubiquitous red-brown.¹⁰¹ Other furniture was shaped by chamfering squared posts on chair, table, bed (see Fig. 15i) and wash-stand legs. Hand tools were used rather than machines for turning. Case pieces tend to be boxes with doors (see Fig. 15h), and top mouldings are simplistic, with plain base mouldings which render wares both sturdy and functional. Drawer construction tends to be avoided when doors can substituted (see Fig. 16d). Alternatively, when drawers are used, they might be placed inappropriately offcentre (especially in table skirts, see Fig. 15b) or made from unequal boards and butted out of step (see Fig. 15a). Doors

¹⁰¹Les Dumond, antiques dealer in Lille, Maine acquired three such chests in the summer of 1993.

Fig. 15ai Other Madawaskan Furniture: Cupboard, Wash-stand
and Table leg turnings, Bed, Bench, and Drawer Detail

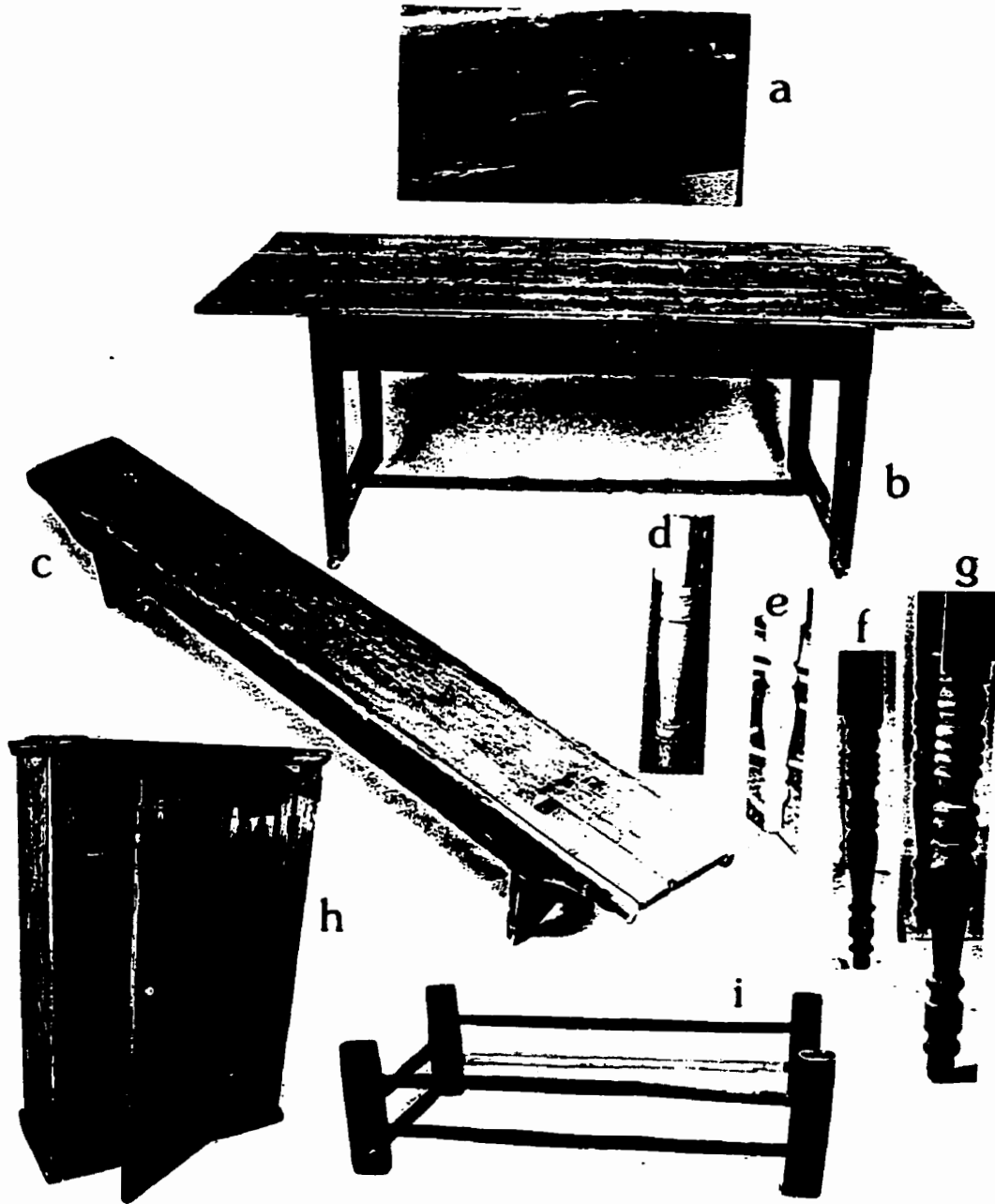


Fig. 15ai

are plainly panelled, oftentimes with hinges visible from the exterior of the piece (see Fig. 15h). Case interiors are shelved but rarely are these shelves cyma-shaped in the Georgian corner-cupboard tradition. There is an overall lack of refinement in detail (see Fig. 15i) and little overembellishment, either in carving or upholstering.¹⁰² Kitchen tables may have a basic H-stretcher, with either minimal single chamfer to legs (see Fig. 15b) or are more delicately ring turned and tapered in the early 19th century American style (see Fig. 15fg). Bulky American Empire-style turnings were introduced in the 1830s and became popular by mid-century (see Fig. 15de). All in all, functionalism is featured rather than aesthetic pleasantry. Concerned with everyday life and untrained in the profession of cabinetmaking, residents of the Madawaska Settlements produced wares suitable for their situation. Still, the furniture they made reflects a layering of ethnic traditions drawn from those different groups present within the upper Saint John River region.

The utilitarian nature of Madawaskan furniture is evident within its form and function. Wooden shelves and wash benches for pails of water added to the kitchen repertoire of bench (see Fig. 15c) and long table, as

¹⁰²Despite the fact that the 1851 census reveals weaving and cloth making as important to the Madawaska economy, it is evident that textiles were not created for the embellishment of regional furniture.

everyday needs were provided for. Drop-leaf tables, with single extensions, were pushed against walls where their leaf would be raised when space was not at a premium. Most notable in the region were convertible chair-tables - few of which now retain their provenance, but possess a certain heritage in the Dutch Hudson Valley and American communities in northern New England. Certainly this form was rarely used in France, although there remain a few extant examples of chair-tables from the Normandy and Champagne regions.¹⁰³

This form of furniture was extensively used in farmhouses on l'île aux Coûdres and the lower Saint Lawrence River - from Rivière Ouelle, where some Madawaska settlers originated. Such chair-tables were seen in Saint John River valley communities by philosopher and transcendental writer, Henry D. Thoreau, who made special note of their use during his early nineteenth century travels through the Maine woods. He described a Saint John River residence in which

the dishes were soon smoking on the table, late the arm-chair, against the wall, from which one of the party was expelled. The arms of the chair formed the frame on which the table rested; and, when the round top was turned up against the wall, it formed the back of the chair, and was no more in the way than the wall itself. This, we noticed, was the prevailing fashion in these log houses, in order to econo-

¹⁰³Palardy, Les meubles anciens, pls. 388-9, p. 260.

mize in room.¹⁰⁴

Smaller Saint John River valley homes dictated a need for furniture with multiple uses, which could exploit limited space to best advantage. For example, Madawaska Settlement households usually included a large bed, underneath which was stored a trundle bed, to be rolled out for night-time use by children. As in Quebec, a well-equipped home included "an unstinted sufficiency of the various articles of furniture required for a comfortable *ménage*" which partly comprised "beds in abundance."¹⁰⁵

These furniture forms were influenced by Acadian, Quebecois and American styles. The penetration of British and American designs into the Quebecois furniture market in the early nineteenth century caused some consternation for French traditionalists. "A partir de 1820, presque tous nos meubles ont perdu leur caractère français et sont inspiré des styles anglais et américains; le meuble traditionnel d'esprit français a presque cessé d'exister. A l'avènement de l'ère industrielle, il disparaîtra complètement."¹⁰⁶ It is debatable whether Palardy's statement is chronologically accurate for Quebec. Here, British troops and entrepreneurs

¹⁰⁴H. D. Thoreau, The Maine Woods, ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 23. Chair-tables may be found in the collections of Kings Landing Historical Settlement and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull (ZIII C13 abc).

¹⁰⁵Jackson, Second Annual Report, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶Palardy, Les meubles anciens, p. 385.

established homes along the shores of the Saint Lawrence River in the 1760s while in the 1780s American loyalists made Quebec City their new home. Foreign-inspired styles were pervasive well before 1820. But in the Madawaska Settlements, northern New England settlers and their cultural traditions began to penetrate lifestyles only in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The first anglo influence on Madawaskan furniture design came from Americans entering the district from northern New England in the 1820s. Gradually, legs on wash-stands and side tables, forms increasingly popular in the Madawaska Settlements, no longer adhered solely to rectangular formats. Multiple-ring and barrel-shaped turnings adorned legs of new tables (see Fig. 15fg). A certain divergence from traditional forms was under way, partly due to the influence of more available treadle-lathes.

One example of a sophisticated double cupboard, which incorporates both French and American stylistic designs, is held in the Maine State Museum Collections.¹⁰⁷ This blue painted tall *buffet-deux corps* was acquired in Madawaska, Maine, having been housed within the Frenchville-area home of Hector Bourgoin. Palardy claims that late seventeenth

¹⁰⁷See Edwin A. Churchill, Simple Forms and Vivid Colors: Maine Painted Furniture, 1800-1850, an exhibition at the Maine State Museum, July 8th 1983-February 28th 1984 (Augusta, Me.: Maine State Museum, 1983), pp. 68-69. MSM 82.112.16

century buffet furniture forms in Quebec were made from yellow birch or pine, with locking doors having projecting double mouldings, their panels decorated with low-relief lozenges, and the base of the top case divided into two narrow drawers.¹⁰⁸ The cornices on Quebec examples typically jut out and are richly moulded. The foot supports to these two-case cupboards consisted of extensions from front stiles, as in the six-board chest illustrated as Fig. 12c (page 91), or, alternatively, by small bun feet. By the late eighteenth century, the two cases might be separated differently so that the lower case now incorporates the double drawers and the feet become parts of a carved skirt-board, as is the case with such an example from Lotbinière.¹⁰⁹ Other early nineteenth century examples do not use drawers but incorporate elaborate Louis XV inspired scrolled-cut door panels.¹¹⁰ The Madawaska Settlement buffet discussed here derives from French Canadian precedents¹¹¹ with American features.¹¹² The doors are simplified panels without diamond-point relief or scrolled elaborations. There

¹⁰⁸Palardy, Les Meubles, p. 103.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., plate 112.

¹¹⁰Ibid., plate 120.

¹¹¹There are only a few examples of Acadian high-style large case pieces such as this. The Musée Acadien, in Moncton, does have a corner cupboard, but that example hails from the late nineteenth century.

¹¹²The central moulding between top and lower case is replaced.

are no locking devices, and the lower case rests on a mitred base. The skirt, cut-out from the plinth base, forms two incurved feet, which are features of both English Regency and American Federal styles.¹¹³ The proportions of the doors in the upper case are scaled down versions of the lower, unlike some examples of French Canadian chests, wherein the lower doors are more squared in format. The overall appearance becomes one of refined symmetry, which we would expect from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century anglophone influence. Once again, the simplicity of the piece suggests that Madawaska settlers had ameliorated northern kinfolk influence.

Following the 1820s, one of the most influential furniture designs in the region with an origin in the United States was American Empire. Empire furnishings embraced, for example, bulky bold turnings on table legs (see Fig. 15de). Also, scroll-work applications to the front columns of cupboards and large case pieces were introduced with this style. By 1840 cyma-cut scrolled curves were applied on chest stiles of Madawaskan-made pieces, some mimicking the

¹¹³A two-tiered buffet in the regency style from Varennes, Quebec is illustrated by Palardy. It is similar to this example except it has symmetrical rectangular panels which are split to carry assorted inset rectangles, has locks, hinges which do not rest flush to the stiles, and has bead moulding throughout. (Palardy, Les Meubles, pl. 123).

Empire style of the southern Saint John River valley.¹¹⁴ Such designs had been popularized in the United States, where publications such as Baltimore architect, John Hall's, The Cabinet Makers' Assistant, were released at the height of the Empire period in the early 1840s.¹¹⁵ These designs in turn claimed a European cultural heritage. In the preface to the Assistant, Hall claimed that "As far as possible, the style of the United States is blended with European taste, and a graceful outline and simplicity of parts are depicted in all the objects."¹¹⁶ A mingling of traditions had already occurred prior to the reception of the Empire style in the upper Saint John River valley. However, Empire style was not wholeheartedly embraced by the predominantly francophone community. And despite French bedstead designs being

¹¹⁴In Great Britain, cabinetmakers of the Georgian era gave their names to furniture periods. Chippendale, in the 1750s and '60s, was the forerunner of Adam, Hepplewhite and Sheraton. The Prince Regent was named in February of 1811, but the Regency style of furniture is associated with the years between 1800 and 1820. French Empire furniture is linked to the Napoleonic era. It was inaugurated after the French Revolution, despite the fact that Napoleon did not become Emperor until 1804. The American Federal period commenced after the War of Independence and terminated at the turn of the century. American Early Empire is associated with the early nineteenth century.

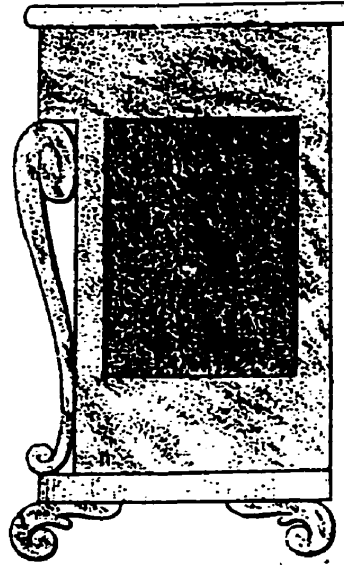
¹¹⁵John Hall, The Cabinet Makers' Assistant, embracing the most modern style of cabinet furniture: exemplified in New Designs, practically arranged on forty-four Plates containing one hundred and eighty-eight Figures to which is prefixed a short treatise on Linear Perspective, for the use of practical men (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1840), pl. 35, figs. 170 (a) and 171 (c).

¹¹⁶Ibid., preface (pages unnumbered).

included in Hall's text (eg. Plate 38), these European fashions rarely reached the Madawaska Settlements. By all accounts Hall's Empire furniture publication did not either, but interpretations of the furniture designs he drafted certainly did (see Fig. 16).

A vernacular reading of a consol bureau design in Hall's Assistant (see Fig. 16ac) is found within a case in Village Historique Acadien collections (see Fig. 16bd). Notice the curved front feet on the cupboard and the loosely interpreted scrolled front edge to the stiles. Such selective layering of designs added new dimensions to the variety of furniture designs found within the Madawaska Settlements. The pattern acted as inspiration, but the interpretation was Madawaskan in detail in its avoidance of more involved cabinetmaking practices. Simple construction techniques resulted in nailing the stile scrolls in position, substitution of a shaved stub foot for the rear scrolled foot, the use of drawer pulls instead of hidden underhand slots on the overhanging drawer, and the substitution of less complicated doors for drawers in the lower case. In addition, sideboards are butted instead of adhering to the prescribed inset panelling. Mitred frames flanking the top drawer on the design are not copied. The reverse cyma scrolled overhanging drawer front on the Madawaskan piece is poorly executed, and finishing touches like incurves on scrolled stiles and feet are omitted.

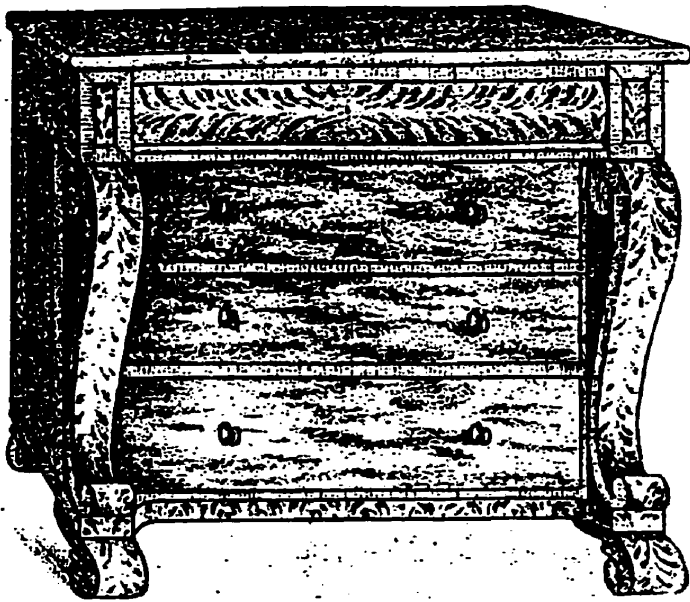
Fig. 16ad American Influence on Madawaskan Furniture: John Hall's Empire Design for a Chest of Drawers and a Madawaskan Interpretation



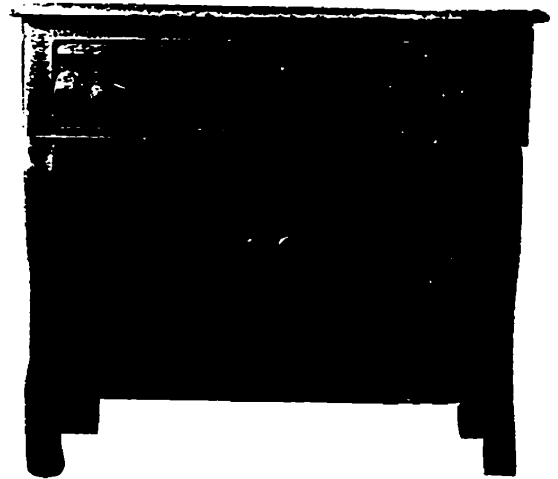
a



b



c



d

Fig. 16ad

Exotically grained crotch mahogany veneers are not used in the Madawaska Settlements in favour of painted pine decoration. The case is Madawaskan in execution and reflects the incorporation of American styles into regional furniture traditions.

Other Empire period innovations include scrolled backsplashes and the introduction of turned towel rails on wash stands. Thicker gauge and bulkier turned legs were embraced as an alternative to squared and chamfered posts on beds, tables and chairs and also as an advancement upon the narrow multiple-turned members introduced by the Americans in the early 1820s. Apart from Empire style case pieces being translated by local interpreters of style, some of the region's mid-nineteenth century beds were influenced by American designs, which adopted shaped and pillared headboards and spool-turned posts. In the lower valley these styles were heartily embraced and the inexpensive works of American cabinetmakers were eagerly imported.¹¹⁷ In the Madawaska Settlements the styles of the Americans had become a part of regional cultural heritage, following settlement by New Englanders in 1820. Yet, despite the embracing of

¹¹⁷Both Nova Scotian and New Brunswick city cabinetmakers petitioned against the importation of such competitive American wares and the labours of American workers (see Chapter 2). For examples of Nova Scotian petitions consult "Petition of Samuel Storey and 23 others," February 21st 1826 (PANS, RG5 Series P, Volume 121, Number 29) and for New Brunswick, "Memorial of Saint John Mechanics" April 18th 1814 (NAC, MG23, D1, Series 1, Volume 11, pp. 323-325).

American Empire styles, Madawaskans left their own bold imprint on furniture produced in the region. It might be noted that Acadian furniture outside the upper Saint John River valley region is more refined, with delicate lines. Such furniture found among early French settler communities in Nova Scotia might appear more sophisticated as they are the product of immigrant groups who immigrated directly from France and retained more fine conventions from Europe. Over time and further inland from those geographical locales peopled by first generation settlers, the influence of the European metropolis fades. Perhaps in the upper Saint John River valley we see the first true eastern Maritime French productions of furniture.

An explanation of the unconventional Madawaskan interpretations of American Empire period furniture is found in the skills of regional settlers. Untrained francophone carpenters incorporated traditional French Canadian construction techniques embracing simplicity. There were no American artisans in the Madawaska Settlements to correct or dictate styles. The majority of settlers in the region are listed in early censuses as farmers (*cultivateurs*) and day workers (*journaliers*), rather than as specialist craftsmen. Traditionally self-sufficient, Acadians were combinations of farmers, fishermen, hunters, trappers, lumbermen, carpenters

and blacksmiths.¹¹⁸ The earliest recorded carpenter in the region was Jerimie Durepos, from Saint Basile, a *charpentier*¹¹⁹ whose daughter was born in 1778. Cantin Dionne was a *journalier* and *charpentier* who worked in the early nineteenth century. Sebastien Chassé was a carpenter born in 1791. Surveyors John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh reported in 1831 that there was a deficiency in job specialization as there was a lack of carpenters and blacksmiths in the Madawaska Settlements.¹²⁰ However, further research reveals that there had been at least twenty-one carpenters operating in the area prior to 1851.¹²¹ However, they listed this trade as secondary to their farming commitments. Edouard Pelletier was a farmer-carpenter and proprietor in Saint Francis in the 1840s. Firmin Souci, who arrived in 1843, was also a carpenter in

¹¹⁸J. Alphonse Deveau, Along the Shores of Saint Mary's Bay: The History of a Unique Community, vol. I, The First Hundred Years (Church Point, N.S.: Imprimerie de l'université Saint Anne, 1977), pp. 81-82.

¹¹⁹Diderot defined *charpentier* as a rough carpenter or the man who builds houses, as opposed to a building carpenter (*menuisier en bâtiments*) who worked panels, ceilings, window casements, doors, skirting boards, etc. See Palardy, Les meubles anciens, p. 21 and Denis Diderot, Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers (Paris: Beisson, 1751-1765; reprint ed., C. C. Gillispie, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1959).

¹²⁰As cited in Churchill and McDonald, "Reflections of their World: The Furniture of the Upper Saint John Valley, 1820-1930," in Perspectives on American Furniture, ed. Gerald W. R. Ward (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), p. 69.

¹²¹Consult Béatrice Craig's "Family Reconstitution Files," deposited at the, University of Maine at Fort Kent, AA.

the same community. The majority of farmer-carpenters including Joseph Audibert dit La Jeunesse¹²², who originated from Quebec,¹²³ worked in the 1840s.

According to the 1850 United States census there was only one professional house builder and cabinetmaker working in the Madawaska Settlements and the area possessed no full-time chairmakers. A passing reference is made to Ignace Boucher, *menuisier* or cabinetmaker, but this is exceptional and little is known about his work. Edouard Guy, who married in 1848 in Saint Basile, was listed as *ouvrier, sculptor* and *charpentier*, later becoming an architect and farmer. In the early 1850s Charles Grenier, *batisseur de l'église et mâche menuisier*, raised two sons in his trade and settled in St. Leonard. Job specialization occurred after the mid-nineteenth century, when an expanding population base could support such labour differentiation.

¹²²Louis Clavelle, a farmer-proprietor and carpenter was born in 1803. Michel Philibert, carpenter, was born in 1805. André Ouellette worked in the '40s. Jean St. Jorre dit Sergerue, born in 1792, arrived in Madawaska in 1844 and listed his occupation as carpenter. Honoré Pelletier's name has been linked by former New Brunswick furniture historian Huia Ryder with a number of furniture items from the Green River area (consult Ryder, Antique Furniture by New Brunswick Craftsmen, pp. 6, 8, 170). Severin Cormier is also linked to furniture making in the region by Ryder (Ibid.). After 1840, on the southern edge of the settlements, at Martin's Siding, near the Grand Falls, Joseph Parent plied his wares. (Ibid., pp. 7, 137, 170).

¹²³It was formerly believed that Audibert dit la Jeunesse was from Caens, France, but recent research has revealed that this was not the case. (Personal Correspondence - Lisa Ornstein, 2nd February 1996, AA).

The styles of furniture made in the Madawaska Settlements were also affected by the type of tools available. The original settlers produced traditional French-style furniture using hand tools. Audibert dit La Jeunesse, Madawaska Settlement carpenter working in the 1840s, listed personal tools including planes, chisels and gouges, a bitstock and assorted bits, spoke shave, carpenter rule and spirit level (see Fig. 17).¹²⁴ He acquired tools vital to his trade from Fredericton, locally-made tools not being available. In 1794, Park Holland described the difficulty of the "happy and contented" Madawaska settlers in acquiring implements with the result that their artisanry suffered "from the want of edge tools."¹²⁵ Tools had to be acquired from the English provinces. Even there, as late as 1847, guides for immigrants to New Brunswick suggested settlers bring their own tools from Great Britain. Abraham Gesner listed the tools he considered invaluable to the immigrant as

two axes, one plane, three chisels,
 one drawknife, one handsaw, one gouge,
 three augers from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inches
 bore; one hammer, four gimlets, five
 pounds nails, a supply of leather, a
 few awls, a pair of pincers...[and]
 ingenuity...to make...mocassins: he
 must be a carpenter, blacksmith, tanner,

¹²⁴"Joseph Audibert Journal and Papers," pp. 146-147. MCC: 93-00028 (AA) .

¹²⁵Consult Park Holland, "Early Description of the Settlements." pp. 217-222. A21R20:6-9, MSA. Consult also Craig Papers, Box 3, AA.

Fig. 17 Both Francophone and Anglophone: Joseph Audibert dit la Jeunesse's "List d'outie" comprising Chisels, Gouges, and Spoke-Shaves

and cooper.... In every village of ten families, there should be a cross-cut saw and a whip saw.¹²⁶

All these tools were used as late as the 1840s in the Madawaska Settlements and most are listed in La Jeunesse's journal. According to material culture researchers Edwin Churchill and Sheila McDonald steam-powered machinery did not appear in the area until 1900, almost half a century later than in the lower Saint John River valley.¹²⁷ It is interesting to note that La Jeunesse's "List d'outie" commences in regional patois French, but soon swaps to English spelling, which is evidence of the layering of French and English linguistic cultures.

A fourth influx of francophones countered that of the Americans after 1824.¹²⁸ The opening of lumber camps attracted new labourers into the area and created a market for locally produced foodstuffs. New settlers from Quebec met with hostility, as priests were pressured by established families to be protective of original settlers' interests. Local merchants refused to extend necessary credit to newcomers and Madawaska Settlement families snubbed recent

¹²⁶Gesner, New Brunswick: With notes for emigrants, pp. 378-379.

¹²⁷Churchill and McDonald, "Reflections of their World," p. 71. Yet, a lack of such machinery is rare in a lumber mill area.

¹²⁸Information in this paragraph is taken from Craig, "Early French Migrations," pp. 238-240 and Craig, "Family...", pp. 151-160.

Quebec workers, preferring the pool of well-established residents. Whereas settlers had come primarily from the Kamouraska area prior to 1825, they now came from other regions and were often unrelated geneologically to established residents. Land competition increased and the back settlements grew. The newcomers were excluded from the sharing of political power and prevented from operating businesses. However, a subsistence economy was replaced by profitable enterprise based on a monetary system rather than that of barter and trade. In the 1830s Madawaska Settlement life consolidated, with descendants of original settlers forming a regional upper class. During this period Carleton County was split from York County in the north (1832) and Madawaska became a civil parish (1833) with approximately 3,000 residents (see Appendix I for population statistics).¹²⁹

With respect to furniture design, there was little in terms of new cultural introductions from the north during this period. Indeed, it was now difficult to distinguish Acadian from Quebecois traditions. J. A. Maclaughlan and John C. Allan, commissioners for the settlement of Madawaska settler claims under the Treaty of Washington, claimed that "the Canadian French are so intermixed with the Acadians and others, that no line can possibly be drawn to distinguish where the one description of settlers begins, and the other

¹²⁹Albert, Histoire, p. 555.

ends."¹³⁰ The editorial comments of John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh's 1831 report state, "By intermarriages the community has in the course of time become inseparably blended."¹³¹ Indeed, the "Acadians and Canadians are now so intermarried that any accurate statistics about them are all but impossible, and there are now many people of American parentage, of other races, scattered through the section."¹³² To the north, settlers on the Saint Lawrence River also underwent a mingling of cultures. One anonymous Canadian claimed that ethnic interaction had already implanted a new identity: "the Canadians are, although of French extraction, not French, nor even Iroquois, nor Germans, nor English, nor Scotch, nor Yankees, but that they are, assuredly, *Canadians*."¹³³ In the Madawaska Settlements the process of ethnic interaction and cultural blending was similar to that experienced on the shores of the Saint Lawrence River but resulted from a mixture of different ethnic components. A distinctive regional blend of ethnic identities had occurred by the third decade of the nineteenth century. As one American writer on the closing of

¹³⁰Maclauchlan and Allan, "Letter to Sir William M. G. Colebrooke," 26th July 1845, Legislative Council Journal, 1846 Appendix 1, p. 452.

¹³¹Deane and Kavanagh, "Report"

¹³²Collins, The Acadians, p. 65.

¹³³A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada, p. 112.

the Madawaskan frontier recognized:

The settlement was about fifty years old, had emerged from the primitive stage and was now assuming some of the signs of the melting-pot. Many nationalities had gathered on the river by 1831; a remnant of the original Indians, Acadians, French Canadians, Maine Yankees, Nova Scotians, New Brunswickians, Irish, Scotch, English, and Italians. One group dominated, however, and it was not the Americans as might be expected; it was a new type as distinctive as the New Englander moulded during the years of isolation and incubation. The new type was the Madawaskans.¹³⁴

Modern-day museum specialists Edwin Churchill and Sheila McDonald claim that the northern section of the Saint John River Valley "is a bilingual, a bicultural, and an international region that includes a major portion of Maine's northern borderland."¹³⁵ Within the first few decades of the nineteenth century travellers could expect to hear French, English and Maliseet spoken in this region. Yet the upper Saint John people were neither Mi'kmaq nor Maliseet, neither Canadian nor American, neither Acadian nor Quebecois. Instead, by 1851, the residents and their material culture had become clearly Madawaskan.

¹³⁴Lucey, "Madawaska on the River Saint John," p. 151. correct

¹³⁵Churchill and McDonald, "Reflections of Their World," p. 63.

Chapter Two

Americans in the Lower Saint John River Valley: Early-comers, Loyalist Generations, and Purveyors of "Yankee Clap Trap Furniture", 1763-1857.

Early-comer settler groups moved from Massachusetts to the lower Saint John valley in the 1760s, introducing southern New England furniture making traditions into the region.¹ At the termination of the American Revolution loyalists arriving from New York augmented fashionable furniture styles in the lower valley with designs originating from the northeastern United States. In their endeavour to rebuild instantly material life in this seeming wilderness, some American loyalist settlers carried their furniture with them and others awaited whole frames of houses to be transported north.² Furniture makers operating from shops lining the newly laid out streets of Saint John City created fashionable wares for an American loyalist

¹See also Graeme Wynn, "A Province Too Much Dependent on New England," Canadian Geographer 31 2(1987): 98-113.

²See Ann Gorman Condon, The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick. (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984). Andrew Crookshank, a Scottish loyalist who came from the colonies following the American Revolution "resided in the first framed dwelling house erected in St. John, the frame having been transported from New York. The building stood on Prince William street, Chipman's hill, so called." I. Allen Jack, History of the Saint Andrew's Society of St. John, N.B., Canada, 1798-1903 (Saint John, N.B.: J. & A. McMillan, 1903), p. 30.

clientele as early as 1785. Forty years later Peter Fisher, the first historian of New Brunswick, designated the city as "the 'New-York' of the Province."³ Yet by 1820, influential lowland Scots immigrant cabinetmakers commenced trading in Saint John and altered the city's fashions to reflect a northern British heritage. Ensuing Irish migrant artisans also left their mark on the city's furniture styles and, by 1851, had established themselves as a dominant force in the furniture trade (see Chapter 3). During this latter period mass-produced American furniture flooded the Saint John market and spurred on competitive industrialization in New Brunswick.

Colonial American settlers were encouraged to move to Nova Scotia, including present-day New Brunswick, by Governor Charles Lawrence's 1758 proclamation, in which he offered settlers the lands of dispossessed Acadians. One of the first group settlements of colonial Americans on the River Saint John was located seventy miles upstream, on the eastern bank at Maugerville. Led by Israel Perley and Francis Peabody between 1762 and 1765 the migrants from Essex County, Massachusetts carved out plots of land flanking the great river. Other land grants to early-comers, known subsequently as pre-loyalists, were made in the 1760s on former Maliseet lands at Aukpaque to the north, along the

³Peter Fisher, Sketches of New Brunswick (Saint John: Chubb & Sears, 1825; reprint ed. History of New Brunswick Saint John: New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921), p. 66.

Keswick and Nashwaaksis Rivers, in Burton and Gagetown, flanking the Long Reach along the Nerepis shores, and south to the confluence of the Saint John River with the Bay of Fundy (see Fig. 18).⁴ The furniture of these early-comers reflect the settlers' strong Massachusetts heritage, as items with this provenance were carried north as immigrant cargo.

A few furniture artefacts survive from the lower Saint John River valley, such as a gateleg table⁵ made between 1720 and 1740 brought to the Sheffield-Maugerville area by Moses Pickard in 1766 (see Fig. 19c).⁶ The vase-and-ring

⁴W. F. Ganong, Historic Sites in New Brunswick, (St. Stephen, N.B.: Print'N Press Ltd., 1983), p. 114, reprint ed., "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 1899. Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No. 4. Land grants were given to disbanded troops along the Nashwaak, Oromocto, Belleisle and Kennebecasis rivers. Both early-comer and loyalist settlements are represented on Fig. 18.

⁵See Appendix IV for a Glossary of Terms.

⁶M. A. MacDonald, "Artifact Survivals from Pre-Loyalist English-speaking Settlers of New Brunswick," Material History Bulletin 26(Fall 1987): 29. Pre-loyalist furniture illustrated here is from Maugerville and pre-dates loyalist settlement. They were brought with the settlers or sent for at a later date. The desk-on-stand (a), was owned by T. T. Hanford, and dates from between 1740 and 1750. The slightly cabrioled legs, gentle knee blocks, and raised pad feet were popular during the Queen Anne era, while the fallen arch skirt predates these features. Burpee brought a drop-leaf table (b) made from maple, birch, and pine, woods commonly used in southern New England. The lidded chest (d) also has a Pickard family provenance. For a discussion of Nova Scotian history in relationship to that of Massachusetts consult George A. Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts: A Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotian Relations, 1630-1784 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973).

Fig. 18 Robert Campbell's "Map of the Great River St. John & Waters" from the Bay of Fundy North to Fredericton from surveys made prior to 1787

turned legs with ball, disk and block turned stretchers, and single drawer are similar to other Massachusetts tables in the collection of New England's Old Sturbridge Village, although rounded leaves are more common on their early eighteenth century tables.⁷ The Pickard family also brought a slant-front desk from their home in Rowley, Massachusetts (see Fig. 19e). In this item curled birch primary woods are added to pine and mahogany secondary and decorative woods. The cyma scrolled skirt is common on late eighteenth century cabinets, tables and chairs from New England. The simple curves and plain front to the desk place this item within the second rank of quality of extant mid-to-late eighteenth century American furniture.

Another such everyday ware is a joined six-board chest, attributed to a Pickard family provenance (see Fig. 19d). The woods used were popular among cabinetmakers of New England, especially yellow poplar, which was later exported to Canada as a cabinetwood. The maple top is unusual in that most six-board chests consistently use the same wood throughout, and that wood is usually pine in unsophisticated

⁷The author catalogued the entire Old Sturbridge Village furniture holdings (excepting windsor chairs), a project funded by a National Endowment for the Humanities grant between 1986 and 1988. Turnings on early eighteenth century gateleg tables are often referred to as "New England turnings" which consist of a standard block-bulbous vase-central disc format.

Fig. 19af Pre-Loyalist Mougerville Furniture: Hanford Desk on
Stand, Burpee Drop-Leaf Table, Gateleg Table, Six-board Chest,
Desk, and Tavern Table

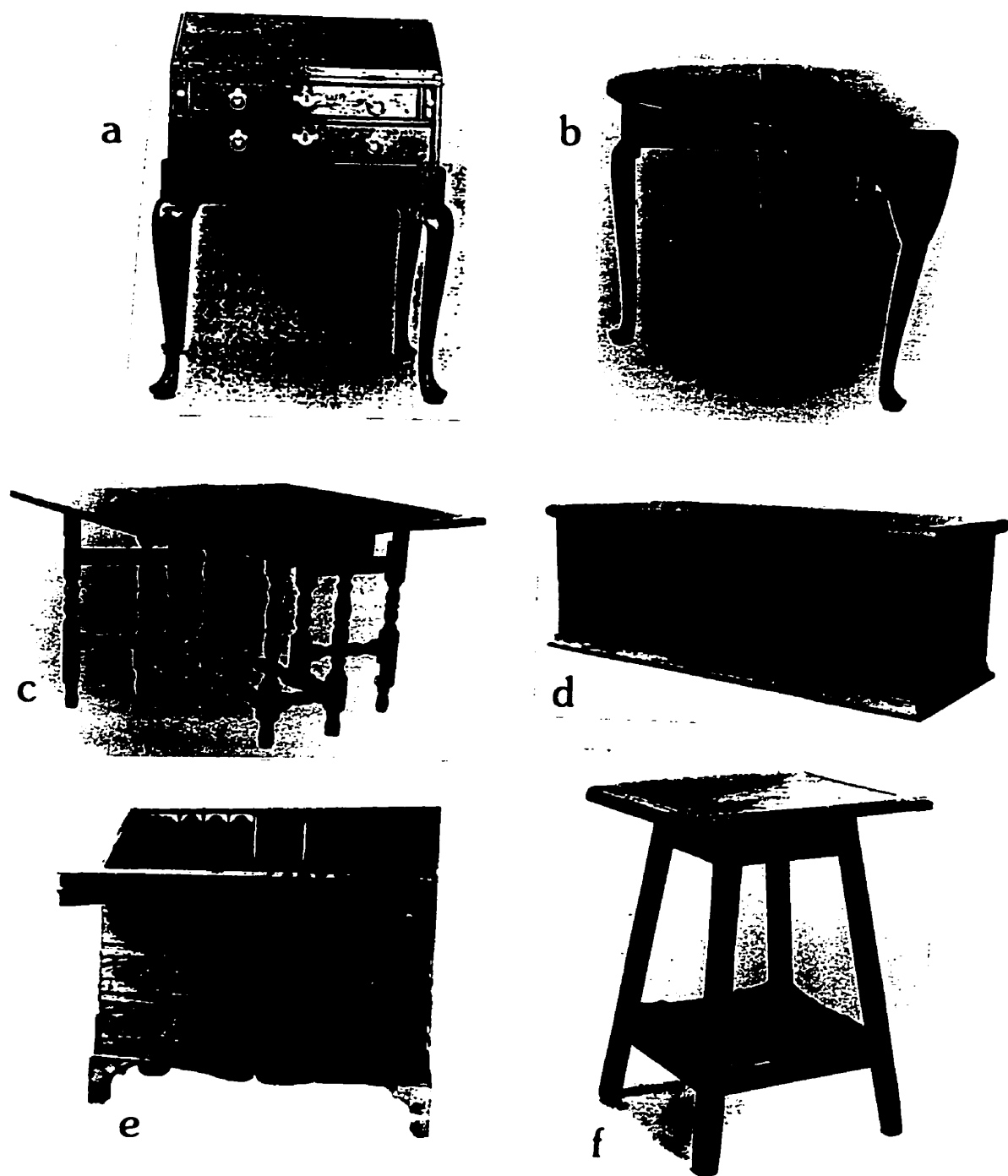


Fig. 19af

chests such as this.⁸ Gum wood was used for the base, which is rarely used in New Brunswick wares. The more elaborate base moulding is an incongruous feature to this chest. The mixture of woods, primitive lid and more sophisticated base moulding, suggest the piece was worked at different times by both skilled and unskilled hands.

Other common furniture forms derived from New England origins include different versions of a standard tavern table with splayed legs. Figure 19f is a well-worn diminutive version of a tavern table, which has a squared top with "bread-board" cleated ends. Simply and easily constructed, many such tables were common in New England and throughout Maritime Canada where American settlers predominated.

The Jonathan Burpee table (see Fig. 19b) still retains an earlier William and Mary period (Ca 1700-1720) feature - the fallen-arch skirt, along with Queen Anne (Ca 1720-1740) raised Dutch-pad feet, slightly incurved legs, and rounded leaves. This table had seen use prior to early-comer

⁸A smoke-painted butternut chest can be found in Old Sturbridge Village collections, but the majority of uncarved items were pine. Oak chests from the eighteenth century found in the Connecticut River valley, and around the Hadley region were oftentimes carved with geometric tulip and leaf motifs. See Jane L. Cook "Along the Connecticut Coast and Up the Connecticut Valley," Old Sturbridge Visitor XXVII 3(Fall 1987): 7-9.

settlement in New Brunswick.⁹ Household inventories, such as that of Jonathan Burpee, who died in 1781, list few personal household goods. While his estate was valued at £525 (including £252 in land and £111.17.00 in stock), the furniture was assessed at less than £6. Burpee had four bedsteads, two large and ten small chairs, a looking glass (alone valued at 35 shillings), two chests (at 29 shillings) and two tables.¹⁰ The Hanford desk-on-stand illustrated (see Fig. 19a), is from the same time period as the Burpee table, and has similar cyma scrolled legs with knee blocks over raised Dutch-pad feet. The flattened arch skirt has a central drop-pendant reminiscent of William and Mary furniture. While the placement of such an item within the Hanford's Maugerville household would reflect the sophistication of its residents, it was probably a finer item than the New Brunswick building which initially housed it. These items of furniture brought north from the American colonies embody the settlers' American cultural origins and do not embrace any direct English influence.

A 1760-1790 wing-back or easy chair, currently in Kings Landing collections, embodies a mélange of design styles which have their roots in the Massachusetts origins and

⁹M. A. MacDonald, "Before the Loyalists: The Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English Settlers," Material History Bulletin 28(Fall 1988): 21-22.

¹⁰"The Maugerville Settlement, 1763-1824," Journal of the New Brunswick Historical Society 1 2(1894): 79.

English connections of early settlers (see Fig. 20).¹¹ The front squat cabriole legs, with distinct shins (a Boston feature) terminating in claw-and-squat ball feet, is reminiscent of chairs made in Massachusetts.¹² Webbing on claw feet was popular in both Massachusetts and Rhode Island.¹³ Massachusetts ball-feet tend to be squat and robust with boldly knuckled claws, while Rhode Island examples of such feet may exhibit fine claws raised above the ball itself, the open interstices proclaiming the skills of their carvers. The New Brunswick example is less sophisticated in its execution than other New England examples, and is one of the first furniture forms to be made in the province. Royal Ontario Museum furniture specialist Donald Blake Webster considers the cross-stretchers under such chairs as late usage of English design styles, especially when seen in conjunction with claw feet, but they were familiar also to chairmakers in 1760-1790 New England.¹⁴ According to Webster, in Canadian Georgian tradition these stretchers are found only on New Brunswick-made easy chairs. This chair's proportions, slightly wider

¹¹Donald Blake Webster, English-Canadian Furniture of the Georgian Period (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979), pp. 11 and 64.

¹²Barry A. Greenlaw, New England Furniture at Williamsburg, 2nd Printing (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1975), p. 69.

¹³Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁴Webster, English-Canadian Furniture, p. 64

Fig. 20 Wing-back Easy Chair Influenced by Massachusetts
Styles



Fig. 20

than other New England chairs, may also be a New Brunswick feature. The shape of the crest of the chair back is similar to those of Boston easy chairs, which also tend to have rounded rather than cyma-scrolled crests.¹⁵ Many Boston-made chairs of this period terminate in Dutch-pad feet, unlike this example. Such easy chairs were expensive to procure, not because of the chairmaker's skill but due to the upholsterer's charges for stuffing and covering. The chair illustrated hails from Sheffield, Sunbury County, a community south of pre-loyalist Maugerville.

The 1783 American loyalist fleet arrivals marked a shift away from slow anglo-penetration of the lower Saint John River valley. According to New Brunswick historian W. F. Ganong, loyalist grants were made primarily along the Saint John and Passamaquoddy rivers, with outmigrations to nearby districts.¹⁶ His list of grants made by Nova Scotian

¹⁵See 1759 Boston easy chair in Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, New England Furniture: The Colonial Era: Selections from the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), plate 101.

¹⁶Ganong, Historic Sites, p. 127.

At the head of the Bay of Fundy, in Sackville and Westmorland (formerly Cumberland) Townships, there was little Loyalist immigration, but in Dorchester and on the Petitcodiac there was some, though it was insignificant as compared with that of the St. John. As to the North Shore, it may be said that the Loyalist period hardly existed there, but that the English merged directly into the Post-Loyalist period. It is true that some Loyalist families were induced to settle on the Miramichi, and

authorities in 1784 include sites in Conway, Grimross, Parrtown (Saint John City in 1785), Oromocto, Gagetown, Kennebecasis, Washedomoack Lake, Belleisle, Nashwaak, Kingston, Grand Bay, Long Reach, Middle Island, Hammond River, Meductic Creek, Mispic and Quaco, Indian Island, St. Anne's Point (later Fredericton), Maugerville and Meduxnekeag (see Fig. 21).¹⁷ Within a short period of landing, by March 1784, there were already approximately 1500 framed houses and 400 made from logs within the confines of Parrtown.¹⁸

Of the more than fourteen thousand loyalists migrating to New Brunswick, 90% were native-born Americans, 70% of whom originated in the northern colonies, 22% from the middle colonies, while only 7% were born in the south.¹⁹ By 1800, furniture in New Brunswick reflected design styles prevailing in contemporary northern American colonial furniture. This was due to the early-comers' affiliation

scattered settlers located themselves at other points, but these were mostly the result of expansion of the more ambitious or restless from the St. John. True Loyalist grants on the North Shore can, therefore, be said to be wanting.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 128-131.

¹⁸Graeme Wynn, "A Region of Scattered Settlements and Bounded Possibilities: Northeastern America 1775-1800," Canadian Geographer 31 4(1987): 324.

¹⁹Susan Kathleen Leyden, Crimes & Controversies: Law and Society in Loyalist Saint John (Saint John: The Saint John Law Society, 1987), p. 14; see also Wynn, "Scattered Settlements," p. 321.

Fig. 21 A Map of New Brunswick from Surveys by Captain Dugald Campbell, New Brunswick Regiment, 1800

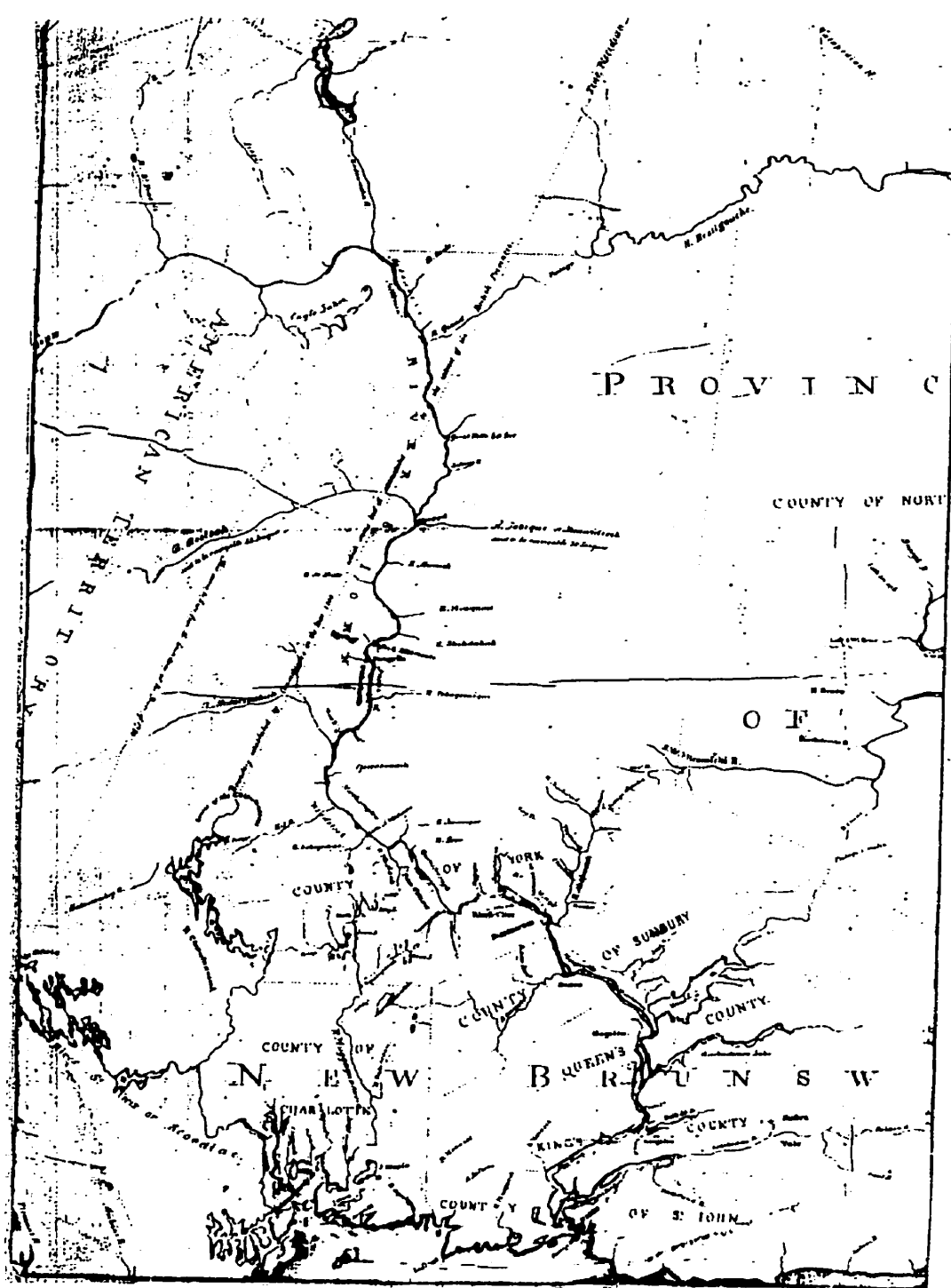


Fig. 21

with cultural traditions from Massachusetts, which were later augmented by styles introduced by New York artisans. New Brunswick furniture does not reflect styles from the southern United States.²⁰

New York fashions predominated in Saint John City's first four decades. One New York item currently in Kings Landing Historical Settlement's collections is a drop-leaf table, originally in the possession of Lt. Col. Beverley Robinson, Jr. (1754-1816), formerly of Virginia and New York.²¹ As an officer in the Royal Guides and Pioneers, and affiliated with his father's Loyal American Regiment, Lt. Col. Beverley Robinson, Jr. was awarded land on the

²⁰Neil MacKinnon points out that southerners from the United States went to Nova Scotia rather than New Brunswick. See Neil MacKinnon, This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), pp. 60-63.

²¹Kings Landing Historical Settlement. M94.25.1 mahogany drop-leaf table. The extension boards are missing yet the dimensions of the existing table are large. Robinson's forebears had a wealthy history affiliated with the development of the Virginian colony and at a later date, Dutchess County, New York State. (Consult L. M. B. Maxwell, An Outline of The History of Central New Brunswick to the Time of Confederation, Bicentennial edition (Fredericton: The York-Sunbury Historical Society, 1984), p. 83). His father, who had gone into business with Oliver Delancey in New York, married Susannah Philipse and built an estate on the Hudson River known as Beverley House, consisting of a fifteen-hundred acre farm, two grist mills, sawmills and potash works. He stood to inherit a sixty-thousand acre estate, but Robinson, Sr. (1722-1792) returned to England after the war forfeiting all rights to his colonial property. (See Isabel Louise Hill, Some Loyalists and Others (Fredericton, N.B.: The Author, 1976, rev. ed., 1977), p. 16). For some New York loyalist families such as Robinson's, it was difficult to recreate similar estates in the lower Saint John valley.

Nashwaaksis River, opposite Fredericton.²² Robinson is linked to New York, where he was a successful merchant and landholder, residing at "Beverley House" on the Hudson River. His family was linked to the Philipse family, a wealthy Dutch landholding family.²³ The design style of the table is from the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century (see Fig. 22ab). This item is linked to New York city furniture by its incorporation of numerous legs, long leaves, and skirt banding. Four legs are hinged on this six-legged example, a style rarely seen in New Brunswick-made wares.²⁴ Yet, the style of turning on the legs and the fragility of inset swing-legs, suggest a New Brunswick manufacturer made this item. From the metal slot receptacles on the extremities of one leaf it appears that this table slotted into another. Robinson, Jr.'s two eldest sons left New Brunswick to reside in New York. He died there in 1816.²⁵ With both first and second generation loyalists returning south of the border, on both a permanent and temporary basis, there was a means whereby New York continued to influence the cultural life of the Saint John

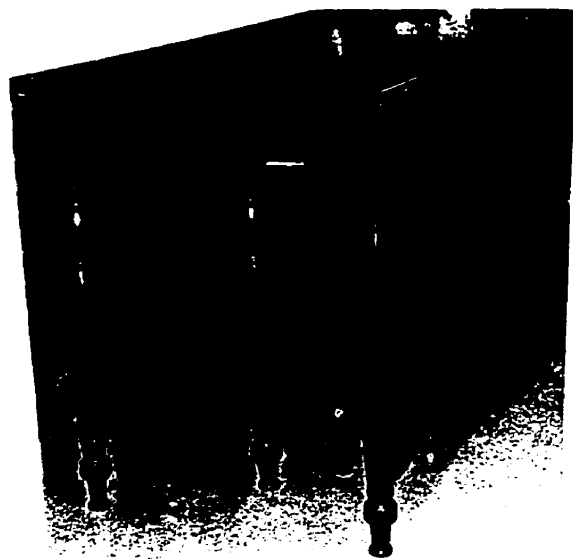
²²Maxwell, Central New Brunswick, p. 68.

²³Condon, Envy of the American States, p. 4.

²⁴The author worked with the furniture collection of the New-York Historical Society in 1983.

²⁵Hill, Some Loyalists, p. 20.

Fig. 22ab Lt. Col. Beverley Robinson, Jr.'s Dining Table



a



b

Fig. 22ab

River valley.²⁶

Other furniture belonging to New York loyalists remain in New Brunswick. Abraham Close was a lieutenant under Robinson, Jr., and acquired land in the parishes of Douglas and Queensbury.²⁷ A cherry drop-leaf table which belonged to Close, a loyalist from Salem, Westchester County, New York, is currently on display in the study of the Morehouse Farmhouse at Kings Landing (see Fig. 23).²⁸ The short-leaf fold-top and square tapered legs are familiar features on New England tables and were also features of New York wares. The wood type indicates that this table may have been imported prior to 1800. William Cobett noted on his voyage through New Brunswick that he "had got into the house of one of those Yankee Loyalists, who at the close of the Revolutionary war...accepted...grants of land.... I found a table, the like of which I have since seen so many in the United States...."²⁹ American style spread through the lower Saint John River valley. Furniture made in the valley

²⁶Massachusetts loyalist Jonathan Bliss thought New Brunswick a wretched, unproductive and unrewarding country and advised his sons seeking office to return to the United States. Leyden, Crimes and Controversies, pp. 39-40.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Darrel Butler, draft version of the "Loyalist Brochure," 3rd May 1995, p. 8. Kings Landing buildings include the Joslin House (the owner's family having Rhode Island connections), Jones House (New Hampshire), Huestis, Ingraham and Lint Houses (New York), Long House (Pennsylvania and New Jersey), Fisher House (New Jersey), and Morehouse Farmhouse (Connecticut).

²⁹Morning News, 1st October 1851.

Fig. 23 Abraham Close's Drop-Leaf Table C. 1775 used in York
County

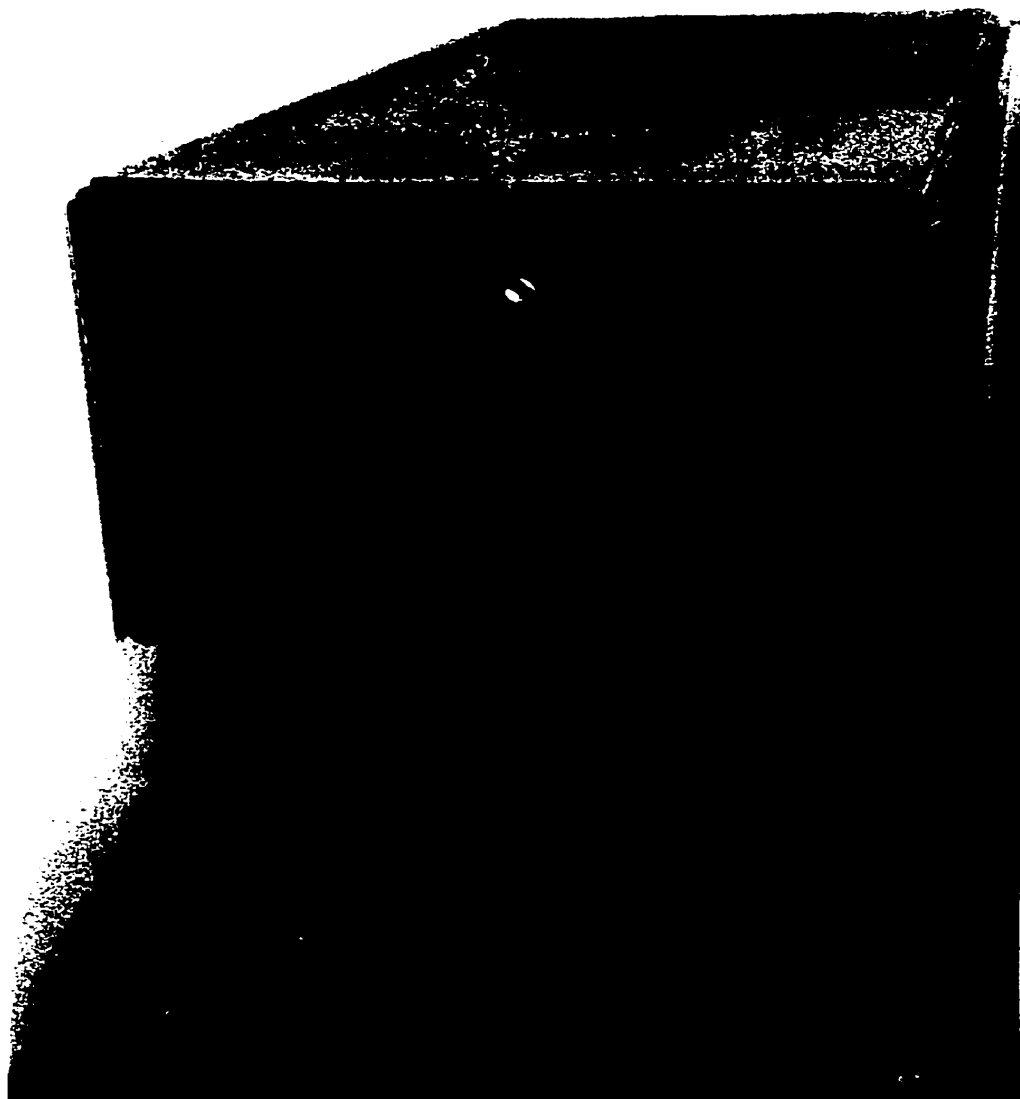


Fig. 23

resembled wares originating in settlers' former homelands.

The origins of furniture may be distinguished by the examination of woods used in construction. New Brunswick-made furniture, as American furniture, incorporated locally grown materials. For example, a provincial member of the Close family made a country maple stand which sits in an upstairs bedroom of the Morehouse Farmhouse at Kings Landing. Oftentimes it is the secondary wood in combination with the primary wood which enables a more accurate regional attribution. Upstate New York furniture might use cherry, whereas New Brunswick wares tended not to.³⁰

Other former New York residents had furniture with north-eastern American heritages. Richard Hewlett, from Long Island, established the community of Hampstead, Queens County (named after his Long Island home).³¹ A hutch-table from the Hewlett family household, in a style familiar to New York homeowners, is displayed in the Lint House work room at Kings Landing. This item of utilitarian furniture has had its top replaced according to a Massachusetts design found in Kettel's Pine Furniture of Early New England.³² Another Hewlett piece, a two-section dining table made from local woods of curly birch and maple, is on display in the

³⁰Webster, English-Canadian Furniture, p. 44.

³¹Maxwell, Central New Brunswick, p. 78.

³²Consult Russell Hawes Kettell, The Pine Furniture of Early New England (Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1949; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., nd.), pp. 70-71.

dining parlour of the Abraham Long House at Kings Landing (see Fig. 24). The adoption of local woods integrated loyalist homesteads with New Brunswick tradition. The style of the tapered legs is similar to the pembroke table already mentioned, but the woods and unusual three sided deep straight skirt on each section suggest this was a piece of local manufacture. One of the tables has an extra swing leg to support the central extension leaf. Clearly it is influenced by American style.

This northeastern American influence on New Brunswick furniture traditions reflects the fact that American loyalist migrants with cabinetmaking skills came from New York. Indeed, that city provided a significant percentage of the loyalist settlers in New Brunswick, many of whom were migrant furniture makers. The few professional cabinetmakers among the American loyalists arriving with the fleets of 1783 established shops in Parrrtown within the first few years of settlement.³³ James Birmingham was an upholsterer and paper hanger and formerly a sergeant in the Prince of Wales American Regiment. Lately of New York, this immigrant opened up a store on the newly laid out Duke Street. Robert Chillis, a former Captain in the Loyal Volunteers of New

³³Pre-1800 cabinet and chairmakers registered in Saint John include Thomas Beatt(ea)y, James Birmingham, Robert Blackwood, William Chapple, Robert Chillas, Joseph A. Flemming (went to Fredericton), Daniel Fowler, William Gerrard, Daniel Green, Thomas Gregg, S. Lockwood, Paul Musherow Jr., John Newberg, Nathan Oak(es), George Reid, and William Wilbur (Wilbore).

Fig. 24ab Lt. Col. Hewlett's Two-part Dining Table



a



b

Fig. 24ab

York arriving in the third fleet, became a freeman cabinetmaker and joiner in 1785, soon after the city was incorporated. Joseph A. Flemming set up as a cabinetmaker, upholsterer, chairmaker, painter, paper hanger and umbrella maker in Colonel Fanning's house in Fredericton.³⁴ Captain Daniel Fowler took out his freeman papers as a cabinetmaker in 1785, and was later referred to as a yeoman farmer and gentleman.³⁵ William Gerrard registered as a cabinetmaker and carpenter in 1785 and was allocated a city lot. Paul Musherow, Jr., with New York connections, became a freeman chairmaker in 1785. The loyalist Nathan Oak(e)s registered as a freeman chairmaker a decade later but never received a land grant and died in early 1797. Thomas Beatt(ea)y also became a cabinetmaker in 1795 and devoted his energies to ship carpentry. These artisans supplied northern American style wares to a loyalist city. Their clientele included the wealthy of the northeast, such as New York loyalist Mrs. De Peyster, who ordered chairs from Robert Blackwood a

³⁴Royal Gazette, 17th July 1798. The United States exported paper for decorating household interiors throughout the nineteenth century. John Kerr sold "paper hangings 350 pieces," at his auction sales room which he had imported from New York on the *Amenia*, paying cash on delivery 27th April 1833. See advertisement in the New Brunswick Courier of the same week.

³⁵A signed piece of furniture by Daniel Fowler has come to light recently.

chairmaker, carpenter and turner working on Dock Street.³⁶

Two hundred of the loyalist settlers in the Spring Fleet arrivals were Dutch, mostly from New Jersey and New York. Although they may have been descendants of New Amsterdam settlers, New York became an English bastion in 1672, and little Dutch influence remained. The raised pad foot (essentially an oval or circular disk supporting a round-tapering or cabriole leg) was labelled as Dutch by the Americans. Some of the tables and chairs brought to New Brunswick featured this early eighteenth century design innovation. Also, the curved-back chair of the early eighteenth century, alternatively known as "Dutch chairs", while popular throughout the eastern seaboard, was rarely described in chairmakers' advertisements or household inventories in New Brunswick. The sophisticated circa 1740 Boston Queen Anne side chair (see Fig. 30b, page 173), with turned stretchers and raised pad feet, was not mimicked in New Brunswick and was probably a rare importation. Contemporary to pre-Loyalist migration, this item reflects upper-class usage. The Dutch descendants, however, were outnumbered and played little role in the development of material culture traditions in furniture-making in the Saint

³⁶Chipman Papers, Ward Sr. & Jr., Ser. 1, Lawrence Collection, De Peyster Correspondence and Accounts, MG23 D1 v.15, pp. 68-9.

John River valley region.³⁷ Indeed, few Dutch settlers established residences in the Saint John River valley, although exceptions include the Yerxa family of Keswick Ridge. None of the Dutch immigrants were specialist cabinetmakers.

According to statistics cited by historical geographer Graeme Wynn, forty or more German migrants arrived with the loyalists.³⁸ There were no German-only settlements along the shores of the Saint John River, but these people did leave their mark on some of the vernacular wares of the region. One such item is a footstool (see Fig. 25a). Similar designs are found on South Shore, Nova Scotian furniture and architectural details, especially in Lunenburg County. Collector and furniture historian Michael Bird points out, when discussing Nova Scotian furniture, that

Rarely does this furniture possess clearly Germanic form, rather its 'Germanization' is likely to be found in individual parts rather than the whole. As in architecture, the furniture found here is essentially English in outline and is given Germanic interpretation in particular details.³⁹

³⁷Wynn, "Scattered Settlements," p. 321. For a brief outline of Dutch contributions to the development of New Brunswick consult Will C. van den Hoonard, Silent Ethnicity: The Dutch of New Brunswick (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991), pp. 22-24.

³⁸Wynn, "Scattered Settlements," p. 321.

³⁹Michael Bird and Terry Kobayashi, A Splendid Harvest: Germanic Folk and Decorative Arts in Canada (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1981), p. 20.

Fig. 25ad Germanic Influences: Footstool, Wall Pipe Box and
Detail, and Drawer

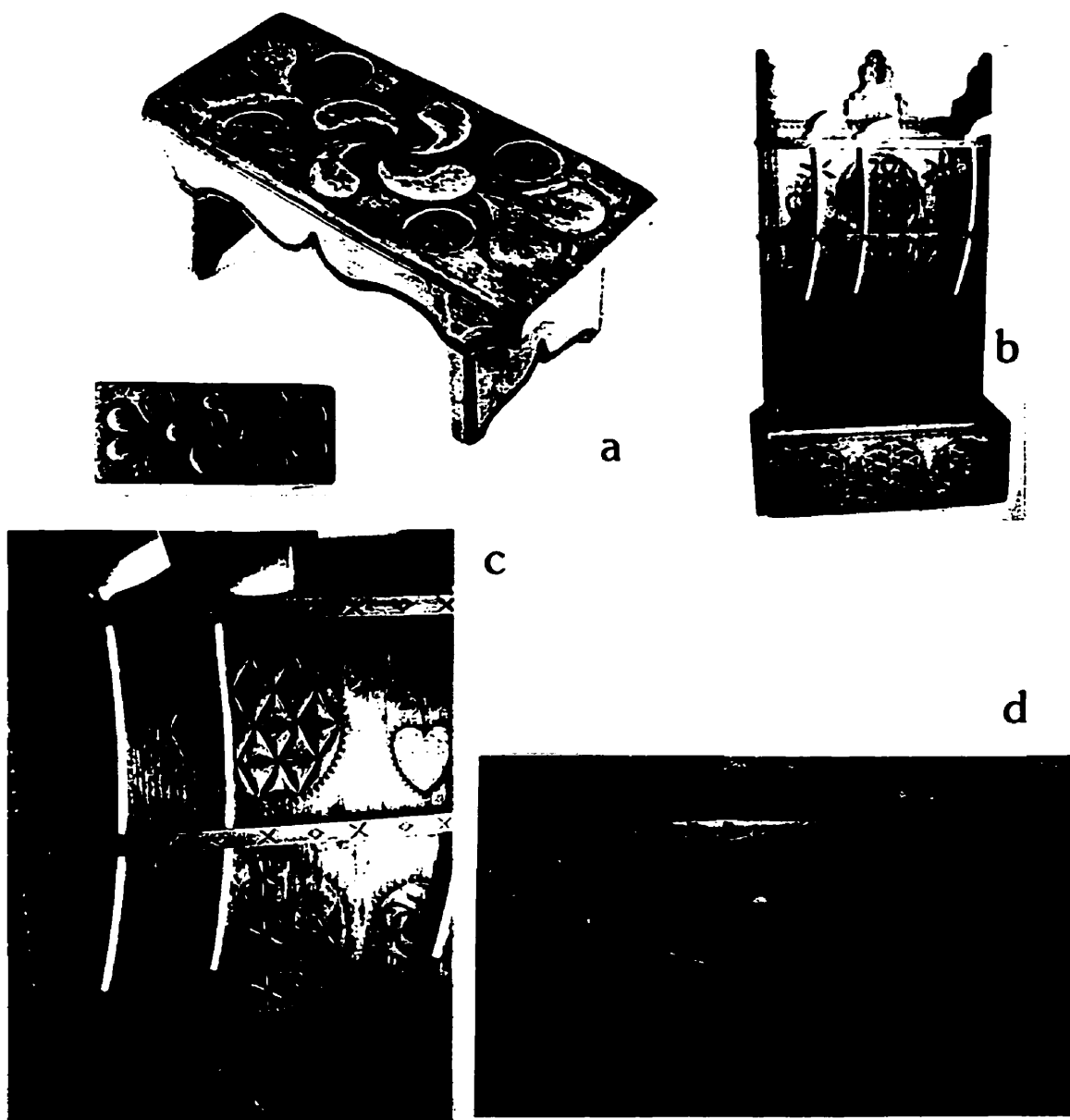


Fig. 25ad

Bird is both accurate and astute in noticing the layering of different ethnic traditions within furniture items and his findings can be applied to the furniture of the Saint John River valley.⁴⁰ Early furniture there, however, was influenced more by the Americans than the English. According to Bird, particular Germanic designs include carved or painted stars, hearts, and geometric elements which were used to embellish surfaces. He states that decorated antique furniture found in Lunenburg and Queens Counties, Nova Scotia is invariably derived from Sheraton English designs with Germanic decoration. Similarly, in his study of probate inventories from Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, material historian Richard Field argues that the ethnic identity of settler groups was maintained through repeated use of detailed decorations on artefacts.⁴¹

It should be noted, however, that such "Germanic designs" were adopted throughout Europe. Moreover, the patterns referred to by Bird appear on Newfoundland furniture where they have been attributed to Celtic origin. Walter Peddle, curator of the Newfoundland Museum, and Bill

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 17-52. See Jane L. Cook, "Review of Michael Bird's Canadian Country Furniture, 1675-1950, forthcoming. Material History Review (Fall 1996). See also Regional Furniture Society Newsletter 24(Summer 1996): 5-6 for an additional review by the author.

⁴¹Richard Henning Field, "The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeomen: The Evidence Based on Probate Inventories, 1760-1830." Ph.D Dissertation, Department of History, Dalhousie University, 1991, p. 41.

Cotton, president of the British Regional Furniture Society, note that furniture and spruce boxes of the nineteenth century are decorated with recurrent Celtic symbols, such as spiralled tear-shaped motifs, diamond devices, and compass-made floral designs.⁴² Pipe boxes found in New Brunswick incorporate the same design motifs formed by intersecting compass lines (see Fig. 25bc).⁴³ Similar designs detail a nineteenth century cupboard/sideboard in Kings Landing collections (see drawer detail Fig. 25d). The cyma scrolled footstool illustrated which was found in the Saint John valley incorporates fylfots, six petalled compass-drawn flowers and bold squat hearts incised into the seat area.⁴⁴ It is observed also that a painted Germanic Lunenburg County rectangular table, illustrated as plate 8 in Bird and Kobayashi's Splendid Harvest, has quartered sunburst designs applied to the skirt joint with leg tops. A similar motif is found on a Newfoundland table in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, although in this instance the

⁴²Bernard D. Cotton and Walter Peddle, Routes: Exploring the British Origins of Newfoundland Outport Furniture Design A Travelling Exhibition of the Newfoundland Museum. 1995. pp. 24-27. Cotton and Peddle claim that spruce boxes with scrolled decoration are forms unique to North America, but such boxes were made in northern England among Pennine communities. (Consult Peter Brears, North Country Folk Art (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1989), p. 60).

⁴³Peter Seidl, antiques dealer in Nova Scotia, has had similar wall boxes in his possession. See illustration of a carved wall spoon/knife holder in the Upper Canadian coverage of the Bowmanville Show. (May/June 1993): 10.

⁴⁴Bird and Kobayashi, Splendid Harvest, plate 13, p. 33.

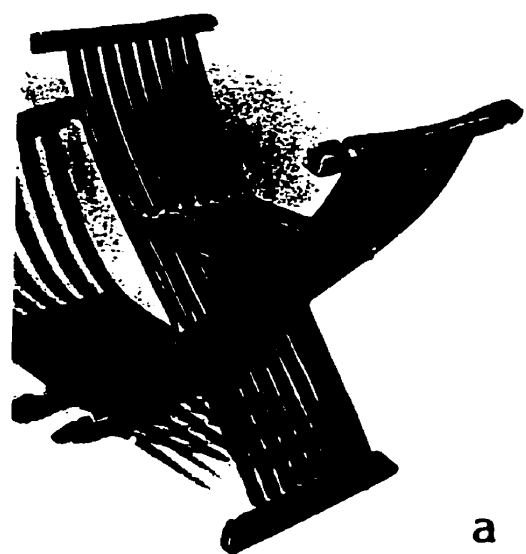
sunbursts are carved into drawer corners on a plain tapered leg birch table, and are said to be Celtic Irish in origin.⁴⁵ Overall then, it is often impossible to distinguish between Irish and Germanic design sources (see Chapter 3).

Specialist military field furniture was also used in the southern Saint John River valley. Loyalist soldiers' furniture survives in New Brunswick today.⁴⁶ Campaign seats, such as the folding chair illustrated in figure 26a, were part of an officer's field attire. This item belonged to Lt. Colonel Isaac Allen (see Fig. 26b), commander of the 2nd Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, who acquired landed estates north of Fredericton at Kingsclear and later became a judge of the Supreme Court. The homesteads of these military commanders also housed furniture familiar to northeastern Americans. Major John Coffin established an estate of his own facing the shore of the lower Saint John River valley (see Fig. 27). The rod-back-windsors illustrated in figure 26d came from his property and reflect a fondness for New York styles. Such chair forms were made in the late eighteenth century by Joseph DeGant and in the first decade of the nineteenth century by J. Humeston of Halifax, Nova

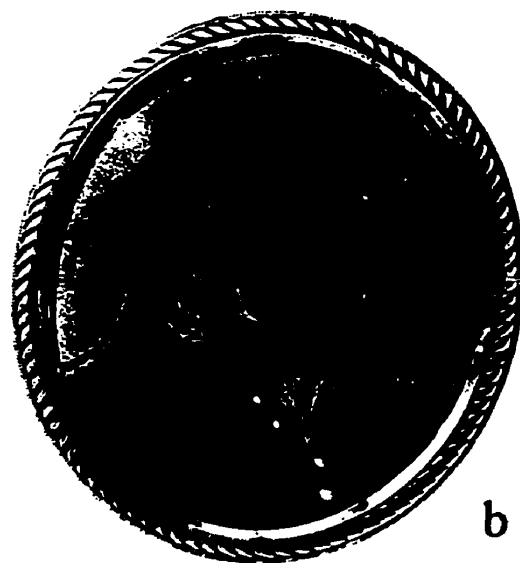
⁴⁵Ibid., plate 8, pp. 30-31; Collections of the Royal Ontario Museum 967.194

⁴⁶For other examples consult Ryder, Antique Furniture by New Brunswick Craftsmen, pp. 156-164.

Fig. 26ad Military Men and their Furniture: Lt. Col. Isaac Allen's Folding Campaign Chair, Miniature Portrait of Allen, Profile of Major John Coffin, Coffin's Rod-back Windsor Side Chairs



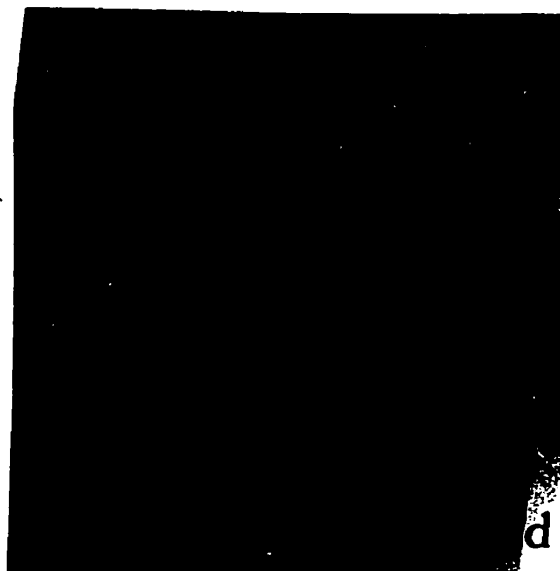
a



b



c



d

Fig. 26ad

Fig. 27 An American Loyalist Manor on the Saint John River:
George Duncan Ludlow's Spring Hill Residence



Fig. 27

Scotia.⁴⁷

Less wealthy settlers were encouraged to take advantage of their natural surroundings by contemporary poets, who emphasized the bounty of the Saint John River valley in its provision of raw materials. "Tho' gilded bower and fancy cot,/Grace not each wild concession lot;/Tho' rude our hut, and coarse our cheer,/The wealth the world can give is here."⁴⁸ Patrick Robinson's Grand Lake home was furnished with basic vernacular wares. This disbanded soldier, who had served with the Loyal American Regiment, used a single bed with tapered square posts and rope supported mattress made from local materials in 1789.⁴⁹ These bed types were found in both New Brunswick Irish and Acadian backrooms.⁵⁰ Another vernacular piece is a sofa made around 1800 for the James Scovil family of the Kingston Peninsula (see Fig. 28). Scovil was a minister, originally from Watertown, Connecticut. He maintained links with New York and his Kingston, New Brunswick church was named for New York City's

⁴⁷Webster, English-Canadian Furniture, p. 91.

⁴⁸Mrs. Frances Beavan, Sketches and Tales Illustrative of Life in the Backwoods of New Brunswick, North American, gleaned from Actual Observation and Experience during a Residence of Seven Years in that Interesting Colony (London: George Rutledge, 1845; reprint ed., St. Stephen, NB.: Print'n Press Pubs. Ltd., 1980), Title Page.

⁴⁹Butler, "Loyalist Brochure," p. 5. The bed is located in the room off the kitchen of the John Hunt Huestis (New York) House at Kings Landing.

⁵⁰The Village Historique Acadien has similar rustic beds in their collections.

Fig. 28 Rev. James Scovil's Kingston Peninsula Vernacular
Sofa

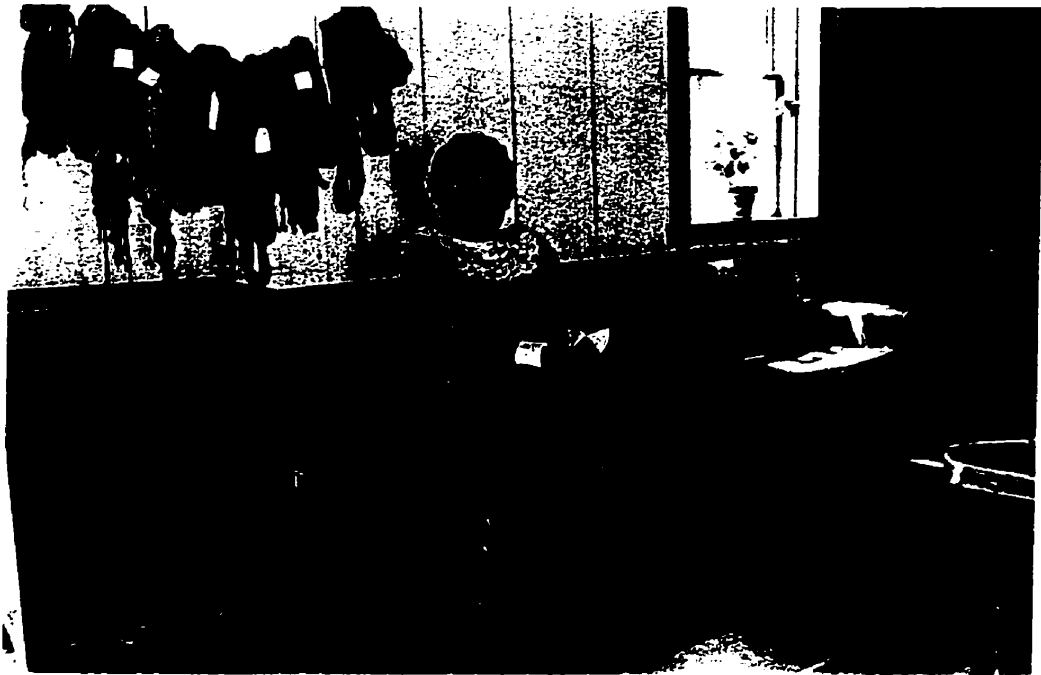


Fig. 28

Trinity Church. This country-made sofa was popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century. New Brunswick features on squared-back sofas include rondels on the arms and deeply curved diamond-shaped appliqués at the skirt terminus. Scovil also owned a pier table now used as a sideboard in the Morehouse Farmhouse dining room at Kings Landing. This item exhibits English features in its tall front columnar supports, broad proportions, and lack of mirror in the rear board. Provincial wares adopting American and English styles all graced the chambers of Reverend Scovil's home.

Vernacular windsor chairs were popular in both public and private spaces, and appealed to all classes and ethnic groups. Edward Winslow brought with him from the former American colonies a fine early comb-back windsor chair built in the North American style.⁵¹ Jeremiah Brundage, silversmith from New York working in Saint John, owned a windsor chair now displayed in the study of Kings Landing's Morehouse farmhouse (see Fig. 29). A set of rod-back windsors made for James Scovil in Kingston is displayed in the kitchen of the same dwelling. An unpainted yet handsomely proportioned arrow-back windsor was made in New

⁵¹See the Collection of the York-Sunbury Historical Society, Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Fig. 29 Jeremiah Brundage's Arrow-Back Windsor Armchair

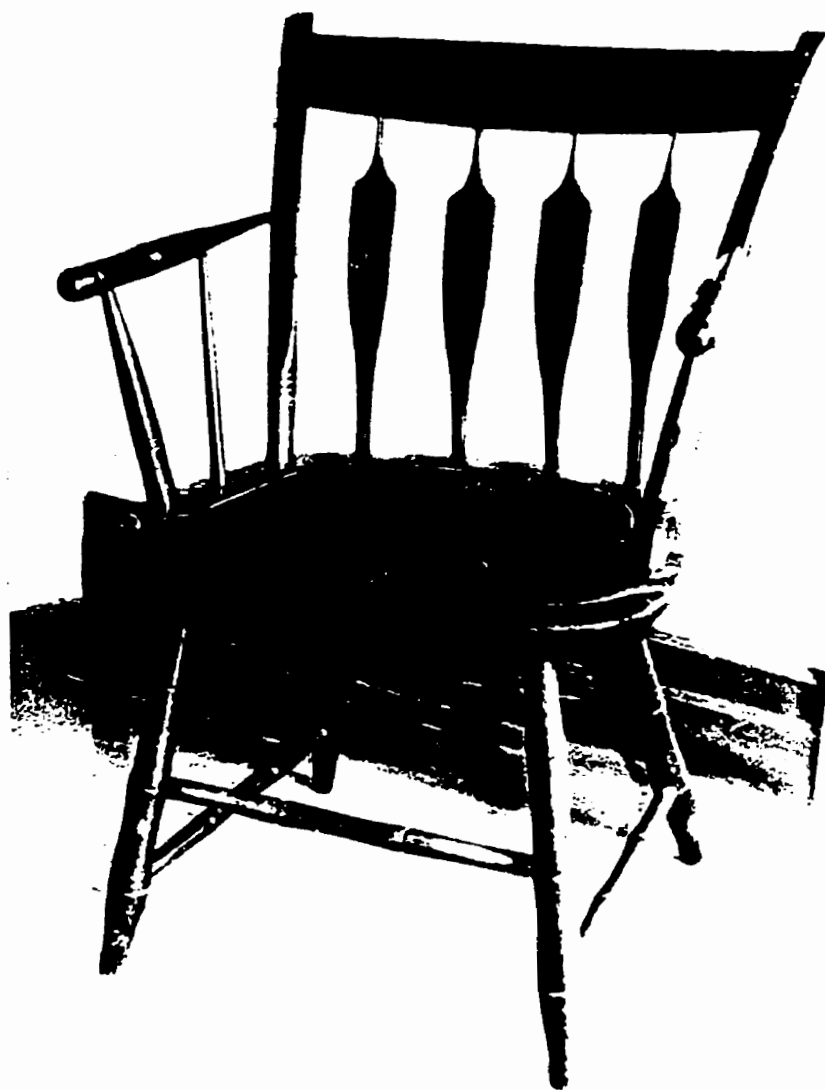


Fig. 29

Brunswick for the Harrison family of Maugerville.⁵² While windsors were first made in Philadelphia, New York later took the lead in their manufacture. They were also popular in Maritime Canada prior to 1820. The bent back was featured on New England and New York windsors prior to the 1812 war.⁵³ James and Charles Harrison were Irish migrants who had lived in New Jersey prior to arriving in New Brunswick. Their chairs reflect familiarity with American traditions since this particular windsor interpretation was not popular in their country of origin.

The child's rod-back side chair from the home of former Westchester County, New York loyalist David Wetmore (see Fig. 30c), is a vernacular interpretation of bamboo-turned wares popular in New York in the early nineteenth century. This item was made in New Brunswick. Other windsors were directly imported from one of the most prolific windsor chair manufacturing states - Pennsylvania. Windsor chairs were available from the *Bethiah* originating from Philadelphia in 1829.⁵⁴ On the other hand, in New Brunswick

⁵²Arrow-back windsors are of three types, the one illustrated has a number of arrow spindles in a row forming the seat back. Other types include a central arrow spindle flanked by round-turned spindles forming the back, and 1/2 size arrows which penetrate a cross-slat. Bent arrow spindles were popular in Philadelphia. See Nancy Goynes Evans, "Design Sources for Windsor Furniture: Part II: The Early Nineteenth Century," *Antiques* (May 1988): 1130.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴New Brunswick Courier, 12th September 1829.

Fig. 30ad Winslow's Corner Chair, a Queen Anne Dutch Side Chair, Wetmore's Child's Rod-back Windsor Side Chair, and a Cradle

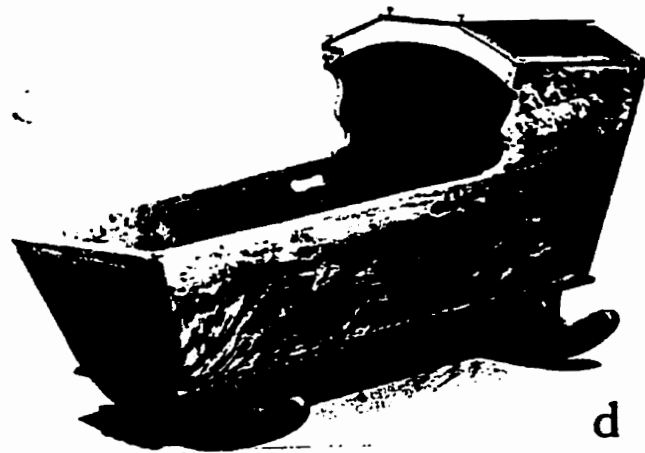
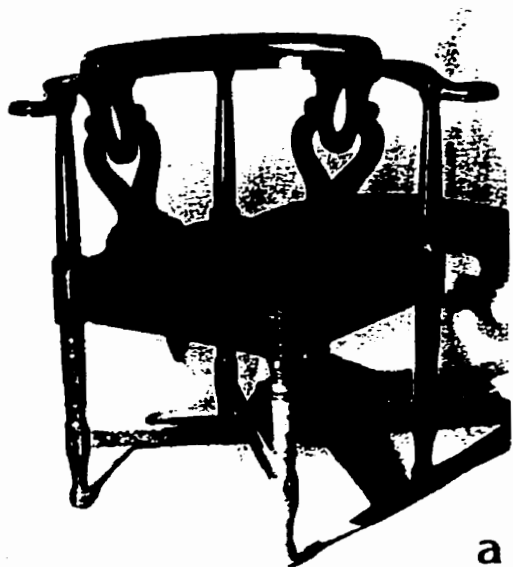


Fig. 30ad

there are no examples of British-style windsor imports nor locally-made interpretations of them. Wheel-splat hoop-back windsors, popular in southern England were not mimicked in the colony. English windsors having "cow-horn" stretchers⁵⁵ and legs which were not widely splayed out⁵⁶ have no counterpart in North America.⁵⁷ Instead, New Brunswick examples tend to emulate the rod-back styles of Massachusetts and New York, have legs that splay outwards, and are painted in the fashion popular in the northeastern States.

Edward Winslow's corner chair (see Fig. 30a) is an unusual addition to New Brunswick's furniture heritage. This form was unpopular within the province and few chairmakers in the Maritimes made this out-moded ware. The hooded cradle (see Fig. 30d) is a sophisticated child's item. The elaborate gadrooning (crinkle-carving), familiar to mid-eighteenth century New York chair and card table skirts,

⁵⁵Essentially a bow with 2 straight braces linking it to the rear legs.

⁵⁶As English elm hardwood seats could support vertical posts (unlike New World pine softwood seats) English chair legs tend to have a less profound splay.

⁵⁷Consult Phil Dunning, "The Evolution of the Windsor," Canadian Antiques Collector 9 (March-April 1974): 12. Also see David Knell, English Country Furniture: The National and Regional Vernacular, 1500-1900 (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1992), figs. 184 and 303 and Bernard D. Cotton, The English Regional Chair (1990, Repr., Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991). A fine example of a northern English windsor having these features is found in the collection of Mrs. Joan Graham, of Ponteland and Beadnell, England.

indicates the sophistication of this piece, which also has finely executed details such as pierced hand-holds, shaped rockers and netting pegs. Ward Chipman, Edward Winslow's Deputy Muster Master General and later first Solicitor General of New Brunswick, was rocked in this cradle as a baby. It has a history of ownership in Salem, Massachusetts.

As John Bartlett Brebner stated in his edition of Marcus Lee Hansen's The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, the ethnic divisions among the loyalists were more important in the understanding of immigrant diversity than the consideration of their allegiance to the British crown. Indeed,

The settlers who now established homes in the new province were remarkable for their variety. A large proportion of the arrivals were military men from the Loyalist corps and from two disbanded Scottish regiments that chose to remain in the New World when the war was over. Three blocks of land were assigned to the Negroes who had followed their masters into exile when the Revolution began. There were also some Americans who were hardly entitled to be called Loyalists; in fact, they were nothing but immigrants who thought it an account of foresight to move into an area that was destined to enjoy so vigorous a growth.⁵⁸

Most of New Brunswick's blacks originated in the southern states and traveled north with their American loyalist masters (John Saunders of Virginia and his negroes being a

⁵⁸Marcus Lee Hansen, prepared by John Bartlett Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Vol. 1. Historical (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 55.

case in point).⁵⁹ Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to link blacks to cabinetmaking traditions in New Brunswick. While some are known to have been carpenters on estates, their work remains both unlabelled and undocumented. Therefore it is difficult to say whether their furniture-making abilities influenced those of other New Brunswickers. It is apparent from the styles evident in the new province, however, that southern furniture traditions had no local impact.⁶⁰

It appears that the indigenous peoples did not contribute to the variety of furniture forms used in the Saint John River valley. Illustrations of Maliseet and Mi'kmaq interiors and commentaries of travelers, reveal little furniture being used by the indigenous peoples (see

⁵⁹At the time of Ellegood's 1816 probate he still owned slaves as property on his Virginia Rosehall estate (plus John his personal slave), whom he left to son William and granddaughter Rebecca Aitchison Ellegood. He left over five hundred acres of land in Prince William to his wife Mary. Probate Court Records, E-24. 7th September 1801.

⁶⁰For examples of southern furniture see Jan Garrett Hind, The Museum of Southern Decorative Arts: A Collection of Southern Furniture, Paintings, Ceramics, Textiles, and Metal Ware (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem, Inc., 1979), E. Milby Burton, Charleston Furniture, 1700-1825 (Charleston, South Carolina: Charleston Museum, 1955; 3rd Repr. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), Jane Leigh Cook, "A Georgian Heritage: Charlestown Artisans and Chippendale Furniture in the Revolutionary Period, (1729-1785)," MA thesis, Department of History, Wake Forest University, 1985, and Robert E. Winters, Jr., North Carolina Furniture, 1700-1900 (Raleigh, NC: NC Museum of History Associates, Inc., 1977); Page Talbott, "Classical Furniture in Savannah, Georgia," Antiques CXLVII 5 (May 1995): 720-731.

Fig. 31 Interior of a Wigwam, Fredericton by William Robert
Herries (1818-1845)



Fig. 31

Fig. 31).⁶¹ In Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq women sold birchbark chair seat panels and table tops,⁶² decorated with porcupine quills dyed and woven into geometric patterns, to settler groups. There is no evidence that indigenous New Brunswickers did the same thing. The erection and furnishing of wigwams as well as the decoration of material artifacts such as clothing and footwear was a domestic chore of indigenous women.

In New Brunswick these native crafts were traded to settlers and visitors along the Saint John River valley. Only one artefact decorated by a native woman, and which could be considered a furniture item, is known to exist. It consists of a sewing box made from local birds'-eye maple. Elasaba, a Mi'kmaq Indian woman, decorated the box as a farewell present for the wife of Benedict Arnold, when the general's family returned to England in 1791 (see Fig. 32). The interior of the case is divided into smaller compartmentalized boxes made from birch bark. Their tops are decorated by fine sewing in frond-like patterns finished

⁶¹The watercolour, attributed to W. R. Herries (wkg: 1818-1845), shows ethnic interactions. (n.b.: use of European cooking pot and firearm). See I. G. Lumsden, Early Views of British North America (Fredericton, N. B.: Beaverbrook Art Gallery, 1994), pl. 12.

⁶²New Brunswick Courier August 3rd 1861 "The Micmac & Meicete [sic] Indians of Acadia have long been celebrated as the most accomplished artists in porcupine quill and fancy bead work." Unfortunately, the wares he offered for sale did not include furniture items. See Jenny Cook, "Research Query: Mi'kmaq Quillwork Furniture," Material History Review 38 (Fall 1993): 94-95.

Fig. 32 Sewing Box given to Mrs. Benedict Arnold upon the occasion of her return to England in 1791. Decorated by Elasaba, a Mik'maq Woman

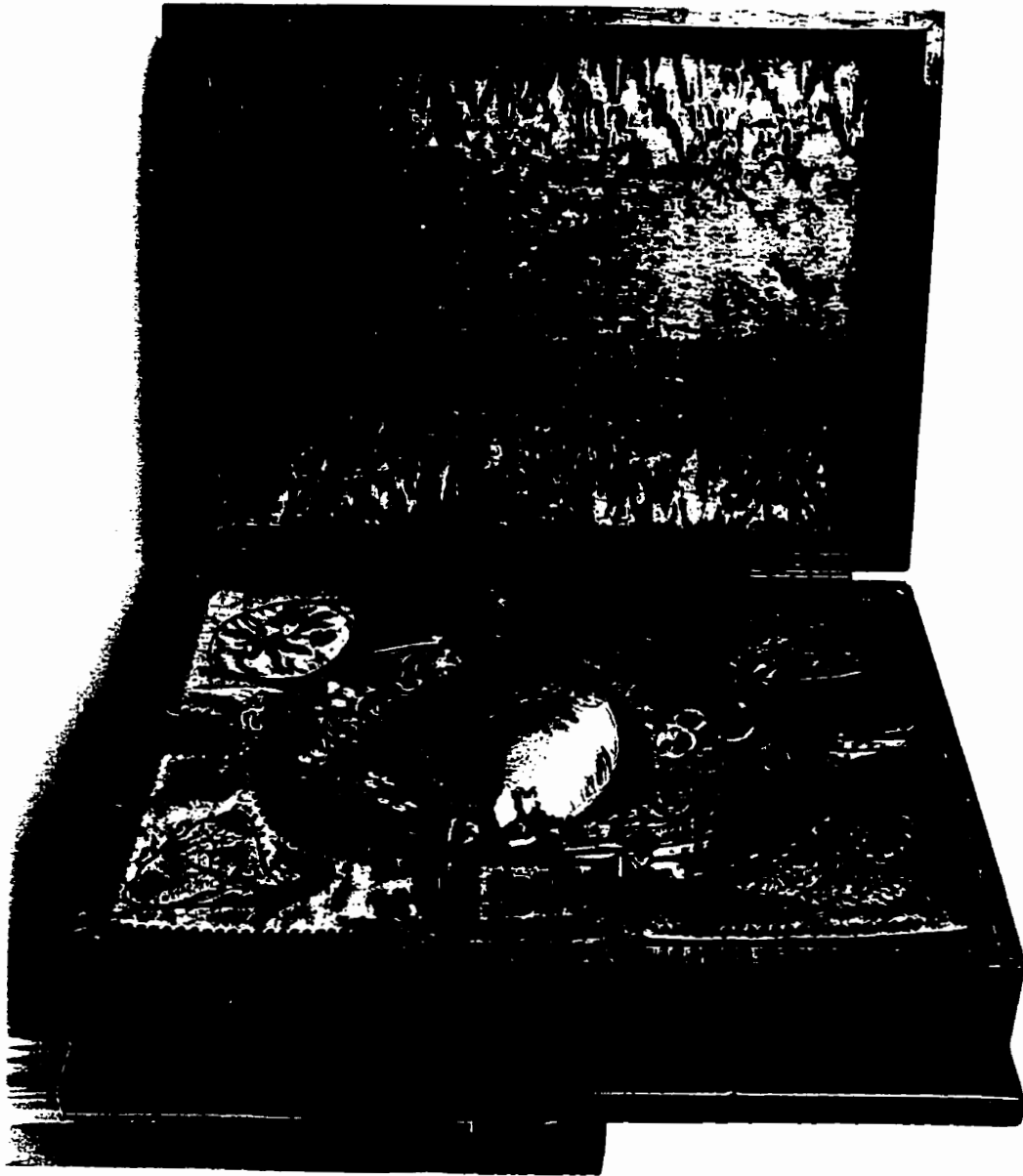


Fig. 32

with bow-work. A small memo-box containing a birch bark writing book appears in one of the compartments. This item represents an early tradition of souvenir art as both Mi'kmaq and Maliseet women throughout the nineteenth century produced wares for visitors to keep as mementos. Designs created by native crafts-people for the European market embraced foreign preferences for flowers and fauna, rather than local traditional native themes such as the reverse curve motif. The wooden parts of furniture items, in this case the shell of the sewing box, were most certainly made by American immigrant cabinetmakers. A market for Mi'kmaq decorated wares existed among the American loyalists of Saint John City (see Fig. 33).

The natives in the upper valley had long-established traditions of interaction with the French. The American loyalists, perceiving the indigenous peoples differently, collected their wares and integrated them within their own cabinetmaking traditions. Sharing a fondness for new-found indigenous wares in the late eighteenth century, American settlers in the lower valley shipped Mi'kmaq and Maliseet productions around the world. This may account for the differences in attitude between northern and southern valley integration of various indigenous material heritages.⁶³

However, the prime source for design inspiration among

⁶³I am indebted to Professor Barry Moody of Acadia University for his insight on this matter.

Fig. 33 Mi'kmaq in an Immigrant Landscape: "A View of the City & Harbour of Saint John, New Brunswick in 1815"



View of the City of Mexico from the Hill of Chapultepec
seen from the hill of Chapultepec



Fig. 33

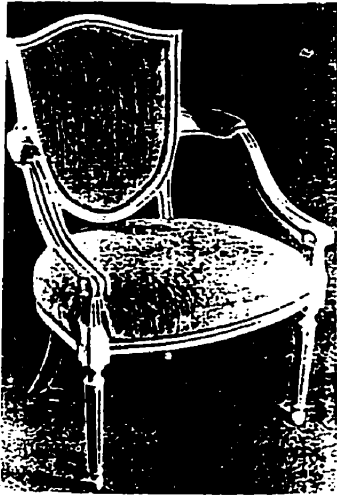
the province's emerging cabinetmakers was not New Brunswick's indigenous peoples. Instead, patterns and forms of furniture popular in the United States were embraced. In addition, since the American loyalists' political allegiance was to the British empire, it is expected that fashions, furniture, and immigrant cabinetmakers from England would be cultivated. But there are few extant furniture items in the Saint John River valley that clearly adhere to eighteenth century London published designs.⁶⁴ There are exceptions to this general rule, however, as is evident in furniture Benedict Arnold (1741-1801) commissioned.⁶⁵ In this instance, an elite individual imported up-to-date late 1780s fashions. The general brought a set of six cabriole (stuffed back) chairs to New Brunswick (see Fig. 34d)⁶⁶ and had

⁶⁴Eighteenth century panelled oak chests, chests-on-chests, linen presses, kneehole desks, low dressers or hunting boards, high dressers with squat bases, hanging corner cupboards, gateleg tables, triangular tables, splat-back windsors, spindle-backed rush-woven side chairs, illustrated in David Knell's recent book have few equivalents in the Saint John River Valley. See David Knell, English Country Furniture (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1992), pp. 75-138.

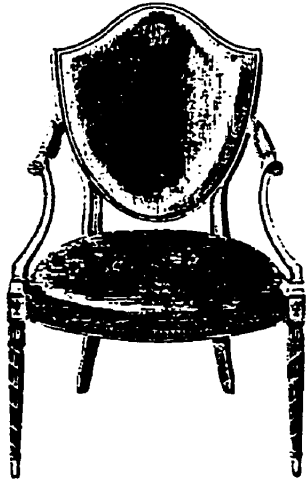
⁶⁵General Benedict Arnold arrived in Saint John in the mid-1780s where he entered into an economic partnership with Munson Hayt. The shop he used burned down in 1788. Some said Arnold needed the insurance money. In the early 1790s, following the ensuing libel case, Arnold and his family left for England. Considered a traitor to the American cause and a turn-coat, Arnold found home was neither in the British colonies nor the mother country. See W. S. MacNutt, New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), pp. 23, 65, 86-87.

⁶⁶Royal Gazette, 6th September, 1791. Ross Memorial Museum, acquisition 76.34, is an original. The Saint Andrew's example has a newspaper clipping (New York Mail and Express,

Fig. 34af Loyalist Mimicks: The Case of Benedict Arnold's
Cabriole Chairs



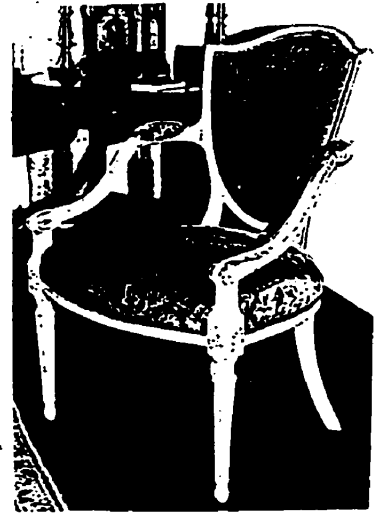
a



b



c



d



e

Residence of Benedict Arnold - New York

Public Auction.
WILL BE SOLD.
AT PUBLIC AUCTION,
By John Chalmer,
 At the House of General ARNOLD,
 in King Street, on Thursday the
 23d September inst., at 11 o'clock,
 (if sale made, if not, the 1st day.)
 A QUANTITY OF
Household Furniture
COMPRISING—excellent FR.
 & TIBIA BEDS, WALNUT
 FOUR POST BEDSTEADS, FUR-
 NITURE—A set of elegant CARRI-
 OLE CHAIRS upholstered with blue dam-
 ask, RUFFIN and CURTAINS in
 cretonne, CARD, TEA, and other
 TABLE, LOOKING GLASSES, a
 SECRETARY DESK and BOOK
 CASE, FIRE SCREENS, GIRAN-
 DULES, KITCHENS, an EASY and
 SEDAN CHAIR—with a great variety
 of other Furniture.
LIKEWISE,
 An elegant set of WENG-
 WOOD GILT WARE, and 17
 TABLE SETS of NANKEEN CHINA,
 a variety of GLASS WARE, a TIN
 RESTIAI, GLASS, a handsome
 BRASS SCALES, and 100 lb. IRON
 WEIGHTS.—With a great number of
 other articles. A double WHEEL
 JACK, a great quantity of KITCHEN
 FURNITURE, &c. &c.
A L S O,
 A Lady's elegant SADDLE and
 BRIDLE.
 St. John, Sept. 6, 1791. Royal

Fig. 34af

copies made (see Fig. 34a) to complete a set to furnish the drawing room of his King Street, Saint John residence (see Fig. 34e).⁶⁷ The chairs were made in the last years of the 1780s, adopting patterns popular on the European continent during the Louis XVI period.⁶⁸ Their design exhibits a mixture of ethnic influences, both French and English in origin. This style of cabriole chair "of the neweft fashon" is illustrated by British chairmaker George Hepplewhite in his Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide design of July

Saturday April 25th 1903) of the portrait of Benjamin Arnold lacquered to the interior rear right leg and seat rail.

⁶⁷In comparison, the chairs are similar in their shield back, inverse sloping arms with elbow pads, stuffed back, seat and elbow, round-tapered front legs and cylindrical outplayed back legs, moulded seat rail, arms, and shield. They differ in that the New Brunswick Museum example does not exhibit flower medallions on the squared blocks on the legs flanking the seat front, is less refined in line especially between the elbow pads and shield back, as well as the front seat rail, and also displays a chunkier front leg. It is probable that the New Brunswick Museum example is one of the copies. The carved seat blocks seem American in style, French examples having squat squared petal designs intaglio.

⁶⁸For examples of French chairs by Georges Jacob (1737-1814) see Guillaume Janneau, Le Mobilier Français: Les Sièges (Paris: Vincent, Fréal et Cie, eds., 1967), pl. 238. "La mode va répandre ce modèle, témoin les Cahiers de Meubles d'Aubert Parent (1788) et les Cahiers d'Ameublement de La Londe (1789)." Ibid., p. 28. This French chair has stop-fluted reeding on the front legs whereas New Brunswick and British examples are plainly reeded. The French chairs appear broader in the seat, wider overall, and very elaborately carved. French examples tend to have the handholds raised perpendicular to the seat back, the long supports falling to the seat rail. The New Brunswick examples reverse this trend with long scrolled arms terminating in short vertical fluted supports. Other oval backed cabriole chairs are illustrated in Seymour de Ricci's Louis XVI Furniture (London: William Heinemann, nd)., frontispiece and p. 231.

1787 (see Fig. 34b).⁶⁹ This plate is contemporary to the arrival of Arnold in Saint John City. In addition, it is apparent that the front legs of Arnold's chairs most closely resemble a Sheraton design (see Fig. 34c) published on January 14th, 1794 (three years after Arnold's departure from Saint John).⁷⁰ In effect, New Brunswick chairmakers successfully manufactured seats *à la mode* from a blending of popular designs. This "fet of elegant CABRIOLE CHAIRS covered with blue damask" (see Fig. 34f) along with other furnishings were left to be sold in the city upon Arnold's

⁶⁹George Hepplewhite, The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide 3rd ed., (London: I and J. Taylor, 1794; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), pl. 34, left hand side. Sheraton's version of the legs differ in a slight bulbous taper at the top of the main shaft, the New Brunswick chairs are straight tapered. Thomas Sheraton, The Cabinetmaker and Upholsterer's Drawing-Book (London: T. Bensley, 1791. Repr. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972). Similar legs are depicted on an upholstered stool in a 1790 painting by Wybrand Hendriks (1744-1831). The "Portrait of Jacob Feitama (1726-1797) and his wife Elisabeth de Haan (1735-1800)" is in the Hague. (See The Magazine Antiques, CXLI 4(April 1992), p. 641).

⁷⁰It is apparent that Arnold was very aware of contemporary London fashions. The fact that some of the furniture designs were published after Arnold left the province reflects that they were based on popular styles already in use. New Brunswickers consulted Arnold on fashions, and asked him and his wife to procure material goods of the newest design for their use. For example, on November 9th 1795 Jonathan Bliss wrote to Benedict Arnold in London: "Will you and Mrs. Arnold permit me to ask a Favour? It is that Mrs. Arnold will take the Trouble to Purchase for Mrs. Bliss a pattern for a gown & coat of fashionable, but attending and rather grave coloured Sattin, and that you will have the goodness to send it to me in one of the spring ships for this Port with the amount of the cost and charges....Mrs. Arnold to send a Bonnet also for Mrs. B." Bliss Family of Springfield, Massachusetts and Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1742-1822. Family Papers. Reel F362 NAC.

departure in 1791. While the loyalists struggled with "the idealism and the frustration that accompanied the elite's efforts to re-establish, in wilderness conditions, their once-glorious cultural life," the easy acquisition of Arnold's chairs reflects both the ready access to British markets and the advanced contemporary skills of the city's chairmakers.⁷¹ In this instance, a glorious lifestyle was within instantaneous grasp. Saint John artisans were able to provide fashionable wares which were to be the envy not only of the United States⁷² but also of Britain. The acquisition of high-fashion chairs so quickly after their designs were published would invariably have served to impress Arnold's neighbours as he sought to distinguish himself from others in the community. High status American-born settlers in Saint John city's early days could turn to the cabinetmakers of London for inspiration, not necessarily in the loyalist belief that British was better, but in an effort to display their fashionability and status.

A New Brunswick-made birch armchair with a shield-back and pierced central splat reminiscent of Hepplewhite's designs (see Fig. 35a) is in the Kings Landing Historical

⁷¹England was the most important partner for Saint John city's traders. Out of the 4,722 newspaper advertisements in Saint John city between 1815 and 1845 scanned by the author 39.9% listed English ports of origin.

⁷²See Ann Gorman Condon, The Envy of the American States: The Loyalists Dream for New Brunswick (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984).

Fig. 35ad Variations upon Hepplewhite Style Shield-Back Chair
Design Number 9: Kings Landing Historical Settlement Arm Chair
with American and English Interpretations

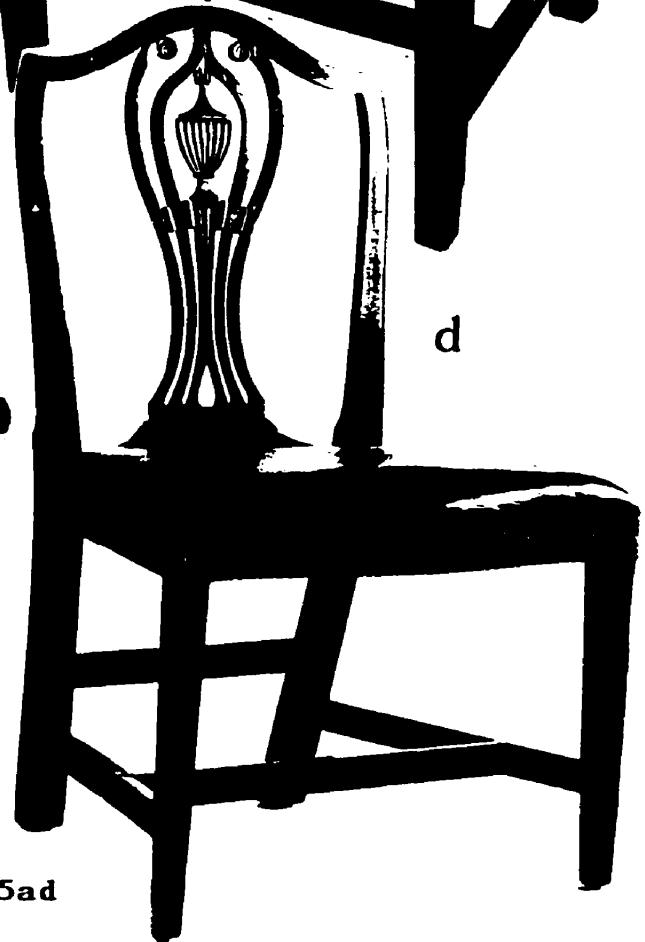
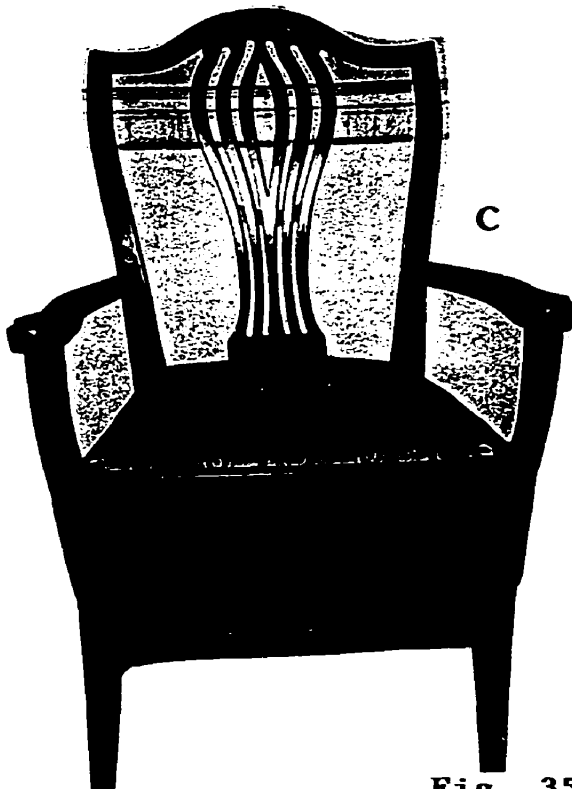
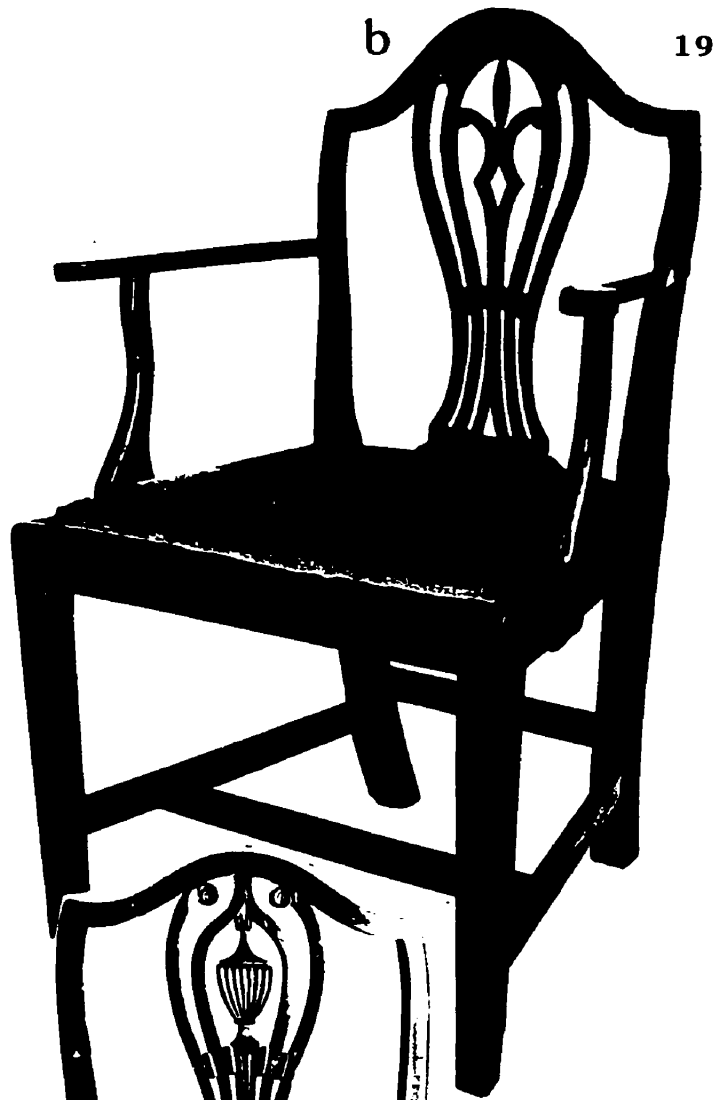
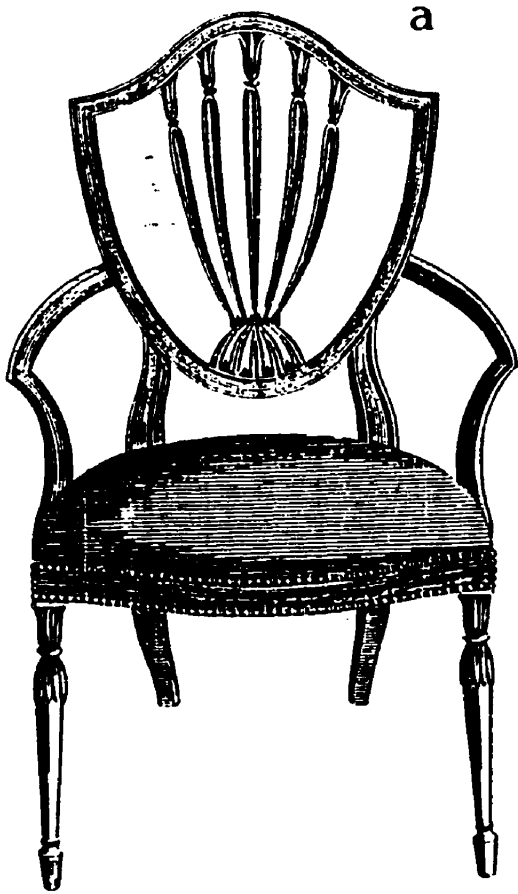


Fig. 35ad

Settlement collections. The chair, dated to the early nineteenth century, is a vernacular interpretation of a high-style form. Unlike sophisticated Hepplewhite productions, this chair's back rails broaden outwards to the level of the seat-rail so that the point to the shield base is omitted. The flat scrolled arms extend beyond the sides of the seat. The clumsily applied arm supports are unusual and the pressured stress resulting from their incorporation has led to splitting the tops of the front legs. The thin rectangular H-stretcher, not illustrated in any Hepplewhite design, is a hold-over from earlier eighteenth century styles. This chair, while dissimilar from high-style sources, has an affinity to an example illustrated in David Knell's English Country Furniture text (see Fig. 35b).⁷³ In this instance the overall appearance is initially similar with its shaped shield crest, flat out-curved arms, tapered squared legs, H-stretcher, slip-seat, and splat. Differences exist in the use of elm as a primary wood in the English chair, along with a *fleur de lys* or Prince of Wales feathers motif in the central top of the back-splat, and the more solid and functional placement of the arm supports. Clearly, New Brunswick chairmakers embraced English styles (see Fig.

⁷³See figure 169 and notes on pages 116 and 119. David Knell reports that the chair is made entirely from elm excepting triangular pine blocks at seat rail junctions. The chair type appears to have been made over most of England with little variation, a national form popular also overseas. (Personal Correspondence 9th April 1996).

35c). The Americans also had their own version of this neoclassical chair pattern, which was introduced in the 1790s (see Fig. 35d).⁷⁴ Samuel Kneeland and Lemuel Adams' Hartford, Connecticut workshops produced side chairs which were oftentimes elaborately decorated with brass nail studs and had carved urns gracing the top section of back-splats.⁷⁵ These Connecticut cabinetmakers favoured mahogany and cherry in their work and employed artisans trained in both New York and Boston.⁷⁶ New Brunswick cabinetmakers adopted internationally popular designs, using local woods and embellishing them according to their own taste.

It was not until the second and third decades of the nineteenth century that skilled cabinet and chair makers arrived from England. William Mark(s), from Cumberland, turned spinning wheels and chair parts in the 'teens. "Fancy and Windsor Chair Molding" was undertaken by London-trained

⁷⁴See Gerald W. R. Ward and William N. Hosley, Jr. The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820 Exhibition Catalogue. 22nd September 1985 - 6th January 1986. (Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), pp. 264-265.

⁷⁵Consult "Connecticut Cabinetmakers, Part I," The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin 32 4 (October 1967): 100 (fig. 4)

⁷⁶Elizabeth Bidwell Bates and Jonathan L. Fairbanks, American Furniture, 1620 to the Present (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1981), p. 213; and "Connecticut Cabinetmakers, Part I," p. 99.

Daniel Green during the same period.⁷⁷ His wares reflected prevailing Regency styles, including rush-bottomed chairs of the newest fashion, as well as Grecian chairs as depicted in Thomas Hope's London publications.⁷⁸ Between 1816 and 1837 Thomas Adams from London plied his wares in Saint John City, also in the Regency fashion.⁷⁹ Robert Baxter "late Cabinet-Maker to His Majesty, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Principal Nobility in the City of London," advertised his wares in 1817.⁸⁰ In the 1820s William Halse, Robert Pengilly, and William Salmon arrived in the city with John Mitchell adding his carving skills. By the 1830s George Anderson was making pianos, George Duval constructing cases, and William Ramsay hiring London-trained men.⁸¹ These individuals introduced English designs in the Regency style to New Brunswick cabinetmakers. The English, however, were outnumbered in the late eighteenth century by American-born artisans and by 1840 became outnumbered again by Irish-born

⁷⁷New Brunswick Gazette, 21 May 1814. See the collections of the New Brunswick Heritage Collections Centre for a labelled Daniel Green chair.

⁷⁸New Brunswick Courier, 8th November 1817. See also Thomas Hope, Regency Furniture and Interior Decoration: Classic Style Book of the Regency Period, reprint ed. of Household Furniture and Interior Decoration executed from Designs by Thomas Hope (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971).

⁷⁹New Brunswick Courier, 6th May 1816.

⁸⁰New Brunswick Courier, 21st June 1817.

⁸¹Weekly Chronicle, 3rd August 1838.

cabinet and chairmakers.

Customs records list a series of importations of furniture, hardware, and tools from England. Individuals transported household furniture for personal use, such as the sundry articles belonging to William P. Raney and imported from Exmouth.⁸² Thomas Baillie imported one box of glass, one chair and thirteen packages of household furniture, when he travelled to Saint John from London with his wife, three children and three servants.⁸³ In 1834 Edwin Hutchinson imported a case of furniture, hardware and marble totalling more than £33 in value.⁸⁴ Liverpool shipments included packages of assorted household furniture,⁸⁵ case loads of looking glasses,⁸⁶ and hundred-weight bags of nails and assorted casks of hardware.⁸⁷ Cut nails were also

⁸²A duty of 15/6 was charged on £31.02.00 goods. (RS23 E1 1834a #71, PANB)

⁸³He also brought a carriage and gig. Thomas Smith Master, Sarah Henrietta, 24th July 1834. (RS23 E1 1834a #137, PANB)

⁸⁴Barque *Pacific*, 10th May 1834, William Toser Master from Liverpool. (RS23 E1 1834a #48, PANB)

⁸⁵Crookshank and Walker imported 37 packages of household furniture on the brig *Coronet* from London for the Hon. Judge Carter in 1834. The total value was an astonishing £948.07.00. (RS23 E1 1834a #237, PANB)

⁸⁶"1 Case Looking Glasses £16.3.00" on the ship *Beverley*, Lawson master, May 1834. (RS23 E1 1834a #50, PANB)

⁸⁷"56 Bags Nails 1 cwt each £71.12.00/1 Cask Hardware £58.10.9/1 Case Hardware £30.14.00/1 Cask Hardware £71.19.00" on the same ship from Liverpool as the looking glasses.

imported.⁸⁸ Finishing materials were brought over, including shellac (a dark-red transparent resin produced by coccid insect deposits on tree branches processed into fine polish).⁸⁹ William Patton imported linseed oil, putty, screws and hinges from Liverpool.⁹⁰ Tools, including augers, planes, joiners' and carpenters' tools arrived from the same source.⁹¹ In addition, cabinet hardware, such as escutcheons, were imported.⁹² Jewellers and watchmakers, such as Justin Spahnn, also imported hardware from the same source.⁹³

English artefacts were imported directly into Saint John. Crown appointees introduced new and fashionable furniture forms into New Brunswick. For example, a *papièr*

⁸⁸George Rusland Master, Liverpool, 21st October 1834, on *Louisa* for Richard Dysart. Nails were valued in excess of £33.00 (RS23 E1 1834a #218, PANB)

⁸⁹"1 Chest Shell Lac/foreign" from Liverpool, 22 May 1834. (RS23 E1 1834a #66, PANB)

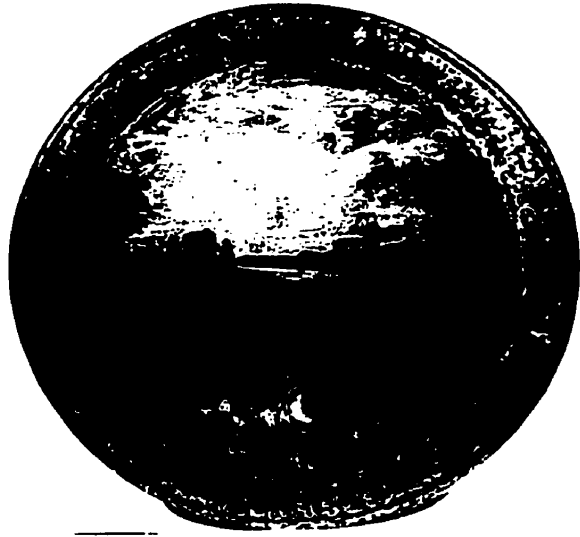
⁹⁰3rd June 1834, Robert Andrews Master. (RS23 E1 1834a #73, PANB)

⁹¹3 casks of augers were imported on the *William Ewing* by Charles Simonds and claimed on 5th May 1834, a total value of £33.19.00. (RS23 E1 1834a #81, PANB). "1 Cask Planes £9.12.02" for J. N. Smith in June 1834 and "1 Cask Planes or Carpenters Tools £8.16.05" Brig *William*, Andrews master, Liverpool, 29th May 1834. (RS23 E1 1834a #73, PANB). 1 hogshead of joiners tools was imported by John Duncan at a cost of £38.10.06 on 30th May 1834 (also on the Brig *William*, RS23 E1 1834a #73, PANB)

⁹²Jed. Nason, Esq., imported a case of cabinet ware on the *Pacific*, Toser Master. (RS23 E1 1834a #48, PANB)

⁹³"One case Hardware consigned to Justin Spahnn care of P. Duff & Co.," 27th November 1834. (RS23 E1 1834a #254, PANB)

Fig. 36ab Imported English Victorian Papièr-Mâché Tilt-top
Stand with a View of Government House, Fredericton, C. 1840



a



b

Fig. 36ab

mâché pedestal stand made in England prior to the mid-nineteenth century, was used in the provincial Government House at Fredericton (see Fig. 36ab). The top of the stand depicts the New Brunswick building which housed it on the Woodstock Road (see Fig. 36b). Sir William McBean George Colebrook (1787-1870), during his tenure as the provincial Lieutenant Governor, displayed this pedestal stand sometime in the period between March 1841 and October 1847. Such furnishings were popular during the early-to-mid Victorian period and were generally imported to North America from producers in central England. Few examples are found in New Brunswick. Similar patented wares were imported to the colonies but there was no local production. In this example, the table exhibited trendy English styles.

Furnishings belonging to the American loyalist Jonathan Odell (1737-1818) from Newark, New Jersey speak to his connections with the elite of the English-speaking world (see Fig. 37b).⁹⁴ In his wish to be current with scientific and genteel lifestyles, Odell imported sophisticated instruments and furniture from Great Britain. A pair of globes⁹⁵ and a sideboard were imported from England for use

⁹⁴See Gregg Finley, "The Loyalists: Bicentennial Exhibition at the New Brunswick Museum," Canadian Collector 18 5 (September/October, 1983): 31. A green glass bowl probably imported from England, and formerly belonging to Odell is on display in the master bedroom of the Morehouse Farmhouse at Kings Landing Historical Settlement.

⁹⁵Globes bequeathed to Mary Odell with a clock from his library (Jonathan Odell, Probate Court Record O-25, PANB).

Fig. 37ae Odell's Connections: His New York Style Rod-back Windsor Armchair, Portrait, Globe, and British Sideboard with a New Brunswick Interpretation

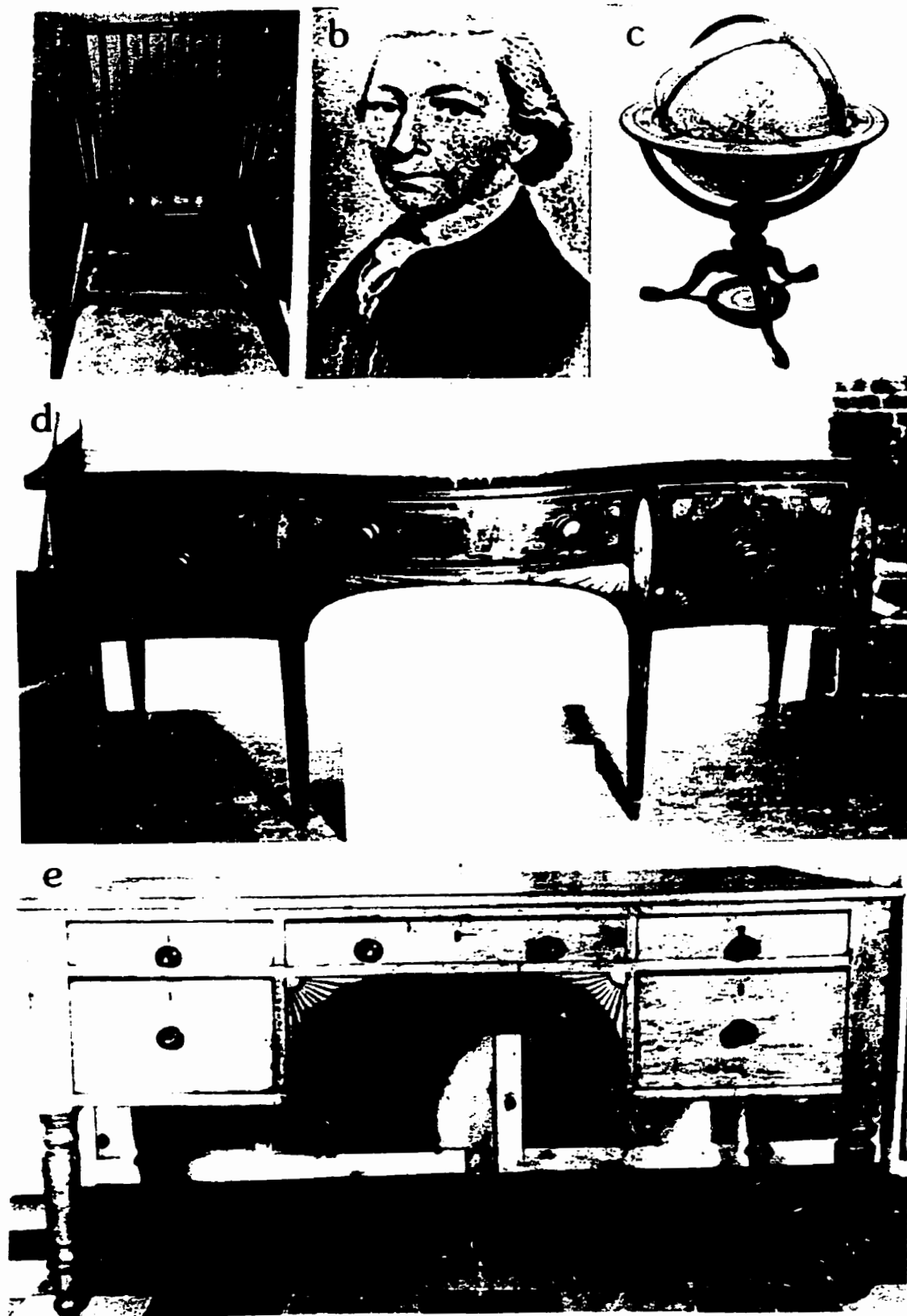


Fig. 37ae

in his Fredericton properties (see Fig. 37cd).⁹⁶ Stylistically, the sideboard retains the central arched frame of Robert Adam, the later square-tapered leg popularized by both Hepplewhite and Sheraton, and London detailing such as the extension of rails flanking the central drawers into full length leg-supports. Later New Brunswick-made sideboard-desks (see Fig. 37e) are recognizably Saint John River valley in origin, yet retain features of similar locally used English-made examples. There are only four legs in the New Brunswick table, bulkily turned in the early American Empire fashion, and the knee-hole spandrels consist of popular intaglio carved sunbursts common to Saint John City and southern Irish furnishings. The use of butternut and pine place this item firmly within valley cabinetmaking traditions. It came from the Speaker's Office of the Legislative Building in Fredericton and dates to circa 1820, reflecting an intermediary second-third generation loyalist time period. By this time the layering of ethnic design details in New Brunswick furniture was readily visible.

Odell's circa 1800 New York style squared-back windsor chair with bamboo turned members (see Fig. 37a), offered an alternative style to the bow-backs of the mid-to-late

⁹⁶The sideboard was exhibited in the show "Regal Elegance" curated by Bob Guthrie in 1994-1995.

eighteenth century.⁹⁷ As Donald Webster points out, "All Atlantic Canada Windsor chairs appear to be of the American type, with upright rods forming the full back, this a Loyalist influence."⁹⁸ By incorporating British imports and American-inspired windsors within his residential furnishings, Odell was able to bring both London and New York into his home.⁹⁹ This contrasts with the findings of historian Ann Gorman Condon, who believes that "Odell and his colleagues brought the intense attachment to traditional British styles which laid the basis for Canada's imperial culture in the nineteenth century."¹⁰⁰ The supposed "determination of Odell...to transplant exalted imperial standards of style and achievement to their new homes"¹⁰¹ is contradicted by his ownership of furniture which has no British heritage, for example, his use of New York style windsor chairs. Additionally, his residence was of

⁹⁷Nancy Goyme Evans, "Design Sources for Windsor Furniture. Part II: The Early Nineteenth Century," Antiques (January 1988): 1128. Evans, contrary to Webster, claims that the square backed windsors had been popular in England since the 1780s.

⁹⁸Webster, "Furniture," p. 54.

⁹⁹Ann Gorman Condon further links other Odell artifacts to France. (See Ann Gorman Condon, "The Celestial World of Jonathan Odell: Symbolic Unities Within a Disparate Artifact Collection," in Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture, ed. Gerald I. Pocius (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991), p. 92).

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 106.

restricted size and less grandeur than either those of his American or British contemporaries. Odell personified the new lower Saint John River valley culture, a culture tempered by wilderness conditions and forged from both American experience and British yearnings.

According to architectural historian Stuart Smith, there was a definite desire to retain design principles which the loyalists brought from colonial America and to replicate them in their new colonial British North American communities.¹⁰² In architecture this was certainly the case. The wealthier American loyalists commenced building estates on the shores of the lower Saint John River at the end of the eighteenth century. The American loyalist landowner who amassed the largest property in the province was the former Virginian plantation heir, John Saunders (1754-1834).¹⁰³ His forfeited inheritances included plantations in Virginia Beach and his home, named "Pembroke," consisting of more than 800 acres.¹⁰⁴ A comparable estate was sought in the new

¹⁰²Stuart Allen Smith, Loyalist Architecture of British North America Canada's Visual History Series, vol. 43. (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada and National Film Board of Canada, 1981).

¹⁰³MacNutt, New Brunswick, p. 205. Saunders' wife Arianna Margaretta Jekyll was daughter of James Chalmers, a wealthy Maryland loyalist (see Hill, Some Loyalists, p. 126). Saunders' porcelain tea set, sent from England, is on display in the Morehouse Farmhouse dining room at Kings Landing Historical Settlement.

¹⁰⁴Hill, Some Loyalists, p. 122.

province when Saunders built the "Barony," north of Fredericton, near the holdings of his brother-in-law, Colonel Ellegood.¹⁰⁵ He was granted and later purchased land and property along the Saint John River at Dumfries, Prince William, and Fredericton.¹⁰⁶ His Dumfries property exceeded 12,000 acres.¹⁰⁷ Saunders' Fredericton "cottage" was located at 752 King Street and can be seen in John Elliot Woolford's "View of Fredericton from the River" (see Fig. 38c).¹⁰⁸ He came to the province of New Brunswick in 1788 as Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court, following British training (see 1789 London painting Fig. 38a).¹⁰⁹ Yet Saunders, one of the

¹⁰⁵George N. Smith painted scenery in the 1830s, including the homes of the Coffins. Admiral Coffin, the son of General Coffin, resided on an estate carved from the banks of the Saint John and referred to as Admiral's House. Alwington Manor, John Coffin's home, was also closeby the Saint John River. Coffin led the New York Volunteers and received land grants along the Nerepis River. Spring Hill, residence of Chief Justice George Duncan Ludlow, is depicted by George Heriot (1766-1844) in an 1807 watercolour as figure 27. Ludlow previously had a farm in Queens County, Long Island. Ludlow commissioned furniture made from local woods.

¹⁰⁶Hill, Some Loyalists, p. 122.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 123.

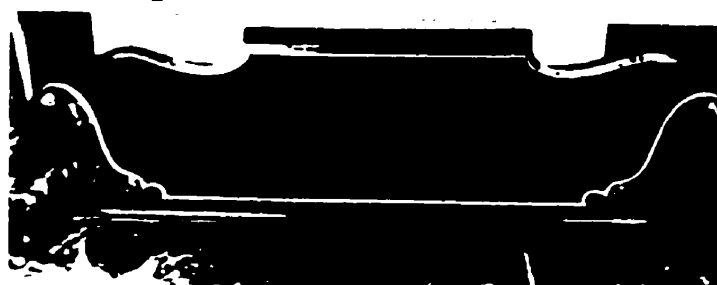
¹⁰⁸Woolford was a contemporary of John Saunders' artistic daughter Arianne Saunders Shore. Both Woolford and Shore sketches and prints may be found in Kings Landing's Fitzrandolphe collections (M76.20)

¹⁰⁹Saunders was a captain in the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers under Colonel John Graves Simcoe and later became a Member of the Legislative Assembly for York County (1791-2), a member of the Executive Council (1793-1832), and sat on the Legislative Council (1832-4). See, p. 72; and Lt. Col. Joseph Gubbins, Gubbins' New Brunswick Journals, ed. Howard Temperley (Fredericton, N.B.: New Brunswick Heritage Publications, 1980), p. 3.

Fig. 38ac A Portrait of Virginia Loyalist John Saunders, his Sofa, and Fredericton Family Residence (detail of "View of Fredericton from the River," C. 1830, attributed to John E. Woolford (1778-1866))



a



b



c

Fig. 38ac

most successful loyalists to find refuge in New Brunswick, was unable to reproduce estates comparable to those found in the United States. Despite his visionary acquisition of lands Saunders could not clear and settle them all. There was no local labour force sufficient to open up and maintain such large tracts of land, nor was slave labour an option. As a consequence, even among his own family members, he earned a reputation as an over-optimistic dreamer.

John Simcoe Saunders, holding little faith in a better price for farm lands and making fun of his father's passion for the acquisition of real estate, fancifully wrote of how in 1947 antiquarians would stumble upon The Barony, the Saunders family mansion, as if it were Palmyra in the desert. By that time, he mused, the country would again be called Acadia and the hardy adventurers who had cleared The Barony, the Loyalists, would be entirely forgotten.¹¹⁰

It would appear the facetious son was partially correct in his assessment. By 1811, when Gubbins made his military tour, he came across the Barony at the mouth of the Pokiok and related in his journal that

Judge Saunders, previous to the present war, purchased up a large tract of land in speculation and in hope of getting settlers from Europe, but in that he has been disappointed and his house stands in the midst of a wilderness of his own creation, without a neighbour or a practicable road, and his cleared lands are growing up again into forest.¹¹¹

For the next five or six miles beyond the Barony the

¹¹⁰MacNutt, New Brunswick, p. 178.

¹¹¹Gubbins, Journals, p. 5. Wednesday 3rd July 1811.

riverside was in a "state of nature".¹¹² The American propensity to acquire property as ostentatious shows of wealth was not always practicable in New Brunswick's wilderness setting.

The sophistication of the American loyalist gentry was dampened by both their failure to develop extensive properties in New Brunswick and their acquisition of vernacular furnishings more traditionally associated with less aristocratic households. Most furniture from Saunders' residences have since been dispersed, but a sofa from the King Street property survives (see Fig. 38b). It is mahogany veneered over a butternut frame and has had its original upholstery replaced.¹¹³ Such wares demonstrate the mingling of American and New Brunswick styles. The crest and rear section of the sofa are reminiscent of contemporary New York examples, yet the scrolled feet and arms are more Massachusetts in flavour. The use of butternut for secondary wood and the rondels placed on the handholds (compare with Scovil's sofa Fig. 28, page 167), places the origin of the sofa in the lower Saint John River valley. While based on sophisticated designs, this sofa has been reinterpreted by local furniture makers. The failure to introduce high-style opulent wares to compete with prosperous mercantile port

¹¹²Ibid., p. 4. Tuesday 2nd July 1811.

¹¹³Woods are typed according to Conservation Records written by Alastair Fox.

centres along the eastern United States seaboard is suggested by the execution of this vernacular sofa.

In the early nineteenth century furniture imports from Great Britain were considered very expensive, and as a consequence, cheaper American furniture successfully competed for the Saint John market. As Lt. Gubbins claimed in his New Brunswick journals "All English manufactures cost near a 100% more than at home and are of inferior quality. The wages of mechanics is at the rate of 10 shillings per day besides their board, so that every article of furniture is exorbitantly dear as well as bad."¹¹⁴ Better quality inexpensive merchandise from the south flooded the Saint John City market. Such competition from American entrepreneurs during the 1812-1814 War was disapproved of by mechanics and residents of the port city, who felt threatened in their business affairs at the same time customers were potentially supporting enemies by giving Americans business and cash. In the last year of the conflict a memorial was delivered to Sir Thomas Saumarez, President of His Majesty's Council, by the inhabitants of Saint John City. They claimed that "a number of American Mechanics who are Alien Enemies, have obtained the freedom of the City" and deprived British subjects of their means of

¹¹⁴Gubbins, New Brunswick Journals, p. 26. 20th July 1811.

support.¹¹⁵ According to the Charter of the City of Saint John, dated 30th April 1785, anybody who was not a free man could not "ufe any art, trade, myftery or occupation within the faid city, liberties and precincts thereof, or fhall by himfelf, themfelves or others, fell or expofe to fale any manner of good, wares, merchandizes or commodities, by retail, in any houfe, fhop, place or ftanding." Following implementation of the city charter a number of artisans plied their trades within the city as freemen, including "American and European white inhabitants." But by the beginning of the 19th century, competition from American neighbours and American migrant workers who had not taken out their papers in Saint John, served to antagonize established local traders.¹¹⁶ In addition, by paying the sum of forty shillings, Americans also could be exempt from all taxes, militia and highway labour.

Saint John mechanics also bemoaned a loss of currency as competing United States workers sent monies to "the Country from whence they came, and naturally increasing its resources in carrying on unnatural and unjust War against his Majesty's Loyal Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and

¹¹⁵The Charter of the City of Saint John, in the Province of New-Brunswick (New Brunswick: Lewis and Ryan, 1785), pp. 19-20. Memorial of Inhabitants and Mechanics of the City of Saint John, 18th April 1814 in Ward Chipman Papers, pp. 323-5 (National Archives of Canada).

¹¹⁶Consult T. W. Acheson, Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 85.

New Brunswick." The great number of American citizens, "who daily arrive in this town not only interfere with the privilege of British Subjects, but are dangerous to the community at large, by giving every information to their fellow Countrymen of the sailing of Convoy's, and many become incendiaries, and in case of Actual invasion would no doubt be foremost in assisting the Enemy." They estimated that not less than between seventy-five and one hundred Americans had arrived within the previous three months alone and that this number would soon double. They called for restrictions upon American citizens to prevent infractions upon the rights and privileges of loyal British subjects, who were "ever ready to serve their Kings and Country in their respective Capacities," unlike their southern protagonists.

The petitioners' allegiance to the crown was emphasized, it being claimed that their families had lost much in leaving the colonies, for their "ancestors were Loyalists, and Emigrated to this Province at the Conclusion of the Peace of 1783 - in preference to remaining under the American Government." The loyalist experience was embedded in the minds of second generation offspring. Yet a number of notables including aldermen and cabinetmakers signed petitions who were not of direct American loyalist descent, but instead came from different ethnic group backgrounds. In the early century, newly arrived American artisans within

the city proved easy targets for those established mechanics who sought to preserve their status, income, and market. In effect, the 1812 War provided a backdrop against which the first drama of competition played out.

Apparently little was done to stem the flow of Americans after the war terminated. Within fifteen years another petition was sent to the Lieutenant Governor opposing American competition.¹¹⁷ The mechanics grieved

That the circumstances of your Petitioners have been much injured, their energies palsied and their prospects rendered forlorn, by the unequal competition with which they are obliged to contend in the Provincial market, competing with the Merchants, Manufacturers etc. of the United States.... [who have] easy access to our Provincial Market..., That the equivalent received by the Merchants and Manufacturers of the United States for articles, brought into and sold in our Provincial market, is not the Manufacture or produce of the Province, but cash, which they carry with them into a foreign country, thereby lessening the circulation of money, threatening the Mechanick with impending ruin, and proving injurious to the prosperity of the Province by preventing the Farmer and Mechanick, from getting cash for their produce and manufactures. Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honorable body will be pleased to take this momentous subject into your Serious consideration and afford such relief and protection as you in your Wisdom may think right for the preservation and security of His Majesty's Subjects in this Province.

American rivals were able to compete due to the

¹¹⁷23rd February 1827, "Petition of Sundry Mechanics of the City of Saint John praying that further duties may be imposed on certain articles imported from Foreign Countries as a protection to the Manufactures of the Province." RS24 RG4 S35 Pe86/PANB

"extensiveness of manufacturing establishments, [and] the cheapness of provisions, [whereby] the Merchants and Manufacturers of the United States are enabled to undersell and thereby injure the Mechanicks &c in this Province." Petitioners called for additional protectionist duties against Americans whose "improved state of Agriculture...richness of the soil...and the facility afforded the inhabitants for carrying their produce...by canals...enable them to labour for less wages than can be done in this Province." Undercut by efficiencies of scale south of the border and defenseless against easy access to the Saint John market, the petitioners called for relief and protection. This 1827 petition was signed by chairmaker Jacob Townsend, who faced serious competition from imports of chairs and chair parts from Boston. Painters, cordwainers, silk dyers, tanners, tobacconists and other mechanics also signed the petition. A number of protectionist duties were applied to incoming American wares as a result of these petitions. Imports of furniture from the United States had higher duties placed on them than from British possessions.

In the 1780s loyalism was linked to reward, especially for those seeking positions of power from the British crown.¹¹⁸ For second generation loyalist petitioners, the

¹¹⁸Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: the Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," Acadiensis IV 2(1975): 6.

patriotic cry was used to solicit government support for burgeoning manufacturing enterprises. In the 1820s the loyalist political leadership came under public scrutiny as offspring sought their fathers' offices. Fires destroyed business property and economic misfortunes plagued Saint John City in the 1830s, while American territorial expansionism threatened New Brunswick's control over the northern Saint John River. With an influx of immigrants from other seemingly unassimilable ethnic groups and denominations, including the Irish Catholics, the hegemony of Saint John's charter groups was threatened. In the artisanal trades, sons of native-born mechanics began to move out of production industries into white collar positions in banking, commerce and the professions.¹¹⁹ By the 1840s attitudes towards the United States became more and more negative as competition threatened the profitability of the city's artisans. After 1841 wages also declined placing further constraints on the well-being of New Brunswick's mechanics.¹²⁰

David Bell, in his doctoral thesis, argues that following the American Revolution the United States developed into a "nation" while Canada, on the other hand, languished as a "non-nation" of "losers," who forever sought

¹¹⁹Acheson, Saint John City, p. 70.

¹²⁰Barkley, "Loyalist Tradition," p. 44 and Acheson, Saint John City, p. 72.

to prove themselves superior to southerners, while seeking their own sense of value from London.¹²¹ According to Bell, the immigrants of the 1780s created a loyalist province as well as an American province. "They had, in effect, built an American society, and called it by British names. Thus, New Brunswick, the 'fragment' of a 'fragment' resembled more closely its parent culture than the culture it consciously sought to identify with. It was, despite itself, more American than British."¹²² He concludes that "Unlike the new nationalist identity in the United States, the Loyalist identity in no way interferes with the continuation of ethnic culture."¹²³ Yet the new society which had developed by the mid-nineteenth century resulted from a mingling of ethnic cultures other than American.

The Saint John City loyalist elite undoubtedly looked to Great Britain for recognition. As legal historian Susan Kathleen Leyden points out, New Brunswick evolved from a mixture of fragments from other societies.

¹²¹David Victor John Bell, "Nation and Non Nation: A New Analysis of the Loyalists and the American Revolution," Ph.D Dissertation. Harvard University, April 1969, p. iv. Ann Gorman Condon sees the loyalists as political losers, yet more favourably claims that they were not out of synchronization with their times, just marching to a different drummer. See Condon, "Marching to a Different Drummer-The Political Philosophy of the American Loyalists," in Red, White and True Blue, ed. Esmond Wright (New York: Institute of United States Studies by AMS Press, 1976), pp. 17-18.

¹²²Bell, "Nation v Non-Nation," p. 194.

¹²³Ibid., p. 246.

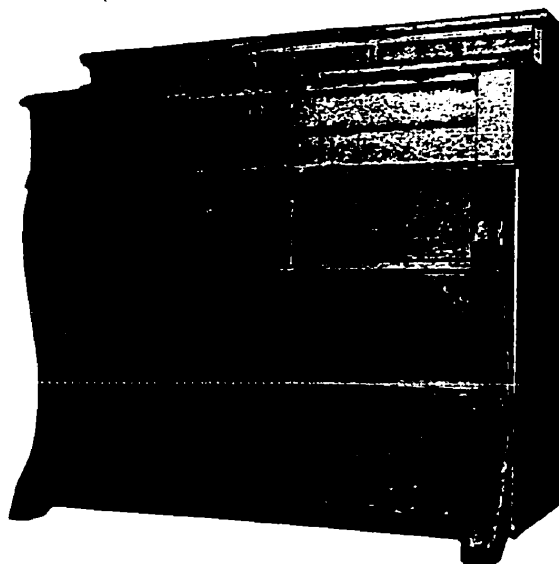
The Loyalists were fortunate,... to have among them a small group of men trained in the law who set to work immediately to shape the legal institutions of the new colony. They drew on models from Nova Scotia, Britain, and the American colonies, tempering their decisions with their own experiences of colonial life. Their task was formidable, achieved under frontier conditions where most men were engrossed in basic problems of sheltering and feeding themselves and their families.¹²⁴

It was this embracing of both British and American traditions, within a North American colonial context, which shaped the character of New Brunswick.

It is the New Brunswick furniture of second and third generation American loyalists which best embodies the process whereby American styles were tempered. For example, the case illustrated in figure 39a came from the Prince William, York County home of Thomas Saunders. He owned this item in the late 1840s. It descended through the family until donated to Kings Landing Historical Settlement. The American Empire style which it embodies is not sophisticated high-style in nature. It demonstrates the skills of a New Brunswick craftsman who reinterpreted American style. For example, the scrolled front stiles of the chest terminates in feet which curve outwards rather than inwards, this a vernacular interpretation. While the chest may come from a loyalist household it is locally made and reflects middle-

¹²⁴Susan Kathleen Leyden, Crimes & Controversies: Law and Society in Loyalist Saint John (Saint John, N.B.: The Saint John Law Society, 1987), p. 8.

Fig. 39ab Second and Third Generation American Loyalist
Furniture: Thomas Saunder's Prince William Chest of Drawers,
John Winslow III's Saint John Wash-stand



a



b

Fig. 39ab

class Saint John River valley lifestyles. The basic decorative styles of Saint John City's furniture (see Chapter 3) in this period closely mimic American middle-class examples and incorporate much mahogany veneered white pine scrolled, cut-out and bent. The wash-stand (see Fig. 39b) incorporates all these details, in association with turned feet and rear posts. It passed through the hands of descendants of John Winslow III of Saint John. A familiar family name, the "loyalist" who acquired this item purchased a well-appointed and highly fashionable locally-made piece.

These scrolled-front items were made by specialist machinery introduced in the 1830s. In order to encourage burgeoning local industries, duties were imposed on chairs, clock wheels, clocks, looking glasses and household furniture, at a rate of 4% for British-made imports and 20% for foreign goods.¹²⁵ In 1843, a petition signed by 293 magistrates, merchants, mechanics and others was submitted to Sir William McBean George Colebrook.¹²⁶ No longer referring to their loyalist heritage, the petitioners affirmed their New Brunswick identity by emphasizing the difference between themselves and their republican neighbours. In a time of economic turmoil, as the United States imposed tariff barriers in the form of increased

¹²⁵New Brunswick Almanac and Register for 1849 (Saint John: Henry Chubb, 1848).

¹²⁶RS24 1843 File 6 pe143, PANB. The cabinetmaker Alexander Lawrence signed twice.

duties, the Americans effectively served "to shut out almost all articles of the Growth, Produce, and Manufacture, of this Province," while the policies of Great Britain led "us to a strong desire to confine our trade as much as possible with the Mother Country." Costs of capital investment in machinery for new manufacturing establishments in the province would not be reimbursed without a market and therefore a barrier against a flood of incoming American wares was essential for protection. The parties felt entitled to "a liberal share of protection", without which manufacturing interests would suffer.

The success of American entrepreneurs further encouraged New Brunswickers to contemplate establishing their own mass-production industries based either on interchangeable parts or bulk quantity manufacturing. Provincial artisans became aware of the scale of American enterprises from newspaper extracts. A columnist in the British-American Cultivator claimed that

Every description of articles or goods that can be successfully manufactured in the United States, can unquestionably be manufactured in the Provinces, and afforded for as low prices as in the neighbouring country,....The manufacture of Connecticut clocks is carried on in an extensive style. They not only stock the market of the whole Union, but they have actually shipped 40,000 clocks to Europe since 1841. The number of these clocks manufactured annually in Connecticut is 300,000. We have mentioned these few facts to show the extent and proficiency that the manufactories of the

United States have attained to....¹²⁷

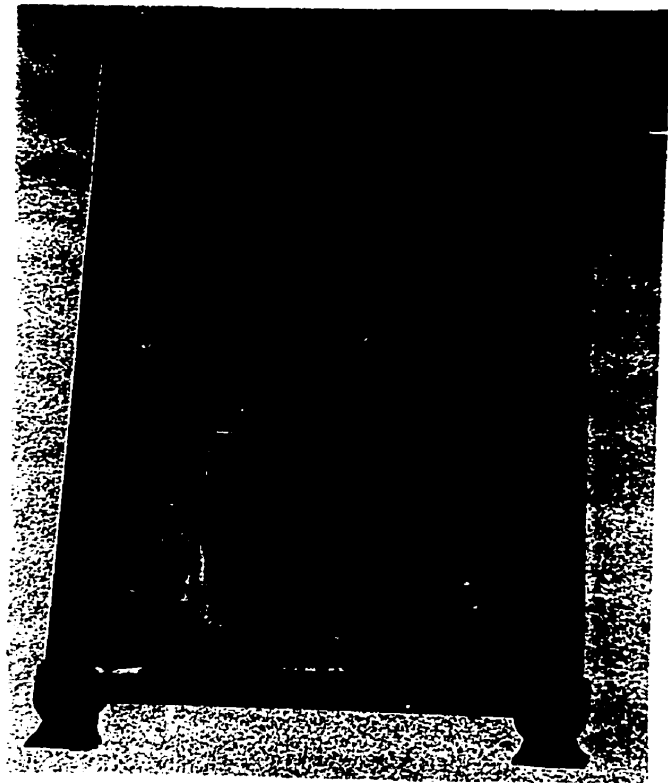
One such clock import was noticed by the observant Mrs. Frances Beavan. This Yankee clock, with its image deliberately censured, had "its case displaying 'a most elegant picture' of Cupid, in frilled trowsers and morocco boots, the American prototype of the little god not being allowed to appear so scantily clad as he is generally represented."¹²⁸ Even today, Connecticut clocks are often found in provincial museum collections. Kings Landing Historical Settlement, for example, possesses a mantle clock manufactured by Erastus Hodges of Torrington, Connecticut which is typical of the genre (see Fig. 40ab).¹²⁹ It is surprising, therefore, to find that advertisements for household wares originating in Connecticut and for sale in Saint John shops between 1815 and 1845, were virtually non-existent. New Haven accounted for one voyage, representing 0.077% of all trade advertisements listing American ports of origin. It is likely that low weight parts were sent in bulk from place of manufacture to Boston for redistribution using the new canal system. Boston exported 15.8% of total

¹²⁷From an article entitled "Domestic Manufactures," an extract reprinted from the British-American Cultivator. Reel #1, Miscellaneous out of province newspapers, PANS.

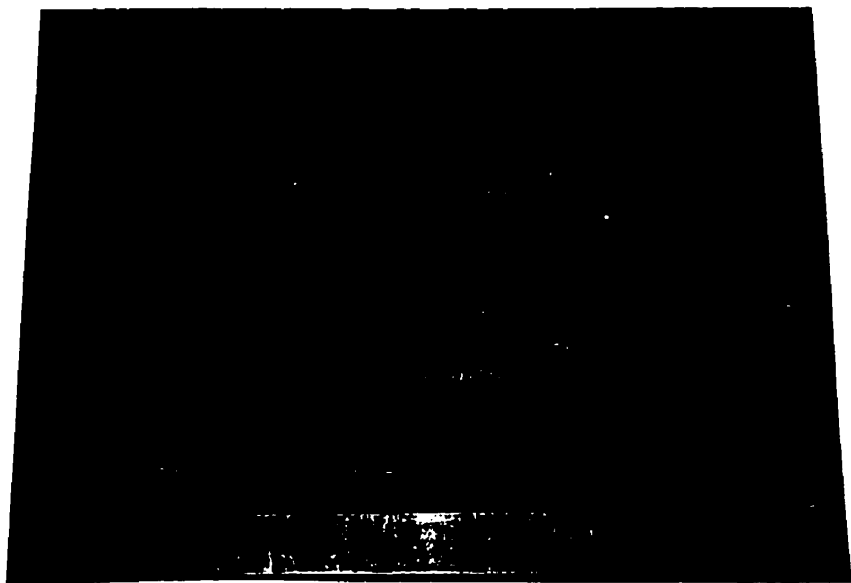
¹²⁸Mrs. Francis Beavan, Life in the Backwoods, p. 30.

¹²⁹Kings Landing Historical Settlement Acc # 66C532. The clock exhibits reverse painting of a child seated in a chair. A part of the United States census for 1831 and an advertisement for Hodge's patent improved clocks are pasted to the interior of the clock.

Fig. 40ab Mass-Produced American Import: Torrington,
Connecticut Mantle Clock and Maker's Label



a



b

Fig. 40ab

American wares coming to Saint John.

The Americans were particularly competitive in the marketing of chairs and clocks, the production of which was monopolized by southern New England makers through the late 1820s and 1830s.¹³⁰ An appeal to the patriotic nature of provincials was used as a sales device by colonial craftsmen. An article in Saint John's Weekly Chronicle for 12th July 1844 described the business operation of an extensive chair and general furniture manufactory operated by J. McCarthy at Mispec. We learn that a sufficiency of chairs

are there manufactured not only for the home market, but a large number are exported; and so complete is the arrangement of the machinery, and so excellent the execution of the work that the proprietor is enabled successfully to compete with the American manufacturer. The yearly amount kept into the country by this branch of industry instead of draining our banks of specie to send in a foreign market, is enormous; and the proprietor deserves well of the community. Every well wisher in this country's prosperity must hail with delight the establishment of such manufactories, and view them not only a picture of our capabilities but also the germs of this countrys' greatness.

The mass-production of Hitchcock-style chairs in the

¹³⁰Transportation improvements, such as the canalization of New England, and piece-work production led to economies of scale New Brunswickers could not compete with. Maritime Canadian proximity to north-east coast American ports facilitated effortless trade and the Saint John market was flooded with American-made wares, especially clocks and fancy chairs.

Connecticut manner had reached New Brunswick. Reverend Oliver Arnold, director of the Indian School sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Sussex Vale, was originally from Mansfield, Connecticut where such chair styles became familiar. This American loyalist used a Hitchcock-style side chair in his Kings County home (see Fig. 41e). The chair has a thumb-back, tablet crest, curved single back-splat, rolled and caned seat, with single front ring-turned stretcher and plain double side stretchers.¹³¹ Fancy chairs such as this found a ready market in Kings County. J. Balcome Clements marked and warranted his own Norton, Kings County-produced fancy chair of the "chicken-coop" variety (see Fig. 41ab), so-named for the vertical spindles placed between central back slat and seat, which resembled chicken cages.¹³² The chair dates from around 1830. A set of similar chairs were once owned by a resident of Woodman's Point, New Brunswick (see Fig. 41d). The American chair (see Fig. 41c) is less elegant in its squared back profile, thick sloped seat and broad back slat. This contrasts with southern Saint John valley examples from Norton (see Fig. 41a) and Woodman's Point (see Fig. 41d), which have flared thumb-nail posts of a narrower gauge, and

¹³¹Condon, Envy, p. 189; Esther Clark Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick 5th printing. (Yarmouth, N.S.: Sentinel Printing Ltd., 1985), pp. 75 and 257.

¹³²One such chair is in the Royal Ontario Museum collections, Accession Number 965.155.4. It is stamped on the seat bottom "J. BAL----/CLEMETS/WARRANTED".

Fig. 41ae Mass-Produced New Brunswick Fancy Chairs: J. Balcome Clement's Norton Chicken-Coop Side Chair and Seat Stamp, Maine Painted Side Chair, Woodman's Point Set of Chicken-Coop Side Chairs, and Oliver Arnold's Sussex Vale Fancy Side Chair



Fig. 41ae

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