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ST. ANDREWS, N.B.: MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

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St. Andrews, N.B.: Miscellaneous Reports

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THE WEST BLOCKHOUSE

ST. ANDREWS, N.B.

A STRUCTURAL REPORT

by

George C. Ingram

April, 1965

INTRODUCTION

The West Point blockhouse was officially approved as a site of national historical importance in November, 1962.¹ The present report gathers together information useful in planned restoration of the structure.

The body of this report provides a brief history of the West Point blockhouse and battery. Appendix A discusses the architectural features at the site. This discussion is based on an engineering examination of the property² and a subsequent report by Peter John Stokes, Consulting Restoration Architect.³ The engineering and architectural comments are evaluated in the light of documentary evidence.

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1. From the minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada meetings of May 15 - 18, 1962 and November 26 - 28, 1962.
 2. A report on St. Andrews Blockhouse prepared by the Engineering Services Division, June 18, 1962.
 3. A report on the blockhouse prepared by Peter John Stokes, November, 1962.

HISTORY OF THE WEST BLOCKHOUSE
AND BATTERY

Summary:

The West Point blockhouse was erected at St. Andrews N.B. during the War of 1812-14 for the defence of the harbour and town. It was paid for and constructed by the local inhabitants, although it was later garrisoned and maintained by the Imperial Authorities. After 1858, it was leased by the British Government to private individuals. It was handed over to the Canadian Government in 1871 and leased out by them until the end of the century. In 1925 the site was transferred to the Department of Interior (later the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources).

The site as it appears now, contains a blockhouse, a gun shed, and a third building, probably a stable. All these buildings are in relatively good condition. The battery itself has been partially washed away by sea erosion.

Historical Data

When war was declared in 1812 the people of St. Andrews received the news with mixed feelings. The frontier town had always maintained close relations with the inhabitants of Eastport, the American town closest to it. In fact the first news of the declaration of war by the United States was passed to St. Andrews by way of Eastport.

The people of St. Andrews were no doubt thrown into a panic. They were extremely vulnerable with the town of Eastport only a few miles away, and the declaration of war officially placed relations between them and their neighbours on a hostile footing. What would be their reaction?

Much to their credit, it was a patriotic one. In a flurry of activity they set out to defend the town. Batteries were immediately erected "at the East and West ends of the town to defend the channels of the harbour . . ."4 This seems to have been done at the end of 1812 or in the early months of 1813. The money for the construction was raised by the citizens of the town, especially by one Christopher Scott. (Much later, in 1831, he was curtly dismissed as "a merchant and ship owner . . . almost constantly in a state of intoxication."5)

Robert Pagan, an influential local resident who served in the Legislature, was also involved in the construction. The citizens built the battery and the blockhouse and partially armed the same -- all, it seems, without immediate compensation.

Most of the information concerning the actual construction of the blockhouse has been derived from the attempts of these men to gain compensation for their effort and financial outlay during the War of 1812-14. In 1823, they petitioned the War Office for remuneration, perhaps for the second time, and the appearance of their petition provoked a search through the local records for details validating or discrediting their claim.⁶ Specifically, Mr. Scott wanted the sum of £ 143.0.7. Mr. P. Barry, the local engineer could find very little -- "only a copy of a report made by Capt. Maclauchlan on the state of the defence of Saint Andrews in the year 1813 . . . being about the period of Mr. Scott's first petitioning to be remunerated for the sums he expended" -- in the books in his office. However the claim was not

4. C 1456, p. 36.

5. Grace Helen Nowat, The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town: A portrait of St. Andrews New Brunswick (Fredericton, 1953) 99.

6. P. Barry to Col. Couper, Mil. Sec., Halifax, 7 Nov. 1823, C 1456, pp. 34-5.

a new one to him. About three years before, when he had visited St. Andrews, "it had been intimated to me by an officer then stationed there that some of the inhabitants intended to request that I would do something towards their being remunerated for the building of the Block Houses." Barry himself was inclined to doubt the claim, especially Mr. Scott's pleaded priority:

I conceive that if Mr. Scott had a stronger claim on Government than any other individual (particularly as he states that Major General Smyth was directed 'to have the vouchers examined and if found correct to pay the amt.')

he would not have allowed so much time to elapse without bringing it under the notice of his Excellency . . . to whom a reference could have been made and every necessary information obtained from him who must have been so fully acquainted with every circumstance relating thereto.⁷

Barry did concede, however, that the blockhouse had been used since its construction by the Imperial Authorities:

So far as regards the blockhouse being used as a barrack by His Majesty's troops I must say it has been occupied by three artillery men for some years and there is now a bombardier living on the lower floor.⁸

Enclosed with the above letter were various documents concerning the construction of the blockhouse. In the spring of 1813, for instance, Col. Gibbins, a local officer of the militia, visited the town and reported to Capt. Maclauchlan that:

The works at present at St. Andrews consist of a couple of batteries thrown up by the inhabitants to defend the entrances of the harbour against the attempts of privateers upon the shipping; these batteries were at my suggestion secured from being turned by a predatory force of the above description by the erection of a substantial blockhouse immediately in the rear of each of these.⁹

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Extract of a letter from Lieut. Col. Gibbins to Capt. Maclauchlan, 23 March 1813 in C 1456, p. 36.

From Gibbins' report it may be inferred that the battery at West Point was hastily constructed, probably in an amateur fashion, very soon after the beginning of the war. Then, in the fall or early winter of 1812-1813, the site was inspected by Col. Gibbins who advised that some form of keep be constructed for each of the gun positions. This had largely been accomplished by March of 1813.

Capt. Maclauchlan himself inspected the defences of St. Andrews two months after receiving his letter from Gibbins. Being a professional engineer, he was much more critical of the efforts of the local citizens:

There are two batteries", he wrote, "situated at the East and West ends of the town to defend the channels of the harbour . . . and the upper or western [mounts] one eighteen, one nine, and one four pounder carronade for which at present there is in store only 30 rounds of ammunition per gun. In each battery there has been erected a musket-proof blockhouse, the whole of which work was raised by the inhabitants during the period of alarm excited by the first reinforcements which appeared on Moose Island, to enable them to resist an attack more particularly against any predatory intention of the enemy. They are the only defences in the place, and so badly constructed that the tide at high water is nearly upon a level with the holes of the embrasures.¹⁰

Maclauchlan, it seems, set out immediately to have the weaknesses of the battery corrected. Between 25th April and 24th June, 1813 "artificers and labourers" were "employed in altering and raising the batteries and completing the blockhouses situated at the East and West ends of the town of Saint Andrews agreeable to the approved estimate of the 22nd. May, 1813."¹¹

10. Extract from Capt. Maclauchlan's report of the Defences of St. Andrews to Captain Nicolls C.R.E., Nova Scotia, 13 May, 1813 in C 1456, p. 36

11. Statement included in C 1456, p. 37.

In the fall of that year, Nicolls the Commanding Royal Engineer in the Maritimes, honoured the town of St. Andrews with a visit. He did not make any criticisms of the structure of the batteries which by this time were improved, but he did point out the limited role they played:

The batteries E.F. and blockhouses G.H. on plan No. 1 were erected by the inhabitants in a moment of alarm at the beginning of the war for security of vessels in their harbour and protection of the town; for the former purpose they certainly answer but tend but little to the general defence of the place as their positions will point out.¹²

By the beginning of 1814 the battery mounted 3-18 pdr.¹³

* * * *

The battery, it seems, saw very limited use during the War of 1812-14; in fact, it is doubtful if it ever fired a shot against an attacking enemy. The blockhouse and battery primarily stood as a symbol of the spontaneous, perhaps later regretted, patriotism of the town's people; and in a more practical fashion, the blockhouse served as a barracks for a part of the skeleton Imperial garrison of the town. It had been erected near the end of 1812 and certainly by the early part of 1813. Already in 1813 the inhabitants of St. Andrews, as in many of the towns of New Brunswick, had reached

12. G. Nicolls to Mann, 10 Nov. 1813 W.O. 55, Vol. 860, 394 ff.

13. Report of the forts and batteries . . . in the Province of New Brunswick, 9 Feb. 1814 W.O. 44, vol. 145, p. 144.

an understanding of peaceful coexistence with their neighbours immediately across the border. The people in Maine were little interested in a war which the American leaders had caused to fall upon their heads and were much more interested in continuing a trade which the war now inflated in value. Their sentiments were loudly echoed in New Brunswick, especially in advantageously placed towns such as St. Andrews. Early in the war some of its inhabitants petitioned to have their town declared a free port so that it would be in a better position to take advantage of the windfall offered by the war.

The reaction was similar throughout the province:

At the very first, [after the declaration of war] preparations were made for the defence of the province; militia called up, the legislature voted £ 10,000 for the defence of the province As the summer wore on it became clear that the Americans had no intention of attacking New Brunswick and a quiescent attitude developed so far as purely military measures were concerned . . . 'The intention of the government' wrote Odell in a belated appreciation, 'was to get as many provisions from our neighbours as can thus be obtained during the war.' Breaking the embargo continued to be the principal business in hand. It became clear that the chief patriotic role New Brunswickers should play was that of trading with the enemy.¹⁴

* * * *

Shortly after the end of the war, the West Point Blockhouse and battery, at the high point of its career as a defensive position, was described in detail. Actually the report was primarily concerned with the East battery and blockhouse, but as it went on to explain, "West battery and blockhouse . . . is constructed on the same principles as

14. W.S. MacNutt, New Brunswick A History 1784-1867 (Toronto, 1963) p. 155.

the former. It contains the same number and nature of ordnance and wants similar repairs. The two blockhouses are about 1 mile apart, all the guns and side arms are in a complete serviceable state."¹⁵ The blockhouse mounted "one 4 pdr iron gun on a standing wooden carriage" and would "contain 30 men."¹⁶ In front of it "is a breastwork to which it is connected by a line of palisades".¹⁷

Inside of the work is a platform on which are mounted three 18 pdr iron guns mounted on traversing platforms to fire en barbette. Outside the work are two nine pounders on standing wooden carriages. All these guns have been lately dismantled and the carriages put under cover, one 18 and one 9 pdr are in a terrible state (the former is said to be the property of the inhabitants). The other guns with the carriages side arms, and amunitions are complete. The blockhouse and breastwork are in want of repair.¹⁸

Actually the end of the war marked the demise of the blockhouse and battery as a defensive position. From this point on, the guns were scarcely ever mounted on the battery and by 1823 the blockhouse was used for little more than a barracks for one Bombardier and two gunners of the Royal Artillery.

* * * *

After the war of 1812-14, and perhaps even during the war, planning of the defence of the Province gradually eliminated Saint Andrews from consideration. The town, in the very lap of the anticipated enemy, the United States, was not easily defensible and was not very important

15. Report of the forts, batteries, buildings . . . 4 Nov. 1815 W.O. 55, Vol. 243, p. 263.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Ibid.

strategically. Indeed, "the capture or destruction of the town would not have any effect upon the general result of a war."¹⁹ This was the conclusion of a committee ordered to analyse and to recommend solutions for the problems of defence of British North America:

"At St. Andrews, there are 3 blockhouses with three batteries. We cannot say we attach much value as a military post to St. Andrews. We respectfully submit to your grace, that instead of incurring any expense in repairing it would be far preferable to abandon these works, and to withdraw the small garrison from so very remote and unconnected a situation upon the same principle that we have ventured upon the Niagara frontier, to suggest the withdrawing from Fort George and the other detached works, which only expose his Majesty's troops to be overpowered and beat in detail in time of war, and to be debauched and deserted in time of peace. We humbly conceive that the militia of the country are the proper people to employ in the defence of such detached towns or settlements, the capture or destruction of which would not have any effect upon the general result of a war."²⁰

The Imperial authorities did not always have much faith in the local militia and to condemn a post to its safe-keeping was tantamount to condemning it to capture by an enemy.

In describing the positions in detail the report went on to say that: "There are three batteries, one for four 24 pounders and two other for 3 each supported severally by a wooden blockhouse. The blockhouses are out of order, and the guns withdrawn from the batteries."^{20a} (The reference to the 24 prs. is quite likely incorrect. This is the only report which refers to the early armament as such.)

In spite of its dismissal by the Imperial authorities, the site at

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19. Copy of a report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington . . . Relative to His Majesty's North American Provinces, Smyth, R.G. 8, II, Vol. 6-1.
 20. Ibid.
 20a. Smyth Report, p. 22 Appendix A, State of the Batteries in the summer of 1825.

the West Point continued to receive attention from the Engineer's Department. Periodic repairs were made to all the blockhouses at St. Andrews, although we don't always have details as to actual improvements made.

For instance, in 1830, G. Lyster was sent by Nicolls, the C.P.E. in Halifax, to make repairs to the fortifications in the town. He reported back after his arrival that he was "of opinion that the estimate for the present year will be sufficient for the repair of the blockhouse barracks and cook house (probably at Ft. Tipperary) -- the other blockhouses all require some repair principally in the roofs, and putting up stoves in them".^{20b} From this it may be inferred that up to this time the blockhouses were heated by fireplaces. (By the 1850's stoves had been added to the West Blockhouse) In the following year general repairs in St. Andrews included the following:

The work done by the carpenters considered of repairs to the floors, stairs, window sills, and outside shingling, and the masons work of repairs to the hearths, chimney backs, and gates.²¹

In spite of the occasional repairs the blockhouse and battery were quite decayed by the 1830's:

The battery is in very bad repair (The curbs and 3 traversing platforms totally decayed, no repairs are recommended. (The blockhouse is in good repair and is occupied by a Bombardier & one gunner.) There is one 4 pr. mounted on the 2nd. floor.²²

In the margin beside the above report it was noted that "As the platforms

20b. L. Lyster to Nicolls 21 Oct. 1830, C 1438B, p. 39.

21. Same to Capt. Marshall, 4 Oct. 1831 C 1438A, p. 148.

22. Report on the present state of fortifications, 17 Sept., 1834, C 1816.

are useless they should be removed. Three 18 prs. Two 9 pr. carriages and shot are deposited in the store and blockhouse."²³

The above report is the first indication that there was a storehouse in addition to the blockhouse on the site of West Point Battery.

In 1841 a report also mentioned the two buildings.²⁴

By this time a cooking house had also been added to the complex. A report of 1842 described the repairs which were required for this building:

West Block House cooking house: is at present in such a state that the small detachment of Artillery stationed there have difficulty in cooking their rations owing to the chimney being out of repair and letting wet through the roof. Would therefore also suggest it being put in immediate repair. (This was ordered to be done)²⁵

Five years later the cook house was referred to in a petition of Rich. Austin asking to be able to live in an old building near the site of the blockhouse:- "that you would allow him to live in a small house situated near the western blockhouse in St. Andrews. It was built and occupied by old soldiers while they lived but is now vacant and has been for sum years . . ."²⁶ Francis Dick the local officer of the militia, wrote in the way of explanation, that:

The house in question was handed over to the Royal Artillery as a cook house in the year 1843 by the Barracks Department and has been used as such ever since and could not conveniently be given up: the house is in very bad repair and quite unfit to be occupied as a dwelling.²⁷

23. Ibid.

24. Statement of Ordnance Lands . . . Nine returns 1841, R.G. 8, II, vol. 51.

25. Suggestions and Observations . . . 1842, C 1444, pp. 38-9.

26. Petition 4 March 1847, 16 March 1847, p. 20, M.G. 9, A 1, Vol. 41.

27. Francis Dick to Acting Town Adjutant, Fredericton, 16 March, 1847, p. 20 M.G. 9, A 1, Vol. 41.

It should be mentioned here that in various returns of the 1840's and 1850's only the blockhouse and the storehouse are listed as being on the site of the West battery.

By the 1840's the battery was in an advanced state of decay. But the blockhouse continued to serve as a barracks and was also now used as a store for militia arms:

The parapet of the battery required being raised, and the battery surrounded by a picket fence. The blockhouse is in a tolerable state of repair and occupied by a serjeant and gunner of the Royal Artillery. The former has charge of 198 stand of arms and accoutrements belonging to the militia which are deposited in the blockhouse.²⁸

The blockhouse continued to serve as a store for the arms, even after it was no longer inhabited by artillery men and had been leased to a pensioner. In 1857 it was reported that: "The blockhouse is used for storing the militia small arms, and a demi-battery. It is in charge of a pensioner who derives all the benefit from the land, if let it would not bring more than three or four pounds per annum."³¹ The placing of the position in the charge of a pensioner was in keeping with a policy being applied by the Imperial Authorities all across British North America; it was a tolerable and inexpensive way of dealing with posts of lesser importance.

The order for the release of the West Battery and blockhouse to the charge of the pensioner was made in August of 1858:

West Battery: to be left in charge of the
Pensioner occupying the blockhouse rent
free and paying 1s.³²

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28. Report of the Present state of Fortifications . . . 30 Sept. 1844, C 1816. (Same in 1845 and 1846 but there is no gunner mentioned)
31. Report on the Military lands in New Brunswick 1857, p. 69 Ordnance land book in D.L.O.
32. 26 Aug. 1858 C 1665 p. 26.

The pensioner who occupied the blockhouse was one John Shannon. He was there as late as 1887 when it was stated that the blockhouse and gun shed were occupied "by an old soldier Late His Majesty's 32 nd. regiment aged 88 years. For over 30 years this man with his brother (who served in the same regiment and is about 78 years of age) . . ." had inhabited the site.³³

In spite of the turnover to a pensioner, repairs continued to be made to the buildings. The occupants themselves, were only able "to put on such repairs from time to time as were absolutely necessary to prevent the buildings from falling."³⁴ But the Imperial authorities continued to contribute to the upkeep. For instance, in 1858 the stove pipes in the blockhouse were renewed.³⁵ And in the same year, Whyte, the local Barracks searjeant, asked that the roof of the blockhouse be repaired, its sills replaced and the gun shed painted.³⁶ The latter service was refused and was subsequently brought up a number of times in the 1850's and 1860's. It seems that the gun shed had not been painted when it was first constructed; for instance, the estimate of 1859-60 explained that "This item provides for painting the gun shed at the West Blockhouse, St. Andrews a service not heretofore done, and consequently will require 3 coats."³⁷ The very fact that the building had not been painted before contributed to its refusal as an item on the estimate. In 1859, for instance, the comment in the margin opposite the gun shed entry argued that: "this building was not painted when

33. Geor. Baunsell to Panet, 28 Nov. 1887, A 7357, R.G. 9, II A, I, p. 283.

34. Ibid.

35. Whyte to Priestly, Sept. 20, 1858 p. 23 C 1674. Authorization 23 Feb. 1858 Perth to Whyte p. 35, C 1462.

36. A. Whyte Bks. Sergt. 3 April 1858 C 1691.

37. Duplicate Report and estimate . . . 1859-60, C 1653 A (This item was stroked off).

built, has never been since painted and consequently I question the necessity of the item."³⁸

The gun shed remains an enigma. As mentioned above, a storehouse had been on the site of the West battery as early as the 1830's. The actual identification of the building and the supplying of details of its structure is made difficult by the failure of reports to locate storehouses in estimates other than by the general location of St. Andrews. For instance, in 1853-4 extensive repairs were slated for "the gun shed at St. Andrews" but possibly this is not the gun shed at the west blockhouse.³⁹ Similarly, in 1859-60 provision was made for the painting of an ordnance store at St. Andrews which had "not been painted since erected in 1852-3."⁴⁰

Two conclusions are therefore possible about the gun shed at the west blockhouse. The old storehouse on the site could have been replaced in the 1850's by a new store which is the present one on the site. Or, the present gun shed could be the building referred to in the 1830's and repaired extensively in the 1850's. The latter seems to be the likely explanation. (Final corroboration must await further documentation.)

By the 1860's the battery was in a bad state of repair and was condemned as being useless -- an "old dismantled work".⁴¹ According to the report, it was constructed for 1-24 pr., 3-18 prs., 2-12 prs. and 1-4 pr.; but none of these were mounted.⁴² There were one ground

38. Abstract of Annual Estimate - 1860-1861, p. 145 - C 1445.

39. Annual Estimates 1853-4, pp. 21-22, C 1468.

40. Estimate, Civil Buildings 1859-60, C 1653 A.

41. Inspectional Report . . . 18 Nov., 1861 1654 C.

42. Ibid.

and two traversing platforms on the site.⁴³ The gun shed, the only other building reported to be on the site, was "made of wood, bomb proof but in good repair".⁴⁴

A further indication of the decadence of the site was given two years later:

On a recent visit of inspection at St. Andrews N.B.," a report stated, "I found a number of apparently unserviceable guns, 24. 18.9 pounders dismantled and lying in various places about Fort Tipperary and West Point Battery, there are also some traversing platforms at the latter place rotten and unserviceable. I understand iron is now at a high price and that there is every probability of the old iron bringing a fair price if sold at auction. I have also to report that there are a number of flint muskets in the West Blockhouse, a building not weather tight and unworthy of repair."⁴⁵

* * * *

In the 1860's the borders of British North America were threatened on two counts -- by an invasion of the northern armies then engaged in the Civil War to the South and by an invasion of the Fenian hordes concentrated in the United States, who in the latter half of the century adopted the strategy of attacking Canada in order to force Great Britain to free their homeland of Ireland. The former presented the most formidable threat for the whole of British North America, but St. Andrews was little affected by the crisis of the Civil War. The Fenian enterprise, ludicrous in concept, was felt intimately by the town.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Gray, 30 July 1863, p. 311, C 1462.

The aims of the Fenians were well explained by D.G. Creighton:

The object of the Fenian brotherhood was to free Ireland from British 'subjugation'. The original and still orthodox strategy for the attainment of this end was, of course, to foment rebellion in Ireland. But fomenting rebellion in Ireland was a difficult, dangerous, and obviously long-term business; and, in the six months after the Civil War, the leaders of one militant branch of the American Fenian movement began to argue attack, and that the quickest way to Irish freedom was the conquest of British North America. Nothing could have been more characteristically 'Irish' in the broadest, most farcical meaning of the word than the conception and execution of this great enterprise. With one or two significant exceptions, the leaders of the Fenian movement against British America were a crew of grandiloquent clowns and vainglorious incompetents. Their plans, frequently changed, widely circulated, and executed with chaotic inefficiency, were probably better known to the Canadian Border police than they were to the Fenians themselves. The soldiers of their 'armies', who drilled and paraded ostentatiously in northern American towns, and on a few abortive occasions, actually attempted invasions of British North America, behaved mostly like a crowd of seedy theatrical extras, hired by the hour for some battle scene in a play or a film. In its British American aspects, the Fenian movement was mainly low burlesque. Mainly but not entirely. There was also in it a small but real element of peril.⁴⁶

The moment of "peril" for St. Andrews New Brunswick came between 13 March and 20 April, 1866. Members of the Fenian brotherhood gathered in Eastport and loudly proclaimed their intention of invading New Brunswick. The government of the province countered by calling up the local units of the militia who patriotically gathered in St. Andrews. The town had grown in stature with the construction of the railroads -- the local militia officer in his report wrote: "Your Excellency is acquainted with the strategic importance of St. Andrews commanding as

46. D.G. Creighton, The Road to Confederation: The Emergence of Canada: 1863-1867 (Toronto, 1964) pp. 304-5.

it does the river of St. Croix, the railroad and the roads to St. Johns St. Stephens and Fredericton."⁴⁷ The threat of invasion was a brief one and remained only a threat. After it became obvious that the Fenians could not remain united long enough to make good their intentions, the militia units were allowed to disband and to return to their homes.

The blockhouse and battery at West Point seem to have had little to do with the hostilities of that spring; at most the blockhouse may have been used for a barracks. There is only one reference which might have included the West blockhouse in the report made by Col. Anderson on the defence of the town. In talking of the arms which he accumulated for the defence he mentioned that "a 24 pr. was found and brought into service" and also that "I armed these men (a patrol which he sent out) with some old flint muskets which were found in a blockhouse".⁴⁸ These were most likely the militia arms which had been stored in the blockhouse since the 1840's.

* * * *

The West Blockhouse and battery were handed over to the Canadian Government 9th March 1871 and included within the Ordnance and Admiralty lands to be administered by the Department of Militia and Defence. In October of 1879 it was placed in Class I as defined by the lands act.⁴⁹

While administered under the Department of Militia and Defence, the blockhouse continued to be leased to the pensioner Mr. John Shannon under

47. Col. Anderson to the Lieut. Gov. of New Brunswick, 26 Sept., 1866, C.O. 188, Vol. 146, p. 131 ff.

48. Ibid., p. 283.

49. Land Register Prov. of New Brunswick . . . Dominion Land Office.

the same arrangement as before, with the tenant undertaking only "such repairs from time to time as were absolutely necessary to prevent the buildings from falling."⁵⁰

In the 1880's however, the Department of Militia and Defence was approached by the Tilley's, the former premier of the Province of New Brunswick, asking permission to lease the blockhouse. George Maunsell, the local Deputy Adjutant of the Militia, was sent out to inspect the property:

In compliance with the instructions contained in your telegram of 8th instant respecting the proposed lease to Lady Tilley of blockhouse and grounds connected therewith to St. Andrews I have the honour to submit the following report. Report: Immediately on receipt of your telegram I called upon Lady Tilley and in her company proceeded to St. Andrews on 22nd. instant with a view to arrangements being made for lease and for repairs of buildings. The situation of blockhouse and extent of ground are no doubt shown on plans at Headquarters. The blockhouse and adjoining gun shed have already been frequently reported on by the District Superintendent of stores in whose charge they are, as in a dilapidated condition occupied by an old soldier To place the building in proper condition the repairs shewn in estimate herewith are, I consider necessary and I recommend that they be carried out in April or May next by Owens Rigby a St. Andrews carpenter by day work. The estimate enclosed herewith has been made by this man, in my presence, and is I consider reasonable⁵¹

The estimate enclosed by Maunsell included repairs to both the gun shed and the blockhouse.

Blockhouse: roof improved and repaired; six new windows; four new sills; two new floors; stairs improved and repaired; new clap boards all round; two coats of paint roof included.

Gun Shed: new sills; one new floor; two new windows; new door; new roof; two coats of paint.

There is no indication whether the work estimated by Maunsell was ever undertaken; in fact, there is no record of expenditure for such repairs

50. Maunsell to Panet 28 Nov. 1887, A 7357 R.G.9, II A I, 283.

51. Geo. Maunsell to Panet 28 Nov. 1887, A 7357, R.G. 9, II A I p. 283.

to the blockhouse in the Annual Reports of the Department of Militia and Defence between 1887 and 1900.

Mr. Tilley at the same time was attempting to obtain a grant of land below and including Fort Tipperary for a land company in which he had an interest. This deal was successfully closed. A mix-up developed between this property and that of the West battery. Two years after his original correspondence with Panet, Maunsell again wrote back to the central office:

I enclose a copy of my report with estimate on which no action appears to have been taken. No time should be lost in authorizing the repairs referred to before winter sets in. The lease should also be completed. The lease referred to in telegram appears to be for another piece of land, that at Fort Tipperary⁵²

On 29 October 1889, the lease for the West blockhouse lot was sent to Lady Tilley for her signature. There was no record of its being returned. Thus it is not known whether Lady Tilley inhabited the blockhouse as a summer cottage.⁵³

* * * *

The blockhouse was certainly not used again for military activity. Around the turn of the century it seems to have been the site of a tea room (lodged in a separate building) and later it was leased to the town of St. Andrews by the Department of National Defence. In 1925 it was handed over to the Department of Interior which continued to lease it to the town.

52. Geor. Maunsell to Panet, 30.9.89 in R.G. 9, II A I A 7357.
53. Noted on the outside of the file A 7357, R.G. 9, II A I.

APPENDIX A.(i) Blockhouse - Structural Considerations(a) Historico-Architectural Report on the Blockhouse by Peter John Stokes.

The underlined portions contain questionable data.

Description: The blockhouse is apparently a log building (so stated, and not visible now), now shingled, and about 18'-6" square with a 1'-10" projection at the second floor making it approximately 22'-0 square above. It has a hip roof with tight eaves. The beams supporting the second floor structure project; these are hand hewn, roughly 10" x 10". The roof structure is of hewn rafters framed into a central post supported by a single cross beam. The chimney rises beside one of the hips, and down from the peak.

Two openings appear on the ground floor, apparently originally with shutters side hinged, but now with glazed sash. The door is on the side to the sea. Upstairs three parts are visible. A notch in the centre beams apparently allowed a small brass cannon /sic. should be iron carronade - 4 pr./ to be lowered from the upper floor in case it was needed. /Sic. the carronade was mounted to be fired from the second floor/

A cellar is reported under the ground floor, but this had not actually been seen by the last resident.

Condition: The condition of the blockhouse appears to be remarkably sound. It is set on a fairly high stone foundation and because of this and the projection of the upper storey very little water has splashed against the woodwork and sills.

The projecting beams on the east side have deteriorated most at the ends because of the driving rains from this side. Recent boring, however, appears to have proved them sound.

Alterations: The exterior of the blockhouse was first covered about 90 years ago. /May have been covered with shingles when first constructed/ Previously, according to local reports it had been log chinked with rope (probably oakum) and whitewashed. Whether it was mortared at the joints was not made clear.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

The ends of the projecting logs have been protected from the weather by end pieces of pine board, and this was done in recent times.

Inside, the building is sheathed with narrow beaded "Matchboarding". The beams are exposed on the ground floor ceiling with merely a ceiling between them of narrow beaded boarding. The whole interior has been sheathed covering up and protecting the logwork. Even new wiring is surface mounted.

New finished floors have been put in too, so that the originals may be in fair to good condition.

The door is not convincing and the old one must have disappeared. The vestibule or porch is modern but replaced an earlier one of board which was very dilapidated.

(b) Engineering Report Excerpts from report.

Description: The building is of squared timber construction with a wooden pyramid type shingled roof and an exterior cladding of shingles laid on building paper. As nearly as can be determined, the foundation is entirely on bed rock with the wall sill shimmed up at intervals with either wood blocking or thin rock slabs. The walls are comprised of 12" x 12" hewn logs with window openings in practically all faces. The exact nature of the walls could not be determined at the time of my investigation as this would have necessitated removal of a section of both the interior and the exterior cladding which I did not consider necessary. At the time I was unable to determine the exact nature of the main floor framing system but from information supplied by the occupant it would be safe to assume that this would consist of 12" x 12" hewn timbers supported on bed rock in a similar nature to the exterior wall sills. 2" planking was probably placed on the timber units. The second floor framing system consists of six 12" x 12" hewn timbers approximately on 3'6" centres bearing on a similar system running at right angles to the first group. Both sets of timbers are cantilevered 2 feet away from the exterior face of the lower storey.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

Rifle loopholes were cut in this floor projection for the purpose of directing downward fire. These loop holes of course, have since been caulked with rags and other similar material. I was unable to determine the exact nature of the floor planking above the second system of large timbers and this would have been very difficult to determine without disrupting the interior of the building. The second floor ceiling consists of 2" by 6" ceiling rafters on which tongue and groove interior sheeting has been applied. This is, no doubt, a modern innovation as undoubtedly the original second floor was open directly to the roof members.

The roof itself is framed by 6" x 6" hewn timber rafters spanning from each corner to the building axis with an additional member from the mid point of each wall section to the axis. A 12" x 12" hewn timber extends vertically from ground level to the roof peak. The roof sheeting consists of approximately 1" x 14" whip sawn hemlock boards upon which was laid building paper and shingles. The hemlock boards appear to be original, however, the shingles were undoubtedly replaced a number of times throughout the years. A brick chimney extends from the first floor through the roof of the structure. The lower floor of the building is 18'6" square in exterior dimension with the second storey being 22' 6" square. The total height of the building from ground level to the eave of the roof is approximately 18' with an estimated distance of 10½' from ground level to the second floor level. A porch approximately 4' x 8' in size has been added in recent times at the main entrance of the building.

Condition: For its vintage I was extremely surprised at the sound structural condition of the building. This, I feel, can largely be attributed to the fact that it has been occupied practically continuously and thus kept both weathertight and dry by continuous maintenance and application of heat in the interior of the structure. Excavations were made in three locations around the perimeter of the building. Some deterioration and rot of the log sill was evident in all cases with the most severe example at the north east corner of the building which is illustrated in the last picture of the series of photographs attached. There is also evidence of some rot on the ends of the hewn timbers comprising the second floor framing system. It appears that in recent times the ends of these timbers were faced with a 1" thick board to prevent further weathering and deterioration. This rot, however, appears to be confined only to the exposed ends of the timbers and all appear to be in a reasonable structurally sound state. A wood core was extracted with an increment borer

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

approximately 9" back from the exterior face of one timber where evidence of rot was greatest. The entire core was completely sound. While an examination of the walls and flooring systems in the building was impossible at this time, a core was taken of the wall section at the northeast corner of the building and while complete recovery of the core was not possible, those sections recovered indicate sound dry timber. No evidence of rot or leakage was found in the roof system, with all roof members and sheeting in an extremely dry state. Some checking has taken place in the roof rafters, however, it is felt that this has no significant bearing on the structural condition of the building. The exterior shingling on the building, particularly the southern face, is badly weathered. All windows appear to be weathertight and in sound condition.

(i) Blockhouse(cont.)(c) Blockhouse: Historical DataDating

The blockhouse was probably begun in late 1812 or early 1813 and completed around May of 1813. In March, 1813 a report stated that the batteries "were at my suggestion secured from being turned by a predatory force of the above description by the erection of a substantial blockhouse immediately in the rear of each of these (the batteries)"¹ -- a report which suggests that the blockhouses had already been completed. But between April and June 1813, the finishing touches seem to have been made to the structures. "Artificers and labourers" . . . between 25 April and 24th June, 1813 inclusive [were] employed in altering and raising the batteries and completing the blockhouses situated at the East and West ends of the town of St. Andrews agreeable to the Approved estimate of 22nd. May 1813."²

After its completion few changes seem to have been made to the basic design of the building, although frequently there was a call for repairs.

ANALYSISGeneral

The blockhouse was "musket proof" only³ and was connected to the "breastwork in front by a line of pallisades"⁴ In

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1. Extract of letter from Col. Gibbins to Capt. Maclauchlan 23 March 1813 C 1456, p. 36.
 2. Included in letter p. 37 C 1456.
 3. Extract of letter Capt. Maclauchlan to Nicolls, 13 May, 1813 in C 1456 p. 37.
 4. Report . . . W.O. 55, 243, p. 263.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

appearance it seems to have been much the same as it is now.

Exterior Cover

The blockhouse may have been shingled when first constructed or shortly after. This is contrary to the opinion of Peter Stokes who believes that: "The exterior of the blockhouse was first covered with shingles about 90 years ago. Previously, according to local reports it had been log chinked with rope (probably oakum) and whitewashed."⁵ According to a historical account of the "West Blockhouse" produced by the New Brunswick museum, "The west blockhouse was completed in 1813 when its walls were shingled . . ."⁶ Certainly the wall of Joe's Point Blockhouse which was built about the same time were shingled as an estimate for its repair in 1845 stated that it required "to be reshingled to a height of three feet from the ground . . ."⁷ This style of wall protection was common in the area. It is certainly feasible that civilian contractors or builders would be inclined to use a style familiar to them. On the other hand, when plans were made for repair of the blockhouse in 1887, the estimate called for "new clapboards all round"⁸ which would indicate that the original style had been dropped some time before unless it was planned to strip off the shingles and to use clapboards as a new form of exterior protection. By 1920 the building was

5. Report of Peter Stokes.

6. "The West Blockhouse" The New Brunswick Museum History Bulletin, Summer 1964 Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 4.

7. Inspectional Report 30 Sept. 1845, C 1816.

8. Estimate . . . 28 Nov. 1887, A 7357, R.G. 9, II A I, p. 283.

(i) Blockhouse(Cont.)

shingled. The town in its improvements to the building
"reshingled it with cut shingles and painted (it) white . . ."⁹
 The implication of the above report is that the original split
 shingles had been torn off and replaced by a modern equivalent.
 The walls now have a covering of cut shingles.

Roof

The roof both in structure and in covering is probably
 much the same now as it was originally. Changes in the actual
 support would be noticeable in an architectural study. Most
 of the blockhouses of the period and especially Joe's Blockhouse
 had a covering of shingles.

Porch

At present there is a porch to the blockhouse entrance
 which according to Stokes is a modern one replacing an earlier
 "one of board."¹⁰ A porch seems to have been a common part of the
 structure of blockhouses of the period. In 1812, during the
 construction of Drummond blockhouse, there was a dispute between
 the contractor and the local representative of the Royal
 Engineers as to whether the contract included the construction
 of a porch to the blockhouse. The local engineer was quite
 emphatic in stating that there should be one:

for myself I am of opinion they have an undoubted right
 to complete the porch as they are invariably attached
 to all blockhouses occupied as barracks nor can they be
 said to be properly habitable without . . ."¹¹

9. Confidential Report in the files of H.S. March 3, 1920.

10. See Report of Stokes .

11. MacLauchlan Aug. 25, 1812 C 1454 p. 255.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)(d) Use of the BlockhouseSummary

The blockhouse was built in 1812-1813 by the citizens of St. Andrews for the defence of the town. It seems to have been taken over immediately by the Imperial troops and used as a barracks. For the years immediately following 1812-14 it was inhabited by artillery men: first by a bombardier and two gunners; later by a bombardier and one gunner etc. By the 1840's 198 stand of milita arms (flint lock muskets) were stored in the blockhouse under the charge of the artillery men stationed there. In 1858 the blockhouse was leased to a pensioner, John Shannon who inhabited it as late as 1887. The building was either vacant or inhabited by civilians from then until the present. Lady Tilley may have been among these.

<u>Data</u>	<u>Source</u>
1815	
"it will contain 30 men"	W.O. 55, 243, p. 263. Report of the forts . . . (Also W.O. 44, 146, 176 ff.)
1823	
"contained one bombardier and two gunners"	Report . . . 24 April, 1823 W.O. 44, 148, p. 115.
1823	
" . . .it has been occupied by three artillery men for some years and there is now a bombardier on the <u>lower floor</u> ."	P. Barry to Col. Couper, 7 Nov. 1823, pp. 34-5, C 1456.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

During the period when it served as an active defensive structure, the blockhouse mounted one 4 pr. iron ~~cannon~~ on a standard wooden carriage on its second storey.¹⁶

Flooring

Stokes mentions only that "new finished floors have been put in . . . so that the originals may be in fair to good condition."¹⁷ In 1887 the militia estimate called for "two new floors upper and lower."¹⁸ Although this estimate was likely never acted upon, it does indicate that the floors required replacement at this early date. Between 1918 and 1920, "new floors" were put in.¹⁹ This was quite likely the last improvement to the flooring.

Internal Wall covering

Although the addition of "narrow beaded match-boarding" is not mentioned in the estimates of 1887 or 1920, it is likely a modern innovation not included in the original construction of the building.

16. W.O. 55, Vol. 243, p. 263.

17. Stokes report.

18. Maunsell to Panet, 28 Nov. 1887, A 7357, R.G. 9, II A I 283.

19. Confidential Report 3 Mar., 1920 H.S. file.

(i) Blockhouse (Cont.)

Quite likely St. Andrews' blockhouse, which is in a very exposed position, had a porch either when first constructed or shortly after.

Interior

Little is known about the specific fittings of West Blockhouse but a comparative study of blockhouses of the period would reveal what might be standard equipment in such a small structure. (See for instance H. Piers, Peninsular Blockhouses) One return of 1823 lists some of the equipment as follows: two double berths, 24 panes of glass, 1 lock and key, 1 pair of hinges, 1 step ladder, 1 privy (it had no guard beds, single beds or arms rack).¹²

Probably the building was originally heated by a fireplace. A report of 1830 suggested that stoves be installed.¹³ This seems to have been accomplished shortly after because in 1858 an estimate called for the replacement of stove pipes which were worn out through "fair wear".¹⁴

The lower storey was fitted up as a barrack room for the bombardier who lived in the blockhouse in the 1820's, 1830's and 1840's.¹⁵ The upper storey might have been used for a time for a barracks room also, but by the 1840's it was likely used for the storage of arms only.

12. Report . . . 24 April, 1823 W.O. 44, 148, p. 115.

13. L. Lyster to Nicolls 21 Oct. 1830, p. 39, C 1438.

14. Freeth to Whyte 23 Feb. 1858, p. 35 C. 1462.

15. See especially P. Barry to Col. Couper 7 Nov. 1823, C 1456, pp. 24-5.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

<u>Data</u>	<u>Source</u>
1831	
"There are 3 blockhouses capable of containing 12 men each"	Statement of barracks . . . Nine Returns 21 March, 1831 R.G. 8, II, Vol. 33.
1834	
Occupied by a bombardier and one gunner	Report of the present state of fortifications 17 Sept. 1834, C 1816.
1842	
Arms now in store	C 1444, pp. 38-9.
"A small detachment of artillery there."	
1844	
"Occupied by a serjeant and gunner of the Royal Artillery. The former has charge of 198 stand of arms and accoutrements belonging to the militia which are deposited in the blockhouse."	Report of the present state of fortifications 20 Sept. 1844, C 1816.
1854	
Artillery men seem to have been removed a short time before this but the militia arms were still in the blockhouse; "The Barrack serjeant at Saint Andrews has reported to us that the temporary charge of a quantity of militia arms which are deposited in the West blockhouse at that post and until recently under the care of the artillery (men) are now removed from the blockhouse . . ."	Firth to Lt. Col. Wayne 19 Sept. 1854, p. 128. M.G. 9, A 1, Vol. 43.

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

<u>Data</u>	<u>Source</u>
1857	
"The blockhouse is used for storing the militia small arms"	p. 69, Report on Militia lands, 1857, (D.L.O.)
1858	
Occupied by John Shannon, a pensioner (Shannon inhabits it for a number of years)	20 Sept. 1858, p. 28, C 1674
"To be left in charge of a pensioner occupying the blockhouse rent free and paying 1s. acknowledgement annually for the land."	26 Aug. 1858, p. 26, C 1665.
1863	
"A number of flint muskets in the west blockhouse".	30 July 1863, p. 311, C 1462.
1866 (Fenian Crisis)	
"I (Col. Anderson) armed these men with some old flint muskets which were found in a blockhouse".	Col. Anderson to Lt. Gov. 26 Sept., 1866, C.O. 188, Vol. 146, p. 134.
1887	
"Occupied by an old soldier late of H.M.'s 32nd Regiment aged 83 years . . . with his brother (who served in the same regiment and is about 78 years of age)	28 Nov. 1887, A 7357, N.G. 9, II, A I p. 283.
"This was probably John Shannon the original pensioner.	
1887	
Lady Tilley applied for lease of blockhouse and grounds - <u>it is not known if the deal was ever closed.</u>	<u>Ibid.</u>

(i) Blockhouse (cont.)

<u>Data</u>	<u>Source</u>
1920 (leased to the town in 1918) Town rented it to a private individual last summer as a summer house".	Confidential Report in the file of Historic Sites . . . p. 11, 3 March., 1920.

(ii) The Gun Shed

- (a)
- Historico-Architectural Report on the Gun Shed
- by Peter John Stokes. Excerpts from the Report.

Description: The gun shed is a heavy timber framed structure approximately 18 feet square and one storey high; tight eaved flush gabled with a roof of medium pitch. . . . The gun shed is little altered except for the removal of the centre tie and the replacement of larger, probably double doors by a single door and sash. The shingle finish is recent however, but may have replaced hand split shingles or shooks.

Condition: The gun shed is also in fair to good condition structurally except for the land side sill which is now slightly buried in the ground. This has rotted, probably requiring replacement now. Aggravating this has been the spill of rain water and snow piling and melting from the roof of the two sheds which are close together eaves to eaves.

- (b)
- Engineering Report.
- Excerpts from the Report.

Description: It is 18'4" x 17'8" in exterior size and founded on a log sill foundation in a similar manner to the blockhouse building. The floor consists of 12" x 12" hewn timbers supported on perimeter logs and possibly on a log sill mid span. 2" planking was used for the floor surface. The walls and roof are comprised of a 6" x 6" hewn timber framing system made up of wall studs, top plate and rafters. Spacing between stud and rafter members is approximately 4' with practically no subsidiary bracing. Both the walls and roof are sheathed in 1" thick whip sawn hemlock boards in widths as great as 24". The exterior wall and roof is clad in pine shingles in a similar manner to the blockhouse.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

Condition: This building is in not nearly the sound structural and weathertight condition as is the blockhouse. There is evidence of rot in the perimeter log sill and the main floor system. Considerable movement in the floor is evident under normal walking. There is also some evidence of modern bracing in an effort to maintain the structural equilibrium of the building.

(c) Historical Data:Dating of Construction

There has been considerable difficulty in dating the construction of the gun shed at the West Blockhouse; in fact, only an approximate dating is possible and this is based upon historical speculation. The main problem has been the failure of estimates and returns to mention the exact location of the buildings. From the evidence at hand, two possible dates arise: 1) the gun shed may have been first built in the 1830's and then extensively repaired in the 1850's; or 2) it may have been constructed in 1852-3. The former case has seemed more plausible and therefore has been given in more detail.

1) The first mention of the presence of a store at the West blockhouse appears in 1834 when it was reported that "three 18 prs. and two 9 pr. carriages and shot" were "deposited in the store and blockhouse".²⁰ This may have been the storehouse for which approval was given in 1833 for erection at St. Andrews.²¹

20. Report on the present state . . . 17 Sept. 1834, C 1816.

21. 1833, W.O. 55, 870, p. 320.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

In 1827²² and as late as 1831²³ returns had made no mention of a storehouse on West Point and had listed only the battery and blockhouse. Later, in 1841 the construction of a building was confirmed when the west battery was stated to have a "blockhouse and storehouse thereon".²⁴ Plans in 1851 show three buildings on the site -- probably the gun shed, the blockhouse and the cook house.²⁵

In 1853-4 provision was made in the estimates for the repair of the "gun shed St. Andrews".²⁶ By this time the storehouse at the West Battery would have been twenty years old or more -- a period long enough to allow deterioration of an exposed building. Also, the estimate refers specifically to a "gun shed" and although ordnance storehouses were listed as being elsewhere in St. Andrews, the west battery is the only site on which there was stated to be a gun shed. "The gun shed at St. Andrews is so much out of repair" stated the estimate, "that renewals of portions of the building become very necessary for the preservation of the artillery store". The estimate went on to describe the work which was required:

This item provides for renewing foundations in rubble masonry lain in mortar 2'0" x 1'6" under sills.
Cut out and remove old sills--new sills spruce rough framed 10 x 8 strip off old shingling on sides and roof and renew ditto with best pine shingles--angle board 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " pine with two

22. Molesworth, 10 Nov. 1827 C 1463 p. 6.

23. Nine Returns . . . 21 March, 1831 R.G. 8, II, Vol. 33.

24. Nine Returns . . . 1841 R.G. 8, II, Vol. 51

25. Ordnance and Barrack N.B. 1851, R.G. 8, II, Vol. 79.

26. Annual Estimate 1853-4, pp. 21-22, C 1468.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

sides _____ eaves board 1" do. do. ridge board
 1" deal with 1 side _____ repair floor with 3"
 plank laid rough and spiked. Door jamb & head
 2" pine width and framed sill 3" ditto door 1½"
 pine with ploughed tongued, edged, and hung
 with hinges from old door and secured with hasp
 _____ padlocked belonging to same Jamb or
 architrave plain 1" pine with 2 sides shot. Paint
 door jambs and casing 3 coats common oil color.

On the opposite side of the page the cost breakdown was given:

6 days Civil carpenter renewing old work
 6 days Civil labourer
 36 ft. cube rough pine sills framed and fixed
 10 sq. ' stripping off old shingling and
 clearing nails from board
 10 sq. reshingling
 32 ft. length 1½" width one side and edges in
 angle step
 51 ft. 1" deal . . . in eaves and ridge board
 2¼ sq. rough spruce floor
 4 1/3 ft. cube width framed 2" door frames
 56 ft. cube 1½ width on side ploughed. . .
 23 yd 3 coat oil painting
 11 ft. rubble masonry lain in mortary

(It is not known if approval was given.)

There are certain problems raised by this estimate; for instance, it mentions a renewal of the masonry foundation but the present gun shed may not have one. (apparently it sits on a "log sill foundation") However it possibly refers to the building under discussion. In 1856 the west battery contained "an old blockhouse and storehouse".²⁷ If the "old" refers to both buildings one can conclude that the store or gun shed was not built in 1852-3.

2) There is evidence also that the present gun shed may date from the early 1850's. A storehouse had existed on the

27. Report of lands belonging to the War Department in New Brunswick
 31 May 1856 R.G. 8 II, Vol. 87.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

site at least as early as the 1830's but around 1850 plans were being made in St. Andrews for tearing down an old ordnance store and erecting a new one in its place. As early as 1848-9 the estimates had made provision for the construction of a new "ordnance and artillery store" to replace the present one which was "not repairable from decay and is no longer fit for the purpose of a store".²⁸ However the new building was to have the same dimensions as the old one -- 27 feet x 17 ft. x 12 ft. -- and these dimensions do not fit those of the present building on the site. This was repeated in the estimates of 1852-3,²⁹ the year before the above quoted estimate for the repair of the gun shed was submitted. In the fall of 1852 there was mention of a "schedule and tender" issued for "building a shed at St. Andrews".³⁰ This may or may not have been the building under discussion previously. No further mention could be found of the construction project.

In 1858, however, the painting of the gun shed at West Point Blockhouse was included among the recommendations "for the benefit of the service and preservation of the buildings" at St. Andrews.³¹ This was refused. In the following year (Estimates 1859-60) provision was made for the "painting of the ordnance store" and the engineer

28. Ordnance Annual Estimate for 1848-9 C 1467 pp. 54-5.

29. Ordnance Annual Estimate for 1852-3 C 1468 p. 6.

30. 4th Oct. 1852, W.O. 55, 886, p. 891.

31. Whyte 3 April, 1858, C 1691.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

submitting the report explained that "The ordnance store at St. Andrews has not been painted since erected in 1852-3. Provision is hereby made for painting the same externally."³² In a duplicate set of estimates for 1859-60 there was an item which provided for "painting the gun shed at the West Blockhouse St. Andrews, a service not heretofore done, and consequently will require 3 coats."³³ In 1860-1861 provision was made again for painting the "gun shed at west blockhouse," but it was refused and this time the reviewing engineer argued that: "this building was not painted when built, has never been since painted, and consequently I question the necessity of the item."³⁴

If only one building is referred to here in the estimates -- if the "ordnance store" and the "gun shed" are in fact one building -- then one may conclude that the gun shed was built in 1852-3. However, in 1866-7 the estimate for St. Andrews called for "Gun shed and store-external painting".³⁵ This would tend to indicate that there were two buildings under discussion in the estimates for the previous decade.

* * * *

No evidence was found as to the condition of the gun shed between 1867 and 1887. In 1887, however, the gun shed was visited

32. Report and Estimate Civil Buildings C 1653A (1859-60).
 33. Duplicate report and estimate . . . 1859-60 C 1653A.
 34. Abstract of the Annual Estimate 1860-1, p. 145 C 1445.
 35. Report and Estimate 1866-7 C 1653A.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

and reported upon by Geo. Maunsell the local Deputy Adjutant of the militia: "The situation of the blockhouse and exterior ground are no doubt shewn on plans at headquarters. The blockhouse and adjoining gun shed have already been frequently reported on by the District Superintendent of stores in whose charge they are as "in a dilapidated condition . . ."³⁶

Maunsell enclosed the following estimate, made by Owens Rigby, for the repair of the gun shed:³⁷

new sills	10
one new floor	8
two new windows	6
new door	8
new roof	15
two coats of paint	6
Total	53

It seems that this work was not undertaken immediately and there is no evidence that it was ever completed. Two years later Maunsell wrote to the central office sending "a copy of my report with estimate on which no action appears to have been taken. No time should be lost in authorizing the repairs referred to before winter sets in . . ." ³⁸

In the annual Report of the Department of Militia and Defence between 1889 and 1900 there is no record of the improvements being made.

* * * *

In 1918 the blockhouse lot was leased to the town of St. Andrews for twenty-five years by the Department of Militia and Defence.

36. Maunsell to Panet 28 Nov. 1887 A 7357 P.G. 9, II A I, 283.

37. Ibid.

38. Same to same, 14 Sept. 1889, P.G. 9, A 7357, II A I, 283.

(ii) The Gun Shed (cont.)

Shortly after it was taken over the town made certain modifications to the site: The two "small buildings" were "painted white" (perhaps whitewashed) and "reshingled with cut shingles."³⁹

This is the last recorded improvement made to the building. It is quite likely however, that repairs have been made to it from time to time since this date.

39. Confidential report on investigation of Historic Sites in the Maritime provinces submitted March 1920, on file with Historic Sites.

(iii) Stable

- (a) Historico-Architectural Report by Peter John Stokes.
Excerpts from the report.

Description: In between (the blockhouse and the gun shed) stands a 16' square stable and hayloft a building two storeys high also with a moderate pitch to the roof and gabled in form, again tight at eaves and flush at verges. This appear to be of late construction with sawn timber, although mostly straight sawn suggesting a date c. 1860.

Condition: . . . is in relatively poor condition. The sills have rotted and the building is beginning to lean.

- (b) Historical Data

Dating

The report of the engineering section, dates the building in the early 1900's. ("The other building on the site located between the blockhouse and the gun shed is of relatively modern construction being erected for the purpose of a barn in the early 1900's.") This dating is probably based on local information. Another account, also based on local information, places the construction of the building in the late 1800's: "The gun shed is joined to the blockhouse by another wooden building of sawn lumber said to have been built during the late 1800's to shelter a cow kept by a family who were living in the blockhouse at that time."⁴⁰

40. "The Last Blockhouse" The New Brunswick Museum Historical Bulletin summer 1964, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 5.

(iii) Stable (cont.)

Nothing could be found in historical records concerning its construction. The report for the Department of the Militia in 1887 mentions the blockhouse and the gun shed but not a third structure. This could indicate that the building was not there at that time or that it did not need repair. But plans of the site in 1871 show three buildings: - the blockhouse and two cottages. Photographs of the site shortly after 1900 also show three buildings.

No conclusion can be made therefore, about the date of construction. The building at any rate is probably of little historical interest and was quite likely built by one of the non-military tenants of the blockhouse property.

(iii) Cook House

In the 1830's and 1840's cook house is mentioned as being at the site of the West Point Blockhouse in St. Andrews. Very little information is available concerning its structural features.

As early as 1830 a reference was made to repairs being required at "a cooking house in St. Andrews".⁴¹ (This was likely the cook house at Fort Tipperary.) And in 1842 there is an explicit reference linking the cook house to the West Blockhouse. In that year repairs were required to the cook house there, and from the statement it is evident that the building is quite an old one:

West Blockhouse Cooking House: Is at present in such a state that the small detachment of artillery stationed there have great difficulty in cooking their rations owing to the chimney being out of repair and letting wet through the roof; would therefore also suggest it being put in immediate repair (in the margin was the comment that the "necessary repairs have been ordered")⁴²

Five years later a local inhabitant of St. Andrews petitioned the militia to be allowed to occupy a building on the site of the west blockhouse as a dwelling place; - "that you would allow him to live in a small house situated near the western blockhouse in St. Andrews. It was built and occupied by old soldiers while they lived but is now vacant and has been for sum years . . ." ⁴³ In a letter of explanation which accompanied the petition, Francis Dick, the local militia officer explained that "the house in question was handed over to the Royal Artillery as a cookhouse in the year 1843 by the

41. G. Nicolls to L. Lyster 27 Sept. 1830 p. 103 C 1438A.

42. Suggestions and Observations . . . for the year 1842, pp. 38-9, C 1444.

43. Petition of Rich. Austin 4 March 1847, p. 21, A.G. 9, A 1, Vol. 41.

(iii) Cook House (cont.)

barrack Department and has been used as such ever since and could not be conveniently given up: the house is in very bad repair and quite unfit to be occupied as a dwelling."⁴⁴

No further references could be found to the cook house but being in a bad state of repair and of a temporary construction, it was likely soon removed. It was probably located between the blockhouse and the gun shed in much the same position as the stable now occupies. A building appears in this position in early plans of the west blockhouse.

44. 16 March 1847 Ibid.

(v) Ordnance and BatterySummary:

In 1813, the battery mounted a mixed armament of 1-18 pr. and 1-9 pr. quite likely supplied by the townspeople. The battery at this time was crude in shape. Between April and June of 1813, the battery seems to have been improved by workmen under the supervision of the Royal Engineers and it is likely then that the armament was changed to "three 18 pr. iron guns mounted on traversing platforms to fire en barbette". (See plans for various shapes of the battery). At least this was the case by 1815 when there were also "two nine pounders on standing wooden carriages outside of the work". After this date some or all of the guns are stated to be dismantled.

In 1839 estimates included the addition of "one traversing platform to be laid at West Battery. "This was likely for the 24 pr. added to the returns after this date. In the 1850's and 1860's the 2-9 prs no longer appear in the returns. Instead 2-12 prs and 2-4 prs are there in addition to the 1-24 pr and 3-18 prs. In 1862-3 none of these were mounted.

It would seem that the battery of 3-18 prs (and two 9 prs.) was coincident with the floral period of the blockhouse.

Present Appearance

The shape of the earthwork is still visible but sea erosion has begun to eat away a part of the battery.

(v) Ordnance and Battery (cont.)Blockhouse Ordnance

The ordnance of the blockhouse is consistently returned as
1-4 pr. iron carronade mounted on a standing wooden carriage.

<u>Armament</u>	<u>Source</u>
1813	
Battery: 1-18 pr. 1- 9 pr.	Extract from Capt. Maclauchlan's Report of the defence of St. Andrews to Capt. Nicolls 13 May, 1813, p. 36 C 1456.
Blockhouse: 1- 4 pr. carronade	
1814	
Battery: 3-18 prs.	Report, 9 Feb., 1814, W.O. 44, Vol. 145, p. 144.
1815	
Blockhouse: 1-4 pr. iron gun on a standing wooden carriage	Report on forts etc. 4 Nov., 1815, W.O. 55, Vol. 243, p. 263. Also W.O. 44, Vol. 146, p. 176 ff.
Battery: "in front of it is a breastwork to which it (the blockhouse) is connected by a line of pallisades. Inside of work is a platform on which are mounted three 18 pr. iron guns mounted on traversing platforms to fire en barbette; outside the work are two nine pounders on standing wooden carriages (all these guns have been lately dismantled)	
1825	
Battery: There are three batteries one for four 24 prs and two others for 3 each. (<u>likely incorrect</u> : it is the <u>only</u> return stating this armament)	Smyth Report, Appendix A, p. 22, R.G. 8, II, 6-1.

(v) Ordnance and Battery (cont.)

<u>Armament</u>	<u>Source</u>
1834	
Battery: In very bad repair (the curbs and 3 traversing platforms totally decayed)	Report . . . 17 Sept., 1834, C 1816.
(3-18; 2-9 carriages are deposited in the store and blockhouse)	
Blockhouse: 1-4 pr mounted on the second floor.	
1839	
Battery: One traversing platform to be laid at West Battery. (Approval not known)	C 1467 p. 12
1842	
1 (wood) ground platform	15 Oct. 1842, C 1816
2 (wood) traversing platform	
1855	
1-4 pr. gun mounted on a wooden traversing platform	26 Sept., 1855, W.O. 55, 387, p. 615.
Constructed for: 1-24 pr. 3-18 pr. 2-12 pr. (ground platforms) 2- 4 pr. (traversing platforms)	
1862-3	
Platforms	18 Nov., 1861. Inspection C 1654.
1 - ground	
2 - traversing	
Constructed for: 1-24 pr. 3-18 prs. 2-12 prs. 1- 4 pr.	
(not mounted)	

APPENDIX B

Christopher Scott to Col. G. Cooper, military secretary at St. Andrews,
January 29, 1822.

The sum of £340.17.2 ... was doubtless expended in 1813 on the Fortifications at Saint Andrews, but I request that it may be explicitly understood that the Sum so expended was not for the repair of the Blockhouse built by me, but for the building of another Blockhouse and Battery on the hill above the Town, and I think I am Perfectly safe in asserting that there never was Ten Pounds expended on the said Blockhouse until it was lately fitted up by the Commanding Officer of the Militia here as a Depot for arms by Command of General Smyth--a small Sum was laid out in shingling the walls in 1813 and fitting up Births for the men but it is well known that so far from being a temporary or slightly constructed Building, that the materials were of the best Quality, and the work faithfully performed....

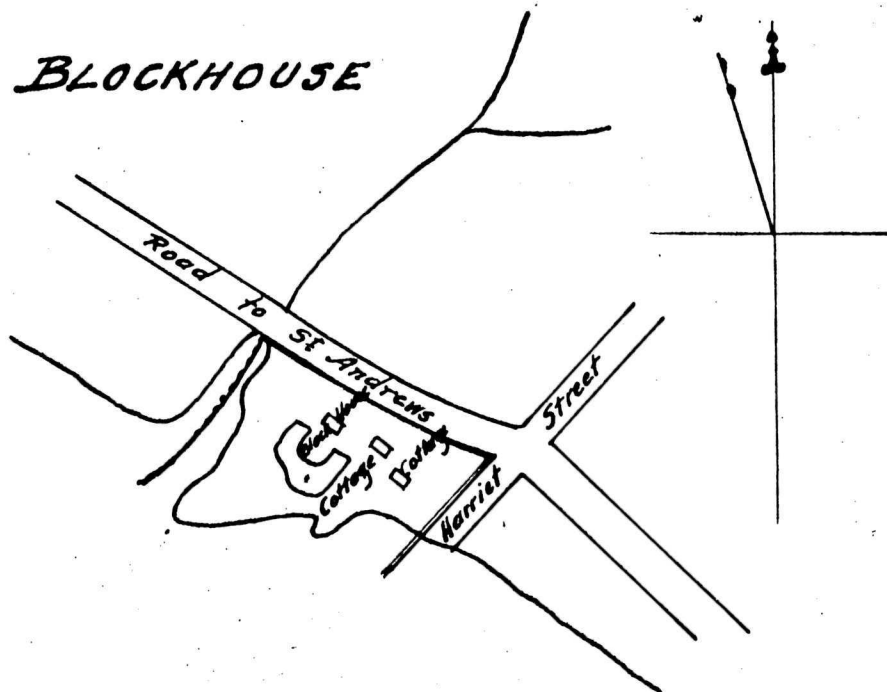
From: The Archives, The New Brunswick
Museum, Saint John, N.B.

APPENDIX CLAND DESCRIPTIONWEST BLOCKHOUSE LOT, ST. ANDREWS, NEW BRUNSWICK.

That certain parcel or tract of Ordnance land and premises known as the West Blockhouse Lot situate lying and being in the Town of St. Andrews in the County of Charlotte, Province of New Brunswick, and which may be more particularly described as follows:

Commencing at the intersection of the northwesterly limit of Harriet Street with the southwesterly limit of the road from Joe's Point to St. Andrews; thence northwesterly along the said southwesterly limit of the road a distance of four hundred and twenty-two feet (422'), more or less, to the left or southeasterly bank of a small brook; thence southwesterly along the said bank of the brook to the ordinary high-water mark along the northeasterly side of St. Andrews Harbour; thence southerly and easterly along the said ordinary high-water mark to the said northwesterly limit of Harriet Street; thence northeasterly along the said limit of Harriet Street a distance of one hundred and forty feet (140'), more or less, to the point of commencement; the said parcel of land being as shown outlined in red on the attached plan and containing an area of two and five tenths (2.5) acres, more or less.

WEST BLOCKHOUSE



NOTE - Traced from plan on lease
H.Q. 40-3. Folio 27.

361-2

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PLANS: There are no detailed plans of the blockhouse in either the Public Archives Map Division or in documentary sources. At most there are only site plans showing the location of the buildings and the battery.

<u>Plan</u>	<u>Source</u>
Plan of peninsula, town and harbour with a letter to Gother Mann, 29 Oct., 1813 -- (See letter G. Nicolls to Mann 10 Nov., 1813, W.O. 55, 860, 394ff.)	P.A.C. - M.D. (Map Division) H. 3. 240 (1813)
Blockhouse shown and battery with three embrasures.	
Very small scale.	
West Battery: Plan to accompany C.F.E. letter to I.G.F., 10 Jan., 1849.	P.A.C. - M.D. H. 3. 240 (1849)
Very small scale.	
Blockhouse and battery shown.	
Plan: West blockhouse to accompany returns - 1851. Plan E.F. Ford 27 Oct. 1851.	H.G. 8, II, Vol. 79.
Battery shown with three buildings.	
Town and Harbour of St. Andrews - 18 June, 1856.	P.A.C. - M.D. H. 3. 240 (1856)
Very small scale.	
Battery and three buildings shown.	

Bibliography (cont.)

Plan: St. Andrews 1859

P.A.C. - M.D. H. 2. 240 (1859)

Very small scale.

Battery and three buildings shown.

Plans of the barracks in New Brunswick.

Plans of Barracks - 1862 (Public lands)

Scale 1800' to 1"

Three buildings and the battery are shown.

Plan: New Brunswick, City of St. Andrews, Co. Charlotte - West blockhouse.

Public lands office.

Small scale.

Battery and three buildings (two cottages and the blockhouse)

Plan: West blockhouse tracing of plan of 1871.

P.A.C. - M.D. D 240 (1871)

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WEST BLOCKHOUSE
ST. ANDREWS N.B.
REPORT OF EXAMINATION
AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESTORATION

by

John R. Stevens
Architectural Historian

December, 1965

WEST BLOCKHOUSE
ST. ANDREW'S, N.B.

NOTE: Directions given in this report are arbitrary. The building is not set on a north/south axis, but is assumed to be so for convenience of description. The true north/south line runs through what are called the north west and south east corners.

The consultant was asked to examine this structure in the hope that he could clarify several doubtful points that were holding up the commencement of restoration on it. The particular points were

- (1) Exterior Finish
- (2) Doorway
- (3) Loopholes and Gun ports.
- (4) Stairway
- (5) Heating arrangements

These items will be discussed in the above order

(1) TYPE OF EXTERIOR FINISH

This building has been covered with shingles for many years. The present ones are not very old, and were put on over building paper. A section of shingles was removed on the south side to determine earlier types of cladding - an area 6 feet high and 5 feet wide was uncovered for this purpose. The latest nails were carefully removed and their positions noted. There were older nails and nail holes - some of the nails evidently forged - but no pattern appeared such as there usually is when shingles have been removed. A photograph on the cover of the New Brunswick Museum

Bulletin, Vol XI, No. 2 shows the blockhouse in the 1890's. At that time apparently it had a cladding of shaved split shingles. In this reproduction, it is not clear if these were nailed across the butts as was the New Brunswick custom. On the north wall of the second storey, there were then 14 rows of shingles as against 16 at the present time. The present exposure is about 6 inches, that shown in the old photo would have been 7 inches. The split shingles shown could have been the first ones put on. Split pine shingles will last almost indefinitely even with minimum attention. Many buildings are still to be found in New Brunswick which have them. An implication that the building was once clapboarded is contained in an estimate for repairs made in 1887. However it is most probable that the intention then was to replace the shingles with clapboards.

When built, the blockhouse undoubtedly had the timbering exposed. As it was not intended as a habitation, shingling would not be necessary. There was indication on the logs of a very washed out brown colouration - probably some earth colour in oil. The outer ends of the musket hole plugs show some weathering. To have shingled the structure without covering the loopholes would have been a very time consuming task. However, when the War of 1812-14 was over, probably little time was lost in sheathing the building to make it weathertight, as some time thereafter it became the abode of a bombardier and two gunners. That this was relatively soon after construction is implied by the lack of weathering on the exterior face of the logs, and particularly on the dovetailed corners. These latter look as if they had only recently been out, and

the joints were never caulked. In this connection, I might note that the construction of the building seems to have been undertaken in some haste, as the timbers are not uniform in thickness. While the outside face was kept plumb, the inner face is quite irregular, and high parts had to be dubbed off when the internal match-board siding was applied in the 1920's. The top and bottom of the timbers were slightly bevelled so that while there was a tight joint on the outside, an opening was left on the inside that was caulked with oakum or old rope, rags, etc. The fitting of the dovetails was perhaps a bit careless, and the lack of filling in the joints certainly indicates haste in construction. Wide corner boards were applied to the angles when the building was shingled.

2) DOORWAY

The original door jambs are still in place. They sit on short logs set on the sill (which has been replaced) and into which they have been let. The tops are tenoned into the first complete log. The backs of the jambs are grooved out for tenons on the intermediate logs. Stops are rabbeted out of the jambs $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the inside. The stop on the header log must have been nailed on. The stop on the south jamb has been dubbed off, and that on the north one cut into on the lower part, also the header log was cut into when jambs were installed for a later door. Originally the opening was $68\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. The threshold seems to have been put in as a separate piece; it would have been the same thickness as the step the jambs sit on. The east jamb has two $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch square holes cut in it for the hinge pintles. These

holes taper and are $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. The bit mark can be seen at the end. The west jamb had a small piece let into it at the height that a lock keeper would be anticipated. Also in this area the jamb was gouged from an apparent effort to break in. The piece of wood - which was put on with forged nails - was taken off, but no marks other than the nail holes could be seen. In order for the patch to have been put on with forged nails, the break-in - if such it was - must have occurred fairly early in the history of the building. A few inches above this, there is a forged keeper for a bolt. No other decipherable marks of door fastening could be found, although after the failure of the lock keeper, such means as a hasp and padlock must have been used to secure the building when it was vacant.

3) LOOPHOLES AND GUN PORTS

Some of the loopholes retain their original plugs. They have 4 or 5 nail holes on the inside face to which had been attached a piece of board, the size of which can be seen against the whitewashed part of the 2nd floor walls.

Windows on the ground floor seem to have been made only after the blockhouse began to be used as living quarters. Those on the second floor would seem always to have been there, as the spacing of the loopholes changes adjacent to them. Originally the second floor windows were intended as ports for the one 4-pounder carronade that is recorded as part of the armament for the blockhouse in 1813. This later is described as "one 4 pdr. iron gun on a standing wooden carriage". Size of the ports is difficult to determine because of

the way the openings have been enlarged. It would seem that the old openings were 24 inches high and 32 inches wide on the inside. The sill was 21 inches off the floor and sloped downward. The reveals were splayed. The top may have been downward-sloped too, but there is no clue to go on for this. One would expect that there were covers for these openings, like gun-port lids on a warship, but unless there are hinge pintle holes on the exterior, it is not now possible to say what these covers would have been like. When the building became living quarters, windows would have been installed in the openings, and it was at this time that openings for windows were cut in the ground floor room.

4) STAIRWAY

The opening for the present stairs was for a while thought to have been made some time later than the original construction of the blockhouse. On reconsideration however, there seem to be no good grounds for believing this. The central opening in the floor was probably always a hatchway and nothing more. The timber that was cut away for the stairs is fastened to the heavy flooring with a bolt having washers and keys on both ends. This certainly looks right for the time. The fact that the cut-of beam is not supported by a lengthwise timber let into the next complete timbers is, I think, only an indication of the haste in which the blockhouse was erected. The original stair was quite steep - in fact probably a ladder which could be taken down so that the loopholes behind it could be used. The ends of newel posts for a railing are present.

Originally the hatch did not have a cover. The ends had become quite scarred before cleats were applied to support one. These cleats are put on with large forged spikes, and so are quite early. The hatch cover which is made of one layer of 3 inch flooring, running in the same direction as the 2nd floor boards (north-south), has a layer of thinner boards nailed on crosswise, on the underside. It is in poor condition.

5) HEATING ARRANGEMENTS

Total replacement of the ground floor in recent times has removed all traces of the location of the means of heating the blockhouse. In the area where the stove was assumed to have been located, part of the present floor was taken up but aside from a few loose bricks and wood chips, the ground below did not appear to have been disturbed. The flue at Fort Edward Blockhouse in Windsor, N.S. ran right through to the ground floor, and the area on which the stove sat was paved with stone laid on the ground. Obviously this situation did not exist in the St. Andrew's Blockhouse. The sills of the blockhouse probably have been renewed several times, and the floor structure itself may have been renewed more than once. The only conclusion to which the writer can come is that the stove sat on the wooden flooring which was protected with bricks or a piece of sheet iron. The stove probably was of the box type, such as illustrated in "In a Canadian Attic" by Gerald Stevens. The writer has seen such stoves in the area.

The present flue is made mostly of old brick and sits on boards of the second floor. Two blocks of wood have been put under the flooring and on top of one of the main north/south timbers to help support it. These

blocks are not old. As shown in the old photo mentioned previously, the chimney was in the same position, of the same section, but was somewhat taller.

A few inches away from the east side of the flue is an oblong hole in the floor, the south end of which is cut roughly semi-circular. Around this opening a sheet metal edging is attached with forged nails. The square end of this is not so protected.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESTORATION

1) EXTERIOR FINISH

As constructed and intended for use, the blockhouse had the timbering exposed, and thus I believe it should be so presented. The timber should be treated with a preservative and coloured brown. I would suggest that the ends of the second floor timbers be cut back an inch and capped. The caps might be pieces of board, but also could be castings in some plastic material to simulate the appearance of the weathered end grain.

Covers should be made to protect the building. Such a cover could be made of paneling, or of plastic sheeting to be renewed each year. When buffeted by severe winter winds, etc, the sheeting can become quite tattered, unsightly and consequently of insufficient protection. Since this building is of a public nature, it is desirable that it look neat at all times. For this reason it is suggested that paneling be used, unless the sheeting can be depended upon to last out the winter intact and serviceable.

The form of shingling of the roof could be retained, and in fact the present shingles may be in sufficiently good condition to retain them for a few years. If it is decided to replace them, this could be done either

with sawed shingles of a good grade, or with bituminous shingles manufactured for use on restored buildings such as those at Williamsburg.

2) DOORWAY

The old jambs should, if at all possible, be retained and a piece patched into the header log. The threshold should be fitted as a separate piece so it can be renewed when necessary, as seems to have been the original intention. It may have had a nailed-on stop.

The door should be of two layers of pine plank, each 2 3/4 inches thick with butt joints, although tongue and groove is possible. The outside layer would be vertical, and the inside horizontal. Pieces would be in random widths from 12 to 16 inches. They would be nailed together with forged rose-head nails applied in diagonal lines, heads on the exterior and points clenched on the inside. They would have to be about 7 inches long, and about 3/8 inch square, possibly spaced on about 6 inch centers. The pattern should be obvious, but not too precise. The door to the magazine at Fort Anne is an example to follow.

Pintles for the strap hinges should be made to suit the existing holes. The straps should be hammer forged, tapered and with slightly chamfered edges. The ends would probably be square. They should be about 1/2 inch thick near the eye, perhaps 1/4 inch at the end, and 4 inches wide. Bolts of 1/2 inch diameter should be spaced about 8 inches apart. The spacing and alignment should not be too perfect.

The door lock could be of the same type made for Halifax Citadel, and perhaps cased in wood. The keeper should be a simple form applied with two large screws.

The bolt should be of a diameter to suit the present keeper. The writer can supply a contemporary lock for use as a pattern.

3) LOOPHOLES AND GUN PORTS

The loopholes do not require too much work. Those cut into when the port openings were enlarged (or made, in the case of the ground floor) should be restored. Many of the loopholes still retain their original plugs. At one time these had pieces of board nailed to them that overlapped the opening by about 1 inch. These pieces were put on with a nail in each corner and one in the center. They should be an inch thick, and with the inside edges chamfered. Treatment of the gunports poses questions that cannot be satisfactorily answered at the present time. I would suggest that the openings be restored as closely to their original dimensions as can be approximated. A frame should be made to fit within the opening, set back three inches from the face. A top-hinged sash should be used containing six lights of 7x9 inch glass. These sash would open inwards for ventilation.

4) STAIRWAY

The stair opening should be restored to its original size, which is quite evident. New posts should be erected for a simple railing. The angle of the ladder can be determined from marks in the opening. It should be of three inch plank, with the treads let in $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and nailed in through the ends. For the convenience of visitors, a simple hand rail should be provided. The steepness of this ladder will make it difficult for older

people to negotiate, but to install a modern stair would not be accurate, and would necessitate enlargement of the wall opening.

The hatch and its cover should be restored without alteration.

5) HEATING ARRANGEMENTS

It would be preferable to replace the existing chimney with one of handmade brick that corresponds in height to that shown in the old photo. The topping should be of modern brick of the type produced by L.E. Shaw to simulate hand-made brick. A square or rectangle of brick or sheet iron should be laid on the ground floor in the area where the stove is to be located. Size and position of this would be determined by the stove obtained. If a suitable original stove cannot be found, it might be necessary to make a reproduction by using a museum specimen as pattern.

The reason for the odd-shaped hole in the floor is obscure. The form of stove pipes will have to be determined following further research the type and production methods used in making them in the early 19th century.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Sills for the blockhouse have been renewed several times, and at least in part are in need of renewal now. I would suggest that provision be made when putting in the new foundation, to make it high enough to carry the second log, and eliminate wooden sill logs altogether. The appearance of the sill log could be maintained by putting a facing on the concrete to give the desired effect, just as below it a facing would be applied to

to simulate the old stone foundation.

Not a clue remained as to ground floor structure. Floor boards were probably the same as those on the second floor.

Although not completely authentic, a porch might be provided for the entrance. Flagstone paving on a concrete base could be used within this. Its size could be the same as the present one, and it is recommended that it be designed to take off as a unit when desired. The porch should be simply constructed to harmonize with the blockhouse, and it is suggested that it be covered with wide random width boards with battened joints. The door should be a simple batten one, opening inward. It could be provided with H-L hinges and a Norfolk or other simple forged latch. The window sash could be fixed with four lights of 7x9 inch glass.

Internal arrangements are difficult to determine. There are marks in the whitewash of two walls on the second floor (west and north) of a partition and low platform, perhaps indicating a storeroom had been there at one time. Even if desirable, reconstruction of this would be difficult, for while these marks are old, the division of the space in this way must only have been done after the need had passed to keep the loopholes unobstructed.

There should be no paint or whitewash on the interior. Old finish should be carefully removed with solvents to avoid damaging tool marks on the surface of the timbers.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. ANDREWS

NEW BRUNSWICK, 1784-1814

Richard J. Diubaldo
1966

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. ANDREWS

NEW BRUNSWICK, 1784-1814

Introduction

Most works dealing with colonization in North America fail to make any significant mention of the discovery and settlement of the area surrounding Passamaquoddy Bay and the St. Croix River. For this reason the early history of St. Andrews has been neglected by all except local historians and local historical societies. Yet from its initial discovery by adventurous Europeans the area became part and parcel of the rivalry between France and England. The French considered it the centre of Acadia, one reason being that it has witnessed the first recorded European settlement made by Champlain in 1604. In 1632 Cardinal Richelieu granted "the river and bay of Sainte Croix" to his favourite, Isaac de Razilly, Governor of Acadia. As far as the English to the south were concerned the St. Croix River was the extreme edge of Acadia; during the seventeenth century the British deemed it intolerable that French expansion should be allowed beyond this water highway.

Strange as it may seem, when the French finally surrendered Acadia to England by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), neither Massachusetts nor Nova Scotia could agree upon the location of the river. Hence, the eighteenth century was to see the search for the "true St. Croix". Only with the coming of the Loyalists and with the vigorous efforts on their part was the location of the St. Croix made definite and immutable. The community on the St. Croix became international in scope during the period between the fall of New France and the American Revolution. By that time traders and fishermen were frequenting the shores of Passamaquoddy; settlers from the Bay colony were flocking to the region, establishing themselves at Strategic points along the coast.¹ Attempts were also made to settle the lands which dotted the mouth of the St. Croix River. In 1770 one William Owen obtained a grant to the island of Campobello; and for generations the island became the exclusive preserve of the Owens. The family remained there as virtual feudal overlords for over a century.² No doubt the attractiveness of the Passamaquoddy area led to a greater concentration of population and activity there. As for the rest of the area lying between the eastern shore of

Passamaquoddy Bay and St. John, Charles Morris the Surveyor General, reported in 1768 that this region was bleak, rough and generally unsatisfactory.³

The American Revolution was to have great significance for the future of the Passamaquoddy region. The civil war within the Empire tore the colonists away from the Mother Country; it also pitted those who wished to remain loyal to the Crown against those who wished to see the connection broken entirely. And like most civil wars the American Revolution acquired the characteristics of a private and unremitting vendetta between Loyalists and revolutionaries.⁴

The Loyalists organized themselves, some to combat actively the revolutionaries, others in order to protect their lives and property. The "Tories" in Falmouth (present-day Portland) alarmed by the course of the uprising, decided to establish themselves at Fort George at the mouth of the Penobscot River. This, they reasoned would not only afford them with a highly favourable location for trade under the protection of a British garrison, but would place them within the province of Nova Scotia.⁵ In addition to these local aspirations, a grandiose plan was put forth by the undersecretary in the Colonial Office, William Knox, for the creation of the kingdom of New Ireland; the latter was to be carved out of the territory lying between the rivers Penobscot and St. Croix. New Ireland would, it was hoped, receive its impulse and underpinnings from the Loyalist settlement along the Penobscot.⁶

All this came to naught with the signing of the peace treaty in 1783. To their dismay, the loyal merchants of Penobscot discovered that they had been denied the lands between the two rivers. The treaty stipulated that the St. Croix was to be the northeastern boundary between British and American possessions. Earlier, the Penobscot Loyalists had gone so far as to send one of their number, Dr. John Caleff, to London to forestall just such a move on the part of the British authorities.⁷ They were now forced to accept the conclusion that they must pull up their recently-stuck roots and search for a new home, or submit to the United States. Hesitations were swept away when it became manifest that the state governments were under no obligation to restore the privileges of citizenship to the Loyalists, and when proscriptions, confiscations, and persecutions redoubled as a consequence of the attitude⁸ of various states.

By the early fall of 1783 the exodus had begun. Their rapidly-constructed frame homes were taken down, and, along

with all their possessions, were placed on ships provided for the evacuation. Advance scouts and agents were instructed to find a suitable new site.

The Settlement of St. Andrews

The eastern shores of Passamaquoddy Bay were the second major area of Loyalist migration to the Maritimes, the first being the watershed of the St. John River. The main body of Passamaquoddy or Charlotte County Loyalists was made up of five groups. The first and largest (and most important for our purposes) was the Penobscot Association, and many who had been employed in the various services connected with the British military establishment. The former was a voluntary association of civilians who banded together at Penobscot with the specific aim of acquiring a substantial tract of land. Closely connected also with the founding of St. Andrews was the 74th Association, officers and men of the Argyll Highlanders who had been stationed at Fort George: in preference to returning to Scotland they had taken their discharge in Nova Scotia. There were 125 men in the 74th. In contrast, the Penobscot Association contained 649 souls of which 178 were men.⁹ In addition, other discharged soldiers were attracted to the St. Andrews area: small groups from the 84th, the 70th, the 64th, the North Carolina Highlanders, the Royal Garrison Battalion, the King's Orange Rangers, one man from the 42nd, two from the Nova Scotia Volunteers, and three "Brunswick Soldiers late of the Regiment of Specht".¹⁰

The Penobscot Association had set out for their new home about October 1, 1783.¹¹ A few days later the small fleet rounded Clam Cove Head and sailed across the Bay. The flurry of disembarkation provided a quaint sight: men in powdered wigs, plum coloured coats and three-cornered hats helping fashionably dressed ladies to alight. Then came the household goods: "priceless mahogany", dining tables,¹² highboys and lowboys,¹² silver plate, damask, and linen,¹³ family portraits, heavy trunks--brass studded and covered with calf-skin.¹⁴ Not only had they brought all of their personal belongings, but they had carefully taken down their hastily built homes at Castine, loaded them on schooners, and re-erected them in St. Andrews. Robert Pagan brought both his home and store, while John Dunn erected his first two-story house in St. Andrews. It was estimated that by 1788 there were 600 houses in the town,¹⁵ but one can safely say that this is an exaggeration. The Coffee House which had been

used in Penobscot for secret meetings of the Association, and for festive occasions, was erected on Water Street; it remained there until destroyed by a disastrous fire in 1930. All that remain are a few photographs of the structure, and, oddly enough, a bill, dated December 1783, for the removal of the Coffee House to St. Andrews.¹⁶

Ironically, it was John Allen, a revolutionary partisan, who described the arrival of the Loyalists in a report to Governor George Hancock of Massachusetts.

On my arrival at Passamaquoddy the 23rd September I found there had been several surveyors exploring the rivers and a number of settlers taken possession of St. Andrews Point 20 miles westward of St. Croix. On 3rd October two large transports and several smaller vessels with a number of families arrived at St. Andrews from Bagaduce [Castine] ... I passed by the ships and cautioned them at their peril not to land any inhabitants. But a few days later the whole were landed to amount of forty families---since the above several more families have been landed and vessels from different place with supplies daily arriving, a number of houses erected and a large store King's provisions. Lumber constantly shipping off and a quantity of valuable timber cut down for same purpose. So that it appears the whole produce of that valuable part of the country is liable to fall to British... A company composed of a number of wealthy persons among the rest Pagan formerly of Casco Bay one of the principal managers intended to carry on the business to a great amount at Passamaquoddy. Their interest with the Government has given them an opportunity of procuring a number of inhabitants, a great part British soldiers. With these they mean to take possession and once fixed suppose they cannot be removed whether the land falls eastward or westward of the line. So that if the ancient river St. Croix is intended as the boundary it will be highly necessary some steps should be immediately taken to remove those settlers from St. Andrews.¹⁷

The Government of the United States and its agents stubbornly persisted that the Magaguadavic River was the true and ancient St. Croix.¹⁸ It should be noted that this view was held until 1798 when positive identification was made.

It seems, however, that the newly arrived settlers paid little heed to Allen's protestations. In actual fact the new settlement entertained more fear regarding the Indians. Throughout the following winter and spring Captain Samuel Osborne thought it necessary to patrol Passamaquoddy Bay in the frigate Adriane to ward off the natives.¹⁹ The threat seemed serious to the Loyalists for, according to Allen,

The Indians are in great distress. Their complaint is that between both countries they are deprived of their hunting grounds. A great number from St. John's and the Micmac country have arrived and many more expected. I have received a large belt of wampum from several tribes assembled, to be presented to Congress as a token of their zeal and attachment to the States, praying that they have their hunting grounds confirmed and secured to them.²⁰

Despite Allen's threats the Loyalists clung tenaciously to what they had begun. They were not to be disappointed for soon after they arrived Charles Morris, son of the famous Surveyor General, had been instructed by Governor Parr to survey lands along the St. Croix to accommodate Loyalist aspirations. Early in 1784 the survey had been completed,²¹ and on July 31 four hundred and thirty Loyalists drew lots for small parcels of land in St. Andrews. On August 21, 1784 a formal charter was issued confirming the ownership of the 512 plots so disposed.²²

The town plan itself is worthy of note. Morris' grid plan provided for 6 parallel streets running northwest to southeast, and 13 shorter streets running from the harbour to the top of the slope and cutting the longer ones at right angles. This would form 60 square blocks, "besides twelve blocks on the southwest side of the town more or less indented by the irregularities of St. Andrews harbour".²³ Each block was lettered and divided into 8 lots; reservation was made for school and church lands. The street nomenclature was a veritable roster of the existing royal family: King, Queen, Prince of Wales, Princess Royal, followed by the rest of his children's Christian names. The town itself was divided into three divisions: "Bulkeley's", running from Harriet Street to the north westerly side line of Edward Street, in honour of the Honourable Richard Bulkeley; "Parr's

Division", running from the south easterly side line of Edward Street to the north westerly side line of Princess Royal Street, in honour of the Governor of Nova Scotia; finally, "Morris's Division", in honour of his father, the first Surveyor General of Nova Scotia.²⁴ Along with the town plots the Penobscot Association, exclusive of other elements, was granted 6 extensive tracts of land stretching from Bocabec on the inner Bay of Passamaquoddy to Sprague's Falls on the St. Croix, including 2 ranges on Mohannes Stream. In all, the Association received 19,000 acres of land in return for their adherence to the Crown.²⁵ In some cases individuals received additional grants of land. One could advance one's interests by directly petitioning the Crown or its representative. By such means Thomas Wyer, William Gallop, Colin Campbell, John Jones, and Robert and Thomas Pagan were awarded 1534 acres.²⁶ The procedure was quite simple as evidenced by a memorial of Robert and Thomas Pagan to the Governor of Nova Scotia in 1783.²⁷

One must not be led to the conclusion that the acquisition of land had solved all the problems of the Loyalists. Hard times were frequent during the first two years at St. Andrews. The women were obliged to use their precious mahogany tables, silver and china in the Kitchen; the men put aside their fineries and took to wearing worsted and deerskin.²⁸ True, the Loyalists throughout the Maritimes had received some assistance from the King's stores, but the harsh winter of 1784-85, coupled with the great influx of people, necessitated more than a dole. The leading citizens of St. Andrews (Robert Pagan, William Anstruther, Jeremiah Pote, William Gallop, Thomas Wyer, and Colin Campbell), appealed to the Governor, Thomas Carleton, (February 22, 1785), for some sort of relief:

The distressed situation of the settlement and those in our neighbourhood for want of the provisions graciously promised by His Majesty, for the regular Receiving of which all the settlers have had the most Publick of Solemn assurances, has been for sometimes past and still remains so alarming, that we think we cannot discharge our Duty without pointing it out to your Excellency.

The small supply which your Excellency has had the goodness to order to be largely purchased here, and also that by the Sloop St. Andrews from St. John, altho Distributed among the needy only, a few pounds to each ration is already expended.

Numbers of settlers in this town and neighbourhood have received no King's Provisions since October last, for want of which they have been greatly Retarded in carrying on their business and making improvements on their lands, to the great detriment of themselves and the settlement in general.

We hope this distressed and alarming situation of all the inhabitants of this Bay which we cannot paint to your excellency in too strong a light. Our existance as a settlement in great measure depending on our having a supply will induce your Excellency to take such steps as your wisdom will point out for any Relief and will also plead our excuse for the freedom we have used in addressing a letter to you on the Subject.²⁹

A more personal glimpse of the hardships endured during that winter is afforded by the memoirs of the Reverend Duncan McColl, a Methodist clergyman who came to St. Andrews from Halifax in 1784. To his dismay, he "found the disbanded soldiers and loyalists living in bark huts". Despite the ominous situation McColl sent for his wife who arrived in November of 1784; he then bought a log house in town for 10 guineas, and waited apprehensively for the oncoming winter.³⁰

In the dead of winter we had the last loaf of bread on the table and knew not where to look for another. I wanted Mrs. McColl to use it, but she would not, but wanted me to use it. A neighbour, who was a swearing and drinking man, came in and asked me how I came on for bread and beef, saying there was none to be bought. I showed him what we had, and he said, "O come, I will lend you a tierce of good flour and another of beef". I thanked him kindly; but he said, "You need not thank me, I do this to save my property, for if my own drunken companions find out that I have it, they will take it from me and never pay for it". In the singular way we were well supplied until provisions came in the spring

to the place.³¹

And once spring came the people of St. Andrews returned to pursuits which were to leave their mark on the early history of New Brunswick.

Political and Economic Development

The coming of large bodies of Loyalists led to the creation of an effective jurisdictional and governmental apparatus. On February 18, 1784, Governor Parr appointed Robert Pagan, John Curry, William Gallop, and Philip Bailey Justices of the Peace for the District of Passamaquoddy, County of Sunbury, Nova Scotia.³² In the months to come the citizens of St. Andrews become caught up in the movement to create a separate province. One of the first acts of the new settlers had been to call a meeting to underwrite the campaign. On May 26, 1784, Robert Pagan, Colin Campbell, William Gallop, and Jeremiah Pote informed the authorities,

that the meeting were unanimous in the opinion of the inconveniency and disadvantage arising to the inhabitants on the north side of the Bay of Fundy by the distance from Halifax, the present seat of government, and sensible to the great advantage which would attend the establishment of a new province to comprehend all the settlements on the north side of the Bay, and they earnestly wish that the application for that purpose, which appears to be the general voice of the inhabitants, may be attended to by the British Legislature.³³

In 1786, St. Andrews, by now the leading commercial town of the new province of New Brunswick, became the county seat, or shiretown, for the County of Charlotte. The county itself was divided into 7 towns or parishes: St. Stephen, St. David, St. Andrews, St. Patrick, St. George, Pennfield, and the West Isles.³⁴

St. Andrews real claim to prominence was the commercial activity of the town. Equipped with capital, initiative, and ingenuity, and containing a strong ingredient of Scots, the Penobscot Association permitted the forced migration

to interfere very little with traditional pursuits. By the spring of 1784 the ships of St. Andrews were conveying produce to the West Indies and to Britain--a traffic which had been, for the most part, the exclusive preserve of the New England shippers before the war. The advantages conferred upon Loyalist shippers by the Navigation Acts, which confined trade to British subjects and British bottoms, were reinforced by an embargo upon the entrance of British vessels to the harbours of New England. It was impractical to carry on a direct trade between New and Old England, but it was quite legal to exchange British goods for those of the United States. "Trading on the lines", along the harbours and islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, became a common form of intercourse for merchants of New England and New Brunswick, pushing St. Andrews into the forefront of this lucrative system.³⁵ For several decades the industrious townspeople of St. Andrews were able to rival Saint John in the West Indian trade, fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding, and smuggling; for several decades theirs proved to be the most fortunate of Loyalists settlements. Early in May, 1784, William Pagan described the flurry of activity at St. Andrews:

We have now about ninety houses up and great preparations making in every quarter of the town for more. Numbers of inhabitants are daily arriving and a great many others are hourly looked for from different quarters. Agents are now here from the neighbouring States on the lookout for lands for a number of valuable inhabitants who wish to emigrate here being tired of their Government. Early this spring I made one of an exploring party. We went all around Oak Point Bay and up Scuddock River as far as the Indian settlement a little above the falls. There are part of the lands laid out for the Associated Loyalists from Penobscot and I can with pleasure assure you that the land is in general very good abounding with large quantities of hardwood, all kinds of fine timber of a large growth and very handy to the water where most vessels can safely anchor. There are a number of falls of water where saw mills can be erected but only two on the Scuddock yet up.³⁶

Pagan, it seems, was quite taken with the prospects of the country for he was making plans to "supply the whole British West India Islands with Boards, Plank, Scantling, Ranging Timber, Shingles, Clap Boards and every other species of

Lumber that can be shipped from any part of New England, oak staves excepted".³⁷ Accordingly, St. Andrews' horizon became the western world. From her port went furs to England in return for manufactured articles.³⁸ White-sailed ships darted in and out of the harbour bearing cargoes of lumber and dried fish destined for the West Indies, returning with the best the islands had to offer. In February, 1784, the Lord Howe sailing out of St. Andrews had gone to Jamaica loaded with "74 bundles of fish, 26 thousand of lumber, 2,200 red oak staves, 135 old punchion packs and a parcell of hand-spikes and poles".³⁹

The following June the ship's owner, James Dunn, received an invoice and bill of lading from his agent in the Caribbean; it attests to the healthy and extensive commercial ventures of the Lord Howe. Wrote John Moore, the agent:

Enclosed you will please receive Invoice and bill of lading for 4 Hogsheads fine sugar, 16 punches and Hhnds of rum shipped on board [the Lord Howe].

On your account and risque amounting to £425/0/10 Jamaica Currency at your debit in Acct Current which is also enclosed; and credited with £389/13/10½ Nett proceeds of her cargo from Penobscot and £806/13 Jamaica Currency from her Chartered Voyage to Georgia and back.

You will find £260 at the debit of this acct. for the cost of 5 New Negroes ship'd to Georgia for your account, which my advances for the Vessel, leaves a balance of £286/7/0½ in your favour; which last mentioned sum I have paid Captain McLean to enable him to settle with the People and for other disbursements.

As the Vessel has already made money by her Voyage here, I have no doubt of your hearty approbation; -- and as Captain McLean has spared no pains for your interests, I flatter myself you will also approve his services.⁴⁰

The town benefitted as a whole from the astute trading abilities of her merchants. Patrick Campbell, who travelled through St. Andrews in 1792 found the town "prettily situated", with good anchor, and a safe mooring place. The town itself had a "smart trade...of which Mr. Robert Pagan,

a Scotchman, is the life and soul". To Pagan's enterprising spirit, contended Campbell, the Mother Country owed a debt of gratitude. Campbell was duly impressed with the ship-building industry of St. Andrews, especially that of Robert Pagan: "He built this year, besides other vessels, one four hundred tons, copper bottomed, that has ten state rooms, intended for the West India trade to London. This ship, as well as others built here, is of black birch." Although St. Andrews was prosperous when Campbell visited it, he had deep misgivings "that it will not continue long so, on account of the American States being able to export their lumber to Britain on as low a duty as those of our Colonies; and as their country is full of people, and labour cheap, they can undersell in our own markets".⁴¹

Yet his fears were not realized for almost four decades. It is true that until 1813 the English duty on imported foreign timber was very low and that the United States had more ships available and many more labourers than New Brunswick. But precisely at the time Campbell was writing, England became involved in a life or death struggle with Revolutionary France. This, coupled with the birth pains of the Industrial Revolution and the drying up of Baltic timber supplies, was sufficient to assure the Maritime provinces in general and St. Andrews in particular of an adequate and continuing market.

The Passamaquoddy area was capable of sustaining growth to accommodate these new demands and pressures. By 1803 the region had no less than 21 sawmills, which together cut 7,700,000 feet of boards;⁴² the Parish of St. Andrews alone had "four sawmills which annually cut about 400,000 feet of boards".⁴³ The fishing catch in 1803 amounted to 9,900 Quintals and 3,000 barrels, besides about 5,000 boxes of herring. The County could boast of a fleet of 59 sail plus numerous other craft. And of the sailing vessels, St. Andrews parish alone had built 42 since 1785; the tonnage of the port was 9,040 tons. Although a somewhat doubtful and unsubstantiated report of 1788 places the population around 3,000,⁴⁴ one could safely say that the 1803 "census" was based on systematic investigation. The County's population in 1803 amounted to 2,622-- 549 men, 516 women, and 1,503 children--an increase of almost 850 since 1784.⁴⁵ St. Andrews parish itself had 104 men, 106 women, and 277 children, a total population of 487.⁴⁶

Transshipping and smuggling were also factors in the town's vitality. Donald's report of 1803 to Edward Winslow underlines the valuable position of Passamaquoddy as the transshipment point:

In the year 1794 there was imported from Nova Scotia and the western extremity of this Province into this Parish [Campobello] about 100 tons of Gypsum, commonly called Plaster; in the year 1795 about 250 tons; and the importation has been gradually increasing. Last year the quantity amounted to nearly 14,000 tons. Four-fifths of all the Plaster is landed on Campo-Bello. It is re-shipped for Philadelphia and New York in American vessels.⁴⁷

As for smuggling, it continued unabated. For years, the citizens of Eastport, the American counterpart of St. Andrews across the river, could, with little restriction, tranship goods from Boston bound for the Maritimes. In return, the "fluid boundary" permitted British vessels to reciprocate. Geage Leonard, Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries complained (August 20, 1806) that "from 50 up to 100 American vessels have been receiving cargoes from British vessels within ten days past in the waters of Passamaquoddy Bay".⁴⁸ British authorities in the Maritimes were not overly concerned with practices which, although illegal, brought in the much needed articles and produce of the United States. Not even Jefferson's Embargo of 1807 could dissipate their energies. In fact, the pace of smuggling seemed to quicken. Apparently the embargo led to the so-called "Flour War" in which the general public of both sides fought battles with American guards. The New Brunswickers were eager to receive the much needed flour, while the Americans were hopeful of gaining a high price for its delivery. This was understandable from the American viewpoint because a barrel of flour on the American side brought \$5, while on the St. Andrews side the same flour commanded a price of \$12 per barrel.⁴⁹ "At its height, something like one hundred sixty thousand barrels of flour passed through Eastport in a single year. Flour was piled everywhere-- on the beaches above the tide and on the adjacent uplands. Every pile of flour was guarded, but the flour somehow disappeared, embargo or no embargo."⁵⁰

As always, the Liverpool merchants, smarting somewhat under the embargo, were quick to spot the possibilities of St. Andrews, and by May 1808 they had shifted their smuggling operations from St. John to St. Andrews. William Knox jubilantly boasted to Edward Winslow that from St. Andrews

it is most easy to smuggle into the United States and their ships lie out of reach of the embargo. I applaud Jefferson very

much as an Englishman and especially a New Brunswick Agent and Planter, for the measure of the embargo, as it disappoints Bonaparte's expectations of the Americans carrying the produce of the French and Spanish West Indies to his countries, and raises out continental colonies at the expense of the American States.⁵¹

Personalities

The success of the town in these early years was, in part, owing to the drive and initiative of prominent individuals. Robert Pagan, born in 1750, came out from Glasgow, Scotland, to Falmouth as a partner in the firm of Robert Lee and Robert Tucker, shipbuilders and lumber merchants of Greenock. In America the firm name was Robert Pagan and Company. Immediately he became known as "a man of popular manners and such beloved by the people".⁵² In 1774 Pagan was a member of a committee appointed to ascertain the names of the holders of tea in the town. A year later he became involved in the revolutionary controversies and abandoned his business after his life had been threatened and after he had been tarred and feathered.⁵³ His house and store were destroyed during the British bombardment of Falmouth in the fall of 1775. In February, 1776, he embarked with his family on board a brig and sailed for the Barbadoes, eventually making his way back to the Colonies.⁵⁴ Afterwards, he carried on trade at New York and Penobscot hoping the latter place would eventually become British territory. In the meantime his ships became active privateers menacing revolutionary lifelines.⁵⁵ Disappointed initially at the move to St. Andrews, Pagan nevertheless took advantage of the commercial possibilities of the town, as well as the political opportunities offered by such a pioneer community. In addition, Pagan purchased or acquired grants to accessible forests lands within the province; his brig Miriam, named after his wife, plied between St. Andrews and Grenada and other parts of the West Indies. Pagan died in 1821, aged 71, but by that time he had become the most socially and politically prominent individual in Charlotte County. He served the Crown as agent for lands in New Brunswick, and assisted in superintending affairs connected with grants to Loyalists. He was also a Justice of the Peace for Charlotte County, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was Colonel of the Militia. Finally, he represented Charlotte County in the House of Assembly at Fredericton, being a leading and influential

member of that body.

The only other individual of comparable merit and prestige was Dr. John Caleff, a former resident of Ipswich, who had served as a member of the Massachusetts legislature. Caleff, quite elderly by the time he migrated to New Brunswick, had taken part in the siege of Louisburg in 1745.⁵⁶ Like Pagan, Caleff eventually owned considerable property in St. Andrews at the upper end of town including 5 water lots.⁵⁷ Upon his return from England, Caleff practised medicine in Saint John where he became the surgeon of the general hospital there. About 1790 he removed to St. Andrews, where he continued to reside until his death in 1812. In 1800 he was able to contribute his services in the smallpox epidemic which swept St. Andrews and Charlotte County. Caleff experimented with the affliction, made acute observations and was able to inoculate a large portion of the county. He reported to Major Hailes, June 23, 1800, that,

...There hath been upwards of Three Hundred persons inoculated with small pox in this Town and neighbourhood, within about five weeks past, and all are doing very well, except a Miss of five years, so refractory as to refuse medicine and even drink, and deceased the 7th day of eruption---This disorder among women, and babes at the Breast, hath been the lymphatic kind, and of course very troublesome, the subjects had dieted for more than a month (which to me prove erroneous) and but few had any symptoms till the 13th day of inoculation.⁵⁸

Caleff later confided that he had been fortunate to have the assistance of Miriam Pagan, Colonel Wyer, and Henry B. Brown at such a perilous juncture.⁵⁹

Religion

Caleff's humanitarian spirit had sprung partly from the deep sense of religious devotion which prevailed in the community. The religious needs of the settlement were satisfied soon after the migration. Services had been conducted by the civil magistrate since the founding at St. Andrews; the magistrate acted as a reader on Sundays. In November, 1785, the Reverend Samuel Cooke of Shrewbury, New Jersey, visited Campobello, Digdegaush, and St. Andrews; at these places he read prayers, preached and performed baptisms before

returning to St. John. In 1786 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent Reverend Samuel Andrews to the town. Andrews, a Yale graduate, had been the former rector of St. Paul's Church at Wallingford, Connecticut. With him he brought the coat-of-arms presented by King William and Queen Mary to the Church at Wallingford; today, it hangs over the west door of All Saints Church in St. Andrews. At St. Andrews the Reverend found "a considerable body of people of different national extraction, living in great harmony and peace, punctual in attending Diving Service, and behaving with propriety and devotion".⁶⁰ Although he discovered that many of his parishioners were tainted with the "Universal Doctrine" error,⁶¹ Andrews, being a man of broad and liberal spirit, was able to command a devoted community despite their differences on belief. Only with his death in 1818 did the congregation break apart.

The first vestry meeting was held on August 2, 1786. In the following year "Parson Andrews" was partially incapacitated by a paralytic stroke; his son, Samuel F. Andrews, was appointed school-master and catechist, helping in various to attain his father's goals. Reverend Andrews' church, All Saints Church, was begun in 1788 and completed in 1790 at the cost of £495.⁶² The church itself measured 52' by 40'. The expenses were met partly out of a fund contributed by the parish, but mainly out of a government allowance.⁶³ Its bell, decorated with the royal coat-of-arms, was presented by John McMaster, a London merchant. In 1867 the original structure was replaced. By that time a number of denominational churches had been established: the Kirk in 1824, Roman Catholic in 1825, Methodist in 1831, and Baptist in 1865.

The community under Reverend Andrews' guidance became a respectable cultural entity. The establishment of the Friendly Society under his auspices provided intellectual stimulus to the people of the country. The leading members of the church met once a week for debate and discussion on subjects related to religion, morality, law, medicine, geography, history, and current events. The Society used to meet on Saturday, but the time was changed to Friday at the insistence of Dr. Caleff who, expounded a staunch Puritan viewpoint, felt that Saturday night should be spent in solemn preparation for the Sabbath.⁶⁵ In any case, their constitution limited their refreshments to "spirits and water".⁶⁶ Some of the subjects for discussion were entered in Reverend Andrews minute book, and reveal a wide range of interest and preoccupation.⁶⁷

Life and Graces

Although the life of the Loyalist varied from country to town, the element of pioneer living was always present. Except in the more well-to-do cases the typical household was furnished with a number of bedsteads, at least two tables, two large tables, two large chairs, about a dozen small chairs, looking glasses, two strong chests, a pair of andirons, iron pots and pans, and iron kettle, a frying pan, a gridiron, a toasting iron, and a large brass kettle.⁶⁸ All cooking was done in an open fireplace; only a few had brought with them their treasured stoves. Meats were roasted before the fire, while stew and soups were prepared in large iron pots which hung from a crane. Boiled food was very common; because of this spoons became indispensable utensils in serving "spoon meat".

Food was scarce and lacked variety. Most imported foods were expensive. Tea, for instance, was an unattainable luxury for a woman servant making 10 shillings per month.⁶⁹ In such cases substitutes were used, usually Labrador tea and other herbs. In certain seasons moose and caribou meat could be bought at from 1 penny to 2 pence per pound; fish were always plentiful, and in summer wild pigeons were a favourite dish. In most frost-proof cellars one could find bins of potatoes, turnips, hogsheads of corned beef, salt pork and hams, tonnekins of salted shad and gaspereaux, dried codfish, kildekins of lard and firkins of butter.⁷⁰

The kitchens of St. Andrews were the centre of activity. The cooking was done there in wide, open fireplaces. The hearth corner held trivets, peels, skillets; above the clavel piece were festoons of dried apples. It was in the kitchen that the housewife made dainties dear to the heart of a displaced New Englander: preserves, marmalades, syrups, mint water, cordials, egg cakes, maccaroons, apple slump, apple mose, and apple crowdy.

Not only must the housewife have time to cook, bake, and even brew, she must find time to weave and spin for she was responsible for the ordinary clothing and bedding of the household. Perhaps one of the most interesting insights into the duties of a wife in those early days is contained in a poem written to Mehetible Caleff, daughter of Dr. John Caleff, on her marriage day in 1786; it was composed by her bridesmaid, Anne Hecht, who inscribed on birch bark.⁷¹

Articles of a more specialized or formal nature, which a wife could not be expected to make, were usually provided by an itinerant tailor or dressmaker (or shoemaker) who went

to a home and remained there until the entire family had been fitted with a new wardrobe, or until a particular suit had been finished. Most country men were accustomed to wearing simple leather breeches and top boots, but in the cities and towns the situation was quite different. Stationed in the latter were usually British garrison or retired officers, persons of education and wealth who did their best to preserve the traditions of culture and refinement to which they had been previously accustomed. There, the expert tailors, shoemakers, and mantua makers could furnish them with the most fashionable clothes: powder wigs, long shirted coat, long waistcoat, knee breeches, and the popular low shoes with large buckles.⁷²

These fineries were most frequently displayed on June 14, at the grand ball given in honour of George III's birthday. To prevent the lilacs from blooming too early for this festive occasion the ladies of St. Andrews would tie paper over the white lilac trees. When the appointed day arrived the men escorted their ladies to the ball. It was quite an enchanting sight. Slender ladies "in short-waisted dresses and long narrow skirts, their hair piled high on graceful heads, fastened with a tortoise-shell comb, all grouped about a white lilac bush on a June day...".⁷³ Charlotte County, as a whole, was well represented at this celebration. To these balls would flock such people as members of the Owen household of Campobello, and Captain Farell of Deer Island. Farell and Caleff represented the old guard of the St. Andrews area at these affairs. While the younger men of the town would arrive wearing the popular narrow-rimmed bell shaped beaver hat, those two individuals would make a flourish of greeting each other in their outmoded three-cornered hats.⁷⁴

Military Aspects

St. Andrews was not caught unawares when war broke out in 1812. In fact, the town had a modest claim of preparedness from its founding. Soon after the settlers had arrived at St. Andrews they had busily prepared themselves for Indian trouble. Moreover, it has already been mentioned that a number of St. Andrews men had been actively engaged in the revolutionary war. In this connection, one must remember that the British Government encouraged the settlement of disbanded soldiers along the border. The Royal instructions to Governor Carleton, dated August 18, 1784, outlined the policy clearly:⁷⁵

It is our will and pleasure that the allotments to be made to non-commissioned officers and private men under said instructions shall be, where the same is practicable, by corps and as contiguous as may be to each other and that the allotments made to the several commissioned officers under this our instructions shall be interpreted therein that the same may be united and in case of attack be defended by those who have been accustomed to bear arms and serve together.

However, it was not until the war between Britain and revolutionary France that the men of St. Andrews effectively organized. In response to the continental upheaval a militia regiment was formed within the province. By 1793 one company of this newly formed King's New Brunswick Regiment (or the New Brunswick Provincials) had been raised by Captain Peter Clynch, and was made up entirely of Charlotte County men. They were stationed at St. Andrews to protect the western border. Early in the summer of 1794 Clynch's company was withdrawn; consequently, considerable uneasiness was felt by the inhabitants of St. Andrews. They feared that their town was liable to be surprised and plundered by raiding parties from the United States, then in sympathy with the French Republic.⁷⁶ A petition, signed by the magistrates and leading inhabitants of the town, was forwarded to Governor Carleton, stating that a large number of local militia had enlisted with Captain Clynch's company, and,

that those men were most of them resident in St. Andrews (the seaport town), and were upon any emergency ready to be employed in its defence. That St. Andrews is the second commercial town in the province, where many vessels load every year for Europe and the West Indies, and where goods to a great amount are stored. A number of large vessels are also annually built there, and they are extensively concerned in the fishery and lumber trade. That its situation is peculiarly exposed, being at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, and separated from the State of Massachusetts only by the small river Scodiac, so that they are liable to be surprised and plundered by any small predatory party, which danger they did not apprehend while a company

consisting of inhabitants of the county were stationed there in immediate readiness to prevent a sudden attack, and thereby give the militia time to assemble.⁷⁷

On July 15 the appeal was endorsed by Lord Dorchester, and the troops were re-stationed; the wisdom of this move was to prove itself a year later.

In August, 1795, a bold attempt was made to pillage the town of St. Andrews and the Passamaquoddy settlements. Two Americans, Peter Merand and Andrew Bowman of Washington County, Maine, appear to have been the principals in this plot. The authorities of Charlotte County have been apprised of the expedition, and a detachment of the county militia, under Lieut.-Colonel McKay and Captain Nathan Frink, were under arms. The La Solide, a French privateer, manned partially by Americans, sailed into Passamaquoddy Bay and landed a portion of her crew; however, they were captured by the militia and carried prisoners to St. Andrews. At the same time, the vessel was captured and the raid came to naught. Ultimately, at the request of the inhabitants of St. Andrews, the armed brig Union was sent to Passamaquoddy Bay, and cruised in those waters as long as weather permitted. This was the sole attempt to invade or pillage any part of New Brunswick during the war.

Although the Provincial Regiment was disbanded shortly after the turn of the century, the town of St. Andrews remained the site of a military garrison. From June to September, 1807, for instance, the New Brunswick Fencibles, successors to the Provincials, had troops stationed at St. Andrews as well as St. John: "... Captain Sutherland's whole company was at St. John except for one corporal and one man at St. Andrews and Captain Christian's company was divided between St. John and St. Andrews."⁷⁸ On June 30, 1808, Gustavus Nichols reported to Sir George Prevost regarding the military state of the Passamaquoddy region.

At St. Andrews there are at present detachments of the 101st Regt. and the New Brunswick Fencibles, the former consisting of 1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 39 Rank and File, the latter 1 Sub: 1 Sergt: and 4 privates, the annual Expense of quarters for those troops, with a Commissary and Barrack Master's store amounts of £120 the houses occupied by the Troops are bad and inconvenient, and the Officers

obliged to be separated from their Men --
 Altho' I do not consider the reserve at
 Joe's Point as a desirable place for a
 work of any magnitude, yet I think it
 would be of more benefit to the Troops
 as well as a measure of economy to
 build a Blockhouse there large enough
 to hold whatever detachments it may be
 thought proper should be stationed at
 St. Andrews--The Militia of the Town
 and Parish amounts to about 100--79

This tradition of military preparedness was vital to the inhabitants of St. Andrews. When war was declared in 1812 they were not thrown into an immediate panic. Officially, the declaration of war, which came by way of Eastport, put the two communities on a hostile footing.⁸⁰ However, the very day that the declaration from Washington reached Eastport "the inhabitants of Eastport held a meeting...when it was unanimously voted to preserve a good understanding with the inhabitants of New Brunswick and to discontinue all depredations upon the possessions of each other".⁸¹ Apparently, this general intention was made specific when a convention was agreed upon by St. Andrews and Eastport.⁸² This relationship was to prove typical of New England border towns throughout the war; Passamaquoddy, like many border areas, and had witnessed too many marriages and other social bonds to permit an unwanted war to come between friends and business ventures. Nevertheless, upon the advice of Colonel Gibbins, the Inspecting Field Officer of the New Brunswick militia who was then at St. Andrews, the inhabitants erected three batteries and support blockhouses during the winter of 1812-13; above the town was Fort Tipperary. The batteries and blockhouses were built at Joe's Point, and at the eastern and western ends of St. Andrews harbour. Their purpose was to repel piratical attacks by privateers and prevent the bombardment of the town. The citizens of St. Andrews, namely Robert Pagan and Christopher Scott, paid for their construction. Gibbins, according to Scott, implied that some sort of compensation or remuneration would be forthcoming for their patriotic efforts:⁸³

...altho' not having had any communication on the subject with Head Quarters, Gibbins said he could not positively promise them either money or assistance from Government, yet he gave them such assurances, that the absolute necessity of those works when fully represented would obtain them the assistance they stood in need of that they immediately proceeded in the manner he advised...

Half of the 10th company of the celebrated 104th Regiment was stationed there during the winter months.⁸⁴ They did not leave until the spring of 1813, weeks after the main body of the Regiment had begun its famous march to Upper Canada.⁸⁵ The militia of St. Andrews was put through its paces by Sergeant Haynes of the 104th; between November 13, 1812 and February 9, 1813, Haynes drilled the officers for 18 days and Captain Roger's company of militia for 4.⁸⁶

The Americans of Eastport were not the primary concern of St. Andrews; nor were the Indians residing on the St. Croix. The latter promised their neutrality after negotiations with Robert Pagan and other magistrates of Charlotte County.⁸⁷ In fact, both St. Andrews and Eastport continued to prosper during the war years; yet both lived in the constant fear that American privateers would disrupt their pragmatic modus vivendi. In July, 1814, a strong British naval squadron took over the town of Eastport without a shot being fired; martial law was imposed. The people of Eastport seemed to welcome the influx of British Officers and regulars. The market created by this force of occupation was never questioned by the islanders. It could only add to their commercial well-being. True, the inhabitants could not venture far without a permit, but these were obtained quite easily and without question. When the British troops were finally withdrawn in 1818, the townspeople of Eastport presented them with gifts and testimonials, regretting their departure. The Essex Register accused Eastport of a long "illegal and unprincipaled intercourse with the enemy", adding that most of the inhabitants had been overjoyed at the surrender. According to the Register the deacon, the only preacher in the place, was a "smooth tongued man accounted one of the slickest smugglers there".⁸⁸ No doubt, if this report be true, his work was helped along by the formation of the "jews harp" and "dandelion" societies which had been organized shortly before the capture of Eastport. These societies, which continued to flourish during the hostilities, each divided into two parties; at night, or at some other favourable time for smuggling, one half would put on a public show to attract the attention of the townspeople and the authorities, while the other half smuggled.⁸⁹

Not a shot had been fired in anger by the people of St. Andrews throughout the war. Their efforts during this period were a mixture of pragmatism and patriotism. Of the fortifications, only that guarding the western entrance to the harbour remains, a symbol of a bygone age of sail and brown bess. The town itself, like the west blockhouse, remains a tribute to the pioneers of St. Andrews.

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EXCAVATIONS AT ST. ANDREWS BLOCKHOUSE

St. Andrews, N.B.

Summer, 1966

by

DiAnn Herst

October 1966

Purposes of Excavation

I was sent by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Historic Sites Division, to St. Andrews for the purpose of excavating the battery in front of the blockhouse to find the original positions of the gun platforms. These were to be the platforms built when the battery was first constructed in 1812. There seemed to be some suggestion in the report by George Ingram that there may have been two sets of platforms: the ones constructed in 1812 by the townspeople; and the ones constructed in 1813, under the supervision of engineers, when the battery was altered. Also I was to find the position of the palisade, which according to the photographs included in the historical report, connected the interior corners of the blockhouse to the exterior of the battery. This work took place from July 24, 1966 to August 15, 1966.

Description of the Site

The site is situated on a small point of land at the north end of Water Street in St. Andrews (see topographic map-inside back cover), overlooking the St. Croix River. The land on the point has been eroded over the years to the point where part of the battery, in front and on the ends, was destroyed during major storms. Local stories have it that there were soldiers' burials out on the point, but there were no remaining evidences, and if so, have long since washed away. There is now a hand-placed riprap surrounding the site, and also protecting the remnants of

an Indian midden which is just in front of the battery. The battery is a nearly-semicircular structure, approximately 20 feet across. There are five indications of embrasures on the crest of the battery, with about a maximum of one foot difference between the depth of the embrasure and the height of the parapet. From the left to right facing the interior of the battery (south to north) the embrasures are numbered consecutively 1 through 5. The first and fifth embrasures are less perceptible than the other three.

Inside the battery, two 24 pound cannons were set up on iron carriages. These cannons were not from the time the battery was armed, nor were they positioned correctly. They were later removed to facilitate excavation in that area, and placed on the grass south of the site.

There are three buildings on the site: the blockhouse, the gunshed, and a building built for use as a stable, which is not part of the military function of the site.

On the grass there were three areas of difference in vegetation. A rectangular area of darker grass, slightly indented compared to the level of the rest of the ground, surrounded each cannon on three sides. This may have been caused when the cannons were moved back and forth a few feet (source: local story); or, more probably, were paths worn by people walking around the cannons. The other area of difference was in a fairly straight line between the south end of the battery and the southwest corner of the blockhouse. This later proved to overlie the area of the

trenches found in the pits of sub-operations 5E2B,C,D.

Personnel

I was assisted in the field by Judy Miller, a student trainee for the summer from the University of Toronto. Two men were hired as watchmen: John Fraser and Clayton Wells. I had a total of 12 workmen, though not all of them worked at the same time:

Ronald Armstrong, St. Stephen	Peter Johnson, St. Andrews
James Bell, St. Andrews	Gordon Markee, St. Andrews
Edward Fader, Waweig	David Moffett, St. Stephens
John Fader, Waweig	Theodore Moore, St. Stephen
Peter Hanson, St. Andrews	Barry Murray, St. Andrews
Christopher Hilditch, New York	Wayne Ning, St. Stephen

In the last week of excavation, I used Ted Moore as a foreman. The work was scheduled on a 44-hour week, and Saturdays were used to make up for hours lost due to rain during the week.

Method of Excavation

The site number is 5E, meaning the fifth site excavated in New Brunswick. I had two operations. Operation 1 consisted of all pits which were concerned with finding the gun platforms; there were 14 such excavations, which are defined as sub-operations A through R, omitting letters I, L, O and Q. With these 14 pits, the whole interior of the battery was excavated. This was not what I had anticipated, as can be seen by the order in which the pits were excavated (see plan map), but the platforms were so

close together that all the area had to be excavated to fully expose them. Sub-operations F and P were excavated to find the extent of wood lying on Platform B (see page 12). My first pits, 5E1A and 5E1B, were laid out directly behind the third and fourth embrasures, respectively; then the area was extended as the platform became evident. This procedure was followed in exposing the other two platforms.

Operation 2 consisted of the 4 pits, sub-operations A through D, which were concerned with finding the line of the palisade on each side of the battery. 5E2A on the north end of the battery exposed the wood of the palisade. The other sub-operations picked up no wood, but instead exposed trenches.

In excavation, the workmen used shovels for removing the bulk of the dirt, and used trowels and paintbrushes to expose the wood and platforms. The dirt was removed in wheelbarrows to an area south of the site. The sod squares were removed and piled against the west wall of the gunshed.

Platform A (see 66-15-D19 and photograph 9)

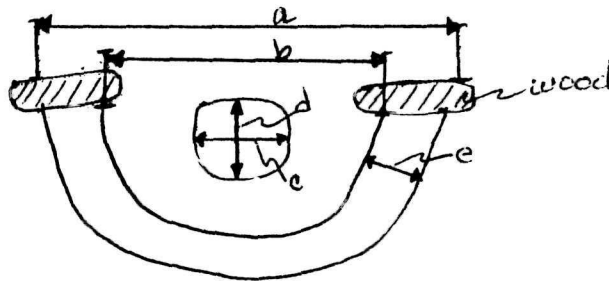
This gun platform was found in 5E1A, 5E1B and 5E1C. It is a semi-circular stone structure, surrounding an inner circular stone structure. None of the stones appear to have been shaped, but the larger ones apparently chosen for having one flat side. The smaller stones, used to fill the spaces between the large stones have much more irregular shapes. There is no evidence of mortar between the stones (the previous statements also apply to Platforms B and C).

These findings substantiate the report of having a platform for a traversing mount. According to S. J. Gooding, "About 1800 an adjunct to the platform was introduced that was known as a traversing platform. In this, the gun carriage was rested upon rails of wood or metal that would pivot around a central point to make traversing both quicker and easier" (Gooding 1965: 33).

There is no longer any evidence of the racer or rail on which the platform turned, nor the center pivot, nor racer stones to which the rail may have been attached, resting on the stone platform. There was wood across each end of the platform possibly used as a revetment against the interior of the battery. Some iron stakes were found in association with this wood.

No mention was made in the historian's report of any reference to the racer being attached to racer stones. It is a strong possibility that the racer may have been attached to wood which was laid on the stone platform. There was no evidence, though, to support the presence of wood instead of stone. From the Canadian Journal, "The earliest carriages and platforms were of wooden construction. Although they were of the most permanent wood available, and usually kept in the best of repair, the life of the carriage in extreme climates was not very long" (Gooding 1966: 106). Since my findings bear no resemblance to those at Fort Wellington (see photographs 12 and 13), I am assuming that the rails were attached to wood; this on

negative evidence. The wood then likely decayed and was removed when the rails were removed (see page 4).



The platform dimensions: Line a, marking the entire width of the platform, measures 24'; line b measures 16'. The platform is almost consistently 4' wide along the entire semi-circular structure, line e. The inner portion of the platform measures 8' (line d) by 9' (line c). "There were, over the years, many different designs for traversing platforms. They were of three different types; those pivoted in the front, the middle or the rear, depending upon the terrain to be covered, and the location in which they were to be placed" (Gooding 1966: 107). No evidence was found in the center area of this platform to establish the position of the pivot. There were several flat rocks in this area, with fairly consistent elevation readings, but none had marks of wear or mortar on them, (see drawing 66-15-D19). There is a pattern of three out of four flat rocks upon which some kind of a foundation of the pivot may have rested. This would have made it a centrally-located pivot, with approximately a nine-foot radius between the pivot and the racer.

Platform B (see drawing 66-15-D20 and photograph 10)

This platform was found in 5E1M, 5E1D, and 5E1J. It is the same as platform A, with wood across the top, and has the same structure. The measurements are the same as those of platform A, with one exception:

line a: 24'

line b: 16'

line c: 7' (here, the only difference)

line d: 8'

line e: 4'

Here, too, there is a pattern of four flat rocks in the center of the structure which may have supported the wood upon which I am assuming the pivot was attached.

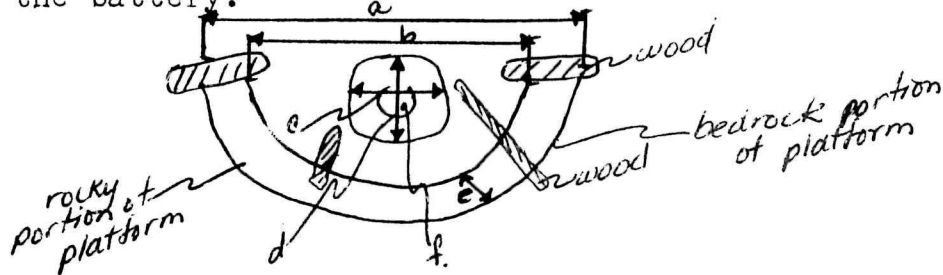
The significant difference of this platform from platform A is the presence of wood extending onto the rear of the outer arc of the platform. This wood was exposed in suboperations 5E1F and 5E1P. The area was excavated in the first place because of the possibility of a powder magazine located in that area. A photograph in the possession of Mrs. Rose Haughn, St. Andrews, taken in the late 1800's shows a low, elongated, wooden structure in approximately the area behind platform B, which is thought by the local historians to be the powder magazine. What was uncovered does not support this idea. There were only three long pieces of wood, partially decayed, two of which barely extend onto the rear of the platform. They appear to have been 6" by 6", and hand-hewn. It is doubtful that

there would have been a powder magazine so close to the cannon, because of danger from sparks as well as enemy fire. For this reason, I tend to think that there may have been just a small 'ready hut' which would hold only a couple rounds of ammunition, ready for immediate use, but not so much that it would produce a constant danger.

Platform C (see 66-15-D18 and photograph 11)

This platform was found in 5E1N, 5E1E, and 5E1K; the wood across the top of the platform extends into 5E1H (see photograph 7). It is different from the other two platforms in its construction. When first exposed, there did not seem to be a complete platform in these pits, but elevations taken across the area, in addition to a slight soil change in the floor, showed its extent. On this north end of the battery the level of bedrock is fairly close to the surface, at an elevation high enough to be used as the base of half of the platform. The elevations, then, of the bedrock on the northern half of the platform match those taken on the rocks of the rest of the platform. It appears that the north half of the platform was roughly shaped in the bedrock, which may be seen in 66-15-D18 and photograph 11. Also distinguishing this platform from the other two is the presence of wood within the area of the platform, and obviously part of it, since the base rocks of the south half of the platform are clearly in association with a long piece of wood. Platform C, as the other two, has

wood across the top of the platform; again, this appears to have been some kind of revetment against the slope of the battery.



The measurements of this platform differ slightly from those of the other two, due in part to the fact that it is less well preserved. Line a is 25'; and line b is 17'. The width of the platform, line e, varies between 3' and 4' around the arc. There is a different kind of structure to the inner portion of the platform. Here line c is 8' and line d is 7'. Also there is a small area, f, which appears to have been hollowed out of the bedrock, about 10" deep. Compared with the other two platforms, too, there are fewer rocks in the center portion of platform C. Again this may be due to the fact that since the bedrock level is high, not as many rocks were needed to build up the level of the platform.

Other Platforms

According to the historian's report, "there were also nine pounders on standing wooden carriages outside the work" (see page 4). I did not excavate for these two positions for two reasons. They were probably temporary, and moved from place to place outside the battery. Any remaining

evidences would have quite likely been disturbed and/or obliterated by erosion of the front of the battery and the building of the riprap around the site. Therefore, I could not justify the use of personnel and time spent in trying to locate these positions, especially in the light of lack of surface indications or mention in the historical data of even a relative position, other than "outside the work."

Palisade

5E2A was excavated on the north side of the site, between the end of the battery and the shed. In this pit, wood and pieces of wooden stakes were found just above the bedrock at the north end of the pit. The concentration of this wood was in a line that, if extended, would have connected the exterior slope of the battery to the northwest corner of the blockhouse. There were two metal spikes in association with the wood (see photograph 6), which I believe we used for anchorage support of the palisade, since the level of bedrock is high and some kind of support would have been necessary.

5E2B was excavated on the south side of the site, near the blockhouse, to find the other line of palisade. No wood or other evidences of the palisade appeared to be in this pit.

5E2C was then excavated closer to the battery, in a location, which judging from the position of the first

palisade found, should have yielded the expected information. No wood was found in this pit: instead there was an obvious trench cut into the bedrock, as seen in photograph 4. Before making an interpretation on this trench, one more pit was excavated to test the findings in 5E2C; this one between 5E2B and 5E2C.

5E2D also was found to have a trench cut into the bedrock (see photograph 66 x 1133), which followed a straight line connecting the interior corner of the blockhouse to the trench in 5E2C to the exterior slope of the battery. No wood was found in this trench either.

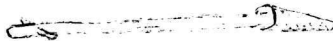
5E2B was then re-investigated, and part of the trench was exposed in the north end of the pit (see photograph 3). To show the relationship of these trenches in the three sub-operations shovels were placed in the center of each trench, and a photograph taken from the corner of the battery toward the blockhouse (see 66 T 1261-3). These trenches were apparently dug into the bedrock to allow a greater sub-surface depth of the palisade. (It seems strange, though, to have a different type of support for the palisade on each side of the site). No wood was found in any of these trenches, so the palisade must have been completely removed, though we have no historical data to support this. Neither were any spikes, similar to those found in 5E2A, found in any of these sub-operations.

Artifacts

The artifact inventory for the site consisted of:

iron spikes	nails
pottery and china	bones and animal teeth
pipe bowl fragments	pipe stems
buttons (recent and military)	musket balls
glass	gun flints
thin metal sheet	coins (recent; large pennies; French coin: Ile du Vent- 1730 or 1731)
china doll toys	bottles (two broken, one whole)
bottle neck fragments	antler tip (powder horn fragment?)
fragments of metal	marbles
oil lamp wick holder	razor blade

Also found was a 'gun rammer' as a surface find, 3½' north of the northwest corner of 5E2A, in deep grass. It seems reasonable to assume that it probably had not been there for a great period of time, for the leather cone on the end would not long be able to withstand the damaging effects of the elements.



Stratigraphy

The stratigraphy is fairly consistent over the whole site, varying only with the depth of the bedrock, and with parts of the battery. Under the turf is light brown humus, with an even texture. Under this is an orange-brown soil, with streaks of clay, some charcoal, and rocks. Below this is sandy soil, with pink and orange streaks, and a few

small rocks; this layer lies on the bedrock.

There are two important things to take note of in the stratigraphy. One is the occurrence of a layer of shell $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' to 2' deep in the walls of the pits which cut into the battery. The appearance of the shell only in this area indicates that when the battery was raised and altered, some of the dirt for the fill was taken from in front of it, in the area of the Indian midden.

The other important element of the stratigraphy can be seen in 66-15-D2, D4 (③ in the legend). This is a concave-shaped layer of green soil, which shows up well in the profiles of 5E1A, 5E1D, and partially in 5E1R. It is my assumption that this is a layer which marks the position of the original 1812 embrasure, prior to alteration. But the layer could not be followed up, in order to find the full width of the embrasure, or slope between the embrasure and parapet (except maybe in 5E1R, 66-15-D22). Assuming then, that these are the indications of the original embrasures, we can tell the amount of alteration which was made in 1813, though there is no way of determining the amount of change due to erosional forces which has taken place since that time.

Reconstruction

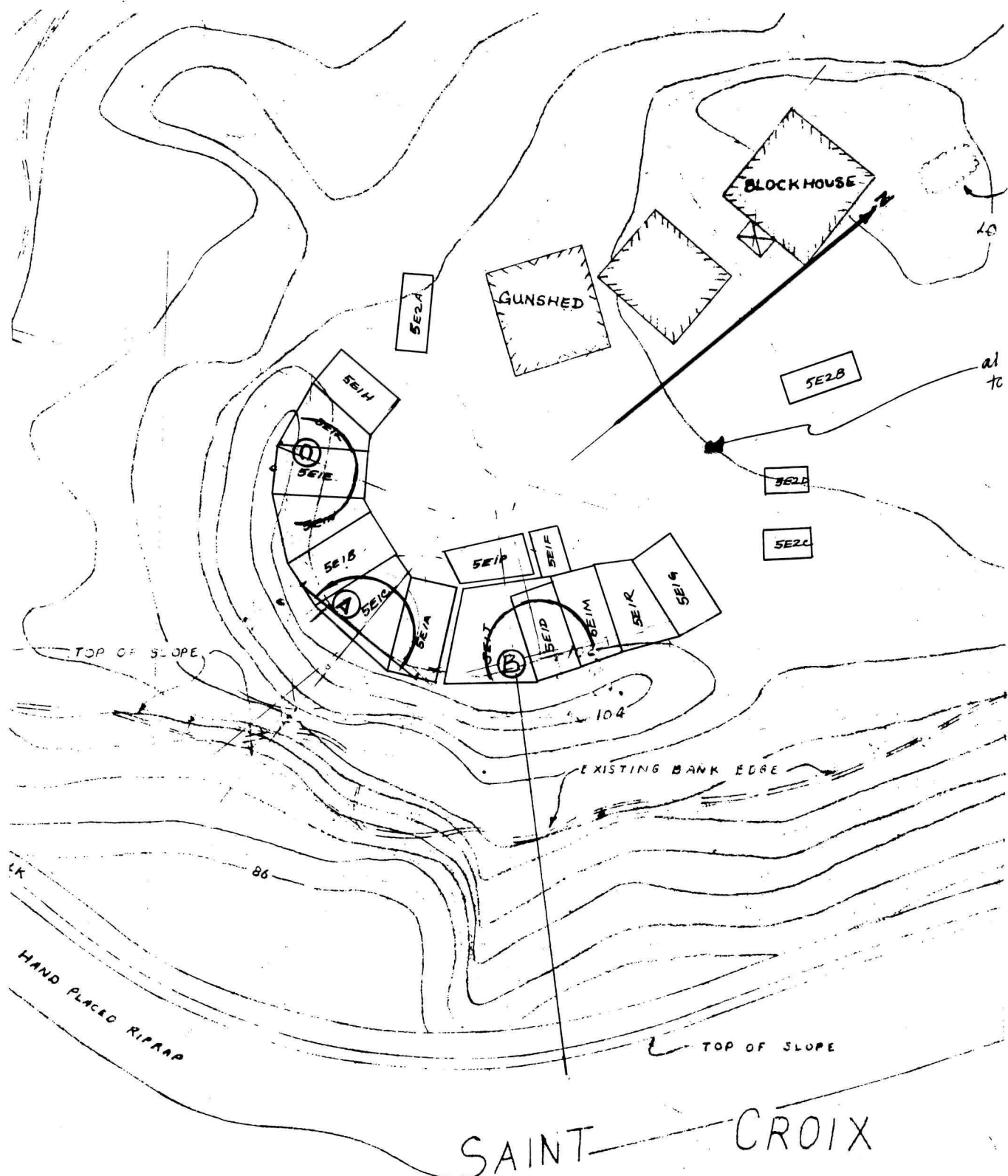
The battery at St. Andrews was built in 1812 as a response to the declaration of war with the United States. It was hastily constructed by the townspeople and mounted 1-18 pdr. and 1-9 pdr. on ground carriages. The contour

of the crest of the battery would have shown fairly well-defined embrasures and parapets. In the summer of 1813, under the supervision of Capt. Maclauchlan, the battery was partially reconstructed and altered. The 1812 carriages and platforms were removed, and replaced with 3-18 pdrs, mounted on traversing platforms to fire en barbette. At this time, the embrasures must have been partially filled in because a need for them no longer existed, and the battery slightly raised, but some evidences of a contour of embrasures and parapets still remained. The stratigraphy seems to indicate such an alteration; the alternative explanation is that the forces of erosion may have caused a gradual build-up of the battery, and equalization of the contour differences between parapet and embrasure, though this doesn't seem to be likely.

At the end of the war, after having never been put to military use, the cannons were dismantled and stored. A report by Gray in 1863 mentions that, "...there are also some traversing platforms at the latter place (St. Andrews West Point Battery) rotten and unserviceable. I understand iron is now at a high price and that there is every probability of the old iron bringing a fair price if sold at auction" (Ingram 1965: 14). This reference gives a likely explanation of why no racers nor pivots were found on the stone platforms. They were removed not long after Gray's visit, though there is no evidence of the eventual disposal of the iron.

Portion of contour plan prepared
by Atlantic Regional Office,
Parks Canada 1 September 1965
(file no. 11-101-23) showing
location of excavation units.

Scale 1" - 20'

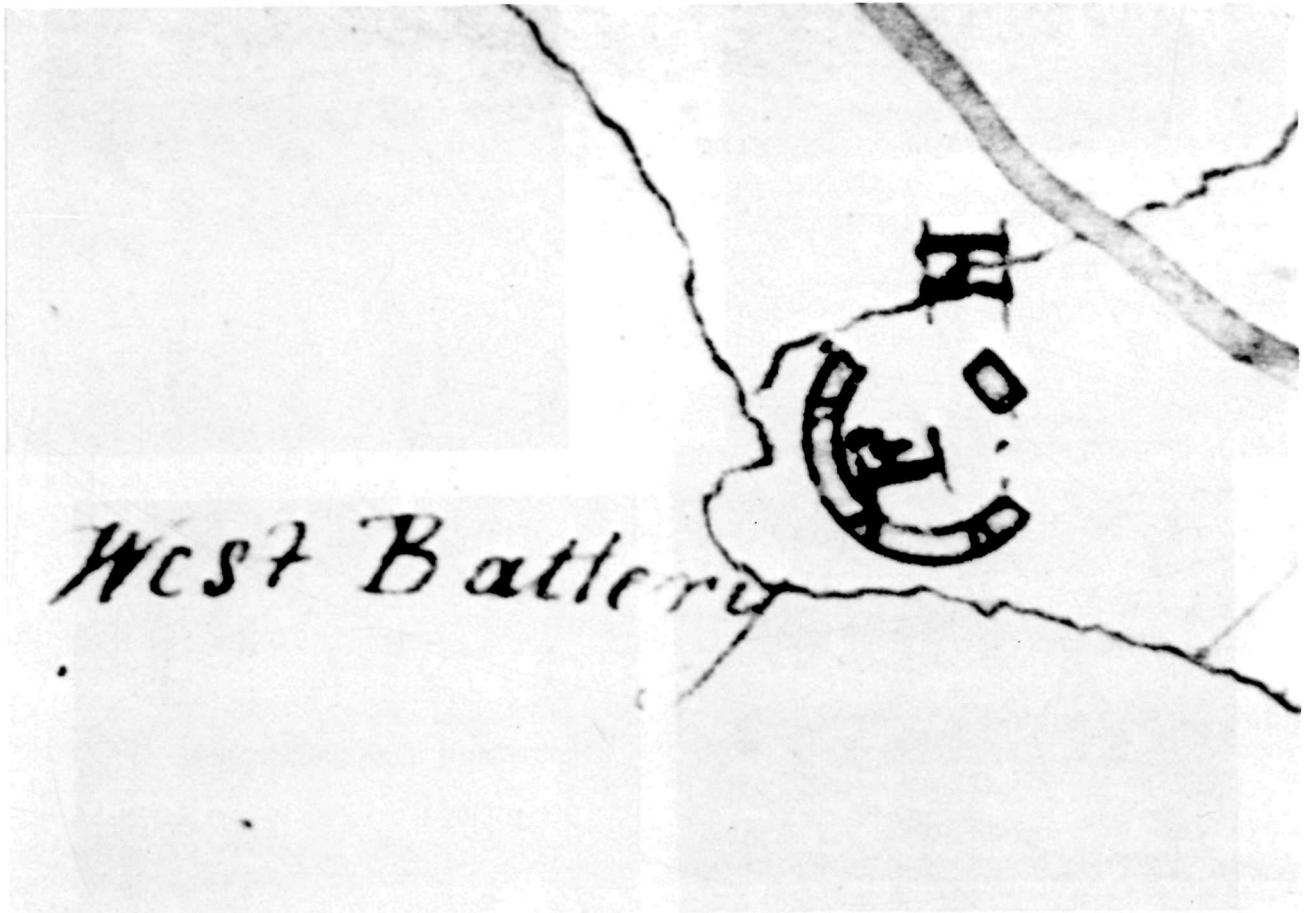


SAINT-CROIX



PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1: Blockhouse and battery
- 2: Battery and point of land beyond
- 3: 5E2B, palisade trench
- 4: 5E2C, palisade trench
- 5: Line of palisade
- 6: Wood of palisade, 5E2A
- 7: 5E1H, wood
- 8: 5E1F, wood
- 9: Platform A
- 10: Platform B
- 11: Platform C
- 12: Comparative data
- 13: Comparative data

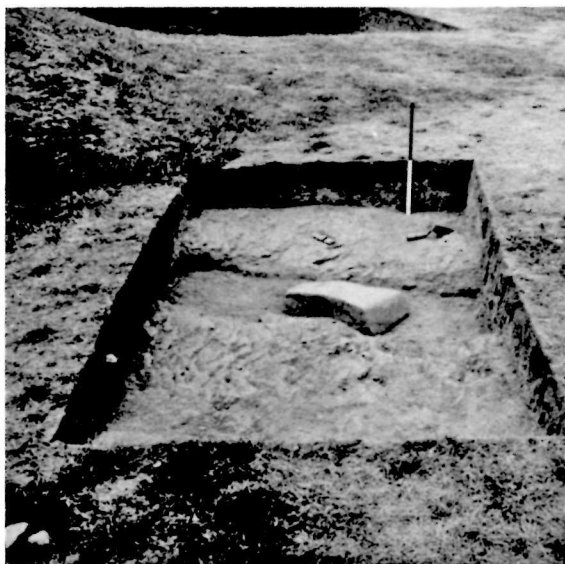
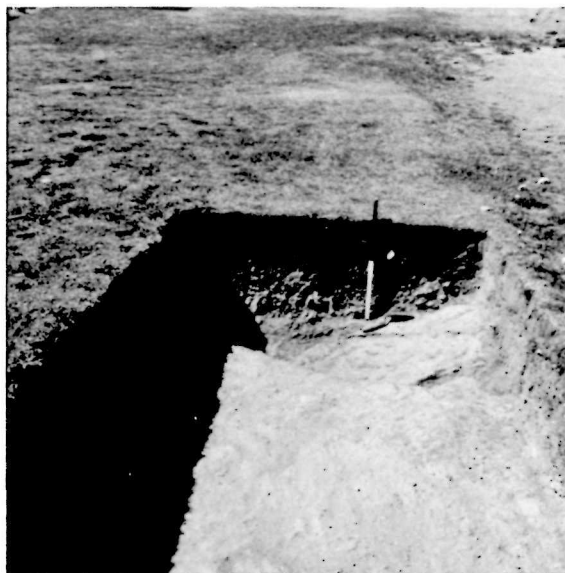


† Photograph 1: Blockhouse and battery



← Photograph 2: showing slope of the battery and point of land which it overlooks

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 Photograph 3: showing
 trench for palisade
 in 5E2B

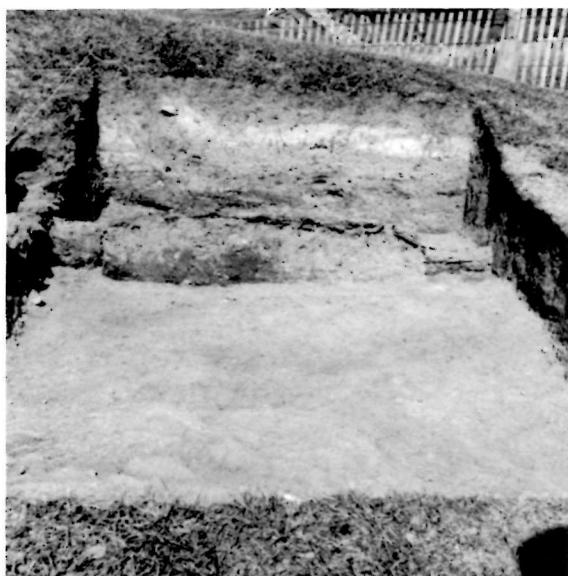


←
 Photograph 4: showing
 trench for palisade
 in 5E2C

→
 Photograph 5: showing,
 by stake in trench of
 5E2C, connection of
 palisade between the
 battery and blockhouse

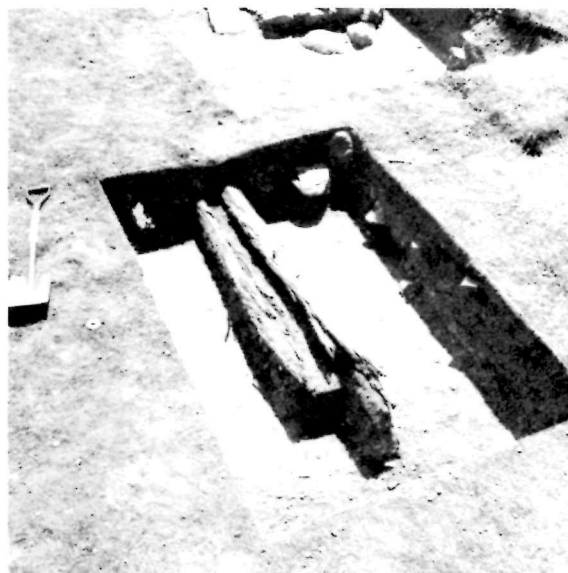


Photograph 6: showing →
wood of palisade in
5E2A; arrows indicate
position of stakes



← Photograph 7: wood revetment
in 5E1H which is part of
Platform C

Photograph 8: wood in →
5E1F which can be seen
in photograph 10 to lie
on the back of Platform B



Platforms A and C have been completely exposed. It is an illusion from the angle of the camera that they appear not to have been. Lines are drawn in only for perspective.

→

Photograph 9:

Platform A



←

Photograph 10:

Platform B

→

Photograph 11:

Platform C

(Note construction on right half of platform)



121
Comparison of traversing platforms: Ft. Wellington



↑ Photograph 12



← Photograph 13

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