

## Commemorating the Loyalists in the Loyalist City: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1883–1934

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### Résumé de l'article

Aujourd'hui à Saint John, au Nouveau-Brunswick, la conscience historique souffre de fragmentation. Mais, des années 1880 au milieu des années 1930, les souvenirs des fondateurs loyalistes (années 1780) de la ville ont dominé l'histoire « publique ». Cet article examine la création d'une historiographie loyaliste par des auteurs comme Hannay et Raymond de même que la commémoration des fondateurs loyalistes dans une ville où la majorité de la population était d'origine autre que loyaliste. Les opinions des loyalistes n'étaient ni monolithiques ni statiques, mais les célébrations de l'époque ont souligné leur triomphe sur l'adversité et leur rôle vis-à-vis du progrès provincial, national et impérial. Le tricentenaire De Monts-Champlain de 1904 et la commémoration de la famine irlandaise de 1927 ont défié ce discours historique dominant. L'établissement d'un musée provincial, entre 1929 et 1934, a marqué pour l'histoire publique un changement de direction, d'une approche d'amateurisme et de bénévolat à une connaissance historique s'appuyant sur des professionnels au service de l'État.

# ***Commemorating the Loyalists in the Loyalist City: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1883–1934***

**Greg Marquis**

## **Abstract**

***Historical consciousness in Saint John, New Brunswick, at present is fragmented. From the 1880s until the mid-1930s, public history was dominated by memories of the 1780s Loyalist founders of the city. This article examines the creation of Loyalist historiography by writers such as Hannay and Raymond, and public commemoration of the Loyalists in a city where most of the population was of non-Loyalist descent. Views of the Loyalists were neither monolithic nor unchanging, but public celebrations stressed their triumph over adversity and contributions to provincial, national, and Imperial progress. The 1904 De Monts–Champlain Tercentenary and the 1927 Irish Famine commemoration were tentative challenges to the dominant historical discourse. The founding of a provincial museum between 1929 and 1934 signalled a shift in public history away from an amateur, voluntary approach to historical knowledge production based on professionals working for the state.***

## **Résumé**

***Aujourd'hui à Saint John, au Nouveau-Brunswick, la conscience historique souffre de fragmentation. Mais, des années 1880 au milieu des années 1930, les souvenirs des fondateurs loyalistes (années 1780) de la ville ont dominé l'histoire « publique ». Cet article examine la création d'une historiographie loyaliste par des auteurs comme Hannay et Raymond de même que la commémoration des fondateurs loyalistes dans une ville où la majorité de la population était d'origine autre que loyaliste. Les opinions des loyalistes n'étaient ni monolithiques ni statiques, mais les célébrations de l'époque ont souligné leur triomphe sur l'adversité et leur rôle vis-à-vis du progrès provincial, national et impérial. Le tricentenaire De Monts-Champlain de 1904 et la commémoration de la famine irlandaise de 1927 ont défié ce discours historique dominant. L'établissement d'un musée provincial, entre 1929 et 1934, a marqué pour l'histoire publique un changement de direction, d'une approche d'amateurisme et de bénévolat à une connaissance historique s'appuyant sur des professionnels au service de l'État.***

## **Introduction**

Saint John, New Brunswick, is an industrial city searching for a new economic foundation and identity. In recent years the municipality has suffered from an eroding industrial and tax base, outmigration to the suburbs, and a deterioration in services and social capital. Giant “Loyalist men” billboards guarded the highway approaches to the city until 2003; in the age of inclusion, the slogan “Loyalist city” is no longer appropriate.<sup>1</sup> The popular

Loyalist Days festival of the 1970s has been surpassed by other celebrations.<sup>2</sup> Two events now compete for public support, the traditional Loyalist Day (May 18) and a broader Loyalist heritage festival.<sup>3</sup> In the 1980s Saint John rediscovered its Irish roots.<sup>4</sup> Other heritage activists have promoted commemoration of the port's rich shipbuilding and shipping history as exemplified by the famous vessel *Marco Polo*, or the late Victorian architecture of the central business district, rebuilt following the Great Fire of 1877. The emergence of a francophone middle class has rekindled interest on the pre-deportation Acadian past, notably the site of 17th-century Fort la Tour.<sup>5</sup> In addition to Irish and francophone Saint John, there has been a surge of interest in other minority cultures, and in once closely knit neighbourhoods such as the East End. Historical consciousness in New Brunswick's largest city is fragmented and adrift.<sup>6</sup>

The city's public history was once more homogeneous, dominated by anglophone, Protestant, Imperialist, and Canadian nationalist tributes to the Loyalists.<sup>7</sup> By the early 20th century the Loyalists merited an entire week of activities in Saint John, and their legacy was a powerful barrier to competing visions of the past. Yet views of the Loyalists were neither monolithic nor unchanging. Rather, they reflected changing political and cultural circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

This article addresses three aspects of Loyalist commemoration in Saint John from the 1880s until the 1930s: research and publishing on Loyalist history, public celebrations of the Loyalists, and the founding of the provincial museum based in Saint John.

## **Creating the Loyalist Record**

Although public history was dedicated to a particular vision of the Loyalists that began to take shape in the 1880s, Saint John was not a homogeneous community. Differences between Protestants and Catholics, which extended to marriage, family networks, schooling, and voluntary organizations resulted in a form of social apartheid.<sup>9</sup> The city was also divided on lines of class, which overlapped with ethnicity and religion. Public history, as represented by museums, for example, usually reflected middle-class and elite concerns.<sup>10</sup> In terms of public festivities, history in Saint John between the 1880s and the 1930s were often secondary to more immediate concerns. Large parades took place on Labour Day and Remembrance Day, and the masses preferred modern entertainment such as sports, popular theatre, and motion pictures.<sup>11</sup> Yet cultural elites (members of societies, service organizations, politicians, and journalists) projected a vision of local and provincial history in which the Loyalists dominated. And the dominant messages were triumph (physical, moral, political, economic) and “liberty,” the degree to which the Loyalists, by sowing “the seeds of empire,” contributed to the enlargement of British freedom.<sup>12</sup> In 1930, the mayor of Saint John, quoting Longfellow, went so far as to compare

the Loyalists to the Acadians, who had also triumphed in the face of adversity.<sup>13</sup>

As in Ontario, local public history was framed within a larger national and international context. The major themes in English-Canadian historiography were responsible government and Dominion autonomy.<sup>14</sup> In both cases the Loyalists played an ambivalent role in historical interpretations. On the positive side, the Loyalists ensured the British connection, evolution not revolution, parliamentary institutions, and political moderation. An active role for the state in economic development or 20th-century social programs, and protection of minorities supposedly were other legacies of the Loyalists, at least according to commentators who stressed their enlightened conservatism. On the other hand, the Loyalists and their descendants were viewed, in Whig historiography, and by early to mid-twentieth-century academic historians, as barriers to economic and political progress.<sup>15</sup>

Ironically, given that the Loyalists were the “losers” of the Revolutionary war, the Loyalist myth or tradition emerged in the late 19th century as a reaction to American celebrations of the centennial of the War of Independence. Genealogy, community histories, and historical societies became more common in both the United States and Canada. Reflecting the growth of Canadian poetry and prose, a national historical literature also emerged. By the early 1900s a number of large-scale publication projects reflected the increased interest in national history. English Canadians looked to their “founders,” the Loyalists, as the basis of the future Dominion. The Loyalists, although American, were redefined in historical writing and popular understanding as “English” and “Empire builders.”<sup>16</sup>

New Brunswick, often dubbed the Loyalist province, had been separated from Nova Scotia in 1784 as the result of the grievances of refugees who landed north of the Bay of Fundy and the political ambitions of prominent American Tories. The American refugees dominated early New Brunswick numerically, politically, and culturally until the passing of the Napoleonic age. By the 1830s, when much of the first generation had passed, Loyalists were challenged by English, Scottish, and especially Irish Protestant newcomers. The influx of 1815–50 ensured the “Britishness” of the colony, despite the assumptions of the later Loyalist tradition. The Ulster Irish brought the Loyal Orange Association (LOA), which spread into rural areas inhabited by second- and third-generation Protestant Loyalists.<sup>17</sup> The census suggests that many Irish Protestants “forgot” their Irishness and became English or Scottish.<sup>18</sup>

As the “Imperial” aspects of the Loyalists took on greater significance, anglophone New Brunswickers of non-Loyalist descent could try to identify with the original settlers. Other than the Acadians, who were isolated from the anglo majority, the only sizeable minority were the Irish Catholics, clustered in Saint John and Northumberland counties. Despite immigration, the 1851 census indicated that four in five New Brunswickers were native born.<sup>19</sup> Saint John was more of an immigrant community.

In 1882, *The Freeman* estimated that only 20–25 per cent of the people of Saint John were descendants of the Loyalists but that they held a large part of the property in the city and county, by virtue of the loyalty of their ancestors and “the labor of other people” (presumably the Irish).<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Esther Clark Wright in the 1950s argued that many New Brunswick families could trace Loyalist ancestry through the maternal line.<sup>21</sup>

The Loyalist tradition also appealed to an age when history was framed as a “romantic narrative,” designed to entertain as much as instruct.<sup>22</sup> Nationalist history—Canadian, British, or American—was presented as a struggle of grand principles. The Loyalist myth in New Brunswick, which appeared in the 1880s, emphasized the elite nature of the American refugees, their anti-republicanism, principled conservatism, and God-ordained mission to preserve the British Empire.<sup>23</sup> If Loyalist historiography was guilty of concentrating on white elite males to the exclusion of the common people, women, or minorities such as blacks, this merely reflected the dominant historical approaches of the era. In New Brunswick, as in Ontario, the Loyalists also were the original anglophone pioneers, which meant that they were featured in local histories and genealogies.<sup>24</sup> Educated elites in late-19th-century New Brunswick, and elsewhere in English Canada, saw the Loyalists as forerunners to national greatness. In addition to British Imperialism and anti-Americanism, the Loyalist tradition could serve as a cloak for nativism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-francophone prejudices, which were factors in provincial life. If New Brunswick had been destined to be the Loyalist colony/province, then the descendants of the Loyalists, and “late Loyalists,” had been destined to dominate other groups, such as the growing Acadian population, both politically and economically.<sup>25</sup>

Celebrations of the American centennial provided the impetus for the organization, in 1874, of the New Brunswick Historical Society (NBHS), centred in Saint John, the economic and cultural capital of the province. The membership was limited for the first four decades, and many were descended from Loyalists. The society did not authorize “ladies” as members until 1910, and none were elected until 1921.<sup>26</sup> For society member David R. Jack, the arrival of Loyalist refugees in 1783 distinguished the era of “romance” characterized by the French regime from the age of progress. In his 1883 centennial history of Saint John city and county, Jack described the city’s founders as “devoted,” “honourable,” and possessing much “energy of will and force of character.”<sup>27</sup>

The 1890s was a decade of increased research and writing on New Brunswick history, much of it channelled through local newspapers and the NBHS. Most of this activity, which examined both the pre-Loyalist and post-Loyalist eras, was localized and antiquarian. Writers such as James Hannay and Reverend W. O. Raymond were influenced by American celebrations of the 400th anniversary of Columbus and the approaching new century. They also were affected by the highly charged public issues of the day, notably continentalism versus Imperialism

and the politics of language and religion.<sup>28</sup> There was also a strong dose of provincial patriotism behind these writings; many New Brunswickers remained ambivalent towards Confederation. Hannay's newspaper series on the Loyalists, which anticipated the Imperialist-nationalist tone of his subsequent study of the War of 1812, revealed that the Loyalist tradition could be interpreted ambivalently.<sup>29</sup>

Hannay, who fancied himself something of a radical, was not always positive in his assessment of the Loyalist legacy. In 1897 he described the fight for responsible government as "the old struggle between the Loyalist element and the newcomers." The second generation of Loyalists who had attempted to cling to political and social power, and block liberal reform, were "hardly equal to their fathers either in ability or force of character."<sup>30</sup> Blame for "the greatest political crime of the 18th century . . . the separation of the English race into two separate nations" for Hannay rested with both the American "incendiaries" and George III and his advisers. In this sense Hannay was in tune with the important school of British Imperial historians who sympathized with the Whigs of the 18th century. Many of the Patriots who organized boycotts and protests against Imperial policy in the 1760s and 1770s were "common thieves and robbers."<sup>31</sup> Rather than blindly loyal Tories, most Loyalists, Hannay asserted, shared the Whig distaste for taxation without representation, but as persons of "character" and principle they were more attached to the Empire.<sup>32</sup> The loyal Americans were not helped by the "offensive" sense of self-importance of English-born officials and officers. In many ways, Hannay lamented, Britain did not learn from its mistakes in the 13 colonies, but permitted the development of unpopular oligarchies after 1783, in Upper Canada and New Brunswick.<sup>33</sup>

Anglican minister W. O. Raymond, who had Tory sympathies, justified his 1893 book *The United Empire Loyalists* on the need for "a non partisan history of the American revolution." Although the Revolution was well covered by sheer number of studies, according to Raymond, its "true" or "impartial" history had yet to be written.<sup>34</sup> Raymond's second major contribution to Loyalist studies was the 1901 *Winslow Papers: AD 1776–1826*, an edited collection of the private letters of an elite Loyalist family.<sup>35</sup> As chaplain to the New Brunswick Loyalist Society, Raymond revealed his suspicion of republican forms of government.<sup>36</sup> Despite their differences, both Hannay and Raymond focused on Loyalist leaders, not the rank and file.

Public history's focus on the elite clashed with the revisionist spirit of early 20th-century academic historians who were beginning to acknowledge the common people.<sup>37</sup>

The NBHS, despite a limited membership, was involved in collecting and transcribing documents of relevance to Loyalist history, and in publishing articles in its *Collections* as of 1893. Other outlets were *New Brunswick Magazine* and the quarterly *Acadiensis* (1901–7), edited by David R. Jack.<sup>38</sup> The first paper presented to the society, on early courts and judges in New Brunswick, eventually developed into a publication that

was largely biographical, but partly a political history of early colonial New Brunswick.<sup>39</sup> The New Brunswick Loyalist Society, whose membership overlapped with that of the NBHS, was another promoter of the Loyalist tradition. After experiencing a decline in membership and activities, the society was revived following the First World War. According to its president, Lieutenant-Governor H. H. MacLean, the Loyalists were an important tool for fostering "national spirit." His speech at the 1933 provincial sesquicentennial ceremonies stressed that the Loyalists had been "men and women of learning and culture."<sup>40</sup>

New Brunswick school children encountered the Loyalists through G. U. Hay's provincial history text of 1903. The "pilgrim band of men with resolute hearts" who reached Saint John in May 1783 planted not only a new city, but also a new British colony, founded by men "of substance, education and refinement, whose influence was to have a powerful effect on the future of the country to which they came—poor in pocket but rich in sturdy character." Patiently, and with much suffering from cold and sickness, these political refugees—including women and children, but apparently no slaves—laid the foundations of a happy and prosperous society.<sup>41</sup> Their loyalty, however, was not blind; in a nod to the Whig tendencies of the Loyalists, Hay insisted that "they were just as firm as the rebellious colonists in denying the right of any government to impose unjust taxes."<sup>42</sup>

During the early 20th century, as many of the founding members retired or died, the NBHS worked with few resources to preserve and promote Loyalist history and, to an increasing extent, the history of the pre-1763 era. In 1908, there was discussion of the need to commemorate 150 years of "British rule" in New Brunswick by honouring the 1758 Monckton expedition that occupied Saint John. Jonas Howe spent decades working on the muster rolls of Loyalist military units. In the early 1900s the organization arranged for the provincial government to support the United Empire Loyalist Society of Toronto in publishing the evidence of the Loyalist Claims Commission, which had gathered testimony in New Brunswick, and contributed a memorial plaque to the final resting place in England of the province's first governor, Thomas Carleton. In 1906 the NBHS expressed its regret over "the deplorable condition of affairs with regard to the historic sites and fortifications" in the province. The members also urged the Dominion government to do more to collect, preserve, and index Loyalist-era records and took steps to protect important land records in Fredericton. In 1915 the Society agreed to permit the national Historical Manuscripts Commission to index, for future researchers, Loyalist regimental muster rolls.<sup>43</sup>

### **Public Commemoration**

One century following the arrival of the Loyalists, there were no public monuments in Saint John other than plaques in churches, and such historical commemoration that existed was largely local, private, and voluntary.<sup>44</sup> At the dinner in 1833 that marked 50th anniversary of the founding of the city, the main toast had stressed the common origins of New Brunswick and

the United States and the hope that "old animosities" would be forgotten.<sup>45</sup> In 1882, Saint John, recently rebuilt following the disastrous Great Fire of 1877, prepared to celebrate the centennial of the Loyalist refugees. By the mid-19th century, community celebrations such as the Queen's birthday had assumed predictable forms: public orations, parades, military displays, harbour regattas, fireworks, and bonfires. "National" societies (St. Patrick's, St. George's, St. Andrew's) held banquets and church services for their membership. Towards the late 19th century the popularity of brass bands added a new dimension to civic festivities. In 1882, Saint John held an "arbour day" to celebrate the arrival of the Fall Fleet of 1783. Citizens planted a large number of seedlings in honour of their Loyalist ancestors in Queen's Square, a park in an elite section of the south end that had been rebuilt following the 1877 fire.<sup>46</sup>

The centennial of the Loyalists in Saint John focused on May 18, the date of the arrival of the Spring Fleet. Roughly three thousand refugees had arrived at Parr (or Parr Town) at the mouth of the Saint John River in May 1783, followed by a further two thousand in the summer, and more than three thousand disbanded troops and their families in the fall. The small pre-Loyalist population at the river's mouth, which engaged in fishing, lumbering, lime-burning, and the Indian trade, was associated with a mercantile firm with New England connections. In 1785 Governor Thomas Carleton had Parr and nearby Carleton incorporated as the city of Saint John.<sup>47</sup> Many of the ex-"provincials," representing more than a dozen military units, were allotted land along the Saint John River and tributaries such as the Kennebecasis. Other Loyalists headed to the Passamaquoddy–St. Croix area. According to Wright, 90 per cent of the newcomers were American born.<sup>48</sup>

The 1883 centennial in Saint John included public meetings and speeches, church services and artillery salutes, a firemen's parade, field sports, and an ox roast in the town of Portland. Like the elaborate spectacle organized at Quebec City in 1908, public commemoration cast a wide historical net.<sup>49</sup> A colourful parade staged by the Polymorphians included dozens of armoured knights on horseback, marchers dressed as members of the 104th Regiment from the War of 1812, and individuals in the attire of the court of Elizabeth I. Loyalist re-enactors landed from a vessel at Market Slip, where they were greeted by bands of Indians.<sup>50</sup> The general tone of the centennial, according to Barkley, was favourable to the United States, and the parade included the U.S. consul, although anti-American sentiments were still visible.<sup>51</sup> One important regional difference may have been the nature of the war of 1812 in New Brunswick. Unlike Upper Canada, which was invaded, New Brunswick was never under any serious threat between 1812 and 1815. As Berger, Knowles, and Morgan have discussed, much of Ontario's Loyalist tradition, with its celebrations of heroes such as Brock, Tecumseh, and Secord, was a late-Victorian remembrance of the War of 1812, not the migrations of the 1780s.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the province experienced no rebellion in 1837, and the Fenian "raid"

of 1866 was a bloodless affair. Both events shaped notions of "loyalism" and nationalism in 19th-century Ontario.

An act of the New Brunswick legislature in 1883 incorporated a society dedicated to raising funds for a major monument in Saint John, such as a public hall, to the Loyalists.<sup>53</sup> Despite the failure to build a substantial public memorial to the city's founders, individuals and organizations did create smaller, practical monuments. In 1882 a fountain partly sponsored by the Society for the Protection of Cruelty against Animals commemorated the Loyalists at Market Square near the harbour. The Sears fountain also supposedly marked the birthplace of the first child born to a refugee family. In 1883 the Polymorphians erected, in Haymarket Square in the city's East End, an ornate memorial drinking trough for horses. The service club also cleaned up the outdoor market area at the foot of Waterloo Street and planted trees. Public drinking fountains also commemorated the Loyalists in King Square in the central business district and in Indiantown in the adjacent town of Portland. The Indiantown fountain was donated by the Kennedy family in honour of their son and of the Loyalists. Indiantown, which grew around a pre-Loyalist Indian truck house, was an important trans-shipment point for timber, people, and goods moving up and down the Saint John River. Loyalist grantees would have departed from the area for the interior in the 1780s.<sup>54</sup>

The King Square fountain, an imposing three-level affair sponsored by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, provided fresh water for people, horses, and dogs. The WCTU wanted the monument, which for many years stood at the head of King Street, the city's major thoroughfare, to commemorate Loyalist women and to promote temperance.<sup>55</sup> "Loyalist Grand-Daughter," writing to the *Globe*, explained, in maternal feminist fashion, that the women of 1783 arrived "as Loyalist wives; braving dangers, sharing the privations and the hardships of those for whom they had forsaken all others." Leaving the safety and comfort of their parents, they nonetheless set "an example of patience and devotion worthy of the imitation, for which their descendants should delight to honour them."<sup>56</sup> This was one of the few public reminders in the period that more than half of the Loyalist diaspora had consisted of women and children.<sup>57</sup>

Two of the most important local monuments to the Loyalists in Saint John were the old burial ground near King Square, and Trinity, the Anglican church that stood on the site of the original Loyalist church completed in 1791. In 1911, more than one-fifth of the population professed to be Anglican, a denomination that also claimed much of the social and cultural elite. In 1877 Trinity had been destroyed by fire, but many of its Loyalist "relics" had been saved. This included the colonial coat of arms taken from the Massachusetts state house as Loyalist exiles abandoned Boston. A number of the city's early Protestant churches, such as St. Andrew's Kirk, originated as Loyalist congregations, and groups such as the Freemasons originated in the 1780s. In the 1920s, the local Kiwanis Club took an interest in the Loyalist cemetery, located next to King Square. New burials

had stopped in the 1840s, and during the Centennial a private citizen had added a water fountain. In the 1880s the NBHS transcribed inscriptions from the tombstones. Tourism advocates suggested that the cemetery, with quaint headstones that dated back to 1784, conveyed the type of charm found in old New England towns. The local press from time to time published stories on prominent or interesting Loyalists interred on the site, and the NBHS sponsored a limited amount of restoration work.<sup>58</sup>

The third heritage site identified as worthy of preservation dated from the immediate pre-Loyalist period: Fort Howe, on a high bluff overlooking the harbour. Following raids into Nova Scotia by American rebels (during which a local fort was burned), the British set up a blockhouse, a palisade, and a barracks to the north of the harbour. A second blockhouse was added to protect a nearby ridge. The fort was site of an important treaty signed in 1778 between the British and the Maliseet of the Saint John River. When the Loyalists arrived at Parr and Carleton in 1783, the fort was a welcoming sight. It was abandoned following the War of 1812.<sup>59</sup> Fort Howe hill, which overlooked a crowded waterfront slum area, was identified prior to World War I as one worthy of a park or playground.<sup>60</sup> In 1914–15 the NBHS and the Dominion Parks Branch corresponded on the issue, and by the late 1920s the owner of the property, the Department of National Defence, had agreed to build an automobile road to the top of the hill. The municipal government feared that if Ottawa donated the land to the city, then subsequent federal governments would not be interested in its development as a heritage site.<sup>61</sup> By the early 1930s, little had been done to develop the site.<sup>62</sup>

Although no Loyalist monuments appeared in the 1890s, historical interest, as evidenced by the serialized histories of Hannay and Raymond, reached new levels. The New Brunswick Loyalist Society, organized in Saint John in 1889 (coinciding with organization of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution) was dedicated to preserving “the memory and principles” of the Loyalists and “to bring their descendants into closer connection with one another.” W. O. Raymond for many years gave a Loyalist Day sermon in Trinity Church, where he often related his version of Loyalist principles to current political and social questions.<sup>63</sup>

As the significance of the Loyalists was reinterpreted for purposes of the present, they became useful in the political realm. Although the Canadian tariff applied to both British and American goods, the Conservatives managed to portray economic protectionism as “loyal” and “pro-British,” and freer trade with the United States as “veiled treason.”<sup>64</sup> The contentious issue of commercial policy almost lost the Conservatives the national election of 1891 when the Laurier Liberals had offered a clear alternative to the protectionist National Policy. On Loyalist Day 1893, loyal Conservatives attended a banquet for MP George Foster, a prominent Imperialist. Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell, a leading Orangeman, called on New Brunswickers to remember their Loyalist heritage by “standing

up for their country” and rejecting pernicious Liberal doctrines such as Commercial Union and Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States.<sup>65</sup>

Electioneering aside, it is not clear that ritualistic “pro-Loyalist” or anti-American speeches and newspaper editorials indicated widespread antipathy in New Brunswick towards the United States.<sup>66</sup> During the 1883 celebrations, an American flag had shared the place of honour with the British, and newspaper editors and public orators often resorted to “best of neighbours” rhetoric. At the dedication of the Kennedy Fountain in Portland in 1883, Lieutenant-Governor L. A. Wilmot, grandson of a New York Loyalist, expressed hope for continued peace between America and Britain.<sup>67</sup> Although seen as detrimental to Canadian interests in the case of the Alaska Boundary dispute of 1898–1903, Anglo-American rapprochement in the early 20th century rekindled warm feelings towards the United States. Similarly, editorials and political speeches that tapped into the Loyalist tradition were not necessarily ethnically or linguistically exclusive; elites often stressed that because of Canada’s Loyalist-inspired British traditions, French and English lived in harmony and that the Empire was multiracial.<sup>68</sup> In 1929, the *Evening Times Globe* referred to the Empire as a “league of nations.”<sup>69</sup>

Popular Imperialism, and a growing nationalism in English Canada, guaranteed that the city would continue to be associated with the Loyalists. In 1901, the mayor reminded the visiting Duke and Duchess of York of the sacrifices of the city’s founders. During the royal visit, dozens of veterans of the South African War were given the freedom of the city.<sup>70</sup> In 1902, on the day of the coronation of Edward VII, a cornerstone was laid in Riverview Park for a monument to New Brunswickers who served in South Africa. One of the most striking orations on the importance of the Loyalists to Canada and the Empire was made in 1904, during the de Monts–Champlain Tercentenary. Several times during these celebrations the public was reminded that although Champlain discovered and named the Saint John River, the city and province had been founded by the Loyalists 180 years later.<sup>71</sup>

World War I was a period during which the Loyalists took on added poignancy for anglophone New Brunswickers. During the conflict, Loyalist celebrations were scaled down considerably. Many local men served overseas in the 26th Battalion. In 1915, the year that the Canadian Expeditionary Force saw its first major action, Raymond, in his annual sermon to the Loyalist Society, portrayed England’s struggle against Germany as even more important historically than the American Revolution. The current war involved more than the survival of the Empire; it would determine the future of “the race whose ideas of freedom have been drawn from Britain’s Magna Carta.”<sup>72</sup> The patriotic NBHS went to far as call for changing the name of the Loyalist province, named after “a small German Dutchy,” to Acadia.<sup>73</sup>

The new Canadian nationalism of the 1920s, although not oblivious to the past, drew its inspiration from the promises of



the future. The Dominion lacked a common language, religion, or historical traditions. Its emerging nationalism was based on optimism stemming from Confederation, the cooperation of the two "founding races," and its crowning glory, the acquisition and development of the West.<sup>74</sup> Although regional grievances were evident prior to World War I, the broader Maritime Rights movement did not take shape until the 1920s. As the Champlain Tercentenary celebrations of 1904 had indicated, Saint John's political, business, and cultural leaders were comfortable with the pan-Canadian nationalism of the early 20th century.<sup>75</sup> Reflecting the growth of Dominion autonomy within the Commonwealth, a self-conscious Canadian nationalism became more apparent in the 1920s. The movement was supported by newspapers, corporations, political parties, intellectuals, and national professional and voluntary organizations such as the Canadian Clubs and the Canadian Legion of British Ex-Servicemen's League. One sign of Canadian nationalism, as well as provincial patriotism, was the statue of Father of Confederation Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, erected in King Square in 1910.<sup>76</sup>

Despite signs of the new nationalism, citizenship identity in New Brunswick, as elsewhere in English Canada, remained strongly connected to Britain. This was evident during the tenth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in 1927 and in annual school exercises on Empire Day, celebrated on a school day prior to Victoria Day. Saint John press coverage of Empire Day reveals involvement by the ultra-Empire Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Canadian Club, and a celebration of British, British Empire, and Canadian poems, songs, and history. The celebrations appear to have been equally popular in the city's many Roman Catholic separate schools, which abided by the official provincial curriculum. In the late 1920s the King's birthday, June 3, was a public holiday. Victoria Day (May 24) continued to draw ritualistic praise from the press, but by the 1920s it had become more a summer holiday devoted to relaxation, travel, and recreation than a day of organized commemoration. The Church of England, also involved with St. George's Day, was at the centre of "British" events. A new manifestation of popular Imperialism was the Boy Scout movement, which became very popular in Saint John, enrolling one-seventh of the "boy population," including Catholics and Jews, by 1934. The IODE had a dozen branches in the Saint John area that year. The message in these celebrations and organizations was that Canada's "birthright" extended back not to 1867 or 1783, but to the Saxon era.<sup>77</sup>

The best examples of the blend of the old Imperialism and the new nationalism in the 1920s were the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation celebrations of 1927. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's message to the nation stressed Canada's prosperity, peacefulness, and national unity. In keeping with the dominant strain of citizenship identification in English Canada, the July 1 celebrations in Saint John, according to one official, reflected the deep "love of things British."<sup>78</sup> Buildings displayed Union Jacks and pictures of the Fathers of Confederation, and a

ceremony was conducted at the World War I memorial. In addition to a children's assembly, tree planting, sports, picnics, and boat races, the day featured a parade in which historical themes were prominent. The winning float, created by the IODE, depicted the Loyalist landing of 1783. The local branch of the Canadian Club paid tribute to the province's two Fathers of Confederation, Tilley and W. N. Steeves.<sup>79</sup>

The 60th anniversary of Confederation also coincided with one of the first major challenges to the Loyalists' historical monopoly in Saint John. Although the Loyalist influx had included Catholics, they remained under civil disabilities, and there were no Catholic religious services in the city until the early 1800s.<sup>80</sup> Irish-Protestant and Catholic immigrants had settled in Saint John city and county from the 1820s to the 1850s, but by the late 19th century, the Catholics were a large minority and more ethnically self-conscious. Unofficially, Loyalist celebrations, with their connections to the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, and to the Freemasons, were Protestant. But the Catholic minority was growing, and during Loyalist week it too heard sermons extolling the contributions of the Loyalists.<sup>81</sup> During the 1904 de Monts-Champlain Tercentenary, the Catholic diocese, primarily comprising Irish Canadians, stressed the religious significance of the French colonization of Acadia in 1604. A number of Catholics, such as Timothy O'Brien, became involved with the NBHS starting in the early 1900s. Although voluntary societies such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and parish organizations were active, there was little overt historical commemoration by the Catholic community until 1927.<sup>82</sup>

In honour of Confederation and the 80th anniversary of the Irish Potato Famine, a committee planned a monument on Partridge Island, the quarantine station for the port of Saint John. In 1847, two thousand mostly Irish immigrants had succumbed to typhus.<sup>83</sup> A committee looked at the issue in 1908, but disbanded. A group connected with Saint John the Baptist Catholic Church raised funds from the community in the 1920s, and a large Celtic cross was erected in the fall of 1927 on the corner of the island where six hundred of the victims of 1847 rested in a mass grave. The cross also commemorated the heroism of a local physician who had died after treating the immigrants. Many of the spectators were of Irish descent (George McArthur, the contractor and leading advocate, was a Protestant); there was no mention of the Loyalists except in an indirect tribute to the residents of Saint John who had responded charitably to the thousands of distressed immigrants of 1845–49. Although most Famine migrants were Catholic, the speakers on the island made no reference to religion; the mayor claimed that the Irish citizens of the city were among its most "loyal" citizens, and a Catholic priest spoke of Ireland as a loyal member of the "Empire."<sup>84</sup>

Following World War I, Loyalist Day continued along now familiar lines. May 18 by custom (not law) was a school holiday in Saint John, not elsewhere in the province.<sup>85</sup> In 1923, the 140th anniversary of the Loyalists, the National Historic Sites

and Monuments Board dedicated a memorial plaque at Market Square on the waterfront. At times the celebrations in May were described as "Founders' Week," and Catholic and Jewish congregations and new service clubs such as the Kiwanis joined in.<sup>86</sup> Increased emphasis was given to family histories of the Loyalists, reflecting the rise of genealogy, and lists of 1780s land grantees were published in the press. The 1928 Loyalist commemoration emphasized not only the Spring Fleet of 1783, but also the incorporation of Parr and Carleton as the city of Saint John in 1785. Organizers also decided to honour the first mayor and Common Council. Gabriel Ludlow, a New York Loyalist, served as Saint John's chief magistrate from 1785 to 1796.<sup>87</sup> Despite his status as a slave owner and his involvement in suppressing political dissent in 1785–86, Ludlow was the hero of the 1928 celebrations. A ceremony was held to commemorate Ludlow and his wife at their newly refurbished gravestone at a Presbyterian church.<sup>88</sup>

Organizers of the 1933 sesquicentennial of the arrival of the Loyalists benefited from national publicity. Not only was the keynote speaker Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, but official ceremonies from Saint John were broadcast across the nation by the Canadian Radio Commission. Bennett, who had won power in 1930, was an Alberta corporate lawyer born and educated in New Brunswick. His family was of Loyalist stock; his sister, the wife of close advisor W. D. Herridge, was elected third vice-president of the New Brunswick Loyalist Society in 1934.<sup>89</sup> In his speech at Saint John, Bennett assured Canadians that economic conditions would improve and discussed the significance of the British Empire. The Loyalists, including men of distinguished families as well as people of humble origins, had laid the foundations of Canada, the most important of the British Dominions. Repeating a familiar message, the prime minister highlighted values as the most important legacy of the Loyalists. The Loyalists had contributed to Canada's political traditions that balanced the rights of the individual with the authority of the state.<sup>90</sup> In a commemorative booklet Reverend H. A. Cody admired the "dauntless spirit" of the founders of Saint John but also used the language of reconciliation, referring to mistakes made by "both sides" in the American Revolution.<sup>91</sup>

The 1933 and 1934 celebrations featured well-attended "colonial balls," in which women and men, including naval and army officers, in late-18th-century costumes first observed 18th-century dances, then danced to modern band music.<sup>92</sup> According to the *Times Globe*, photographs of the Saint John ball that appeared in *Saturday Night* inspired a colonial ball in Toronto the following year, the centennial of the founding of York.<sup>93</sup> In the midst of the Great Depression, such festivities, according to the province's lieutenant-governor, "kill all thought" of hardship and remind youth of the importance of "British pluck and endurance."<sup>94</sup>

### ***A Monument to the Loyalist Province***

Despite the importance of the Loyalists to the public memory of anglophone New Brunswick, no one bothered to erect a major

monument on their behalf. The historic cairns and plaques that began to dot the province, thanks to the NBHS and the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board in the early 20th century, celebrated the pre-Loyalist and post-Loyalist eras. In Saint John statues were erected to honour Champlain and Tilley in 1910, and in 1911 the Historical Society placed a plaque on a cairn on Caton's Island, in the lower Saint John River, to mark the tercentenary of the first European "settlement" in New Brunswick. The major edifice that would mark the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Loyalist province was not a cairn or statue, but a new provincial museum, a major project to which a cash-strapped civic government contributed \$100,000.<sup>95</sup>

The sesquicentennial of the founding of the province (August 1934) did not coincide with the traditional anniversary of the Loyalist landing in Saint John; nevertheless another major celebration was mounted for May. New Brunswick had received its own government in 1784, but the connection with early Saint John was problematic. The first election had been marred by conflict between elite and more popular elements. The first sessions of the Legislature had been held at a Saint John tavern before the capital was moved to Fredericton partly because of fear of the mob.<sup>96</sup>

The 1934 Saint John celebrations included much that was familiar, but they also highlighted the link to responsible government and Dominion autonomy. At a Canadian Club meeting, historian Chester Martin of the University of Toronto spoke on Canada's contributions to the Commonwealth. Martin, a native of Saint John, had been Canada's first Rhodes Scholar. A specialist in constitutional and political history, including federal land policy in the West, in 1927 he had published a pamphlet for the Association of Canadian Clubs entitled *Prophets of the Commonwealth*. Its thesis was that Canada's winning of responsible government in the late 1840s had laid the foundations for the modern Commonwealth. Martin drew a clear line from 1783 to 1867 and on to 1926, the year of the Balfour Declaration.<sup>97</sup> The statement issued by Balfour on the Commonwealth in 1926 was given constitutional meaning in 1931 with the Statute of Westminster. During his 1934 talk, Martin claimed that responsible government had saved the second British Empire from the fate of the first (pre-1783) Empire and that the model had spread: "Responsible government in the British Empire is due to Canada's example."<sup>98</sup>

Loyalist Week in 1934 included another colonial ball, but this time the setting was the new museum in Saint John's North End, where the dates inscribed above the main doorway read "1784–1934." The official opening of the facility three months later was the culmination of a process that stretched back to the era of the Mechanics' Institute and included the Historical Society, the Natural History Society, the Loyalist Society, and a network of voluntary organizations and philanthropists. The private natural history collection of Abraham Gesner had been left with the Mechanics' Institute in the 1840s, and was expanded over the decades. In 1862, local scientific enthusiasts organized a Natural History Society (NHS), which was rejuvenated in 1880.



By 1910, the NHS had more than six hundred members. With the NHS, NBHS, the Loyalist Society, and local and provincial political and business leaders lobbying for a modern, secure facility to house and display flora, fauna, geological specimens, historical artifacts, and documents and works of art, the government passed legislation creating a provincial museum in 1929. Financial support came from three levels of government. The building, open by 1932, was dedicated two years later. The scientific collection was provided by the NHS. Eventually the extensive historical and art collections of John Clarence Webster and Alice Webster were donated to the museum, which housed a library and archives. In 1942 ownership of the building and its collections was formally invested in the province.<sup>99</sup>

The museum, with galleries dedicated to New Brunswick social history, general Canadiana, marine and military history, displayed First Nations artifacts and well as items from the French era and the 19th century. In this sense its mandate was broader than the history of the Loyalists. John Clarence Webster, a member of the national Historic Sites and Monuments Board, worked strenuously to recognize the history of pre-Loyalist New Brunswick, an effort that was resisted by the NBHS old guard with its focus on the Loyalists.<sup>100</sup> Yet by recognizing the work of two generations of heritage activists, and commemorating the 150th anniversary of the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia, the coalition of political, business, and cultural leaders that created the museum did not stray too far from the spirit of the Loyalists. The museum was a modernist institution that used the past to celebrate the present through a narrative of progress.<sup>101</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Public history in Saint John from the 1880s until the 1930s focused on the city's late-18th-century founders and their contributions to the province and nation. Historical commemoration was rarely contested, but as Knowles has shown in the case of Ontario, the Loyalist tradition was fluid.<sup>102</sup> Except for the 1904 Champlain-de Monts Tercentenary and the 1927 Irish Famine memorial, public displays of collective memory emphasized what had become a minority culture in the city, the Loyalists. Irish Catholics were the closest thing the city had to an ethnic community. The tentative launch of an Irish historical narrative in 1927, reflecting the growth of the Catholic community, did little to challenge the dominant discourse in a community where Protestants dominated politics and the economy. As the speeches on Partridge Island suggested, the sufferings of the 1847 immigrants could be attached to the Loyalist-Imperialist tradition. From the 1880s onwards, cultural leaders stressed not only the struggle of the early pioneers against nature and their persecution during the Revolution, but also their contributions to building the province, the nation, and the British Empire. Women's involvement on the organizational levels, minimal at the beginning of the period, became more pronounced through the schools and organizations such as the IODE, the Canadian Club, and the Loyal Orange Association. Public memory also served more mercenary ends. By the 1930s, the Saint John

Board of Trade was promoting local history as a means to boost tourism. In the future, the Loyalists would be commodified as a marketing tool and nearly emptied of ideological significance.<sup>103</sup> This trend is widespread—publicity for the reenactment of the probably fictitious landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, for example, encourages visitors to shop, eat, and relax.<sup>104</sup>

Criticisms of the anti-democratic and socially exclusive nature of New Brunswick's early elite and their progeny did appear in print, most notably in the work of Hannay, but were rare in public memory. Despite the social conservatism of a number of its promoters, notably Raymond, the Loyalist myth was not necessarily anti-modernist; it fit nicely within the theme of "history as progress." Representations of the Loyalists as victims, heroes, and pioneers were romanticized in New Brunswick, as in Ontario. But, in contrast to the "fisherfolk" and "Scots" of Nova Scotia, whose cultural representation has been studied by Ian McKay, the Loyalists were not portrayed as an innocent, pre-modern "folk" people.<sup>105</sup> The establishment of a provincial museum devoted to provincial history, natural history, and art, dedicated to the founding of the Loyalist colony in 1784, was a profound investment in modernity. The practice of history was becoming more professional, scientific, and state supported. Whether tied to "Imperialism as nationalism" in the 1890s, or Dominion autonomy in the 1920s and early 1930s, the Loyalist tradition was flexible and appealed to both conservative and Whig interpretations of New Brunswick and Canadian history.<sup>106</sup>

## **Notes**

1. "Loyalist Man," a smiling figure in 18th-century regalia, was created in the early 1960s to promote the city as a major retailing centre. Recently he was replaced by a more generic "explorer person," on billboards that read, "Discover our past, discover your future."
2. *Saint John Telegraph Journal*, 26 Mar. 2003.
3. The Loyalist House museum, which dates from 1817–20, opened in the 1960s.
4. St. Patrick's Week appears to attract an older, Roman Catholic following. In 1871, of those who claimed Irish origins in the city, 42 per cent were Protestant. For the surrounding county it was 52 per cent. See T. W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 256, table 7.
5. *Census of Canada*, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941. In 1911, less than 2 per cent of the population was of French origin. By 1941, the number was 7.2 per cent.
6. For fragmentation of public memory in the United States, see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory and Commemoration in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
7. Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick," *Acadiensis*, 4 (1975): 3–45. See also J. M. Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville: Mount Allison University Centre for Canadian Studies, 1986), chap. 1.
8. According to D. G. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origins of New Brunswick Politics, 1783–1786* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1983), vii, the high point of Loyalist "mythology" was 1880–1920. The growing Canadian literature on historical commemoration includes Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's*

9. *Telegraph Journal*, 6 Oct. 2002. The city became more Catholic over time. In 1911, 28.6 per cent of the population was Catholic; in 1951, 37.2 per cent. *Census of Canada*, 1911, 1951.
10. Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also Gordon, *Making Public Pasts*, 30–31; 139–41, 174, and John Clarence Webster, *The Distressed Maritimes* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1926), 13–16.
11. *Saint John Celebrations*, Saint John Pamphlets no. 20, Saint John Public Library.
12. See the final chapter of Rev. H. A. Cody's historical novel, *The King's Arrow* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1927).
13. *Saint John Evening Times Globe* (hereafter *ETG*), 19 May 1930.
14. Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900 to 1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), chap. 1–2; Morgan, "History, Nation and Empire."
15. J. C. Dent, *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto: C. B. Robinson, 1885), 1:71–86, 93–95; Arthur Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1946), 199–200; David W. L. Earl, ed., *The Family Compact: Aristocracy or Oligarchy?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967). See the remarks on New Brunswick's conservatism and lack of sophistication by A. G. Bradley, *The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada* (London: Thornton, Butterworth, 1932), chap. 7.
16. *ETG*, 18 May 1928.
17. Scott See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
18. In 1911, for example, less than 10 per cent of the city's population reported as Irish Protestant. *Census of Canada*, 1911, 2:158–59; 372–73.
19. Acheson, *Saint John*.
20. *Saint John Globe*, 1 Feb. 1882.
21. Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton: n.p., 1955), 231–32.
22. J. Clarence Webster, *An Historical Guide to New Brunswick* (Fredericton: The New Brunswick Tourist Association, 1928), 14; Morgan, "History, Nation and Empire." For an example of romanticization of the past in a neighbouring province, see Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933–1954," *Acadiensis* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 5–47.
23. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 83; Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition." For the historiography of the Loyalists, see W. H. Nelson, "The Loyalist Legacy," *Acadiensis* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 141–45; Anne Gorman Condon, *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984); Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists*, chap. 1.
24. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, chap. 2. The Loyalists, according to one estimate, brought 300 free blacks and 500 slaves to New Brunswick: Condon, *The Envy*, 191.
25. M. Hatfield, "H. H. Pitts and Race and Religion in New Brunswick," *Acadiensis* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 46–65.
26. Minutes of the New Brunswick Historical Society (NBHS), 25 Oct. 1910, 7 Mar. 1921, New Brunswick Museum Archives (NBMA).
27. D. R. Jack, *Centennial Prize Essay on the City and County of St. John* (Saint John: J. and A. McMillan, 1883), preface, 63.
28. George Parkin, *Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity* (London: MacMillan, 1892), 127–29.
29. "History of the Loyalists," 1–10, Hannay Papers, NBMA.
30. James Hannay, *The Life and Times of Leonard Tilley: Being a Political History of New Brunswick for the Past Seventy Years* (St. John: n.p., 1897), 4, 29.
31. Hannay, "History of the Loyalists," chap. 1, 1–7.
32. *Ibid.*, 15.
33. *Ibid.*, chap. 3, 2–3.
34. W. O. Raymond, *The United Empire Loyalists* (St. Stephen, NB: St. Croix Printing, 1893), 1–2.
35. NBHS Minutes, 25 May 1897; 29 Jan. 1901; 4 June 1904; W. O. Raymond, ed., *The Winslow Papers* (St. John: Sun, 1901).
36. *Saint John Semi-Weekly Telegraph*, 20 May 1903.
37. W. Stewart Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists: A Chronicle of the Great Migration* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1914), especially chap. 13.
38. NBHS Minutes (1902–17).
39. Joseph Wilson Lawrence, *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times*, introduction by D. G. Bell (1905; repr., Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985).
40. *ETG*, 22 May 1930; 19 May 1933. The NB Loyalist Society awaits detailed study.
41. G. U. Hay, *A History of New Brunswick for Use in Public Schools* (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1911), chap. 12.
42. *Ibid.*, 105.
43. NBHS Minutes, 29 Jan. 1901; 30 Apr. 1901; 29 May 1906; 27 Oct. 1908; 25 Apr. 1910; 28 Mar. 1911; 25 Apr. 1911; 13 Mar. 1912; 23 Feb. 1915.
44. NBHS Minutes, 30 Apr. 1912. For the importance of voluntary efforts in Montreal, see Gordon, *Making Public Pasts*, xv.
45. *Loyalist Souvenir* (1933), 29. In 1821, a public ox roast had been held on King Square.
46. For 19th-century civic celebrations, see Bonnie Huskins, "From Haute Cuisine to Ox Roasts: Public Feasting and the Negotiation of Class in Mid-19th Century Saint John and Halifax," *Labour–le Travail*, 37 (1996): 9–36; "A Tale of Two Cities: Boosterism and the Imagination of Community During the Visit of the Prince of Wales to Saint John and Halifax in 1860," *Urban History Review* 28, no. 1 (Oct. 1999): 31–46.
47. W. O. Raymond, *The River St. John* (St. John: John A. Bowes, 1910), 406–9; Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*.
48. Wright, *The Loyalists*, 155–56; Condon, *The Loyalist Dream*, 218–19.
49. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building*.
50. *ETG*, 4 June 1927, 17 May 1933.
51. Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition," 10–12, 17–29; *Globe*, 16 Aug. 1882.
52. Berger, *The Sense of Power*; Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*; Morgan, "History, Nation and Empire."
53. *Globe*, 1 Feb. 1882; *ETG*, 19 May 1933.
54. *Saint John Daily Sun*, 19 May 1883.
55. *Daily Sun*, 19 May 1883; *Globe*, 2 July 1883; *Saint John Celebrations*.

## *Commemorating the Loyalists in the Loyalist City*

56. *Globe*, 5 Feb. 1883. A small percentage of the town lots granted in 1783 in Parr and Carleton had gone to women.
57. Morgan notes the "masculinist" focus of historical writing on the Ontario Loyalists: Morgan, "History, Nation and Empire," 502.
58. NBHS Minutes, 25 Oct. 1898; 5 July 1926; *Telegraph Journal*, 9 Mar. 1923; *ETG*, 5 May 1928; 20 May 1929; 16 May 1931; 23 May 1934; Webster, *An Historical Guide*, 30–31. In the mid-19th century, hundreds of "headboards" were removed from the site and buried in a trench. Between 1887 and 1897, 80 headstones disappeared. In recent years, the cemetery has been restored with financial support from the powerful Irving family.
59. *Forts in Saint John*, Saint John Pamphlets no. 8, Saint John Public Library.
60. NBHS Minutes, 20 Oct. 1913.
61. NBHS Minutes, 14 Apr. 1914; 23 Feb. 1915; 23 Sept. 1923; 29 Apr. 1926; *ETG*, 17 May 1928; 4 May 1935.
62. *ETG*, 29 May 1933.
63. Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition," 40–41.
64. Joseph Pope, ed., *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1930), 772–77.
65. *Daily Sun*, 19 May 1893.
66. Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition."
67. *Daily Sun*, 19 May 1883.
68. *ETG*, 19 May 1933.
69. *ETG*, 28 May 1929.
70. *Saint John Celebrations*.
71. Greg Marquis, "Celebrating Champlain in the Loyalist City: Saint John, 1904–10," *Acadiensis* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 27–43.
72. *Monuments in Saint John*, Saint John Pamphlets no. 10, Saint John Public Library.
73. NBHS Minutes, 5 Mar. 1918.
74. W. S. Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1920), 151; *ETG*, 30 June 1931.
75. Marquis, "Celebrating Champlain."
76. *Monuments in Saint John*. Hannay's biography of Tilley for the "Makers of Canada" series appeared that year: James Hannay, *Sir Leonard Tilley* (Toronto: Morang and Co., Limited, 1910).
77. *ETG*, 21–25 May 1927; 4 June 1927; 23 May 1928; 25 May 1928, 7 Apr. 1934; 21 May 1934. See in particular the 1933 remarks of R. B. Bennett: 19 May 1933.
78. *ETG*, 2 July 1927.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Peter Toner, "The Foundations of the Catholic Church in English-Speaking New Brunswick," in *New Ireland Remembered: Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick*, ed. P. M. Toner (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988), 63–70.
81. *ETG*, 16 May 1933.
82. Marquis, "Celebrating Champlain"; NBHS Minutes, 27 Feb. 1931.
83. W. K. Reynolds, "The Year of the Fever," *New Brunswick Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1898): 203–14; *ETG*, 13 Apr. 1927; 6 May 1927.
84. *ETG*, 11–12 Oct. 1927; *Monuments in Saint John*.
85. *Globe*, 19 May 1920.
86. *ETG*, 17 May 1930; 12 May 1933, 12 May 1934.
87. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, chap. 7.
88. *ETG*, 18 May 1928.
89. *ETG*, 7 April 1934. In 1935, on Empire Day, Loyalist commemoration ceremonies from Saint John were broadcast nationally on the CBC and internationally via the BBC. *ETG*, 23 May 1935.
90. *ETG*, 19 May 1933.
91. New Brunswick Historical Society, *Loyalist Souvenir* (Saint John: New Brunswick Historical Society, 1933).
92. *ETG*, 19, 22 May 1933; 19–20 May 1934.
93. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1934.
94. *Ibid.*, 19 May 1934.
95. Marquis, "Celebrating Champlain."
96. *ETG*, 21 June 1934.
97. *Ibid.*, 4 June 1927.
98. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1934. See also Chester Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth: Studies in Governance and Self-Governance in Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).
99. *ETG*, 1–2 May 1929; Austin Squires, *The History and Development of the New Brunswick Museum* (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum 1945); Gerald Thomas, "John C. Webster: Applying Material History—Developing the New Brunswick Museum," in *Studies in History and Museums*, ed. Peter Rider (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 33–55.
100. *ETG*, 10 Sept. 1932; John Clarence Webster, ed., *Acadia at the End of the 17th Century* (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1934). For criticism of Webster, including the charge that he was not of Loyalist descent, see NBHS Minutes, 9 Apr. 1926.
101. For the role of the modernist museum, see Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
102. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 163.
103. NBHS Minutes, 24 Nov. 1953. As noted above, Loyalist man was created to encourage people to shop in Saint John stores.
104. See "USAThanksgiving.com" (2003) at <http://www.usathanksgiving.com>
105. Elsewhere, I have argued that Ian McKay's provocative and influential *Quest for the Folk* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) may not be a useful model for anglophone New Brunswick. "Roundtable on Ian McKay's *The Quest for the Folk*," Canadian Historical Association, Halifax, 31 May, 2003.
106. See Clark, *The Loyalists*, 241.