HUMAN HISTORY OF KOUCHIBOUGUAC NATIONAL PARK

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TRANSLATION
FROM FRENCH

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Illustrations

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Summary

The human history of Kouchibouguac National Park covers several centuries. The Micmacs were the first to occupy the territory and to live off nature's bounty.

The arrival of the French explorers and merchants in Acadia in the seventeenth century constitutes the beginning of this young national park's historic period. Not until about 1790 did colonists settle permanently in the region. The Acadians and the Loyalists arrived first and were joined by Scottish and Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century.

Numerous economic activities were carried on in the park, particularly, logging, shipbuilding, fishing and a little farming.

Introduction

This report deals with the human history of Kouchibouguac National Park in New Brunswick.

For centuries, the region had been inhabited by the Micmacs, who lived on the entire territory of the park. We will discover how they were living when the Europeans arrived and how they lived with the Acadians, Loyalists and Scottish and Irish immigrants who came to settle in the region.

With the arrival of the settlers, after the 1790s, various economic activities developed. We will see how farming, forest operations, fishing and shipbuilding occupied the area's inhabitants.

The Indians

The prehistoric period

The Micmacs were the first inhabitants of what is now Kouchibouguac National Park. In Samuel de Champlain's day, they occupied a territory covering Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, a good part of New Brunswick northeast of the Saint John River, and southern Gaspé.[1]

Archeological excavations show that Indians have lived along the coasts and rivers of the park for about 4,000 years.[2] A number of artifacts, including scrapers and arrowheads, indicate human activity in prehistoric times. The Kellys Beach site is a good example.

> The bifaces and projectile points suggest hunting and butchering activities, while the scraping tools were probably used in preparing hides and wood working. Quartz appears to have been a favoured lithic material for tool manufacture, while cherts and felsite appear in small quantities.[3]*

Before their first contacts with Europeans, the Indians were highly dependent on the sea for survival. For ten months of the year, it provided them with ninety per cent of their nutritional requirements.[4]

Of the forty-six Micmac villages known to have existed in the Maritimes, thirty-five are located at the mouths of large rivers, while the others are along the coast.[5] It is therefore not surprising to find that a large group of Micmacs

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* Translator's note: All English quotations have been reproduced exactly as given in the French text.

lived in the region of the Richibucto, one of the main rivers of New Brunswick's east coast. Like other Maritime Micmacs, they lived inland during the winter and moved to their summer villages in the spring.

The summer village was usually located on the shore of a waterway that was navigable by canoe and contained plenty of fish and shellfish.[6] The coastal region of Kouchibouguac Park offered precisely these two conditions. The lagoons and rivers inside the dunes abounded in fish, seafood and waterfowl, providing the Indians with the means of survival.

The national park area is rich in natural resources of all kinds. Throughout the year, a variety of fish can be taken: eel, smelt, alewife, herring, sea bass and salmon. Mollusks are plentiful as well: clams cockles, oysters and mussels. In the spring and fall, migratory birds swell the numbers of waterfowl that spend the summer in the area.

This is not to say that the Micmacs had an easy life, however. Their dwellings were poor and their hunting and fishing tools rudimentary in comparison with the Europeans' equipment. They were at the mercy of the weather and depended on nature's bounty for their survival.

The earliest contacts

The Cape Breton Micmacs were probably the first to encounter Europeans - Breton cod fishermen, about 1504. For another hundred years, before colonization began, the Micmacs would have met only the European fishermen who frequented the Maritime coast.[7]

The date of the Richibucto Indians' first contact with Europeans is unknown. During his second voyage in 1534, Jacques Cartier passed near Miramichi Bay on July 2. He did not go any further south and sailed on toward Chaleur Bay.[8]

The development of colonization and missionary work at the beginning of the seventeenth century brought increasing contact with Europeans. The demand for beaver skins drew traders toward the interior of the continent. Until that time the cod fishermen had for the most part remained near the great fishing banks. It is known that men from the Miscou Company and Flemings traded with the Richibucto Micmacs around 1645.[9] These traders were interested in beaver and otter skins, moose hides and the other furs available in the region.

With the arrival of the fur traders, the Indians' way of life changed considerably. The Micmacs traded their furs for articles of metal and other European-made goods. Replacing items made of stone, bone, wood and bark with those made of metal brought about a major change in the Indians' daily life.

Nicolas Denys, in his Natural History of North America, published in 1672, described this change as follows:

> But they practise still all the same methods of hunting, with this difference, however, that in place of arming their arrows and spears with the bones of animals, pointed and sharpened, they arm them to-day with iron, which is made expressly for sale to them. Their spears now are made of a sword fixed at the end of a shaft of seven to eight feet in length. These they use in winter, when there is snow, to spear the Moose, or for fishing Salmon, Trout, and Beaver. They are also furnished with iron harpoons, of the use of which we have spoken before.

> The musket is used by them more than all other weapons, in their hunting in spring, summer, and autumn, both for animals and birds. With an arrow they killed only one Wild Goose; but with the shot of a gun they kill five or six of them. With the arrow it was necessary to approach an animal closely; with the gun they kill the animal from a distance with a bullet or two. The axes, the kettles, the knives, and everything that is supplied them, is much more convenient and portable than those which they had in former times, when they were obliged to go to camp near their grotesque kettles, in place of which to-day they are free to go camp where they wish.[11]

When Nicolas Denys visited the Richibucto River, with the "great sand flats at its entrance," he noticed that the Micmacs were using boats as well as canoes, having taken advantage of the benefits brought by the traders. He described this development as follows:

> It is well to observe that the Indians of the coast use canoes only for the rivers, and all have boats for the sea. These they sometimes buy from the Captains who are about to leave after having completed their fishery; but the greater part they take from the places in which the Captains have had them hidden on the coast or in the ponds, in order to make use of them on another voyage. But when the proprietors, or others having a right to them, recognise them, they make no more ceremony of taking them back than the Indians do in making use of them.[12]

The Richibucto River area was important during the seventeenth century. Trading with the Saint John River Micmacs was easy. The Jesuits went out from the mission they maintained at Miscou from 1634 to 1662 to visit and convert the Micmacs in the region. For example, Father Jacques Fremin spent the winter of 1658-59 among the natives, with whom he suffered, in addition to his homesickness, famine resulting from the lack of snow. The snow was a great resource for the Indians because moose, caribou

and other animals got caught in it when it was deep enough, just as they would in a snare.[13] The Europeans found the severity of the Canadian winter hard to endure. This was all the more true of the missionaries who, like Father Fremin, sometimes lived with the Indians for the winter.

The Richibucto Indian Chief, Denis, was well installed on the island at the entrance to Richibucto harbour - Indian Island.[14] "He has upon the border of the basin of this river a rather large fort of stakes, with two kinds of bastions; inside is his wigwam; and the other Indians are encamped around him".[15] From this vantage point, he could see ships or canoes approaching his domicile - his "country of Richibucto" as Nicolas Denys calls it.

The Richibucto Micmacs were allies of the French, who ruled the area until 1710. In 1696, the Chief arrived at Port-Royal with fifty of his Indians and accepted gifts from the King of France. On the night of July 25/26 of the same year, he set out with some Meductic Micmacs to ambush the English frigates that came into Menagonish, near the entrance to the Saint John River (Musquash), to take on water and wood.[16]

Population

It is rather difficult to estimate the number of Micmacs living in Richibucto when the Europeans arrived. Their total population in the Maritimes is thought to have been approximately 4,000.[17]

What is certain is that the population declined rapidly during the second half of the seventeenth century. There were a number of reasons for this. The presence of the Europeans had changed the Indians' way of life. Their diet was no longer the same. The birth rate had declined. As a result of their poor living conditions, they had no resistance to the new diseases,

to which the Europeans were immune.[18]

In 1688, Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier recorded fifty natives at Fort Richibucto.[19] In 1698, Devillebon wrote from his fort on the Saint John River that it was very hard to take a census of the Indians because they had no fixed domicile.[20] In 1737, there cannot have been very many Richibucto Micmacs because, according to the census prepared by their missionary, only twenty-six men were capable of bearing arms for France.[21]

Their population had declined so much that Richibucto was no longer a very significant Indian gathering place. A Jesuit, Father Germain, noted in a 1749 memorandum that there was a small Indian village at Richibucto, but that most of its inhabitants had died.[22]

This leads to the conclusion that there were not very many Micmacs in the region when the first settlers arrived at the end of the eighteenth century. They still followed their own way of life, living inland during the winter and along the shores of the rivers in the summer. This is what Gamaliel Smethurst found in December 1761, when he passed through Kouchibouguac Bay by canoe. He wrote in his diary, "there have been Indians here, but they are gone up the country - their wigwams are still standing.[23]

The arrival of the settlers

The Richibucto Micmacs were reputed to be good warriors and their expedition against the English at Menagonish in 1696 was not the only opportunity they had to display their talents. From Nicolas Denys's 1672 account, we know that the Richibucto Micmac Chief was a "conceited and vicious Indian", feared by all the Indians in the area. His home was heavily fortified and he had muskets.[24]

Historian Robert Cooney says that the Richibucto Indians were the most violent of all the Micmacs. As an example, he refers to an attack on the English at Canso in 1723 or 1724, when Chief Argimoosh and his Indians, with the help of others from Penobscot, took sixteen or seventeen ships. Only after a bloody battle were the English able to recover their vessels.[25] According to Cooney, the reputation of the Richibucto Micmacs was enough to delay colonization in Kent County.

The first Europeans to settle permanently in the Kent County territory that had been inhabited for years by the Micmacs arrived shortly after the American War of Independence. There were four Acadian families already in the county when Solomon Powell settled in Richibucto 1787.[26] These first settlers had no problems with the Micmacs during the early years of colonization.

A dramatic incident occurred in 1810, fortunately ending with no loss of life. Dogs belonging to the Indians had killed some of Alexander McLelland's sheep. He killed the dogs. Realizing they would not be compensated for the dogs, the Indians took revenge by killing McLelland's pair of oxen as they ploughed his field. The Indians refused to make good the damage for which the colonists held them responsible. Fearing a major attack, the settlers decided to punish the Micmacs by attacking them first.

The young colony was put on a war footing. Major Jacob Kollock and Captain Thomas Powell organized the men and a surprise attack on the Indian village at Platt's Point (the modern Shipyard Point) was decided upon. However, the Indians were forewarned and the men ran away, leaving the women and children in the camp. Major Kollock's

troops took the women and children hostage. The men soon gave themselves up and, in a matter of minutes, a treaty was signed and the two sides were reconciled. No further incidents of this sort occurred. Not long after this, the Indians moved to the Big Cove reserve.[27]

The reserve

The first Indian village was located on Indian Island, where Nicolas Denys met Chief Denis. William F Ganong says the village was located on the east side of the island.[28] Subsequently, the Indians lived at Platt's (or Shipyard) Point, and at Rexton, at a place on the Law family's farm called Indian Field.

The Big Cove Reserve was established in 1805. At the time, it covered a vast area of more than 6,000 acres. As far as the settlers in the region were concerned, that was a lot of land for the few Micmacs who lived there. They could not work (farm) it all. However, it is questionable whether the 1805 reserve was really too big for the Micmacs, who were used to living freely off the natural resources of a boundless territory. At the beginning of January 1818, the settlers along the Richibucto River sent a petition bearing seventy-five signatures to the Lieutenant Governor. They asked to have part of the lands then set aside for the Indians made available to immigrants.[39]

The Indians had trouble persuading others to respect their territory. They had to contend with squatters and unauthorized lumbering. On May 28, 1819, Chief Paul Tenans sent the government a petition asking for a survey of his reserve[31] so that he could exercise better control over the territory.

It was probably in response to further requests from the colonists that the reserve was divided and reduced to 4,600 acres on February 25, 1824.[32] An 1842 survey by Peter Mazerolle indicates that 5,720 acres of land still belonged to the reserve. At that time, about thirty Micmac families lived there, totalling 179 people.[33]

After 1844, the Government of New Brunswick allowed settlers to occupy land on part of the reserve and they were granted lots.

When the federal government took over the administration of reserves in Canada, it inherited the confused property rights situation on the Big Cove Reserve.

In August 1879, the Indians ceded part of their land to the federal government, to accommodate the people already living there. The area of the reserve was then 2,000 acres, and the population 291.[34]

The Indian Island Reserve was established in 1949. The Archbishop of Moncton ceded the land for the reserve to the Canadian government. It is a region where the Micmacs have lived for generations.

Religion

About 1635, Jesuit missionaries began preaching to the Richibucto Micmacs and converting them to Christianity. They have remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church ever since.

The first record of the existence of a chapel dates from 1809, when the Indians petitioned the Lieutenant Governor for permission to sell part of their reserve in order to complete their chapel.[35] This was probably the Indian Island chapel that the missionary described, in 1825, as a little shelter for giving instruction.[36]

There does not seem to have been a chapel or building set aside for worship, either under the French or before 1809. The chapel was still on Indian Island in 1904.[37] It was moved from that site a few years later.

The 1881 annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs mentions two churches to serve the Indians - one at Big Cove and the other at Indian Island.[38]

Celebrations marking the Feast of St Anne on July 26 took place for many years at the Indian Island chapel. As Perley noted, "the Indians are stated to have great fondness for Richibucto Island where they have built a Chapel and where, for a very long period they have held their annual festival of St Anne's day."[39]

It is not known when these festivities, which drew visitors from far and near, were first held. Micmacs from Gaspé, Restigouche and Miramichi, from Gloucester and Westmorland Counties, as well as from Nova Scotia, came together for this festival. The announcement of the July 1902 meeting reads as follows:

> The Micmac Indians of Big Cove will hold their annual picnic in celebrating the festival of St. Anne, July 26, 27th and 28th. Tables will be set and provided with all the delicacies of the season.
>
> A dancing pavillion will be erected - micmac and white dances, jig dancing, war dances, Indian songs, etc. The celebrated Micmac Violonist Mr Alexander Paul will give a grand concert each evening. They will also give all kinds of games, boat races, canoe races, foot races, football, etc. Everybody is invited to attend.[40]

The festival of St Anne continued to be celebrated at Big Cove until recently. From year to year, the program does not appear to have changed.

Economy

In his 1842 report on the New Brunswick Indians, Moses H Perley describes their situation in these words:

> The Indians of this Province are at present in an anomalous condition; they are among us, yet not of us; and it seems neither wise nor just to allow in our midst another race, to remain permanently inferior, a burden and misery to themselves, and a barrier to the general progress of the whole community.[41]

The Indians in the Richibucto area have not always been economically integrated into the community that developed in Kent County. Since the beginning of colonization, they had remained on the fringe of the white population. They had their own economy, based on what nature could provide (fishing, hunting, gathering), and this way of life persisted into the twentieth century. Occasionally, the head of a Micmac family might join the wage economy for a while, when nature could not provide for all the needs of his family.

In his report, Perley suggested two ways of improving conditions for the province's Indians - stable settlement and the establishment of schools. Obviously, given the Indians' habit of moving around in the summertime, it would have been difficult to expect them to work the land.

> The first step towards the real improvement of the Indians is to gain them over wandering to a settled life, and to form them into compact settlements, with a due portion of land for their cultivation and support. They must be induced to remain stationary on the land during the principal part of the year, without which they cannot attend to Agriculture, have any of the comforts or good habits of domestic life, or cultivate religion or education.[42]

The Bishop of Quebec, Joseph-Octave Plessis,

visited the region in 1812 and thought the Indians were following the Acadians' example by not farming; they preferred fishing.[43]

However, one very successful crop for the Indians was potatoes. In 1840, they harvested 2,350 bushels of potatoes and only 65 of wheat, 15 of barley and 13 tonnes of hay.[44] Of course, potatoes were served with fish, which was eaten every day. In 1904, a dozen Big Cove Indians had horses, livestock and agricultural instruments.[45] The John Joseph (Senior and Junior) family were successful farmers. Their operation was large and prosperous enough to produce a surplus of potatoes and milk for sale.[46]

As the local economy developed, so did the quality of the housing. When Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Gubbins visited the Richibucto area in 1813, he noted that the Indians lived in wigwams, and did not mention any houses.[47] In 1837, Perley described the distinctive style of the dwellings at that time - a mixture of wigwam and log cabin.[48] He returned to the reservation in 1841 and found five frame houses, where the proprietors lived comfortably, after the manner of the English.[49] This was an obvious sign of progress.

The Indians could not survive on hunting and fishing alone. That is why they also worked in the region. Around 1840, John Jardine employed a number of them in his lumber camps and shipyard, and on his docks.[50] As workers, the Indians were as good as any he could find. Nevertheless, they might leave their jobs temporarily during the hunting or fishing season, although they always came back.[51] This work was an important source of income for

the Indians. After 1900, Richard O'Leary also employed a number of them at his Richibucto mill. They worked at all the various tasks and were known for their skill at stacking planks and beams.

During the 1930s, the Indians sometimes found it practical to build a temporary residence near the mill or docks at Richibucto or Rexton where work was available. With the arrival of autumn, they returned to the reserve.[52]

At the beginning of the 1900s, there was an educated Micmac from Indian Island named John P Barlow who could speak several languages, including French, English and Micmac; the Bathurst Pulp and Paper Company thought highly of him. He was in charge of the spring log drive in the Bathurst area.[53] For a number of years, he left at the end of March or beginning of April and came back only when the drive was over, sometimes as late as August.

A number of Richibucto Indians also left in the autumn to work in the woods, coming back in the spring a few dollars richer.

Fishing was a favourite occupation of the Micmacs. Whether for consumption or sale, it always brought the Indians some return. The region's waterways were highly productive.

In 1813, Gubbins remarked that "it was a pleasing sight to observe their little fleet of canoes, sailing to the beach, heavily laden with salmon, cod, lobsters, oysters etc."[54]

The Micmacs fished mainly for eel and smelt. These two fisheries could keep them busy all year. Other species such as herring, sea bass or alewife could be taken only in season.

Surplus fish was preserved by salting. A large family might put down three barrels of herring and

one or two barrels of eel.

For a long time, eel was fished by torchlight during the summer. In 1672, Nicolas Denys reported that the Indians were using torches made of birch bark - which threw a clearer light than wax torches - for hunting and fishing salmon and trout.[55]

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Indians used a torch consisting of a metal basket hanging from the end of a pole at the front of the boat.[56] They filled these baskets with pitch pine, which they found in pine groves along the shore. They usually took the resinous wood from the stumps of trees that had been cut several years previously. A basket of this wood could provide bright light for more than an hour. In the course of one night, the basket would have to be filled three or four times. With this bright light, the fishermen could see the fish in the shallow water.

Later, a more modern method of illumination was used - a lantern made by a local tinsmith. This instrument was fuelled with oil and gave off light from four or five wicks attached to the container.

Fishing for eel was done on calm nights. Kouchibouguac Bay was particularly suitable for this kind of fishing because it is shallow.

Families that spent the summer at Loggiecroft or the mouths of the rivers could count on eel for food.

A night's jigging for eel could yield as much as 200 pounds. The A & R Loggie Company in Richibucto was happy to purchase the eel catch, paying anywhere from one-half to five cents per pound. For the fisherman, the satisfaction of selling his catch was reward enough for being eaten alive all night by mosquitoes.

Wilfred Barlow remembers rowing, when he was young,

from Indian Island to Kouchibouguac to fish for eel. It took him about four hours to make the trip. He usually stopped at Sélime Robichaud's lobster cannery for a cup of tea and something to eat. He fished during the return trip to Richibucto at night. Morning found him near the A & R Loggie plant, where he sold his catch of eel.[57]

During the winter, holes were made in the ice for eel fishing. The eel in the mud on the bottom could be taken with a jig on a long pole.

Smelt were netted during the autumn and the nets were set under the ice in the winter. This fishery, popular with the white population as well, will be described later. It was an important source of income for the Micmac fishermen too.

The Indians also spent part of their time hunting. The abundance of geese, duck and other game birds made this an easy task. John Joseph Senior had a hunting blind. In the autumn, he could kill enough birds to fill his boat, and then shared them with his neighbours. Some of these game birds were salted for the winter; even heron was preserved.

The craftsmen

The Indians were known as good craftsmen. They made good baskets, snowshoes and other wooden articles. Most baskets and snowshoes were made during the winter.

The baskets were made of ash. In the past, this species of tree was available on or near the reserve but around the turn of the century it became necessary to go further afield for supplies, even as far as Renous. Frank Tweedie remembers the Indians coming by dogsled to get ash near where he lived

at Kouchibouguac.[58] Once they had the wood home, the men prepared it for basket weaving. It was mainly the women who wove the baskets, although sometimes all members of the family participated.

There were baskets of all sizes and for all purposes. The biggest demand was for potato baskets, and many of these were produced. There were also smaller baskets for various household uses. The women made tiny baskets or boxes of birch bark as well. These little boxes required more work and were usually decorated.

Many of these baskets were sold locally. They were often exchanged for food - a bag of potatoes, piece of salted meat or butter. Families that produced many baskets might take the train to Moncton or Saint John to sell them. They even travelled to Price Edward Island to sell potato baskets.

Joseph Francis of Big Cove remembers making 70-dozen baskets during one winter in the 1940s, and going to sell them in Saint John. The best price he received was $9.00 a dozen.[59]

Another Indian occupation was making snowshoes. The men prepared the frames and the women the leather thongs for stringing the snowshoes.

The men also made wooden handles for axes, hammers, picks and other tools. These handles were sold on the local market, in Moncton or elsewhere. Peter J Barlow sold axe handles for 10 cents each and pick handles for 25 cents.[60]

Nowadays, these crafts are practised by only a few people. The art of making snowshoes

and baskets has been disappearing since the 1960s. The local market cannot support the continued production of wooden handles.

The summer season

The Indians' move to their summer camps should not be seen as a massive migration or exodus from the reserve. Nor should it be imagined that the Micmacs all camped at the same place. At the most, four or five families would set up at the same location.

They left the reservation by boat, either rowing or hoisting a sail if the wind was favourable.

The Indian Island region, from Point Edward (near Loggiecroft) was one of the campsites. Frank Tweedie remembers that three or four families came to camp regularly on Shipyard Point.[61] Kenneth Callander remembers Indian families camping near his home at Callanders Beach.[62]

The Indians' summer homes were of simple construction. Often, they were just shelters made of sea grass. Sometimes old sails were used. If they expected to stay in the same place for several days, they covered the shelter with tar paper. The shelter was easy to build. It was only needed for sleeping or protection from the rain. In the daytime, everyone was busy outside - the men fished, the women made baskets and cooked. The children enjoyed themselves playing by the water. My conversations with residents of Big Cove and Indian Island make it clear that the children really enjoyed life in the summer camps. For them, it was like a holiday.

Sometimes the Indians occupied empty fishermen's cabins along the coast for the summer. These cabins were comfortable because they contained beds and stoves.

The baskets the women made were usually exchanged for food. The women went from house to house bartering for potatoes, sugar, flour, meat, butter or other items they needed to prepare their daily meals. Even when they did not have any baskets or other handicrafts to exchange, they still went to their nearest "neighbours", asking for food for their families. There was always someone in the neighbourhood who had extra meat, potatoes or vegetables to accompany the Indian family's meal.

Moreover, white women were afraid of refusing an Indian woman anything. They thought the Indian women could put a curse on them if they ever refused to share what they had.

The meals consisted mainly of fish and potatoes. Meat from a farmer or game added variety to the menu. The Indians also made a special bread, called nooskanigan. It was a mixture of flour, baking powder and water. The dough was cooked in a pot or in hot sand. The latter method consisted of scraping aside the ashes of a fire built on the sand and placing the dough in the hot sand. Once the bread was cooked, the sand could be brushed off easily.[63]

One of the Micmacs' activities in the springtime was to gather Mayflowers on Indian Island. Mrs Laura Barlow remembers going to the island to pick these flowers. They were boxed and sent to Moncton or Saint John. This paid 10 to 15 cents per bouquet.[64] No one gathers these flowers any more.

Blueberry-picking and potato-harvesting

Blueberry-picking in the region was another Indian family pastime. The berries could be sold to W S Loggie or any of the many other blueberry buyers.

Since about 1950, a good many Micmacs have gone to Maine to pick blueberries. About mid-August was the time to go a blueberry-grower's, where it was possible to pick 35 to 40 boxes of blueberries per day. Each box contained approximately 30 pounds of the fruit. Wilfrid Barlow says he was paid about one dollar per box when he first began picking. Some families could make so much money picking blueberries that they left Maine before the potato harvest.[65] Even today, blueberry-picking employs a number of Indians in the region. It is a significant source of income for them.

The potato harvest employs a good many Indians. Since approximately 1930, the Richibucto Micmacs have been going to pick potatoes in the State of Maine. This activity coincides with the end of the blueberry harvest. In fact, a number of families or individuals can find work in both harvests before returning to New Brunswick.

Generally speaking, when someone worked for a farmer one year, he could go back to work for him the following year with no trouble; the farmer counted on his regular workers.

Wilfred Barlow remembers picking potatoes for four cents a barrel in 1926. The farmer housed him. Those who found their own accommodation were paid six or seven cents a barrel. A good worker was capable of picking as many as fifty barrels a day.[66]

Once the blueberry and potato harvests were over, the men could leave for the lumber camps at the end of October.

Colonization

A section of the preceding chapter dealt with the earliest contacts between the Micmacs and the Breton cod fishermen at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These contacts continued to multiply. In the region that interests us, the European presence was felt especially after 1600, but it was only after 1785 that colonists settled permanently.

The French

The Jesuit missionaries were probably the Europeans who most frequently visited the region of the Richibucto River. They had a major post on Miscou Island from 1635 to 1662. From there they were able to visit the Indians in order to teach them the rudiments of Christianity.

The Jesuits were closely followed by the men of the Miscou Company who had, it seems, a "habitation" at Richibucto.[1] At the very least, they had a trading post. The region was ideal for fur trade with the Micmacs of both Richibucto and the Saint John River.

At the time when Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, Governor of Acadia, had a monopoly on the fur trade, the region bustled with activity. In 1645, he sent Captain Pierre Saulny up to the Richibucto River to seize the ships trading with the Indians. Saulny found several non-authorized merchants, as Azarie Couillard-Després relates.

> Saulny went as far as the Richibucto River. There he met a

> Flemish vessel that had spent the winter at Pictou, twenty-five leagues from there, and was trading with the natives. The cargo of fur skins was confiscated and sent to D'Aulnay. Further on, Saulny sent out Bernard Marot with two rowboats and sixteen men who captured a boat manned by eight members of the "Miscou Company". The latter were taken with their boat and their cargo to Port Royal.
>
> Continuing his mission, Pierre Saulny entered Richibucto Bay and captured a small pinnace commanded by Sieur Raffet, along with the four sailors who were manning it.[2]

Seigneurie D'Amours

On September 20, 1684, Louis D'Amours, Sieur of Chauffours, was granted a seigneury at Richibucto, which extended from the Richibucto River to beyond the Buctouche River:

> . . . a league of frontage land on the southwest side of this, and on the other side up to three leagues beyond the Chibouctouche River, frontage land as well, with the adjacent islands and islets, stretching back to the portage on the aforesaid Richibucto River . . .[3]

The text of his concession also mentions that a fort and two cabins were built there. This represents the first French construction in the region after the efforts of the men of the Miscou Company. The text of the concession provides a good illustration of all the work done by Louis D'Amours.

> . . . in the aforesaid Richibucto River, on the bank of which he had had made on the southwest side, about two years ago, three arpents of wilderness with a fort of stakes, and two cabins where he could retire and where he could store the grain crop that he had sown the previous year; this wilderness is at present completely sown with corn and other small grains, and he hoped to put several

farmers and censitaires on it . . .[4]

It is now impossible to locate this settlement that W F Ganong claims was situated on the south side of the Richibucto River.[5]

Louis D'Amours received another concession on October 7, 1686, on the Saint John River. He spent a good part of his life there, living near two of his brothers,[6] which explains why he did not put any farmers or censitaires on the seigneury of Richibucto and why he neglected this property to such an extent, doing nothing with it after 1686 while living on the Saint John River.[7] His settlement fell into ruin, and there is no trace of it today.

An Acadian settlement?

Whether there was such a settlement is an obscure but nevertheless very interesting question.

Robert Cooney mentions that there was a village of about forty dwellings near the present-day courthouse in Richibucto. There was another settlement on the north shore of the mouth of the Aldouane where there is now an old cemetery.[8] He assumes that this French or Indian settlement was built before 1756.

Be that as it may, it is certain that during the years following the dispersal of the Acadians there were a few Acadian families who settled in the vicinity of Richibucto. W F Ganong mentions a document from 1760 that makes reference to eleven families or sixty-eight people living at Richibucto.[9] Other documents also from 1760 mention Acadians living at Richibucto who made their submission to Colonel Frye, commander of Fort Cumberland.[10]

It might be wondered whether Robert Cooney was well informed about the existence of this village. There were clearly Acadians in the region of Richibucto

from 1750 to 1760.

After their departure from Richibucto, it would be another twenty-five years before any colonists would permanently settle in the region.

Earliest settlers

The date of arrival of the first Acadian families in the park area cannot be exactly determined. However, the arrival of Solomon Powell is well documented.

He was from a Loyalist family of Fishkill, New York, that had sought refuge in Canada after the American War of Independence. He lived on a plot of land on Coal Creek, about three miles north of Grand Lake. Having heard of the beauty of the Richibucto River, he decided to explore the region. In 1787, he took the Salmon River and portaged to the Richibucto, which he followed all the way to its mouth. He noted that there were no settlers in the region. He went back to get his family and moved the same year to his new site, soon to be known by the name of Liverpool. By the time he settled there, two Acadian families had settled near Mooneys Creek.[11] According to Abraham Gesner, there were only six Acadian families in the whole of Kent County and eleven families between the Miramichi and Baie Verte.[12]

Solomon Powell was followed by other Loyalists and by his brothers. One of these, Jacob Powell, had been working for the Pagan and Pagan Company of Saint John. Once in Richibucto, he set up in business for this firm in fish and timber trading.

The colonists who arrived from the United States, from Europe or from elsewhere in New Brunswick settled on the lands and then applied for a concession. More than a year might pass between the arrival of the settler and the official application. There

was also a delay between the surveying of the land and the granting of the concession. The acquisition of title was thus not easy. In addition to the slowness of these procedures, land would occasionally be sold by individuals who were not yet the owners. Sometimes the applicant had to wait so long that he had time to move elsewhere and submit a new application for a land concession.

The settlement developed slowly. In 1803, there were about seventy families settled along the Richibucto River and only between eight and ten on the Kouchibouguacis and the Kouchibouguac rivers, as noted by Alex Taylor in his report on the situation in Northumberland County.

> Rishibucto hath 2 Rivers belonging to its Harbor which Rivers produces considerable of fish, particularly small fish. It is a Bar Harbor and somewhat deficult to navigate a vessel in or out. The Inhabitants are about 70 (I mean famillys). They are very well supplyed with Marsh Hay and Timber. From the Harbor of Rishabucto to the entrance of two good Rivers called Pissbeguake & Pissabeguashes it's about 3 Leagues distance. These two small Rivers forms about 3 miles apart from another Bar Harbors that will not receive any but small vessels, but situated with as fine land and marsh as any in the Province of New Brunswick - hath only about 8 or 10 Famillys and might accomodate at least 40 more without taking any back lands. They make a very good Salmon fishing yearly of the Beaches, and might catch as many small fish as they pleased, and very good timber.[13]

After the fire of 1826 that destroyed the woodlands of the Miramichi, there was accelerated development of the region of the Richibucto, Kouchibouguacis and Kouchibouguac rivers. Wood from the region was suddenly in great demand, and the population increased with the development of the economy.

Cooney noted the change that occurred in the area of

Liverpool, which would become Richibucto in 1832. With the division of Northumberland County in March 1826 Kent County came into being. Richibucto became the seat of the new county. When Robert Cooney visited Richibucto, he found all the services that would be expected in a county seat.

> It is agreeably situated, and at present contains 48 dwelling houses, 7 mercantile establishments, a very handsome Court House, a Jail, Post Office, and Treasury. This town has increased very rapidly; for, about 7 years ago, it comprised only five houses and two stores. For this improvement, it is indebted to the timber trade, more than to any local priviledge; . . .[14]

The economic development of the region also affected the settlement of the Kouchibouguacis and Kouchibouguac rivers. In 1832, according to Cooney, there were twenty-two or twenty-three families, mostly Scottish, settled on the banks of the Kouchibouguac River, where there was a good quantity of birch, spruce and pine.[15] Woodcutting and farming were the principal occupations of the inhabitants.

The informed visitor could see the difference between a region settled by Scots and one settled by Acadians, who leaned more toward fishing than farming. This fact was noted by pastor Irvine during his visit to Kouchibouguac on September 19, 1848.

> I reached this place, twelve miles from Richibucto, to-day; and found a most interesting and thriving settlement; situated on the River Kouchibouguac. The settlement is only about 20 years old, and is composed principally of emigrants from Dumfriesshire; a sober, industrious, and well-behaved class of people. They all seem comfortable in their circumstances, the farms in good order, and the people apparently thriving. In passing along these roads, and viewing the different settlements, a stranger is forcibly struck with the contrast that exists between the Scotch and French

> settlements - in the one he sees comfort and prosperity, and the land seems richer, because better cultivated; while in the other he sees wretchedness, squallor and indolence; and the farms non-productive, because neglected.[16]

What is known today as the village of Kouchibouguac was a very prosperous place at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Agriculture was not the only source of this prosperity. A large number of people worked in the mills - flour mills and saw mills - and ship construction. These industries will be discussed in later chapters.

The Anglophone population of the park region settled particularly in Richibucto, Rexton and along the banks of the Kouchibouguac River. The immigrants were Loyalists from the United States and above all Scots and Irish, who had recently arrived in America to seek their fortune.

The French-speaking families were Acadian. Many of them had come from the Memramcook region. Land had become scarce there and could no longer sustain the ever-growing population. Other Acadian families came from the Gaspé and from other parts of New Brunswick. In 1806, all the mouths of the principal rivers between Point Escuminac and Cape Tourmentine were inhabited.[19] The land along the rivers, toward the interior, was still unoccupied.

The Acadian population also grew rather rapidly. In 1803, Bishop Denaut of Quebec visited the region. He noted that there were 23 families (132 people) at Aldouane; 17 families (98 people) at Chigibougouet (Saint-Louis); and 24 families (106 people) at Richibucto.[18] The missionary, François-Norbert Blanchet, took a census of his mission in 1821. There were 31 families or 211 Acadians in addition to the 54 Irish at Aldouane; 38

families (251 Acadians) at Petit Kigibougoueck (Saint-Louis); 58 families or 330 Acadians in addition to about a dozen Irish at Richibucto.[19]

The Acadian population grew to the point where it occupied all the available land on the Kouchibouguacis River and along the banks inside the park, from Richibucto to Pointe-Sapin.

Agriculture

The nineteenth century

At the beginning of the settlement period, agriculture was not a large-scale industry, but it did occupy much of the population of Kent County. According to the censuses of 1851 and 1861, seventy per cent of the county's work force indicated that they were engaged in farming.[1] The proportion remained the same for the Canadian censuses of 1871 and 1881. It can be assumed that fishing and lumbering in the winter also took up a part of the farmer's time. Lumbering was a major source of income for the region; much wood was exported and many ships built.

In spite of the large numbers of farmers, visitors to the region noticed that farming was neglected. In 1828, McGregor noted that the inhabitants of the Richibucto region "are principally engaged as lumberers, agriculture being a minor consideration."[2]

In 1855, the situation was the same. Alexander Munro noted that lumbering occupied a good part of the inhabitants' time.

> In consequence of the abundance of lumber in this county, and the case (sic for ease) with which, from the numerous water communications, it can be procured and brought to the place of manufacture and shipment, the body of the inhabitants have until recently devoted a large portion of their attention to this pursuit, and have devided the remainder between farmin (sic), fishing, and supbuilding (sic), together with some few other objects.[3]

The Anglophone farmers, by rapidly adopting modern farming methods, got a better yield from their land. The Acadians did not tend to rely on farming as their sole means of subsistence. Bishop Octave Plessis said that they were little inclined toward cultivation and that

> . . . of all the various possible food items, they value only two: fish and potatoes; wheat, although scarce in the area, has no value there because they are not interested in bread, and in some families bread is eaten less than six times a year.[4]

This fish of which the Acadians were so fond was undoubtedly herring. In 1816, missionary Antoine Gagnon, commenting on the fortune of the Acadians to his bishop, said that it "is rather average, and even the well-off cannot dispense with eating potatoes and herring a good part of the year."[5]

The economic situation of the Acadians described by observers does not mean that they lived in extreme poverty. In 1864, Arthur Hamilton Gordon wrote that the population of Gloucester, Westmorland and Kent counties were equally well provided for as the population of Madawaska, but "hardly equally well off". He noted in Madawaska

> . . . an air of comfort and bien être about the large timber two-storied houses painted a dark Indian red standing among trees, the numerous good horses, the well tilled fields, and sleek cattle, which is wanted on the sea-coast.[6]

Louis-Cyriaque Daigle, in his Histoire de Saint-Louis-de-Kent, assures us that the settlers led a simple life. They themselves made the tools and instruments they needed. It was only toward 1850 that mechanized equipment such as mechanical threshers became available.[7] For all that, agricultural practices did not change overnight. According to the 1871 census, there were only

eight harvesters and reapers and seventy-eight threshers in all of Kent County.[8]

Progress was slow. In addition to 2,433 horses, in 1861, 949 draft oxen were in use.[9] In 1891, even though the number of horses increased to 3,232, there were still 484 draft oxen on the farms of Kent County.[10] In the national park area, the civil parishes of Carleton and Saint-Louis, there were not many draft oxen.

The land of Kent County produced a little of every type of crop. Potatoes represented the largest volume. In the civil parish of Saint-Louis alone, 1,012 acres of cultivated land produced 128,839 bushels of potatoes in 1871.[11] A large number of these potatoes were destined for regional consumption, others were for export. This abundance of potatoes perhaps explains the wide variety of recipes using this tuber in all its forms. A favourite dish in the southeast of New Brunswick is still the famous poutine râpée (potato pudding) made from grated potatoes.

A rather large quantity of buckwheat and oats, the latter an important component of horse feed, was also harvested. Cyriaque Daigle notes that with the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, begun in 1872, the farmers had to grow a lot more oats to feed the numerous horses used during the construction. Other crops were neglected in favour of oats, the price of which had doubled. There was one drawback: "the desire to harvest as much oats as possible led to neglect of livestock breeding; this in turn resulted in a scarcity of fertilizer and consequently the depletion of the soil. This depletion was even more severe because of a lack of a system of rotation."[12]

In order to fertilize the impoverished fields, "mud-diggers" were used. These machines

could dig down to the shell-laden mud at the bottom of the rivers of the region. In 1869, there were twenty machines of this type in operation on the Richibucto River.[13] At the turn of the century, this method of soil fertilization was still popular in Kent County. In addition to manure, other much-used sources of fertilizer available to the farmers included fish and seaweed gathered along the coast.[14]

Nature also supplied a good part of the food for the animals in the form of prairie hay and meadow hay. As soon as the settlers arrived in the region, the meadows were divided up so as to provide everyone with a share of the hay harvest that grew along the rivers and on the banks of the Kouchibouguac and Saint-Louis bays. The farmers were well aware of the importance of this harvest and were ready to sacrifice herring fishing in the autumn whenever the cutting of the meadow hay was not finished. Moses Perley witnessed this in 1849.

> On this line of coast, the fall hering are abundant, but only a few are taken at the Kouchibouguac beaches by the salmon fishers; they caught about 200 barrels the past season. It was stated as a reason why so small a quantity was taken, that this fishery occurs at the season when the settlers are engaged in making their Marsh hay, and that they have not time to attend to it.[15]

Butter production was a significant source of income for the region. In 1851, the county produced 83,171 pounds of butter and 168,990 pounds in 1861.[16] In 1891, production increased to 315,980 pounds; the civil parish of Carleton providing 13,220 pounds and the parish of Saint-Louis 34,979.[17]

This large production of butter, a portion of which was exported, led to the founding of the Saint-Louis butter-dairy in 1893. A month after its establishment, the dairy sent a sample

of the butter to the World Exhibition in Chicago, where it won a medal and a certificate of quality. The butter-dairy remained in operation until 1912.[18]

The Saint-Louis butter-dairy was not the only one in the region, nor was this the only agricultural industry to be started. Flour mills were built quite early on to mill the grain of the farmers. In 1838, Kouchibouguac had a large flour mill where today there is a hydroelectric dam.[19] The 1861 census shows that in Kent County there were eighteen water-driven and eight steam-driven flour mills; the parish of Carleton had one water-driven mill, and the parish of Saint-Louis had two water-driven mills and one steam-driven mill.[20] In 1881, the county still had seventeen flour mills.[21] In 1901, just three remained.[22]

Agricultural associations

The farmers soon organized agricultural associations. In 1842, the first county agricultural associations were formed in New Brunswick. In 1848, the agricultural association of the parish of Carleton was founded. It covered the civil parishes of Carleton and Saint-Louis, although most of its members were from Saint-Louis. The first executive of this association consisted of the Reverend Hugh McGuirk, president; John Atkinson and Robert Powell vice-presidents; William S Caie, secretary; Germain LeBlanc, treasurer; Peter Bleur, Simon Johnson and James Fraser, counsellors.[23]

The provincial government encouraged farmers to form groups, and gave them an annual grant to help them in their activities. The agricultural associations contributed to crop improvement through the selection of quality seeds and encouraged breeders to obtain

purebred animals for their herds. Each year there was an exhibition of farm animals and produce. There were also ploughing contests. Cash awards were given for the best exhibits of grain, dairy products and household items such as wool and knitted wear. On February 15, 1860, the exhibition was held at the Kouchibouguac flour mill. The first prize offered for the best two bushels of wheat was £ 1.10.0. The first prize for the best oats was £ 0.14.6. The first prize for a sample of twenty pounds of butter brought the exhibitor £ 0.10.0. Household articles such as men's mittens and socks could bring the maker a prize of £ 0.5.0.

In 1865, the parish of Saint-Louis had its own agricultural association,[24] but the Carleton association continued to exist. The first secretary of the new association was Pierre-L Richard.

The twentieth century

During the twentieth century, the manner of life of farmers in the national park region was the same as during the previous century. There were a few large farms, especially along the Kouchibouguac River, but on the whole the average farmer divided his time between woodcutting or fishing and tilling the soil. Farming alone was insufficient for the subsistence of large families. Seasonal fishing brought in a small income and provided dried and salted fish for the winter. Woodcutting provided firewood and money from the work at the lumberyards or from the log drive in the springtime. Later, the cutting of pulpwood was a good source of income for the inhabitants of the region.

Most of the farms had a horse and one or two cows. A larger farm, like James

Jardine's farm in Middle Kouchibouguac, might have up to five dairy cows and five horses.[25] To feed these animals, the farmer relied upon cultivated hay, prairie hay and meadow hay. The latter was cut with a scythe in the fall, before the frost. It was placed on barges and then, with the arrival of winter, was brought to the barn. Several trips were required, sometimes over a distance of ten or so miles. The meadow hay that grew along the rivers was cut a little earlier on, in August. Care had to be taken to place the hay barges at the top of the meadows. Otherwise, the severe autumn storms and the high tides would carry the barges away (large haystacks). Once the meadow hay was mixed with seaweed, it was lost.[26]

Every major farmer had to have land near the river to provide a supply of hay. The meadows, which were unsuitable for cultivation, were highly valued by the farmers because of the hay that grew there naturally. These meadows were granted by the province to individuals or groups, as was the case when the first colonists settled in the region.

With respect to meat, most families killed a bull at Christmas; they also preserved pork by salting. The beef was usually hung in the barn or in a shelter. Many families would obtain additional meat by hunting. There was an abundance of deer and moose in the region. The venison could be preserved frozen in quarters outside the home. What was left in the springtime was salted. During the winter it was easy to trap hares; what was not needed was sold for from twenty to twenty-five cents a pair. Game was plentiful along the coast and bustard, duck and merganser were hunted in the fall.

In addition to the animals, the farmer kept hens, geese and turkeys. The hens provided meat, but they were kept mainly for egg production: the eggs were used in cooking or were sold. They were seldom prepared as fried eggs for breakfast.

Egg sales were a major source of income for the small farmer, and egg production was high. Kent County produced 335,586 dozen in 1901.[27] For a long time eggs were sold at fifteen cents a dozen. That was sufficient for a family to obtain the items that it did not produce. In the region of Fontaine, it was customary to wait for the peddlers in order to exchange eggs for other goods. The housewives would gather the week's eggs and wait for the peddlers at the bridge. Several women would get together while waiting for the vendor.

Marcel Babin, Jérémie Pineau and Auguste Bordage were among those who offered this service to the population, since stores did not exist in all the regions and transportation was rather difficult. They sold all sorts of things: groceries, clothes and anything that a housewife might need. This practice, which was common during the 1920s, died out toward the end of the 1950s.

Eggs were also shipped outside the county. Several of the region's merchants had a flourishing egg business. In 1921, an egg "circle" was formed at Saint-Louis[28] for the purpose of finding markets for eggs from the region.

The garden supplied all that a family needed in the way of vegetables, and many potatoes and turnips were grown. Potatoes were often used to pay the tithe. Cucumber and tomato seeds were preserved from one year to the next, and a few turnips and carrots were always put aside in order to produce the seeds needed for spring planting.

Several farmers grew wheat and buckwheat and would have it milled at Saint-Louis. Pancakes were made with buckwheat flour.

Wild fruit was greatly valued by the inhabitants. Depending on the season, small wild strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, blackberries and meadow apples would be picked. Many were canned for the winter. Meadow apples, collected late in the fall, could last all winter. Usually a large bag of them was kept in the barn. They could also be gathered again in spring, and would still be good for making preserves for the summer.

The blueberries and meadow apples sold well, the former being especially in demand. At the turn of the century, the principal buyer was the A & R Loggie Company, which in 1899 canned 200 tons of them.[29] These blueberries were headed for American markets. The price per bucket in 1894 was twenty-five cents.[30] Later on, they sold for one-and-a-half to two cents a pound, and pickers were subsequently paid six cents a container. The whole family joined in blueberry picking. The Indians of Big Cove collected blueberries with "combs", or blueberry pickers.

Meadow apples were picked during or after the meadow hay harvest. They were sold to local buyers who would transport them to either Chatham or Richibucto. There were a great number of them. At Pointe-Sapin, Xavier Daigle, senior, set up in the meadow-apple business, and would ship them all over Eastern Canada.

Forest operations

Forest operations were the principal occupation of the inhabitants of the area now forming the national park. This industry - through shipbuilding and the export trade - contributed greatly to the development of Kent County in the nineteenth century.

It was particularly the Napoleonic wars in Europe that created a demand for lumber in the Maritime provinces, at that time British colonies, which was felt in all parts of New Brunswick. The population of the province went from 25,000 to 190,000 in the first half of the century.[1]

The forest industry first developed in the south of the province and then spread north where wood was harvested for export. Pine masts were shipped in the beginning; later the market demand was for ton timber and still later for lumber.[2]

The main expansion of the forest industry in Kent County took place in the period following the Miramichi fire in 1825. This disaster, which had destroyed the forest resources along the Miramichi River, had hardly touched the Kent County forest.

Observers who visited the region in the last century noted that the forest contained a variety of species of trees. In 1832, Robert Cooney wrote that the shores of the Kouchibouguac River supplied the Richibucto market. There was quite a large stock of birch, spruce and pine.[3] Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, overexploitation of the forest in the

Richibucto region meant that the loggers had to go deeper into the interior to fell trees.

> Pine and other kind of valuable timber have been abundant; yet the large exports of wood from the river, during a few past years, have reduced the quantity, and compelled the lumbermen to extend their operations into the more inaccessible forest.[4]

It must be emphasized that this was not easy work. In the early nineteenth century, the only power used for this work was that of men and oxen; later they turned to horses. The further they went into the forest, the more difficult the operation.

By the end of the century, most of the wood in Kent County had been cut: 39,654 cu ft of pine was square-cut in 1870 and only 2,272 cu ft in 1901.[6] Kent County supplied 125,438 pine logs in 1870[7] and only 55,991 in 1891.[8]

Forest operations necessitated the construction of mills and of ships to transport the export product. This explains the existence of numerous mills and many shipyards in the county in the nineteenth century.

The 1861 census listed thirty-four sawmills in the county, three of them steam driven.[9] This compares favourably with the thirty-one mills recorded in 1840[10] and the thirty-two in 1871.[12] They produced lumber for construction: boards, beams and ton timber, all for export.

Even though the lumber business had slackened considerably, more than 13,000,000 feet of wood was shipped from Richibucto to England in 1892. The Miramichi Advance reported the following statistics on the principal exporters:[13]

Merchant	No of ships	No of feet
J & R Jardine	8	5,723,190
G K McLeod	13	4,559,000
Edward Walker	7	2,318,562
George Irving	1	410,760
	20	13,002,512

Needless to say, these mills employed many people. In addition to the manpower employed for sawing, a large number of men worked in the lumber camps and on the spring log drive.

The wood which fed the mills came, in part, from the woodlots of the region's residents, but above all from Crown lands. The provincial government granted cutting rights on these lands throughout the province. The lists of permit holders published in the Royal Gazette identify the major lumber merchants.

William S Caie and George McLeod monopolized the lots on the shores of the Kouchibouguac River. The Kouchibouguacis River area was divided among Henry O'Leary, George McLeod, David Wark and a few others. The Richibucto River, larger than the two mentioned above, could accommodate several industrialists and contractors. L P W Desbrisay and Edward Walker were among those who held logging permits.

Contractors

Permit holders could exploit the forest themselves by setting up logging camps. Individuals frequently took contracts for cutting wood. These were jobbers or contractors and they were numerous at the turn of the century, particularly in the Kouchibouguac area, as revealed by a short article in the Richibucto newspaper.

> The heavy snow fall has made operations in the woods difficult and the lumbermen do not expect to get more than half the cut that was expected last fall. Messrs Curran Bros. have a camp in at the head of the river, Joseph M. Vautour is operating on south branch Tweedie Brook, William Kingston and Percy Graham are hauling into Tweedie Brook, James Hanson, the veteran lumberman, has a large force at work on Mackey's Brook, Jot Little has a camp on Bettie's Brook, D.J. Sullivan is hauling into Carrigan Creek, Grear Jardine and Anthony Roach are working on Black River. Besides these are several small parties.[14]

To this impressive list, the Review added two names in its issue of the following week: Facquar* and Ward McDonald, who had men working on Tweedie Brook.
Farquhar

The contractor and the company agreed on a price for cutting the wood and bringing it to the mill. With the money from the contract, the former had to establish his camps, hire lumberjacks and pay for haulage of the logs.[15]

A good many of the men in area left for the lumber camps in the autumn. In many cases, they were too far away to come home for Christmas and returned only in the spring to work the fields or, in some cases, at the end of August after the drive.

Some of the logs which were driven down the Kouchibouguac and Saint-Louis rivers were transported in rafts as far as Richibucto. Luc Vautour remembers these rafts that were pushed along the shoreline with poles, inside the sand bars or dunes.

The fishermen-farmers of the area spent part of their time cutting firewood. In this, everyone was his own contractor. It was necessary to prepare enough wood for heating all through the winter. They did not have to go very far to do this, particularly if their property included a woodlot.

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* Customer, please verify spelling. [TR]

Tanning-bark trade

For about thirty years a major activity in the area was exporting the bark of the eastern hemlock (a tree known among the Acadians as the "haricot") which was used in tanneries to process hides.

Kent County had an abundant supply of this tree, as attested by J F W Johnson, who visited the Richibucto area in 1851.

> The prevailing tree on this upper part of the river was hemlock, Pinus canadiensis, mixed with some white pine, and with birch or beech. None of my companions had ever seen the hemlock so abundant in any other part of the province. From the information we received, these trees prevail over a belt of twenty to twenty-five miles wide, and far west into the wilderness as a remarkable bend of the Salmon River - a tributary of the St.John, which flows westward - known as the Ox-bow of the Salmon River.[17]

Thirty years later, in 1881, Edward Jack wrote a report on the Crown lands of Kent and Northumberland counties. He noted that hemlock was still the principal species in the area.[18] This abundance of hemlock was to encourage the increased export of bark to tanneries.

Bark was shipped to Quebec, the United States, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. The principal contractors in the area were Clifford Atkinson, James J Miller, T F Curran and Joseph Grogan. The bark was taken to Richibucto in large barges, and from there shipped to the markets by train and boat.

The following figures give an idea of the variations in hemlock-bark production in Kent

County. These statistics are from the 1871 to 1911 Canada censuses.

1871 - 130 cords

1881 - 10,380 cords

1891 - 15,236 cords

1901 - 1,683 cords

1911 - 215 cords

This trade, which had brought prosperity to some contractors, decreased in importance after 1910 and was finally abandoned. The overly rapid exploitation of this natural resource eventually exhausted the supply. The needs of the industry changed and the use of hemlock bark decreased steadily.

The mills

Sawmills were numerous in Kent County and there was no lack of raw material to supply them. Water power was used in the beginning, but later the arrival of steam engines revolutionized the industry: at last mills could be set up where the trees were located. It was no longer necessary to transport the logs such a distance. The advent of electricity in the twentieth century further facilitated work in the mills; electric lighting and the new motors were well received. Some contractors, among the early ones particularly, succeeded; other did not stay in business very long.

For the requirements of this study, we will limit ourselves to providing some historical notes on the mills that existed within the boundaries of the national park.

The first mill

The first mill in the region was located on Colin Rankin's property. A surveyor's map, dated October 8, 1828,[20]

indicates that there was already a dam and a mill on this site. Over the years several large mills, having a variety of owners, were built on this site. All that remains today is the dam that was used to produce the electricity.

Washington Raymond

A surveyor's map dated December 31, 1836,[21] indicates that Washington Raymond had a mill on a hundred-acre concession obtained in October 1834. Later, on this same site, a real character named William Betts ran the mill.[22] Next, a man called McKinley took charge of the operations. He made spools for thread, which were shipped to England.[23] When the wood that was used became scarce, he settled somewhere along the Miramichi River.

Father Edmond Patenaude

Father Patenaude was a native of Quebec. He was in charge of the St Margarets, Pointe-Sapin, Escuminac and Kouchibouguac missions for nearly twenty-five years.[24] During this time he built a sawmill on the north shore of the Kouchibouguac River. This lath and shingle mill burned down in 1907. The fire destroyed part of the lumber and part of the workmen's house. Frank Tweedie, who saw this mill, tells us that it was located on the west bank of Marshall Brook and that it was steam driven.[26]

William Roach

William Roach lived on the Richibucto River. He built a mill on the east bank of Marshall Brook long before Father Patenaude.

According to Frank Tweedie, an old road for horse-drawn wagons led to the mill.[27]

Benjamin Mattinson

Hiss mill at Rivière-du-Portage was built about 1905 and ceased operations in 1919, when Benjamin's health deteriorated. The mill produced lumber and shingles, and was quite large. For some time three schooners were used to ship the wood. A large steam engine manufactured by Robb Engineering of Amherst was used at the mill. The sawdust and chips from the mill fed the fire. Today, it is barely possible to make out the mill site.[28]

The Doiron mill

Henri, Ferdinand and Arthur Doiron of Saint-Louis owned this steamdriven mill at Kouchibouguac, not far from the present residence of John McDonald. They stayed in business for five years in the early 1920s and then went to Campbellton, where they continued to cut wood.[29]

John McDonald

John McDonald built his first mill in 1949, on Highway 11, going toward St Margarets. It burned down in 1950 and John rebuilt the same year at Kouchibouguac. This mill was located on the property originally granted to Donald Rankin, on the north shore of the Kouchibouguac River, and remained in operation until 1964.[30] The pile of sawdust can still be seen at the mill site.

W S Loggie Co Ltd

The W S Loggie Co Ltd mill was located on the north shore of the Kouchibouguac River, near the fish processing plant. According to Muir Jardine, some of the parts came from the Potter mill, which had closed down some time before.[31] It was a steam-driven mill used mainly to cut the wood needed to make boxes for freezing and transporting fish, but lumber was also cut. Orders for the material to make the boxes came from Chatham. These wooden boxes were shipped wherever the company had branches. The schooners Stewart L and Warren P were used to transport the material.

Fishermen of the region who sold their fish to W S Loggie could expect to find work at the mill during the winter. The head office of the company saw to it that this policy was enforced.

> In reference to the fishermen at Kouchibouguac that work at the mill but do not sell us any smelts. If these men do not sell us any smelts we do not want you to give them work at the mill. These instructions are definite.[32]

The Potter, or Jardine, mill

Known as the Potter, or Jardine, mill, this was probably the first mill within the park boundaries. It was built in 1839, when William Saunders mortgaged the mill property to Joseph Cunard.

In 1840, the property was sold to George McLeod. In 1841, Joseph Cunard acquired the rights to the mill. In 1869, James Potter became the owner of the land. In 1873, ownership went to the Jardines; they were the last to operate the mill on this site. In 1919, William Potter became the owner of the land.

Muir Jardine says that there was a forge at the end of the bridge, near the mill.

When James Potter ran the mill in 1871, it operated six months a year and employed a total of nine men. In that year, it produced 400,000 feet of beams, 50,000 feet of boards and 50,000 feet of laths, worth a total of $30,000.[33]

Other small mills

Many small mills operated in the past. The existence of a number of them is no longer remembered. Sélime Doucet and Eusèbe Vautour had a lath mill at Claire-Fontaine and Roary Stewart a small mill near Black River.

Fishing

Fishing attracted the first merchants to Kent County. In 1797, the firm of Pagan & Powell established itself in Richibucto to engage in commercial fishing.

The logging and shipbuilding industry subsequently gained the upper hand, and fishing remained of secondary importance for the first half of the nineteenth century. Fish were caught for domestic consumption, and only a few were exported. After 1850, however, the introduction of canning in hermetically sealed tins gave new importance to the industry.

The abundance of fish all kinds in the region suggested, from the very first years of colonization, that the fishing industry was to be a major asset to the area. Shad, eel, bass, alewives, herring, lobster, mackerel, cod and salmon were among the most abundant species. Serious commercial exploitation of oysters and other shellfish began in 1850 and of cockles in the 1900s.

When shipbuilding and logging waned in the 1870s, the fishing industry gained major importance, as people turned to agriculture and the sea.

> Time has arrived when farming and fishing must be the main dependencies of the people - lumbering is only a shadow of its former strength and profit... Ship-building at a discount, lumbering on the decline, we naturally turn to our Fisheries and our Agriculture; the former have been found to

> yield rich returns for time and money invested - and we believe the latter will, if carried on a proper and systematic manner, prove a source of wealth to our people.[1]

After 1870, several lobster factories were built along the coast of New Brunswick, and Kent County was no exception. Some businessmen grew rich, but several went bankrupt.

Pagan & Powell - 1797

William and Robert Pagan were Saint John merchants, and Jacob Powell worked for them. Powell had a brother, Solomon, who moved to Richibucto in 1787. The Pagan brothers asked Jacob to explore the potential of the Richibucto area. In a petition to the Council of New Brunswick in July 1810, William and Robert Pagan told of what they had accomplished in Richibucto in a few short years.

> ... in the year 1797 your Memorialists being desirous of making a Commercial Establishment on the River Richibucto in the County of Northumberland, with a view to the providing of Cargoes for the West Indies Mercat (sic), Sent thither as their Agent Jacob Powell now of the Same place, Merchant, who finding the upper part of that River the most convenient for Catching and Curing fish, and the lands vacant and ungranted, erected there on account of your Memorialists, wharves, fish Sheds, & vats at the Expence of near five Hundred Pounds.[2]

Their business prospered until 1807. The fish stocks dwindled, and Pagan & Powell discontinued their operations. Moses H Perley met Thomas Powell some forty years later and learned from him that the company had shipped 2,000 barrels of alewives annually and that, one year, it had shipped 3,500 barrels.[3]

Jacob Powell justifiably claimed to have contributed to

Richibucto's development. On April 1, 1810, he wrote in a petition:

> ... Jacob Powell Aged forty four years, has a family, has had Thirty Three acres of Land Granted to him, Most Humbly Sheweth That He Removed to Richibucto in the county Northumberland in the year 1797 when that Settlement was In an Infant State, and Can Without Vanity, Say, that he has in a Considerable degree Contributed to events Bringing it to the Improved State In which it now is...[4]

In the years that followed, a number of businessmen followed their example.

W S Loggie Co Ltd

The business founded by William S Loggie still has its head office in Chatham. It began in a store in 1873, and eventually spread outside Chatham. In 1894, following financial difficulties, the assets of W S Loggie were assigned to a limited company, which has been known widely since that time as the W S Loggie Co Ltd.[5]

The company expanded along the coast of New Brunswick from Cap-des-Caissie to Dalhousie. The Kouchibouguac branch (the first established outside Chatham) began operations in 1876.[6] It became the most important business enterprise in what is now the park after the disappearance of the shipyards. At that time, all of the buildings required by this sort of business were built near the water to accommodate the fishermen. Boats were the quickest means of transportation. The installations were located on the North Kouchibouguac Dune, by the Little Gully.

There were several small buildings there in which to store nets, lobster traps, anchors and other fishing gear. Among the larger buildings

were the cannery, the freezer, the ice house, the cookhouse, and the dormitory for the women who worked in the cannery. Every spring a dock was built, and every fall it was disassembled. The piles and planks were stacked on the dune until the following fishing season, because the ice and winter storms would otherwise have destroyed the dock.

In 1893, the manager, Robert Gregan, had seven boats equipped for lobster fishing. They were rented to fishermen, who kept half the catch or were paid a fixed salary of $100 per fishing season. There were also independent fishermen, who had their own boats and gear.

In 1900, the freezer, ice house and cannery burned down; the loss was estimated at $2,000.[7] The buildings on the dune were also exposed to bad weather. In November 1894, for example, a storm carried several of them away.[8]

The development of land communications and the advent (after 1910) of fishing boats powered by gasoline engines prompted the company to move its canning facilities onto dry land, at Point Edward. Mrs Janet Bennett, who worked in the cannery on the dune from 1914 to 1916, remembers the move. Her father, William Potter, oversaw the transportation of the buildings after the summer fishing season of 1916. They were towed to their new location on a string of barges. An immense tackle was used.[9] Only the freezer and the cookhouse were left behind. These were demolished, and replacements were built at the new location.

The cannery resumed operations at the new site, and a small, permanent dock was built. Dugald

Steward managed W S Loggie's Kouchibouguac branch from 1947 to 1971. He remembers the cannery's operations well.

The company had five or six salmon traps along the coast. Each trap was tended by two men, who lived in a small cabin on the dune. A boat went from one trap to the next to collect the salmon. The company eventually dispensed with these traps, except for the large one which stretched nearly a mile out into the ocean. In 1931, the company caught or purchased almost 3,000 salmon; the going rate was a dollar apiece.[10]

In Kouchibouguac, W S Loggie also bought blueberries, meadow apples and smelt in the winter. This last operation provided employment to a few men in the cannery and occupied a good many fishermen. The Chatham head office kept a close watch on the operations of the Kouchibouguac branch. Even the grading of smelt was sometimes the subject of censure.

> We want to say that your smelts are not well graded. They are packed nicely in the boxes. There are extras in your 1s, and a lot of 1s in your 2s. Why this should happen we do not know, and we want to say that poor grading on your part is a serious matter. (...) We understand that the packing is done and supervised by a man by the name of Martin.
>
> Now Martin packed last year. If he knew last year how to grade smelts, he aught to know this year, and Chatham should not have to watch and check the grading as it is necessary in this instance.[11]

Fish frozen during the fishing season were preserved in the freezer. For many years, teams of horses transported the fish to Chatham. There were four teams in January 1893[13] and fourteen in 1904[14] to haul frozen fish from

Kouchibouguac. They were later replaced by trucks.

Schooners were the Kouchibouguac cannery's other means of transportation. A number of the people interviewed still remembered the Warren P and the Steward L. These schooners arrived loaded with goods needed by the cannery. On the return trip, they carried cases of canned fish, sawn timber and the makings of wooden boxes. The provincial archives of New Brunswick, where part the company's records are kept, has the logs of a number of these cargo schooners, including those of the Leigh J, the Wm Sinclair, the Remus and the Maria. Here, by way of example, is a list of some of the merchandise transported from Chatham to Kouchibouguac by the Leigh J on April 25, 1903, and the cost of this transportation.

40 Bxs tall Cans	$1.60
20 Boxes 1/2 lb flat Cans	.80
15 Salmon Anchors	.75
3 lbs Corn Meal	.75
1 bbl Rolled Oats	.25
1 bbl Pork	.30
1 Pun. Molasses	1.00
2 Boxes Appels (sic)	.20
1 tub Lard	.10
1 Cook Stove Campleat (sic)	.50
1 Keg 7 in. Spikes	.15
4 Bags Coal	.60

[15]

The Kouchibouguac branch was unusual in that it had a henhouse. Maxime Johnson was the last person to care for the branch's 1,500 or so chickens. He ran the operation from 1937 to 1941. The eggs were sold in Halifax.[16] The henhouse was in operation for approximately ten years. A letter from Kerr Loggie on September 29, 1932, suggests that the henhouse was under construction at that time.[17] Maxine Johnson says that when he left his job in the henhouse, in 1941, all the hens were killed.[18]

Everyone, including the vice president of W S Loggie, agreed that there was no money in the poultry business.

> The writer has already told you that he does not believe in the hen business. It is my father's undertaking. He is an old man and is interested in it, and it is his privilege to carry on this hen business, but it is a loser. In our opinion you have not got one chance in 25 of making the hen business a go, instead you are going to make a heavy loss in the writer's opinion. If it was not for my father you would not have the hen business at your branch at all.[19]

Lobster

The lobster industry began slowly in the nineteenth century, and it was only with the discovery of an efficient canning method that the industry developed.

Lobster canning is said to have begun in the New England states around 1836. Some New England canners subsequently moved to the Maritimes, especially after 1864, and they brought their methods with them. There were forty-four lobster canneries in Canada in 1872, and almost all of them were controlled by Americans. The industry developed rapidly in the years that followed. At the turn of the century, more than 900 lobster canneries were run by Canadians.[20] Canada's lobster fishery assumed added importance when a way was found to transport live lobster over great distances. Several experiments were conducted in Nova Scotia in the 1870s and 1880s before a satisfactory solution was found.[21]

Several entrepreneurs took up lobster canning, which did not expand until after 1870. In 1869, 61,000 pounds of lobster were caught in Canada. The figure rose to 591,500 in 1870. The catch subsequently grew by leaps and bounds, as the industry

experienced enormous growth on our coasts. In 1882, 20,813,730 pounds of lobster were harvested, and the 1886 total was 33,758,421 pounds.[22]

The fisheries inspector for New Brunswick's eastern counties mentioned in the early 1870s that lobster canneries were beginning to be developed in Kent County. In his 1872 report, he noted that:

> A lucrative business, and one on a large scale comparatively new to this country, has been commenced in the canning of lobsters by the process of hermetical sealing. Large quantities have been put up by two new establishments, and preparations are being made for the erection of two others, which will have the effect of largely increasing the fishery business of this county. The supply of this shell-fish is unlimited, and great facilities are presented for the prosecution of the business.[23]

In 1873, the same inspector noted in his report that Kent County already had six lobster canneries and that another, under construction, was to become operational the following year.[24]

The lobster industry developed rather early in Kent County. It is said that the first entrepreneur to begin canning lobster was Morden L Levy. Levy, who was born in England, came to Richibucto and went into business with his cousins, Samuel and Solomon Samuels. He prospered in the lobster canning business until his death, in 1863.[25]

It was no doubt his establishment that Perley visited at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac River. The business was already operating on a large scale.

> In 1847, nearly 10,000 cases, of lobsters only, each case containing the choicest part of two or three lobsters, and one and a half tons of fresh salmon, in 2 lb. and 4 lb. cases, were put up at Kouchibouguac.[26]

Perley does not say whether the system in use made it possible to preserve lobster and salmon for long periods.

The first years of the fish canning industry were marked by a number of unsuccessful experiments. Harry O'Leary told of an old dock at Callander's Beach that was full of spoiled cans of lobster and salmon.[27] The first canners met with repeated failure before they achieved success. The location was that of Henry O'Leary's cannery, better known as "Lazare Guimond's Shop".

We have more complete information on this same Henry O'Leary's success in the fish canning business. He came to Richibucto from Ireland and took up salmon and lobster canning. Around 1865,[28] he started a lobster cannery on the Saint-Louis Dune, and expanded rapidly. In 1886, he controlled approximately twenty lobster canneries, of which sixteen were in Kent County. He canned 18,000 forty-eight-pound cases of lobster in 1881 and 8,000 in 1885. He exported his lobster to England and France.[29] When the railway was built, he began to send his product to the United States as well. The number of lobster canneries under his control reached a high of thirty-two in 1895.[30]

Several other businessmen in Kent County took up lobster canning in imitation of Henry O'Leary and others. Some of them operated within the limits of today's park.

W S Loggie Co Ltd

Lobster canning was one of this cannery's main activities. The facilities in question were discussed earlier.

Lazare Guimond

The name Lazare Guimond remains engraved in the memories

of the area's inhabitants. For many years, he ran the cannery of Henry and Richard O'Leary. Today, the site of the area's first lobster cannery is still called "Lazare Guimond's Shop". John McLean was the cannery's first manager.[31] Lazare Guimond took charge of the operations around 1880[32] and remained the manager until 1916. Luc Maillet, David Vautour and Joseph L Guimond subsequently ran the operation.[33] In 1917, the buildings were transported to Cap Saint-Louis, and operations ceased in 1925.

Lazare Guimond's own account[34] indicates that the lobster cannery employed between forty and sixty women, fourteen men on the boats and up to nine men in the cannery itself. Just over 300 cases of canned lobster were produced in 1909 - a far cry from the 2,300 cases that were turned out when operations were just beginning and lobster were still in great abundance.

Jordy Daigle

Jordy Daigle was a very enterprising man. He was a mason by trade and had a quarry, which he operated for almost thirty years. He also had a large farm and a lath and shingle mill. He ran a lobster cannery on the South Kouchibouguac Dune. The records do not say how long it was in operation. According to his son, Célime Daigle, the main building measured sixty feet by forty. At one time, sixty women worked there. The lobster was sold to O'Leary. When Jordy went bankrupt around 1917, the cannery was taken over by O'Leary, and the buildings were subsequently burned down.

Jordy built another cannery near Grand Goulet. Only a few women worked there. The lobster was sold to Prince Edward Island.

Marguerite Babineau said that two of her brothers

fished for Jordy. She worked at the lobster cannery with some twelve other women.[36]

Sélime Robichaud[37]

Sélime Robichaud built his lobster cannery at Black Lands Gully. He began to fish when he was only twelve years old. When he was twenty, he worked in his own cannery. Before he took over the business, he worked with his brother-in-law, David Robichaud, for ten years. When Sélime died in 1936 at age eighty, his sons Alphonse and Valmond took over the operations.

In the beginning, it was necessary to travel to the dune by boat - most often in canoes hollowed out of the trunks of two huge trees dovetailed together in the middle. Employees spent a week at a time on the dune. There was a dormitory for the women, and the fishermen had a cabin on the shore. One year, forty-four women and twelve men worked in the cannery.

The boats, which were approximately thirty feet long, and the traps were usually "advanced" to the fishermen. In years when the catch was good, small boats often came in with 700 to 800 lobster and larger boats with 3,000. Fishermen were paid by the piece. Alphonse said that he left school at the age of twelve to work in the lobster cannery. His first job was to count the lobster brought in by the fishermen. The fishermen were paid approximately $2.50 for one hundred lobster. When the catches dwindled, buyers found it more practical and profitable to buy lobster by the pound.

There was a store on the dune to supply the fishermen. Each lobster cannery had a store. Two account books kept by the family show us

how transactions between fishermen and buyers were conducted. For example, in 1923, Wilfred Robichaud's account at the store was $83.79. During the season, he caught 2,312 pounds of lobster, which he sold at a price of 4.5¢ per pound. A few days of additional work boosted his total earnings to $139.15. At the end of June, he was paid the net sum of $55.36.[38] The same year, Lévi M Robichaud's account statement read as follows:

Hauling to the dune	2.50
Traps	7.00
Old trap	1.00
2,000 pounds of lobster @ 4.5¢ per pound	90.00
	100.50
Herring	10.50
	111.00
Bill	52.10
	$58.90

He was paid $58.90 at the end of the fishing season.[39] Fishermen who had a bad season or who bought a great many goods from the store sometimes went home with only ten dollars or so at the end of the season. This was when a loaf of bread cost fifteen cents, a head of tobacco twelve cents, a pound of butter forty cents, a barrel of potatoes one dollar and a cord of wood one dollar.

For many years, the lobster canned by Sélime Robichaud was sold to O'Leary. Most of the output was sent to Montreal, especially during the Depression. Sélime's son, Paul, worked in Montreal at that time and sold the lobster and cockles produced by the cannery to the city's restaurants and stores.

In 1950, the cannery buildings were hauled across the ice by horses to Cap Saint-Louis. The new location was much more practical for the employees because most of them could go home

in the evening. The cannery remained in operation until the national park was created.

The Kennedys

Clarence Kennedy and his sons, Kenneth and Everett, came to Saint-Olivier to set up a lobster plant in 1938 and 1939. They did not stay long. The Kennedys were from Pugwash, Nova Scotia.[40] They had many boats and paid more for lobster than the other buyers. After they left, the buildings were used to store lobster bait.[41]

Paul Guimond and Pierre Vautour

Paul and Pierre had a lobster cannery near the Kennedys', in Saint-Olivier. It was in operation for five or six years, beginning in 1922. When operations ceased, Edmond Vautour turned the cannery into a barn.[42]

Laurent Vautour

For more than twenty years, Laurent Vautour managed a lobster cannery in Cap Saint-Louis, on the south shore of the mouth of the Saint-Louis River. Émile Paturel came every Friday by boat from Shediac to collect the cannery's output. Laurent was a fishermen at age fourteen and began canning his lobster in 1900. In 1917, he built himself a lobster cannery.[43] He had five boats equipped for lobster fishing. Each spring, he salted the small herring he used to bait his traps. The cannery employed as many as forty women. When he quit the business, around 1940, his son Larry took over for a year or two.[44]

Robert B Noble

The 1881 census listed Robert Noble as thirty-one years old and a fish merchant. He probably took up lobster canning in the spring of 1877. The Miramichi Advance said that he was a major salmon dealer and was actively preparing to can lobster.[45] Noble became interested in the industry at a time when lobster were abundant along the coast. Two of his fishermen once caught 4,700 lobsters in 190 traps in one day.[46] At the time, two fishermen shared a boat and could put between 200 and 250 traps into the water.

Noble was original in that his tins of lobster bound for export bore quotes from the Scriptures.[47] He sold his Richibucto plant to S L Storer for $2,000 in 1886.[48] The cannery, known as the Crown Factory, was sold at auction in 1893. The following inventory gives an idea of how much equipment was needed by a canning operation.

> ... the outifit and equipment of the said Crown Factory belonging or appertaining, consisting of 1200 traps and rigging complete, 5 boats, sails and rigging; kellock stones and buoys; 2 scows; 2 freezers; a lot of ropes and cans, and can making machinery; a lot of empty barrels; beds and bedding; stoves and cooking utensils; a quantity of bait; one steam boiler; a lot of ready made cans; also a lot of salt in bags, boxes and shooks, scales, a quantity of block tin and lead.[49]

Noble had lobster canneries in Newfoundland as well.[50] In April 1889, he had to accompany his wife to Toronto in an attempt to restore her failing health.[51]

Smelt

Smelt have always been abundant in the park area,

but they do not seem to have been exploited commercially much earlier than 1870. Moses H Perley does not mention them in his report on the fishery in 1852. Only 124,000 pounds of smelt were caught in all of Canada in 1869, and it was only in 1874 that the catch exceeded one million pounds.[52]

The years 1893 and 1894 were outstanding smelt-fishing years. The newspapers reported almost miraculous catches. In January 1893, for example, Robert Gregan, one of W S Loggie's agents, bought seventeen tons of smelt.[53] When the season ended, the report in the Review was a glowing one.

> The smelt fishing season which closed last week has been a very profitable one to the fishermen and fish-dealers of this county. The weather continued hard through the entire season and no losses occurred through soft weather. Between 500 and 600 tons were shipped from here. About 200 tons from Buctouche, and over 100 from Cocagne. This simply means that the county is richer to the extent of $75,000 than it was last fall.[54]

When the season opened, on December 1, 1894, the fishing was extraordinary. Each fisherman caught between half a ton and a ton of smelt in his seine. Denis Daigle, of Saint-Charles, caught two and a half tons in one seine, and Lazare Guimond caught eight tons in several seines. It was estimated that 125 tons of smelt were caught that day in the county's various rivers. The price paid to the fishermen varied from 2¢ to 2.25¢ per pound.[55]

For many years, there were three main buyers: W S Loggie, A & R Loggie and the O'Leary family. They sent their fish intended for human consumption to Boston and New York. Smelt were sent to the American markets by train and, in years of abundance such as 1893, refrigerator cars were hard to come by.[56]

The seines used by the fishermen could be leased from the buyers for the season. In November 1915, for example, Thomas L Kelly of Kouchibouguac leased a twenty-eight-by-twelve-foot seine for the season. He paid $15.00 to W S Loggie and promised to sell them the smelt he caught with it.[57]

Some winters the fishing was not so good, although some of the luckier fishermen pulled through with good catches.

> Smelt fishing is over and while a great many say it was a failure still quite a large quantity has been taken, in all as near as we can learn about seventy tons. Messrs Emerson & O'Leary getting some thirty-two tons, Messrs A. & R. Loggie, twenty, and W.S. Loggie & Co., eighteen. The most successful fishermen being Robert Gregan, James Tweedie, John Kelly Sr., and Joseph Gaudet. The price paid has been very good, averaging about two and a half cents per pound.[58]

Smelt-fishing techniques developed little between the middle of the nineteenth century and 1960. The fishing season lasted approximately four months. It ran from December 1 until mid-February for many years. In the 1930s, it was extended to the end of March.

The only innovation was the "box net" seine, so named because it was rectangular in shape and resembled a box. Throughout the nineteenth century, smelt were caught in "current" seines. They were simple to operate, but demanded a great deal of work on the part of the fishermen. In an article entitled "The Smelt Fishery", the Miramichi Advance gave a good explanation of how "current" seines worked.

> For the information of those who have not seen this mode of fishing we may state that the nets are made of stout cotton twine, have meshes of about one and a quarter inches, are shaped like an ordinary bag, with mouth twenty

> or more feet in diameter and a depth of 30 to 40 feet. The mouth of the bag is strengthen by rope and there is, in most of the nets, a device for opening the end so as to let the fish out when the bag is hauled out of the water.
>
> The mode of setting the net is a follows: -Two poles or stakes, long enough to reach and be driven from three to five feet into the bottom of the river, with tops reaching from 4 to seven feet above the ice, are placed one at each end of a slot out in the ice, which is generally about 18 inches wide and 20 to 25 ft. long - or a little longer than the square of the mouth of the net. The open mouth of the net, when set in the water, presents, against the tide, the form of a bag attached to these poles, the lower part being a few feet from the river bottom parallel with it, the upper part some 15 or 20 ft. above and parallel with the lower part while the sides of the mouth are parallel with the poles or stakes. The gearing by which the net is so placed consists of four wooden or iron rings places on the poles, and to these rings the head line or mouth of the net is attached at given points, generally about equi-distant. Lines or ropes, for hauling the net up are attached to the rings and, to set the net, the lower side is pushed down by crotch-ended poles, the upper side following, as soon as the mouth is fully distended. The fish drift into the bag with the tide and when hauling time comes the lines are drawn up, which closes the lower part of the mouth upon the upper, and then both are hauled up through the slot in ice together and the content emptied.[59]

The fishermen had to empty these seines whenever the tide changed, at all hours of the day and night, and they therefore stayed on the ice near the seines. They took shelter in shingled cabins that generally measured six feet by eight or seven by ten. Inside each was a sheet-metal stove, later replaced by a more substantial, coal-burning model. The stove was never operated at night, but the fishermen had a great many blankets to keep themselves warm. There was generally room for two men in each cabin. Food was brought

from home. Cooking was sometimes possible to a limited extent. It was so cold in the cabins that food stayed frozen all week long. Muir Jardine tells of a fishermen who put his loaf of bread directly onto the stove to thaw it out a little. He was then able to cut off a slice that was toasted on one side.[60]

The merchants employed buyers to go from one cabin to the next with a horse and buy the smelt. The sleighs were equipped with a steelyard to weigh the smelt on the spot, and they could carry approximately one ton of fish. Buyers were at one time paid a commission of one cent per pound. If storms prevented the fishermen from going for food, buyers were glad to bring the supplies the fishermen needed.

The cabins were sometimes far from the fishermen's homes. Herman Daigle remembers seeing twenty to twenty-five cabins in the Richibucto Gully.[61] The cabins were returned to shore at the end of the season.

Fishermen who used box nets did not have to empty their seines each time the tide changed. The new model caught fish both when the tide was coming in and when it was going out.

Wilfrid Barlow remembers that fishermen were able to return to their fishing spots each year. There was a tacit agreement among the fishermen that ensured that each of them had a place to put down his nets.[62] Those who went against this custom risked reprisals, as in the case of two fishermen in 1902.

> Two of the smelt fishermen near town were surprised one morning last week on finding their nets gone. A letter was attached to one of their poles informing them where the nets were to be found. On reaching the spot indicated, they found their nets and also a set of rules instructing them as to the unwritten law, respecting smelt fishing and the conduct of smelt

> fishers and warning them against any further violations.[63]

Smelt fishing with gill nets began later. Around 1920, a new smelt-fishing season was inaugurated. Nets could be put into the water as early as mid-September, and fishing under the ice could continue until the end of March.

Salmon

Salmon was the first type of fish to be exploited commercially in the area. In 1803, it was noted that salmon fishing was good along the dunes.[64] In 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Gubbins travelled along the coast. On the morning of July 18, he left Kouchibouguac in the company of Major Jacob Kollock.

> Our route lay along the sea beach and on sand banks that are connected with the mainland at low water. On these were many temporary erections for smoaking the salmon that are taken in great numbers. The price of this fish when cured with salt is about 8 dollars a barrel.[65]

Salmon were abundant on the coast. In 1847, Moses H Perley reported that a business at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac River had put a ton and a half of salmon into two-pound and four-pound cans.[66] He noted in his report that there were no longer any salmon in the neighbouring rivers. So many sawmill dams had been built that the salmon could no longer return to their usual spawning grounds. He gave the example of the Richibucto River, where Thomas Powell caught seven hundred salmon in twenty-four hours,[67] probably at the foot of a dam that prevented them from swimming up the river.

Luc Vautour said that, long before his time the Americans came and fished in the area and salted their

salmon. Canadian fishermen occasionally sold them their salmon catches.[68]

Besides salting and canning, ice was used to preserve salmon. In 1877, Robert B Noble and Henry O'Leary sent approximately 15,000 fresh salmon packed in ice to the United States.[69]

Until just recently, "salmon traps" were used to catch salmon. From June 1 to August 15, fishermen used long nets that ran between stakes from the shore to the open sea. At the end was a sort of box, or trap, to hold the fish. In some cases, there were several boxes at intervals along the net. The W S Loggie company had a number of these traps set the length of the dunes.

Another way to catch salmon was to let nets drift behind boats. The drifting season was shorter: it ran from mid-June until the end of August. Luc Vautour fished with Mac Doucet one summer. They had approximately twenty-five nets. At that time, salmon fetched one dollar apiece, regardless of their size.[70] Herman Daigle remembers that his grandfather, Jos Robichaud, caught 1,000 salmon one year and sold them for a dollar apiece.[71] It was a good year for him.

Mackerel

Mackerel have always been abundant on the coast of Kent County. When Moses H Perley visited the area in 1849, mackerel fishing was not very developed, as Thomas Powell noted.

> As to mackerel, Mr. Powell said, they were, and always had been abundant on this coast, but there were no preparations for taking them; he never knew a mackerel net to be used, but mackerel were occasionally caught in the gaspareaux nets.[72]

This is not surprising. In Canada, mackerel fishing did not become important until after 1870. In 1869, only 51,011 barrels were caught. Canning began in 1871, and 24,228 pounds of canned mackerel were marketed that year.[73]

Henry O'Leary, A & R Loggie and W S Loggie were the main buyers. They shipped canned, salted and frozen mackerel. In 1893, W S Loggie of Kouchibouguac used four teams of horses to haul his frozen mackerel to Chatham.[74]

Mackerel were caught in nets attached to the back of boats, which were allowed to drift all night. In 1895, when mackerel fetched the exceptional price of $7.50 per hundred, James Legoof caught 760 of them in one night.[75] The price later fell to one dollar per hundred, and it was not uncommon to see boats arrive at the dock with 1,400 or 1,500 mackerel.[76]

Herring

There is no shortage of statistics to indicate that the herring catches were large. Herring fishing began in the spring, as soon as the ice left. Small herring were salted, mostly to serve as bait in lobster traps. They were also used to fertilize fields. The fat herring caught in the fall were salted for winter use. An average of one barrel of herring was salted for every four family members. Herring fetched from forty cents to a dollar per barrel, depending on the season and the demand.

Eel

Eel were caught in a traditional manner. Torches were used in the summer for night fishing, and the eel were caught

with harpoons as was done by the Indians, although long lines were used as well. In winter, harpoons were used to catch eels buried in river mud.

Eel were sold to W S Loggie, or, more commonly, to merchants in Richibouto, where buyers were more numerous.

Eel were skinned and then salted to preserve them. They could also be kept frozen in the winter.

Cockles

Cockles are abundant in the area. W S Loggie and Sélime Robichaud canned them for several years. When the Robichaud cannery began operating, up to 400 bucketfuls a day were bought from fishermen at a price of ten cents per bucket.[77]

Arsène LeBlanc, from Sainte-Marie-de-Kent, was a fish merchant for roughly forty years in Kent County.[78] He began his career in the Cocagne area, where he had a cannery and a restaurant. His poor health obliged him to sell these holdings. Some time thereafter, in the fall of 1952, he went to Fontaine and set up a cannery, where he processed mainly cockles. The cockles were canned by approximately forty women, and were sold to wholesalers in Moncton. The labels on the cans bore the name of A A LeBlanc. Much of the output consisted of shelled cockles, which were shipped to Massachusetts in one-gallon metal containers packed in ice.

The lobster bought by Arsène LeBlanc was sold to Melanson in Shediac.

The forty-by-sixty-foot building burned down in the fall of 1959. In addition to the buildings, a dock was built in 1955 through the good offices of federal MP Hervé Michaud.

Other fish

Other varieties of fish were harvested in the area. Cod were salted and dried. Cod heads were also salted. Some alewives were salted, but most were used as fertilizer. Some years, they were put in barrels and exported. Shad were abundant, and fishermen salted them for winter use. Shad have always fetched low prices - sometimes as low as a half a cent apiece. Trout were also abundant, and they added variety to the diet of the people who lived along the rivers.

Adogwaasook fishing club

The Adogwaasook fishing club was founded in 1892 by twenty-five men from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia,[79] who invested $5,000 in it at the time of its incorporation. Each share was worth $200.

The club leased Crown land on Rankin Creek and built a lodge for its members and their guests. Fish were abundant, and the fishing rights on the leased property belonged exclusively to the club members.

The Little family of Kouchibouguac was closely associated with the club. Jonathan R Little (Jotty) worked for the club as a cook and janitor for sixty years, and Alden Little was a club employee for a number of years.

The club's activities ceased when the park was created, and the buildings that existed at that time were destroyed.

Shipbuilding

The building of sailing ships was a very important industry in Kent County throughout the nineteenth century, until the arrival of steamships and the decline of the timber trade.

Shipbuilding continued during the twentieth century, but on a smaller scale. Fishing boats and multipurpose scows were the principal product.

Sailing ships

Several merchants from the Richibucto region became involved in shipbuilding. In 1819, John Jardine launched the Ellen Douglas, the first sailing ship built in Kent County. The Jardine family stayed in shipbuilding until 1884, building more than sixty large ships.[1] Other well-known names in the field were Holderness & Chilton, Robert Brown, McNairn and Henry O'Leary.

There were major shipbuilders in the region of Kouchibouguac National Park. On the river itself, there were two large shipyards where Washington Raymond and Robert Gregan, Joseph Cunard, William S Caie and George McLeod built square-riggers.

This was the time when shipbuilding was at its peak in the province. The number of ships built at Kouchibouguac compared favourably with production in neighbouring communities. Of the 194 large ships built

in Kent County in the nineteenth century, forty-two were built at Kouchibouguac. During this same period, 272 ships were built in Westmorland and Albert counties and 337 in Miramichi.[2]

William Saunders

The honour of having built the first ship of any size within the present-day boundaries of the park falls to William Saunders. He arrived in Richibucto from Scotland in 1817, barely twenty-four years old. In 1821, he applied for a land concession[3] on which he built a home, a store and two barns. The eastern boundary of his property was Island Creek, today called McKay Creek. In August 1826, he applied for an adjacent piece of land, on which he undertook the construction of a 120-ton brigantine. He built a forge there along with a house for the workers; all the lumber required was found on the property.[4] A surveyor's map made on September 6, 1831, clearly shows the property of William Saunders. The land that he wanted to obtain is indicated as the "Ship Yard Lot".[5]

In 1837, the plot of land where William Saunders's shipyard was located was granted to Joseph Cunard. Nothing is known of what subsequently happened to William Saunders or to his business.

Raymond & Gregan

Washington Raymond and Robert Gregan were the first to build ships on a large scale. They had settled on Joseph Gregan's land, on the site of what is today called Shipyard Point.

It is interesting that this point does not appear on the surveyor's maps

before 1827. Was this tip of land jutting out into the Kouchibouguac River man-made specifically for shipbuilding? There is no record that such was the case, but a visit to the site led us to believe that this would not have been impossible.

Raymond & Gregan went into business around 1832. Their first ship, the Nancy, was launched in August 1833. In addition to their shipyard, they already had in 1833 a flour mill with two pairs of millstones.[6]

The Gleaner reports the construction of twelve ships from 1833 to 1839. It is possible that the total number of ships built by Raymond & Gregan is greater than this figure. The Francis Drake (1836), the Smythe (1838) and the Deborah (1839) were three of the ships built at this time.

A visitor to the shipyard in 1838 gives us the following description of the operations.

> While at Kouchibouguac, we drove down to the ship-yard of Messrs Raymond & Gregan, situate on a neck of land bordering on the river, about two miles below the settlement. At this yard there are being erected three vessels of about 500 tons each, the frames of which were partially up, and the keels of two brigs of about 200 tons, were also being laid down. Everything connected with this Yard, is on an extensive scale. The blacksmith's shop contains three forges, which, we understand, are kept in constant operation, manufacturing all the heavy as well as the light, materials used in ship building. We were shewn some articles, the manufacture of which reflects much credit on the foreman of the shop, Mr James McLaughlin. Beside the ship building, this Firm manufacture a large quantity of square timber, and have a saw mill on the river, for the manufacturing of deals and boards, a machine for making shingles, and a Grist Mill, perhaps the finest in the Province, where is annually ground up large quantities of wheat.[7]

There must have been very extensive activity at the shipyard, where ships made of larch,

juniper and red pine were built. In the construction of several of these vessels, copper nails were used to attach the planking. In 1841, Moses H Perley visited Joseph Cunard's shipyard at Kouchibouguac, and noted that larch grew plentifully on the banks of the river. This was fortunate for the shipbuilders, who made considerable use of this wood, "as vessels built with it bear a high character and bring a better price".[8]

Launchings always provided an occasion to celebrate. That was particularly true on days when several ships were being launched. In July 1838, a brigantine and a barque were launched the same day. According to the newspaper report, a large crowd witnessed the event.[9] In September 1839, preparations were made to launch three ships on a single day, but unfortunately, since the tide had not risen high enough that day, only the 130-ton brigantine Deborah was launched. The many people who had come from Richibucto and the Miramichi region were somewhat disappointed, although they did have the chance to visit the site

> inspecting the immense accumulation of stores and materials, and examined two other large vessels in a high state of forwardness, one of which will shortly be ready for launching. In the booms in the yard, and in the capacious stores, there are materials collected for completely building and equipping five large ships.[10]

Joseph Cunard

Raymond and Gregan's shipyard was sold to Joseph Cunard, a rich merchant originally from Halifax, who went into business in Miramichi around 1820. The transaction was concluded for the sum of £ 100,000 in 1840, a third of the amount being paid in ships.[11] In addition to his property at Kouchibouguac, Joseph Cunard had businesses in Bathurst, Shippagan and Richibucto. At one point he was considered one of the most influential merchants in

the province.

Between 1840 and 1847, he built at least nine ships in Kouchibouguac, including the Lord Seaton (1840), the Stag (1844), the Abbyland (1846) and the Surinam (1847).

In August 1848, he declared bankruptcy and left for England. His Kouchibouguac property was taken over by William Shand Caie, who had been working for Cunard for several years. The firms belonging to Joseph Cunard were so important to the economy of the region that his bankruptcy put several hundred men out of work and caused many small businessmen to close their doors.

William Shand Caie

William S Caie was a merchant and businessman engaged in the export of timber and fish. He was also a politician. Defeated in three provincial elections between 1856 and 1861, he was elected in 1865 and re-elected in 1866 and 1870.

Caie built the largest number of sailing ships at Kouchibouguac; there were sixteen in all laid down between 1853 and 1868. The construction of these vessels, most of them of juniper, was supervised by insurance inspectors from Lloyd's of London. The Elisabeth Morrow (1857), the Royal Visitor (1860), the Empress of India (1861), the Edwin & Lizzie (1862) and the Rebecca (1867) were among those built by W S Caie.

In November 1864, the Kent was launched at Kouchibouguac. The maiden voyage of this barque across the Atlantic, from Richibucto to Liverpool, England, took fourteen and one-half days, comparable to that taken by steam ships.[12]

Unfortunately, the steamship would win the battle against the sailing ship. After 1868, Caie seems to have finished with shipbuilding and concentrated on

lumbering and the operation of his mill.[13] He died on October 8, 1873, at Kouchibouguac, at the age of fifty-nine.[14]

After William S Caie the shipyard was abandoned. Frank Tweedie remembers that when he was young (around 1910-1915) artifacts were found on the site. Among other things, coal was dug up at the place where forges had been set up, and two-and-a-half-foot copper bolts were unearthed. His father, John Tweedie, told him that he had gone into one of the buildings used in the shipyard when it was still used for storage on Shipyard Point.[15]

Between approximately 1932 and 1950, Dave Tweedie built fishing boats on the same site. For a period of five or six years, he employed several men in the construction of the boats. He had a shed to accommodate his facilities.

George McLeod

George McLeod was a politician and a businessman. Between 1857 and 1861, he was the vice-consul of Sweden at Richibucto. He was Member of Parliament for Kent from 1874 to 1878. Throughout his life he was involved in business, both the lumber trade and shipbuilding. In Kouchibouguac he was the owner of a wood mill for several years. He built ships at his shipyard, on the north shore of the river, a few hundred metres east of the highway 11 bridge. From the records that we have, it is impossible to give a description of his facilities or the exact number of vessels that he built. He launched the Dunvegan in 1881 and the Dunstafrage in 1882. In 1878, he moved to Saint John. His son, George K McLeod, remained in the area and also became well known in business.

Builders of fishing boats

Even though the construction of large sailing ships ceased at the end of the last century, the construction of fishing boats continued. These boats were used especially for coastal fishing, and had an average length of about thirty feet.

The first boats built in the region were sailing boats. It was only around 1910 that the first marine engines were used in them; this meant that either the sail or the engine could be used to propel the vessel. Usually these engines would be purchased by the company or the cannery that wanted to equip its boats. A good fisherman might also buy an engine for his fishing boat. These engines had one or two cylinders, and the most popular makes were Acadia, Atlantic and Fairbanks. They were a great help to the fisherman in his work: he could go out fishing without having to depend on the wind. Around 1925, automobile and truck engines began to be used in the fishing boats, mainly because they cost less than new marine engines. Second-hand automobile engines were often used. Using these more powerful engines, the fisherman had to change the shape of his boat so that it would hold up better at sea.

The newspapers do not indicate who was building these fishing boats before 1890. At Pointe-Sapin, André Gionet was building ships in 1892. The Richibucto Review says that he built eight during the winter. Gionet was originally from Caraquet and was also in the lobster canning business.[16] He taught the boat-building trade to his sons, Pierre, Simon and Urbain. The latter had a shipyard at Pointe-Sapin and built a large number of boats, including several for W S Loggie

of Kouchibouguac.

Joseph DeGrâce of Saint-Olivier had a boatyard within the park boundaries, where he built boats and smaller craft such as dories.

Prudent Mazerolle was a boat builder at Pointe-Sapin for many years too. According to him, during the 1930s a thirty-three-foot small craft sold for $125. Most of the work was done by hand. There was no electricity, and axes, hand saws, planes and hammers were much used.

In addition, there were several other people engaged in boatbuilding at various times. Edmond Cormier built boats near the bridge over the Fontaine River. Ernest Daigle, Wilfred Robichaud, William Daigle and Luc Maillet were also builders. Maillet, a resident of Saint-Louis, was known for building boats fitted with cedar planks, which lasted a long time.

Transportation

The means of transportation that existed in the region of Kouchibouguac National Park significantly changed with the arrival of the first Europeans. In his work published in 1672, Nicolas Denys noted that the Indians of the Richibucto region used canoes for the rivers and rowboats for the sea, the latter being obtained from European fishermen.[1] This method of transportation had been in use for a very long time on the rivers of the park.

Before roads were built, the most effective means of transportation was by water, although there is no lack of testimony to the primitive nature of the boats used. In July 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel Gubbins was on an inspection tour of the military in the region. The following is a description of his trip from Richibucto to Kouchibouguac on July 17.

> Having this day completed the Inspection of the 2nd Battalion of the Northumberland Regiment I took my departure from Richibucto with Major Collock and Captain McLean in a bark canoe which was navigated by one of the Chiefs of the Indians of the settlement. The wind being favourable he had his blanket set as a sail, and in this frail craft we went bounding over the waves at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour without taking in a drop of water.[2]

At the same period, the Acadians of the region who wanted to go to the chapel at Kigibougouet[3] had to travel long distances, and their sole means of transportation was still the canoe. Missionary Antoine Gagnon expressed admiration for his flock who "would set off - men, women and

children - in canoes in the middle of the night, harnessed, as it were, to the oars for a voyage of five or six leagues; and would return in the same fashion, also in the middle of the night. They were always the first to arrive".[4]

Travel by land, on horseback, was really an adventure. Before the bridges and roads were built, the Reverend John McLean travelled throughout the northern part of New Brunswick in 1827; he tells about the vicissitudes of his trip in his memoirs. On August 16, he left Richibucto, not without crossing a few rivers in the manner customary at this time.

> Left Richibucto for Miramichi at 2 o'clock, P.M., on horse back, passed through a continuation of small settlements of French Roman Catholics for six miles, and crossed three rivers or arms of the Bay in the usual mode of ferrying here, which is as follows: Two wood or log canoes are floated side by side; across the top or gunwales of these, a number of boards are laid, and upon these boards the horse and passenger are stationed till the whole is paddled over, frequently by a French-woman and her child.[5]

After crossing these rivers, he could not continue his way on horseback. He had to walk six or seven miles across flat open country, arriving at Kouchibouguac at seven o'clock in the evening. The following day he left for Miramichi, but the road was scarcely better.

> Left Kouchibouquach at 7 o'clock, A.M., on horseback. Found that my horse as I proceeded, instead of facilitating my progress, actually in many places greatly impeded it. /.../ Like the last stage of the preceeding day's journey my road now consisted merely of a pathway cleared of the wood which once covered it, but yet untouched by a spade. Much of it I was forced to walk, and in much of it my horse wallowed up to the saddle in mud.[6]

Fortunately, there was an improvement in the means of transportation with the arrival of the stagecoach, and it became necessary to construct roads in order to guarantee regular

communications. The government, through Public Works, granted money each year for bridge construction and road repairs.

The stagecoaches could transport people, mail and merchandise. In November 1831, a stagecoach service was set up between Richibucto and Chatham. The Gleaner, which reported on the event, mentioned that the road was still "exceedingly bad", having become waterlogged as a result of the inclement weather.

A bridge had just been built on the Kouchibouguac River[7] when the stagecoach went into operation in the region for the first time in 1831. Another bridge was built in 1833, this time on the Kouchibouguacis River, which at that time was the only river without a bridge.[8] This completed the road between Richibucto and the Miramichi.

Alex McBeath, the first to run the stagecoach service, offered a weekly service: departure from Miramichi at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning and from Richibucto on Saturday after the arrival of the mail from the south of the province. At a cost of ten shillings per passenger, he undertook to:

> ...provide an easy and commodious Wagon until the approach of winter, when that vehicle shall be superseded by a large Sleigh, abundantly provided with Furs, and drawn by two excellent Horses.[9]

The main road linking Richibucto with Chatham required repairs each spring. The bridges were constantly being damaged by the ice coming down the rivers. Quite often, the government did not have the money needed to make repairs in time, so the condition of these bridges left something to be desired. A letter appearing in the Gleaner tells of the condition of the main road in 1863.

> It is full of ruts, bogs, water courses, and decayed bridges. Travellers are loud in expressions of disgust; and having

> once passed along it, assuredly nothing but necessity could induce them to return by the same route. /.../ Many accidents have already occurred, and horses and waggons have frequently to be dragged from the bogs, which in many parts extend entirely across the road and for several yards along it, so that parties are obliged to avoid the highway as they do a heavy drift in Winter. Again, while nearly every small bridge on the line is out of repair, containing holes which serve as traps for horses legs, there are some which the horse can only reach by a leap or by walking along a path just wide enough for one foot at a time:...[10]

The main problem with the bridges was that the structures were not solid enough to withstand the pressure of the ice in spring. Moreover, the wood used in their construction deteriorated, so that after a few years the bridges were scarcely trustworthy. The large bridge spanning the river at the village of Kouchibouguac caused problems throughout the nineteenth century. Only in 1911 was a steel bridge constructed that could withstand the inclement weather.[11]

The road through the park connecting Kouchibouguac with Pointe-Sapin was completed only after 1860.[12] But at this time it was still not passable, and only after certain improvements were made could it be used at all, mainly during the summer. It could not be used during the winter because of the great amount of snow.

In the twentieth century this road long remained unfit for use during winter and spring. In winter the quickest way to travel was by using horses on the ice. Each spring the residents of Pointe-Sapin found it more practical to take a boat to Richibucto in order to purchase what they needed.

Travelling by horse on the ice was not without its dangers, and there were accidents from time to time, as was the case in April 1934.

> Jerry Babineau, from Saint-Louis, and Reuben Gionet, from Pointe-Sapin, almost drowned last Thursday while crossing the channel near the mouth of the Kouchibouguac River. They were coming from Richibucto, on their way to Pointe-Sapin, where Gionet ran a shipyard. Their sleigh was loaded down with paint, and the ice broke beneath the weight. The horse and sleigh were lost in the water, but the two men escaped.[13]

During the 1960s, when the road between Kouchibouguac and Pointe-Sapin was asphalted, it became easier to travel on it, even in spring.

As mentioned in the chapter on fishing, the W S Loggie Company of Chatham used schooners for a long time as a means of transportation between the various canneries scattered along the coast. Not until the road improvements and the advent of heavy trucks did the schooners cease to be used to supply the cannery at Loggiecroft. The Stewart L and the Warren P were the last schooners to be employed in this fashion up to the late 1930s.[14]

Around 1900, wooden canoes were still being used for travel along the rivers and in the area of the dunes.[15] Alphonse Robichaud recalls that when he was young he would go by canoe from Petite-Aldouane to his father's cannery located on a dune some fifteen miles away. Large wooden poles were used to push the canoe along.[16]

The Intercolonial Railway

The railway was a means of transportation that greatly affected contacts between residents of the region and the rest of the country and the United States. The section of Intercolonial track linking Newcastle with Moncton was under construction in the region, from Saint-Louis to Richibucto,

from 1870 until the spring of 1875.[17]

Not only did this provide gainful employment for the workers of the region, it was also a vast improvement over the existing means of transportation. Manufacturers, owners of sawmills, and fish merchants took advantage of this rapid new means of sending their products to the markets of Central Canada and the United States. The fish merchants especially liked the refrigerator cars.

Kent Northern Railway

Businessmen from the north of Kent County wanted to benefit from the advantages of the railway, and so they built the Kent Northern Railway. In 1874, the company was incorporated for the purpose of building a line connecting Richibucto with the Intercolonial Railway at Kent Junction, a distance of twenty-seven miles. The construction was completed in the fall of 1883.[18] In 1885, a section of the Kent Northern Railway was built connecting Richibucto with Saint-Louis. It was, however, abandoned in 1900.[19]

John C Brown was owner and manager of the Kent Northern Railway for twenty years.[20] In 1903, five people from the region bought the railway for $60,000; they were Thomas Murray, Robert Phinney, William D Carter, George Robertson and John Jardine.[21] In 1911, a Toronto group purchased the railway for $100,000.[22] At the end of the 1920s, Canadian National took over control of the railway, which by that time had gone into the red.[23]

Built with the help of government grants, this railway required frequent repairs and constant attention. Nevertheless, there were years in which it registered a profit for its owners.

The Kent Northern Railway was extensively used by the merchants of the Richibucto region, as is evident from

an article in the Review in March 1906.

> The traffic this winter has been good and every satisfaction has been given to the patrons of the road, both shipper and importer. Upwards of sixty full car loads besides score of small lots of frozen fish were shipped to the United States and elsewhere, while in oyster, poultry and farm products, generally, the shipments were unusually large. In hemlock bark, fully 2,000 cords were hauled to Millerton, Pictou, Quebec and other places. In coal, sugar, flour, molasses - all in car lots - the imports have been larger than formerly showing trade to be constantly on the increase over previous years.
>
> When it is stated that J. & T. Jardine Co. Ltd., and J. & W. Brait of Rexton, and Richard O'Leary and A. & R. Loggie or Richibucto - four of the leading firms in Kent county - bring their goods over this railway, some idea of the business done in this line may be found.[24]

The Kent Northern Railway undoubtedly contributed to the economic development of the region. It provided a link to the Intercolonial Railway and thereby provided the merchants of the region with rapid access to Canadian and American markets.

Toponymy

Toponymy is the study of the origin of place names. To do this, the toponymist has to find out what the names mean, trying "to discover where and when the place names ere formed".[1]

A list of place names found on the new park map published in 1983 will be presented in the following pages. In addition, a few other older names have been added to the list. The information given for each of these names refers either to its origin, to the first time it was used, to older forms of the name, or to different names used in the past.

Place names

Anse à Simon à Michel. Located near Michel Robichaud's land grant or concession. He signed his petition in 1799. Louison Creek, or Robichaud Creek, flows into this cove.

Le Barachois. A small bay opposite Pointe des Georges. On a survey plan of 1813,[2] this bay is called North Cove.

Le Barachois. A small bay in the northern part of the park into which Pierrot Brook and Germain Brook flow. On a survey plan of 1833,[3] the name Barachoire is used. On a 1839 Admiralty chart, the name Marsh River is used. The place is later called Northern Lagoon on another survey plan.[4]

Black River Point. Some have referred to this place as île à Fabien. It is no longer known by that name today.

Black River. On a survey plan of 1813,[5] this river is called Lesser Kouchibouguac River.

Callanders Beach. Undoubtedly named after the Callander family, who lived in the region until the park was established.

Cap-Saint-Louis. So named because of the higher elevation of land at this point. There were fish canneries located here, and fisherman still frequent the area.

Claire-Fontaine. Appears on an 1893 Rand-McNally map. A school district was also known by that name in 1912.

Daigle Creek. A small creek that flows into Grande Anse. The name appears on a survey plan in 1813.[6] François J Daigle had a concession nearby. The creek was also called White Birch Brook.

Les Étroits (Narrows). A narrow stretch of the Saint-Louis River, to the west of Pointe à Auguste.

Fontaine. It is impossible to determine exactly when this name was used for the first time.

Black Lands Gully. On the 1839 Admiralty chart, this entrance is called Big Cove. This name appears again on a McMillan map (1867) and in the Atlas of the Maritime Provinces (1880). The current descriptive name owes its origin to the black soil visible upon entering the dunes.

Grande Anse. A rather large cove into which White Birch Brook, or Daigle Creek, flows (1813).

Guimond Village. Previously called Grand Large by the inhabitants of the region. Appears on the Rand-McNally map of 1893. This name was probably given to the region after the arrival of Lazare Guimond, who had a concession

there.

Indian Portage. Place corresponding to Patterson Brook. In 1807, Peter McInnis applied for a concession for his son, George, "at a place known by the name f Indian Portage."

Island Creek. Today called McKays Brook. On a survey plan of 1836,[7] and in several records, including applications for land, Island Creek was the name of the brook on which the Potters' sawmill was located.

Kellys Beach. The origin of this place name is linked to the Kelly family.

Kouchibouguac. A name of Micmac origin. W F Ganong mentions that M H Perley gives "Koohawask", meaning "Caribou Plain", as the origin of this name.[8]

Kouchibouguacis. Of Indian origin, meaning "little Kouchibouguac". The river bearing this name was also known as the Rivière Française. Today the river is called the Saint-Louis.

Livain Lake. On older maps, such as the Atlas of the Maritime Provinces, this lake is called Superior (1880).

Jardine Lake. Also called Storer Lake, Jerry Doucet Lake. This lake is named after the Jardine family, well known for commercial activity and shipbuilding in the Richibucto region.

Loggiecroft. The W S Loggie Company set up its fish cannery here in 1917. The word croft means "little enclosure or little farm". The company did not ıltivate its land very much. Some years, however, there was a small garden.

Fontaine Bog. A bog north of Fontaine.

Pointe-Sapin Bog. A large bog at Pointe-Sapin.

Little Gully. Entrance to Kouchibouguac Bay.

Petit Large. Also called Back Settlement. The origin of this name, as well as that of Grand Large, is unknown.

Pig Creek. A creek on the land granted to John Murphy and Thomas Jardine. Grant plan, 1829.[9]

Carrigan Plain. Also called mocoque des Carrigan. Carrigan Brook is nearby.

Point Edward. Near Loggiecroft. It was already known in 1813 since the name appears on a survey plan.[10] According to oral tradition, Micmac burial grounds are located here.

Pointe à Auguste. At the entrance to the Saint-Louis River. Named after Auguste Thibault.

Pointe à Maxime. At the entrance to the Saint-Louis River. Named after Maxime Guimond.

Pointe de Terre-Noire. A descriptive name for a point near a bog.

Masquis River. A river where birch bark could be found. Of Micmac origin.

Portage River. Name used very early. Appears on a survey plan of 1838.[11] This is also the name of the locality. Sometimes the name Lower Sapin was used for this region.

Rivière-au-portage-sud. Also called South Forks Creek on some maps.

Carrigan Brook. A tributary of Pollys Creek. John P Carrigan received a concession at the entrance to Pollys Creek.

Germain Brook. A brook that flows into the Barachois. Peter McInnis had two concessions in this region. Sometime back it was known as McIness Brook or Barachois Brook.

Major Creek. This name comes from Major Jacob Kollock, who received a concession at the entrance to this creek. On some maps it is called Kollock Creek. On a survey plan of 1813, the name Little River is used.[12] In French, the name of the creek should be Ruisseau du Major, instead of Ruisseau des majors

as it is known today.

Marshall Creek. Creek where father Patenaude had his mill. On the Kouchibouguac River, north of Middle Kouchibouguac.

Ruisseau à Maxime. Named after Maxime Frigault.

Murphy Brook. On the Black River, opposite the mouth of Rankin Brook. On the survey plan of 1813.[12]

Palmer Creek. It is claimed that the name comes from the Palmer family that lived in the region. On older maps it is called Jann's Creek, after Thomas Jann who was one of the first settlers of the region.[14]

Pierrot Brook. Flows into the Barachois. Peter McInnes had a plot of land on this creek.

Pollys Creek. On some maps this is Carrigan Brook. On a survey plan of 1813[15] it is called Pollys Creek. A grant plan contains the notation "lot surveyed for Alpheus Polly". Polly had applied for a concession on the south side of the entrance to the creek.

Rankin Brook. Called Meadow Brook on a survey plan of 1836.[17]

Robichaud Creek. Also called Louison Creek. Michel Robichaud received a concession in this area. The creek flows into the Anse de Simon à Michel.

Saint-Olivier. Name given to the post office in the area by Joseph DeGrâce, in recognition of Member of Parliament Olivier LeBlanc, who had gotten the post office for the area.

Conclusion

Human activity in the national park has been extensive and diversified.

For years the Micmacs lived in harmony with nature, depending on it for their survival, but the arrival of the settlers changed their ways. The colonists who settled in the region were very active. They profited from the forest resources and the development of shipbuilding in the twentieth century. Farming also had its commercial side, but its main purpose was to feed the family. The fishing industry developed significantly after the 1870s, with the building of the railway and the development of techniques for canning.

Kouchibouguac National Park has a rich history. The current economic situation of the region masks the breadth of human activity of the past 200 years. We hope that this work will contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the history of this national park.

Appendix A. List of people interviewed

Bertha Babin, 73, Saint-Louis

Marguerite Babineau, 82, Saint-Louis

Laura Barlow, Indian Island

Peter J Barlow, 63, Indian Island

Wilfred Barlow, 65, Indian Island

Janet Bennett, 86, Chatham

Kenneth Callander, 57, Petite-Aldouane

Father Camille Cormier, Moncton

Johnny Cormier, Saint-Louis

Célime Daigle, 75, Richibucto

Eva Daigle, 69, Pointe-Sapin

Exilda Daigle, 81, Kouchibougouac

François Daigle, 78, Saint-Louis

Herman Daigle, 79, Petite-Aldouane

Julie Daigle, Pointe-Sapin

Xavier Daigle, 68, Pointe-Sapin

Eugénie DeGrâce, 78, Saint-Louis

Marie Doucet, 86, Saint-Louis

Fabien Dugas, 79, Richibucto

Lina Dugas, 70, Pointe-Sapin

Moïse Dugas, 80, Pointe-Sapin

Marie Fontaine, 86, Saint-Louis

Joseph Francis, 75, Big Cove

Elizabeth Gionet, 85, Richibucto

Léonie Gionet, Richibucto

Johnny Guimond, 84, Saint-Louis

Muir Jardine, 75, South Kouchibouguac

John Joseph, 80, Big Cove

Marie LeBlanc, 69, Moncton

John McDonald, 78, Kouchibouguac

Roméo Maillet, Saint-Louis

Hugh Martin, 71, Saint-Charles-nord

Prudent Mazerolle, 75, Rexton

Alphonse Robichaud, 81, Petite-Aldouane

Gustave Robichaud, 82, Chemin-des-Frigault

Mary Robichaud, 79, Rexton

Laurise Ryan, 49, Bouctouche

Irène Simon, 76, Big Cove

William Simon, 80, Big Cove

Dugald Stewart, 73, Saint-Louis

Eva Stewart, 67, Kouchibouguac

Frank Tweedie, 82, Chatham

Célina Vautour, 80, Saint-Louis

Clorine Vautour, 80, Saint-Louis

Luc Vautour, 94, Richibucto

Marie-Blanche Vautour, 84, Saint-Louis

Notes

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58 Interview with Frank Tweedie (Chatham), July 14, 1983.

59 Interview with Francis Joseph (Big Cove), May 10, 1983.

60 Interview with Peter J Barlow (Indian Island), July 12, 1983.

61 Interview with Frank Tweedie (Chatham), July 14, 1983.

62 Interview with Kenneth Callander (Petite-Aldouane), July 13, 1983.

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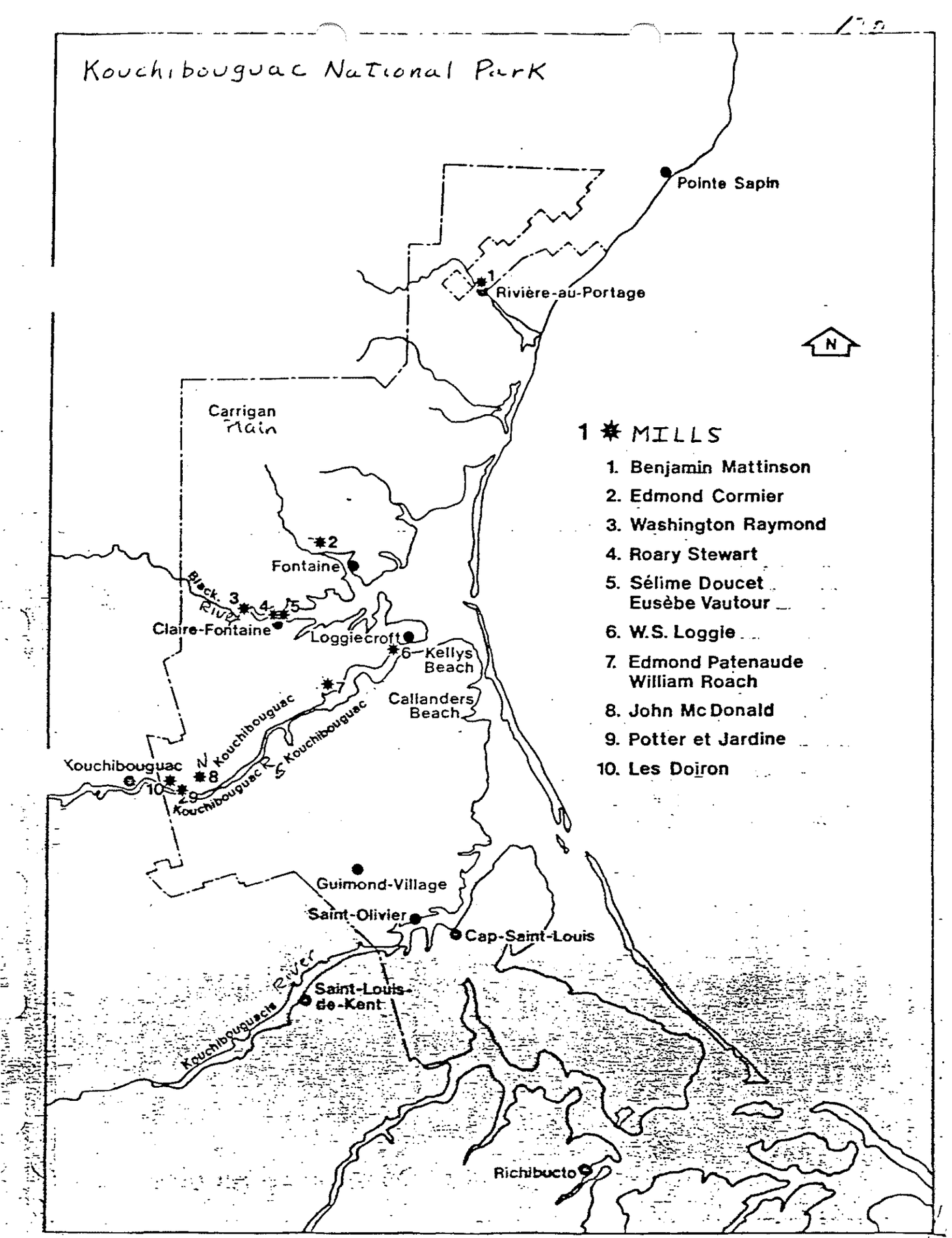
Kouchibouguac National Park
Pointe Sapin
Rivière-au-Portage
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Carrigan Main
1 ✸ MILLS
1. Benjamin Mattinson
2. Edmond Cormier
3. Washington Raymond
4. Roary Stewart
5. Sélime Doucet
Eusèbe Vautour
6. W.S. Loggie
7. Edmond Patenaude
William Roach
8. John Mc Donald
9. Potter et Jardine
10. Les Doiron
Fontaine
Black River
Claire-Fontaine
Loggiecroft
Kellys Beach
Callanders Beach
N Kouchibouguac
S Kouchibouguac
Kouchibouguac
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Saint-Olivier
Cap-Saint-Louis
Kouchibouguacis River
Saint-Louis-de-Kent
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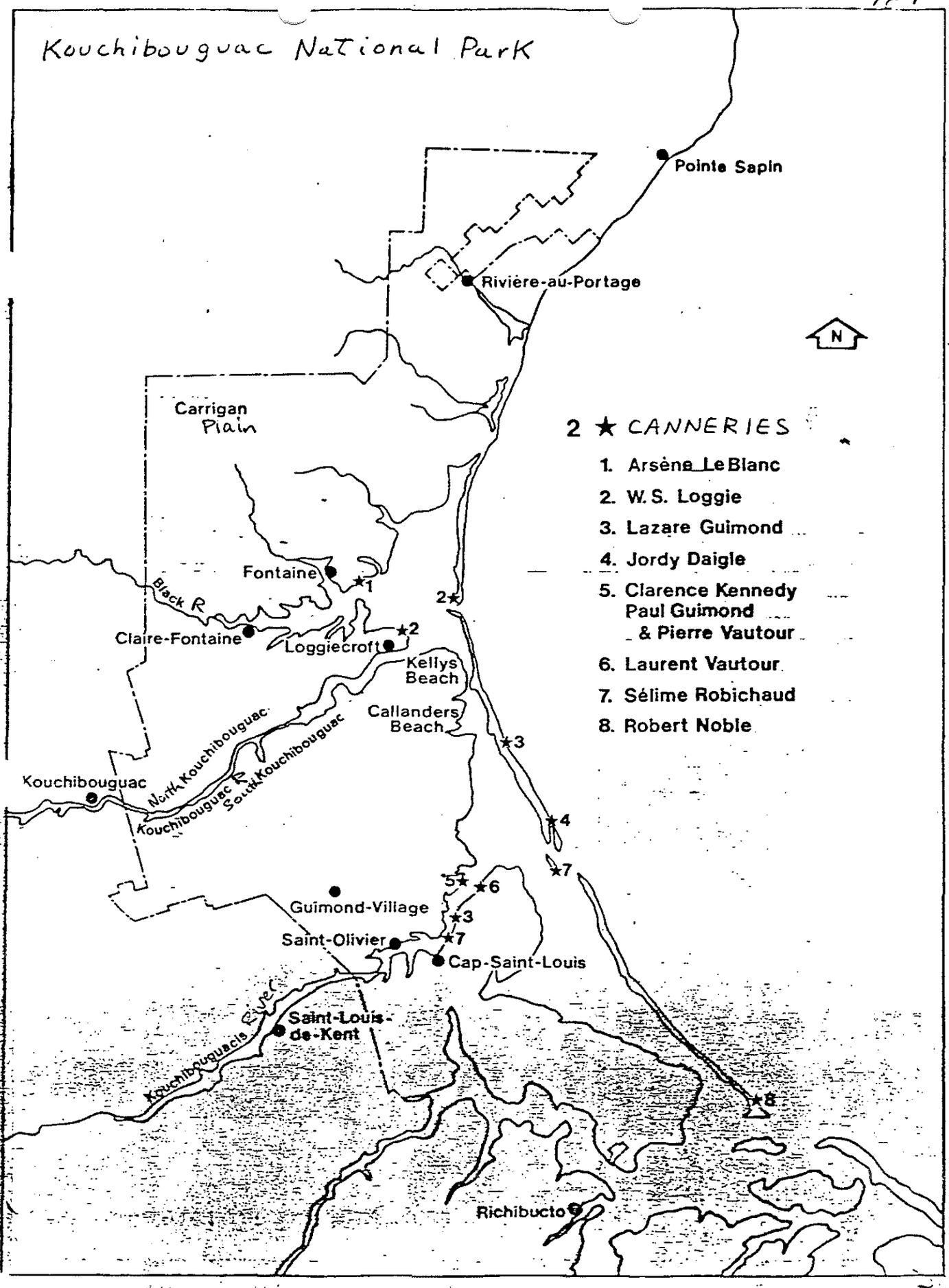
Kouchibouguac National Park
Pointe Sapin
Rivière-au-Portage
N
Carrigan Plain
2 ★ CANNERIES
1. Arsène LeBlanc
2. W. S. Loggie
3. Lazare Guimond
4. Jordy Daigle
5. Clarence Kennedy
Paul Guimond
& Pierre Vautour
6. Laurent Vautour
7. Sélime Robichaud
8. Robert Noble
Fontaine
Black R
Claire-Fontaine
Loggiecroft
Kellys Beach
Callanders Beach
Kouchibouguac
North Kouchibouguac R
South Kouchibouguac R
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Guimond-Village
Saint-Olivier
Cap-Saint-Louis
Saint-Louis-de-Kent
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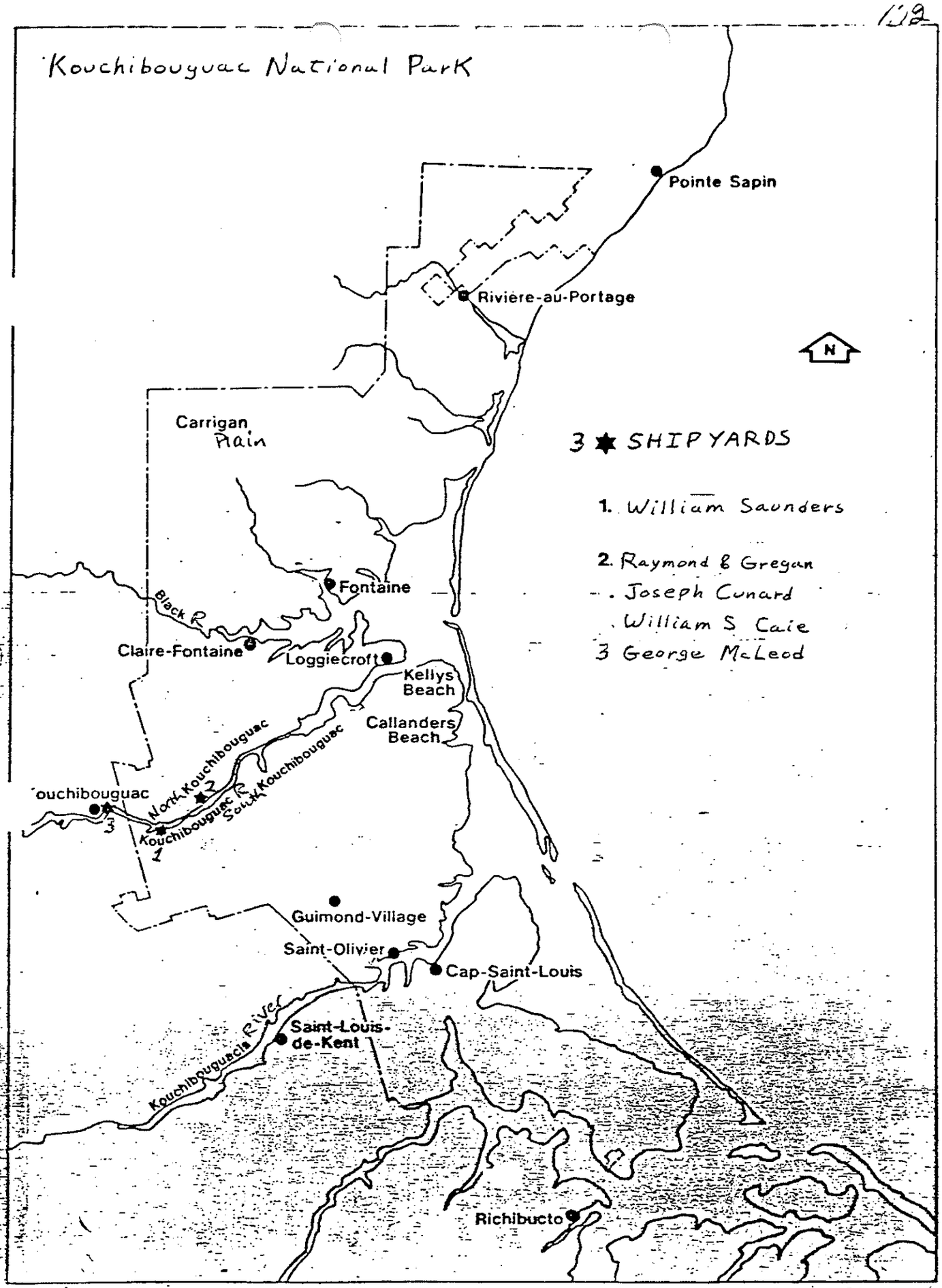
Kouchibouguac National Park
Pointe Sapin
Riviere-au-Portage
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Carrigan Plain
3 ★ SHIPYARDS
1. William Saunders
2. Raymond & Gregan
. Joseph Cunard
. William S Caie
3 George McLeod
Fontaine
Black R
Claire-Fontaine
Loggiecroft
Kellys Beach
Callanders Beach
North Kouchibouguac
South Kouchibouguac
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Cap-Saint-Louis
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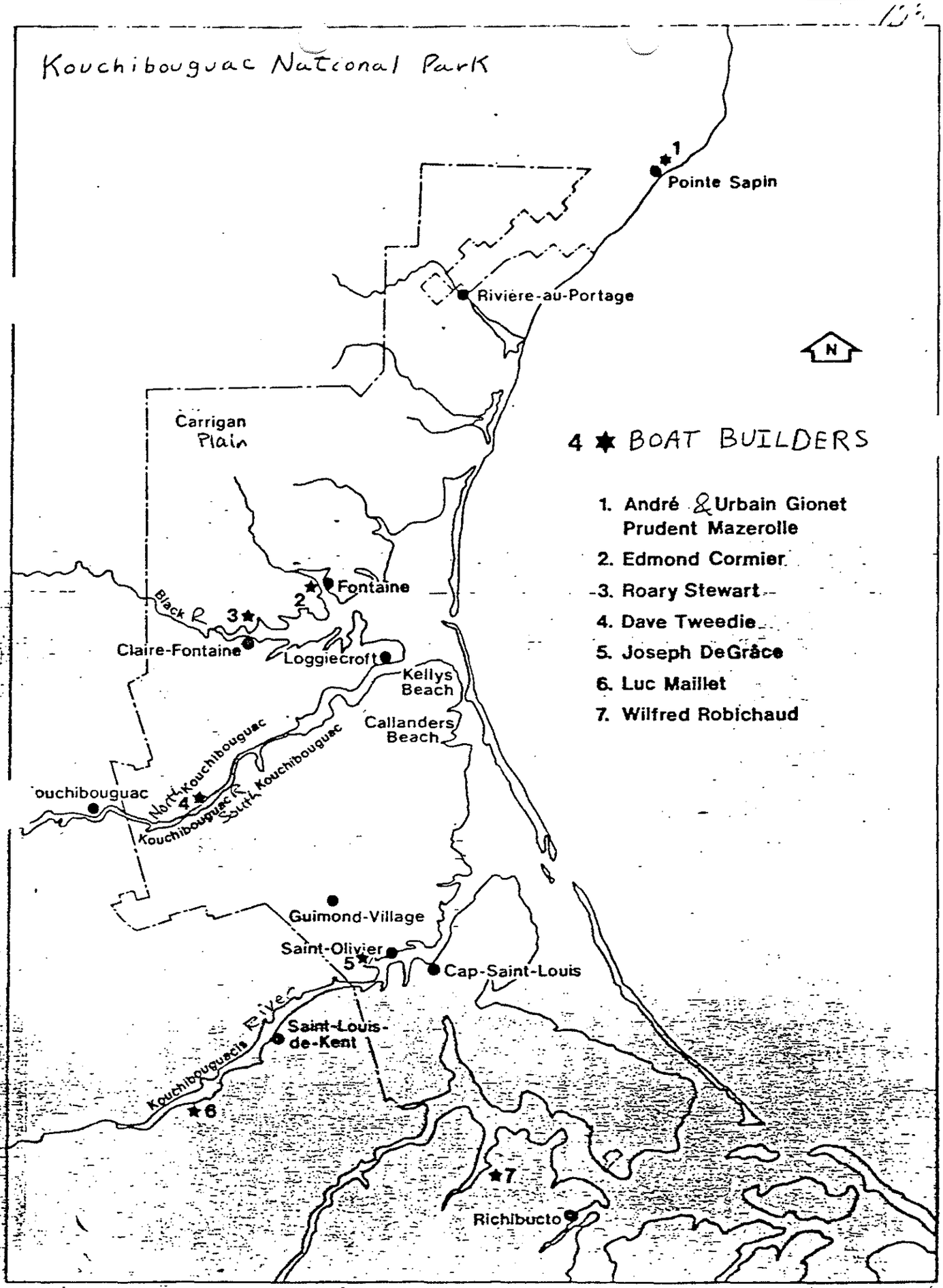
Kouchibouguac River
Richibucto


Kouchibouguac National Park
Pointe Sapin
Rivière-au-Portage
N
Carrigan Plain
4 ★ BOAT BUILDERS
1. André & Urbain Gionet Prudent Mazerolle
2. Edmond Cormier
3. Roary Stewart
4. Dave Tweedie
5. Joseph DeGrâce
6. Luc Maillet
7. Wilfred Robichaud
Fontaine
Black R
Claire-Fontaine
Loggiecroft
Kellys Beach
Callanders Beach
North Kouchibouguac
South Kouchibouguac
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Guimond-Village
Saint-Olivier
Cap-Saint-Louis
Saint-Louis-de-Kent
Kouchibouguacis River
Richibucto

5 Picnic at Kouchibouguac Beach.

(The original belongs to Mrs Janet Bennett, Chatham)

6 Haying at Kouchibouguac.

(The original belongs to Miss Eleanor B Tweedie, Kouchibouguac)

7 Hauling meadow hay in winter. Stopping for a cup of tea at a smelt fisherman's cabin.

(The original belongs to Miss Eleanor B Tweedie, Kouchibouguac)

8 Woodcutters at one of John McDonald's camps. Winter 1934.

(The original belongs to John McDonald, Kouchibouguac)

9 Hauling firewood. Kouchibouguac.

(The original belongs to Mrs Janet Bennett, Chatham)

10 William S Caie's old mill, Kouchibouguac. c 1900.

(The original belongs to John McDonald, Kouchibouguac)

11 Smelt fishermen emptying their net.

(The original belongs to Miss Eleanor B Tweedie, Kouchibouguac)

12 Shad fishermen.

(The original belongs to Miss Eleanor B Tweedie, Kouchibouguac)

13 Fishermen collecting salmon from W S Loggie's large salmon nets at Kouchibouguac.

(The original belongs to Muir Jardine, South Kouchibouguac)

14 Sélime Robichaud's cannery on the dune at Black Lands Gully.
(The original belongs to Georges Robichaud, Petite-Aldouane)

15 Sélime Robichaud's cannery at Cap-Saint-Louis.

(The original belongs to Georges Robichaud, Petite-Aldouane)

16 Interior of the cannery at Cap-Saint-Louis.

(The original belongs to Georges Robichaud, Petite-Aldouane)

17 Employees of the cannery at Cap-Saint-Louis.

(The original belongs to Miss Annette Robichaud, Petite-Aldouane)

18 The Stewart L, one of W S Loggie's schooners.

(The original belongs to Mrs Janet Bennett, Chatham)

19 Steam tug at W S Loggie's dock at the Kouchibouguac dune.

Before 1917. (The original belongs to Mrs Janet Bennett, Chatham)

20 Adogwaasook fishing club.

(The original belongs to Alden Little, Kouchibouguac)

21 Boat being built by Urbain Gionet and his brothers at Pointe-Sapin. After 1924. (The original belongs to Mrs Elizabeth Gionet, Richibucto)

22 Richibucto. Ernest Mazerolle on his way to Pointe-Sapin with supplies for his store. Before 1928. (The original belongs to Mrs Elizabeth Gionet, Richibucto)